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Herodotus

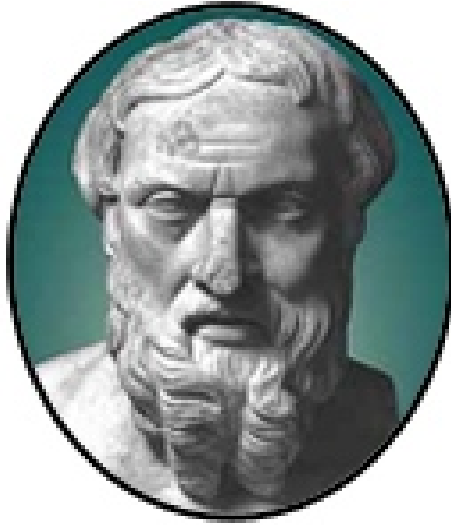
Complete Works

DELPHI  CLASSICS

Ancient Classics Series

The Complete Works of
HERODOTUS

(c.484–425 BC)



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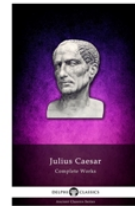
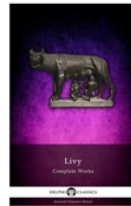
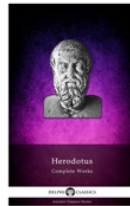
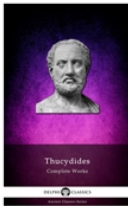
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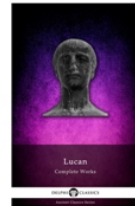
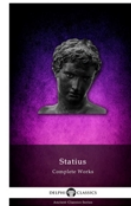
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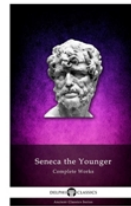
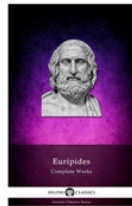
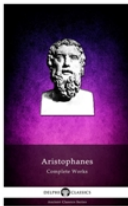
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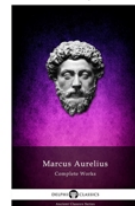
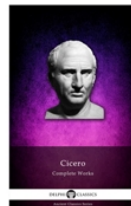
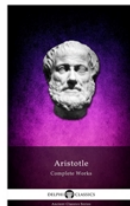
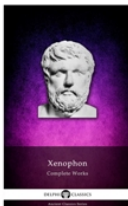
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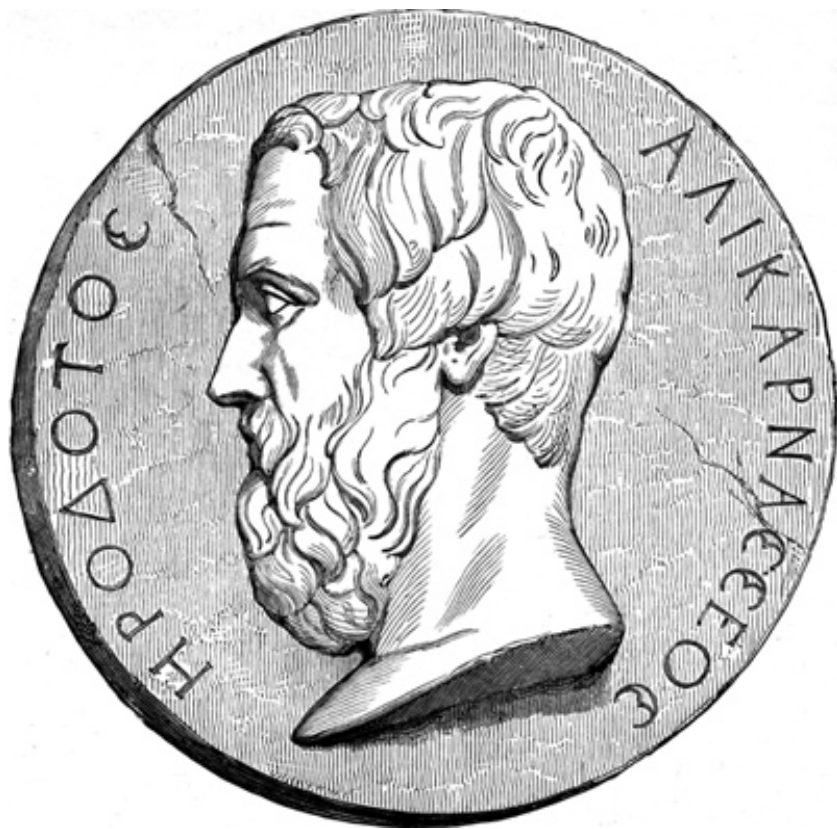
Philosophers



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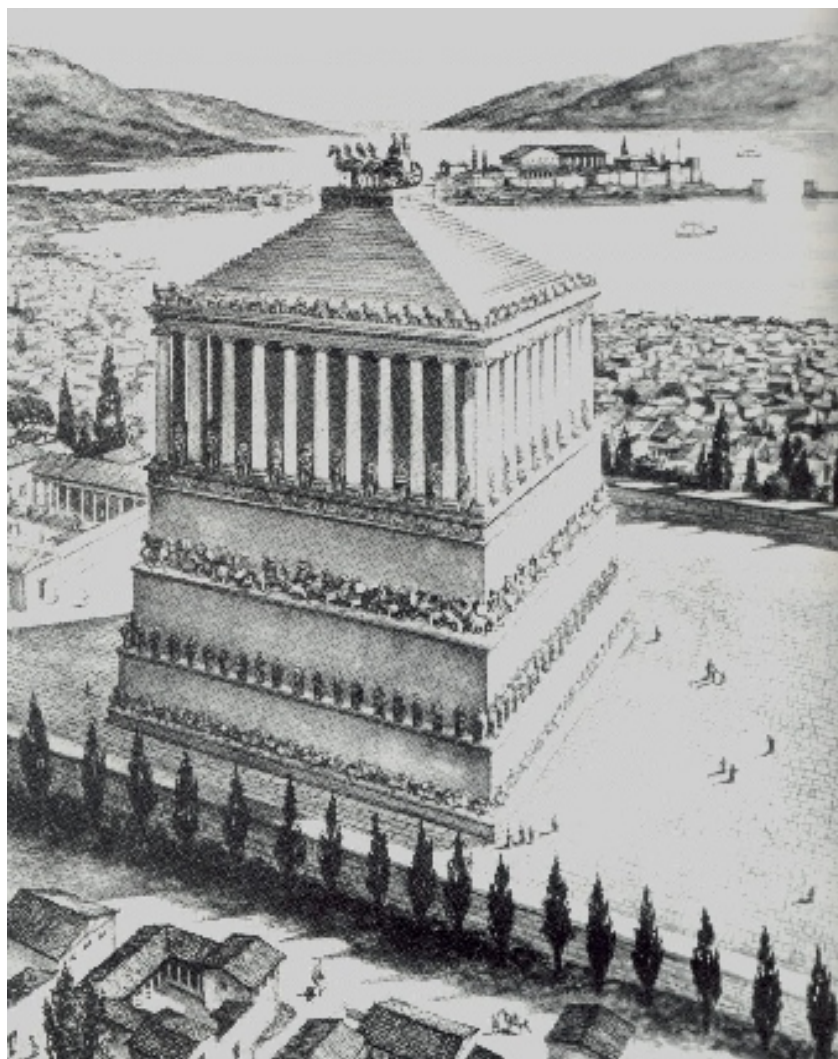


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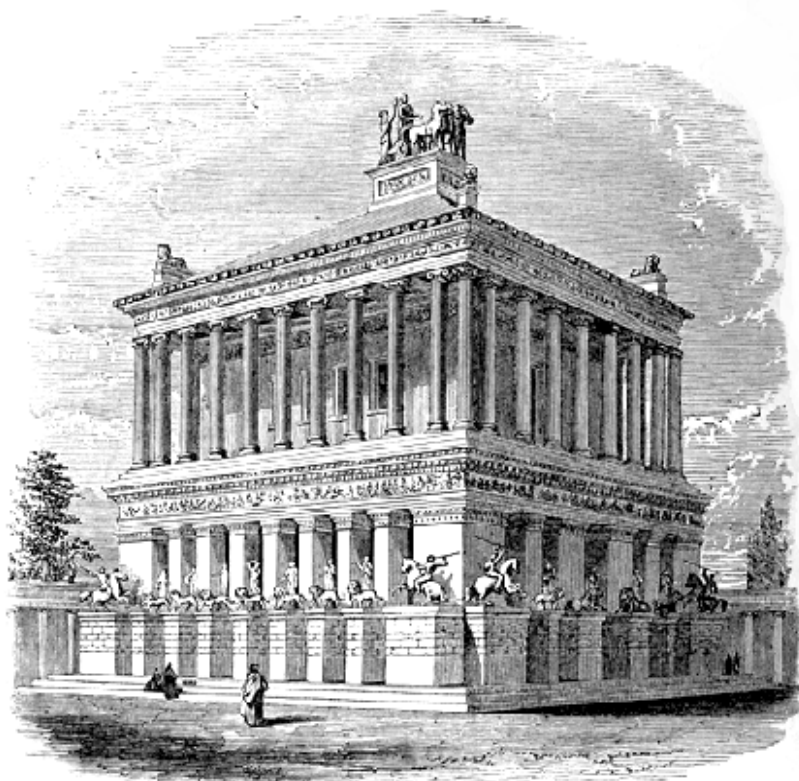
The Translations



The ruins of Halicarnassus, Herodotus' birthplace, in modern day Bodrum, Turkey



The Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World



Another depiction of the Mausoleum

THE HISTORIES



Translated by A. D. Godley

Composed in nine books, Herodotus' monumental work *The Histories* is widely regarded as the founding work of history in Western literature. Written from the 450s to the 420s BC in the Ionic dialect, this precious text serves as a record of the ancient traditions, politics, geography and conflicts of various cultures in the Mediterranean and Asia Minor, from prehistoric to Classical times. The text implies that Herodotus travelled extensively around the ancient world, conducting interviews and collecting stories for his work. He provides much intriguing information about the nature of the world and the status of science during his lifetime, often engaging in private and engaging speculation. Although it is an impartial record, the text remains one of the most important historical sources regarding these affairs. It is responsible for establishing the genre and study of history in the Western world, winning its author the eternal epithet of 'Father of History'.

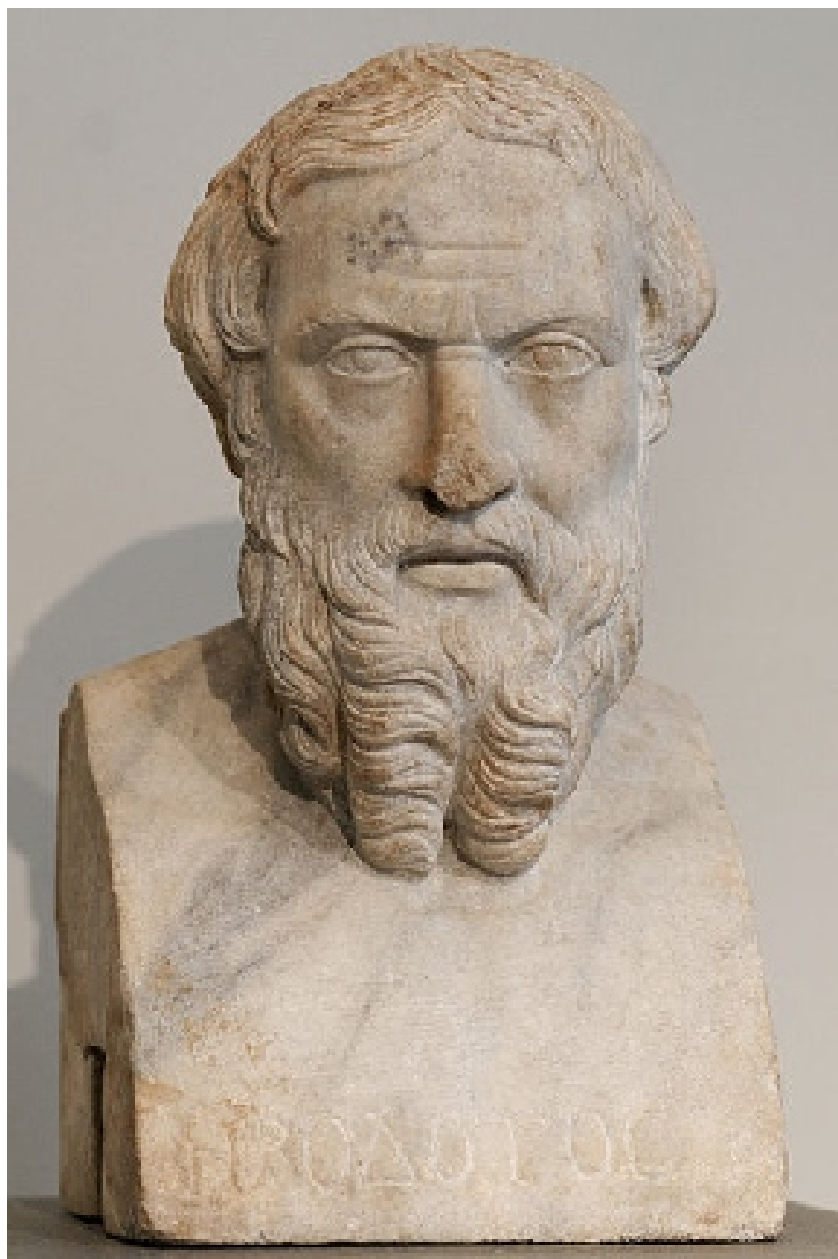
The work is also remarkable for being the first surviving account of the rise of the Persian Empire, detailing the events and causes of the Greco-Persian Wars between the Achaemenid Empire and the Greek city-states in the 5th century BC. Herodotus portrays the conflict as one between the forces of slavery, the Persians, on the one hand, and freedom, the Athenians and the confederacy of Greek city-states which united against the invaders, on the other. Broadly speaking, *The Histories* is structured as a dynastic record of four Persian kings:

- Cyrus, 557–530 BC: Book I;
- Cambyses, 530–522 BC: Book II and part of Book III;

- Darius, 521–486 BC: the rest of Book III then Books IV, V and VI;
- Xerxes, 486–479 BC: Books VII, VIII and IX.

The Histories were later divided by Alexandrian scholars into nine books, named after the nine Muses: the Muse of History, Clio, representing the first book, then Euterpe, Thaleia, Melpomene, Terpsichore, Erato, Polymnia, Ourania and Calliope for books II to IX. A precise synoptic outline of the whole text can be accessed [here](#).

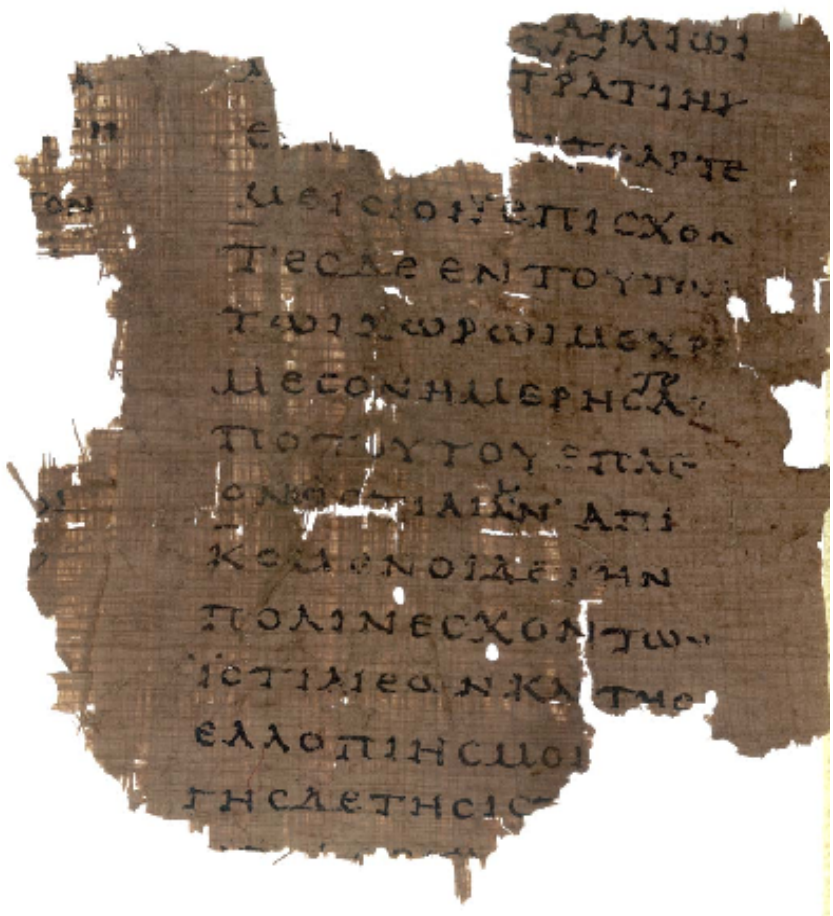
Throughout *The Histories*, Herodotus traces the development of the Persian Empire, detailing their conquests, their habits and customs and culminating with their ultimate downfall in Greece. The text is famous for its many digressions, with the whole of the second book breaking off from the Persians to explain a full history of Egypt. The text presents a diverse record of human experiences and settings within the context of an overarching historical order. The narrative structure allows for this diversity through simple stylistic devices, such as the principle of ring composition, familiar since the works of Homer, in which the introduction and conclusion of a story or sub-plot is signalled by the repetition of a formulaic statement, aiding the reader's comprehension of stories within stories. The author utilises a deceptively simple narrative style, in which he narrates countless stories and intriguing details. Famous tales include the compelling tale of how Gyges spied on his naked Queen and won the kingdom for himself, the heroics of the Battle of Marathon and the dying runner's gasp of 'Victory!', the heroic stand of the 300 Spartans at Thermopylae, the naval brilliance of Athens at Salamis, the poignant character sketch of King Croesus and, of course, the decadent wonders of the Persian Empire. All of these and many more tales, although at times of very questionable authenticity, have charmed millions of readers for over two millennia.



Roman copy of a Greek bronze original bust of Herodotus



Map of the known world at the time of Herodotus' writing



A surviving papyrus fragment of the text

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SYNOPTIC OUTLINE OF 'THE HISTORIES'



*'Candaules, King of Lydia, Shows his Wife by Stealth to Gyges' by William Etty.
This is one of the very first stories related by Herodotus in Book I.*



King Croesus on the pyre, one of the key events of the Histories, at the conclusion of the first Book



Darius I (550–486 BC) was the third king of the Persian Achaemenid Empire, whose reign over the Empire is narrated throughout Books IV to VI.



'Leonidas at Thermopylae' by Jacques-Louis David, 1814. The 300 Spartans' famous stand at Thermopylae is one of The Histories' most compelling accounts.



The Pass of Thermopylae today

BOOK I.

1. This is the display of the inquiry of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, so that things done by man not be forgotten in time, and that great and marvelous deeds, some displayed by the Hellenes, some by the barbarians, not lose their glory, including among others what was the cause of their waging war on each other.

The Persian learned men say that the Phoenicians were the cause of the dispute. These (they say) came to our seas from the sea which is called Red,^{1*} and having settled in the country which they still occupy, at once began to make long voyages. Among other places to which they carried Egyptian and Assyrian merchandise, they came to Argos, [2] which was at that time preeminent in every way among the people of what is now called Hellas. The Phoenicians came to Argos, and set out their cargo. [3] On the fifth or sixth day after their arrival, when their wares were almost all sold, many women came to the shore and among them especially the daughter of the king, whose name was Io (according to Persians and Greeks alike), the daughter of Inachus. [4] As these stood about the stern of the ship bargaining for the wares they liked, the Phoenicians incited one another to set upon them. Most of the women escaped: Io and others were seized and thrown into the ship, which then sailed away for Egypt. 2.

In this way, the Persians say (and not as the Greeks), was how Io came to Egypt, and this, according to them, was the first wrong that was done. Next, according to their story, some Greeks (they cannot say who) landed at Tyre in Phoenicia and carried off the king's daughter Europa. These Greeks must, I suppose, have been Cretans. So far, then, the account between them was balanced. But after this (they say), it was the Greeks who were guilty of the second wrong. [2] They sailed in a long ship to Aea, a city of the Colchians, and to the river Phasis:^{2*} and when they had done the business for which they came, they carried off the king's daughter Medea. [3] When the Colchian king sent a herald to demand reparation for the robbery and restitution of his daughter, the Greeks replied that, as they had been refused reparation for the abduction of the Argive Io, they would not make any to the Colchians. 3.

Then (they say), in the second generation after this, Alexandrus, son of Priam, who had heard this tale, decided to get himself a wife from Hellas by capture; for he was confident that he would not suffer punishment. [2] So he carried off Helen. The Greeks first resolved to send messengers demanding that Helen be restored and atonement made for the seizure; but when this proposal was made, the Trojans pleaded the seizure of Medea, and reminded the Greeks that they asked reparation from others, yet made none themselves, nor gave up the booty when asked. 4.

So far it was a matter of mere seizure on both sides. But after this (the Persians say), the Greeks were very much to blame; for they invaded Asia before the Persians attacked Europe. [2] "We think," they say, "that it is unjust to carry women off. But to be anxious to avenge rape is foolish: wise men take no notice of such things. For plainly the women would never have been carried away, had they not wanted it themselves. [3] We of Asia did not deign to notice the seizure of our women; but the Greeks, for the sake of a Lacedaemonian woman, recruited a great armada, came to Asia, and destroyed the power of Priam. [4] Ever since then we have regarded Greeks as our enemies." For the Persians claim Asia for their own, and the foreign peoples that inhabit it; Europe and the Greek people they consider to be separate from them. 5.

Such is the Persian account; in their opinion, it was the taking of Troy which began their hatred of the Greeks. [2] But the Phoenicians do not tell the same story about Io as the Persians. They say that they did not carry her off to Egypt by force. She had intercourse in Argos with the captain of the ship. Then, finding herself pregnant, she was ashamed to have her parents know it, and so, lest they discover her condition, she sailed away with the Phoenicians of her own accord. [3]

These are the stories of the Persians and the Phoenicians. For my part, I shall not say that this or that story is true, but I shall identify the one who I myself know did the Greeks unjust deeds, and thus proceed with my history, and speak of small and great cities of men alike. [4] For many states that were once great have now become small; and those that were great in my time were small before. Knowing therefore that human prosperity never continues in the same place, I shall mention both alike. 6.

Croesus was a Lydian by birth, son of Alyattes, and sovereign of all the nations west of the river Halys, which flows from the south between Syria and Paphlagonia and empties into the sea called Euxine. [2] This Croesus was the first foreigner whom we know who subjugated some Greeks and took tribute from them, and won the friendship of others: the former being the Ionians, the Aeolians, and the Dorians of Asia, and the latter the Lacedaemonians. [3] Before the reign of Croesus, all Greeks were free: for the Cimmerian host which invaded Ionia before his time did not subjugate the cities, but raided and robbed them. 7.

Now the sovereign power that belonged to the descendants of Heracles^{3*} fell to the family of Croesus, called the Mermnadae, in the following way. [2] Candaules, whom the Greeks call Myrsilus, was the ruler of Sardis; he was descended from Alcaeus, son of Heracles; Agron son of Ninus, son of Belus, son of Alcaeus, was the first Heraclid king of Sardis and Candaules son of Myrsus was the last. [3] The kings of this country before Agron were descendants of Lydus, son of Atys, from whom this whole Lydian district got its name; before that it was called the land of the Meii. [4] The Heraclidae, descendants of Heracles and a female slave of Iardanus, received the sovereignty from these and held it, because of an oracle; and they ruled for twenty-two generations, or five hundred and five years, son succeeding father, down to Candaules son of Myrsus. 8.

This Candaules, then, fell in love with his own wife, so much so that he believed her to be by far the most beautiful woman in the world; and believing this, he praised her beauty beyond measure to Gyges son of Dascylus, who was his favorite among his bodyguard; for it was to Gyges that he entrusted all his most important secrets. [2] After a little while, Candaules, doomed to misfortune, spoke to Gyges thus: "Gyges, I do not think that you believe what I say about the beauty of my wife; men trust their ears less than their eyes: so you must see her naked." Gyges protested loudly at this. [3] "Master," he said, "what an unsound suggestion, that I should see my mistress naked! When a woman's clothes come off, she dispenses with her modesty, too. [4] Men have long ago made wise rules from which one ought to learn; one of these is that one should mind one's own business. As for me, I believe that your queen is the most beautiful of

all women, and I ask you not to ask of me what is lawless.”⁹

Speaking thus, Gyges resisted: for he was afraid that some evil would come of it for him. But this was Candaules’ answer: “Courage, Gyges! Do not be afraid of me, that I say this to test you, or of my wife, that you will have any harm from her. I will arrange it so that she shall never know that you have seen her. [2] I will bring you into the chamber where she and I lie and conceal you behind the open door; and after I have entered, my wife too will come to bed. There is a chair standing near the entrance of the room: on this she will lay each article of her clothing as she takes it off, and you will be able to look upon her at your leisure. [3] Then, when she moves from the chair to the bed, turning her back on you, be careful she does not see you going out through the doorway.”¹⁰

As Gyges could not escape, he consented. Candaules, when he judged it to be time for bed, brought Gyges into the chamber; his wife followed presently, and when she had come in and was laying aside her garments, Gyges saw her; [2] when she turned her back upon him to go to bed, he slipped from the room. The woman glimpsed him as he went out, and perceived what her husband had done. But though shamed, she did not cry out or let it be seen that she had perceived anything, for she meant to punish Candaules; [3] since among the Lydians and most of the foreign peoples it is felt as a great shame that even a man be seen naked. ¹¹

For the present she made no sign and kept quiet. But as soon as it was day, she prepared those of her household whom she saw were most faithful to her, and called Gyges. He, supposing that she knew nothing of what had been done, answered the summons; for he was used to attending the queen whenever she summoned him. [2] When Gyges came, the lady addressed him thus: “Now, Gyges, you have two ways before you; decide which you will follow. You must either kill Candaules and take me and the throne of Lydia for your own, or be killed yourself now without more ado; that will prevent you from obeying all Candaules’ commands in the future and seeing what you should not see. [3] One of you must die: either he, the contriver of this plot, or you, who have outraged all custom by looking on me uncovered.” Gyges stood awhile astonished at this; presently, he begged her not to compel him to such a choice. [4] But when he could

not deter her, and saw that dire necessity was truly upon him either to kill his master or himself be killed by others, he chose his own life. Then he asked: "Since you force me against my will to kill my master, I would like to know how we are to lay our hands on him." [5] She replied, "You shall come at him from the same place where he made you view me naked: attack him in his sleep." 12.

When they had prepared this plot, and night had fallen, Gyges followed the woman into the chamber (for Gyges was not released, nor was there any means of deliverance, but either he or Candaules must die). She gave him a dagger and hid him behind the same door; [2] and presently he stole out and killed Candaules as he slept. Thus he made himself master of the king's wife and sovereignty. He is mentioned in the iambic verses of Archilochus of Paros who lived about the same time. 13.

So he took possession of the sovereign power and was confirmed in it by the Delphic oracle. For when the Lydians took exception to what was done to Candaules, and took up arms, the faction of Gyges came to an agreement with the rest of the people that if the oracle should ordain him king of the Lydians, then he would reign; but if not, then he would return the kingship to the Heraclidae. [2] The oracle did so ordain, and Gyges thus became king. However, the Pythian priestess declared that the Heraclidae would have vengeance on Gyges' posterity in the fifth generation; an utterance to which the Lydians and their kings paid no regard until it was fulfilled. 14.

Thus the Mermnadae robbed the Heraclidae of the sovereignty and took it for themselves. Having gotten it, Gyges sent many offerings to Delphi: there are very many silver offerings of his there; and besides the silver, he dedicated a hoard of gold, among which six golden bowls are the offerings especially worthy of mention. [2] These weigh thirty talents^{4*} and stand in the treasury^{5*} of the Corinthians; although in truth it is not the treasury of the Corinthian people but of Cypselus son of Eetion. This Gyges then was the first foreigner whom we know who placed offerings at Delphi after the king of Phrygia, Midas son of Gordias. [3] For Midas too made an offering: namely, the royal seat on which he sat to give judgment, and a marvellous seat it is. It is set in the same place as the bowls of Gyges. This gold and the silver offered by Gyges is called by the

Delphians “Gygian” after its dedicator. 15.

As soon as Gyges came to the throne, he too, like others, led an army into the lands of Miletus and Smyrna; and he took the city of Colophon. But as he did nothing else great in his reign of thirty-eight years, I shall say no more of him, and shall speak instead of Ardys son of Gyges, who succeeded him. He took Priene and invaded the country of Miletus; and it was while he was monarch of Sardis that the Cimmerians, driven from their homes by the nomad Scythians, came into Asia, and took Sardis, all but the acropolis. 16.

Ardys reigned for forty-nine years and was succeeded by his son Sadyattes, who reigned for twelve years; and after Sadyattes came Alyattes, [2] who waged war against Deioces’ descendant Cyaxares and the Medes, drove the Cimmerians out of Asia, took Smyrna (which was a colony from Colophon), and invaded the lands of Clazomenae. But he did not return from these as he wished, but with great disaster. Of other deeds done by him in his reign, these were the most notable: 17.

He continued the war against the Milesians which his father had begun. This was how he attacked and besieged Miletus: he sent his army, marching to the sound of pipes and harps and bass and treble flutes, to invade when the crops in the land were ripe; [2] and whenever he came to the Milesian territory, he neither demolished nor burnt nor tore the doors off the country dwellings, but let them stand unharmed; but he destroyed the trees and the crops of the land, and so returned to where he came from; [3] for as the Milesians had command of the sea, it was of no use for his army to besiege their city. The reason that the Lydian did not destroy the houses was this: that the Milesians might have homes from which to plant and cultivate their land, and that there might be the fruit of their toil for his invading army to lay waste. 18.

He waged war in this way for eleven years, and in these years two great disasters overtook the Milesians, one at the battle of Limeneion in their own territory, and the other in the valley of the Maeander. [2] For six of these eleven years Sadyattes son of Ardys was still ruler of Lydia, and it was he who invaded the lands of Miletus, for it was he who had begun the war; for the following five the war was waged by Sadyattes’ son Alyattes, who, as I have indicated before, inherited

the war from his father and carried it on vigorously. [3] None of the Ionians helped to lighten this war for the Milesians, except the Chians: these lent their aid in return for a similar service done for them; for the Milesians had previously helped the Chians in their war against the Erythraeans. 19.

In the twelfth year, when the Lydian army was burning the crops, the fire set in the crops, blown by a strong wind, caught the temple of Athena called Athena of Assesos,^{6*} and the temple burned to the ground. [2] For the present no notice was taken of this. But after the army had returned to Sardis, Alyattes fell ill; and, as his sickness lasted longer than it should, he sent to Delphi to inquire of the oracle, either at someone's urging or by his own wish to question the god about his sickness. [3] But when the messengers came to Delphi, the Pythian priestess would not answer them before they restored the temple of Athena at Assesos in the Milesian territory, which they had burnt. 20.

I know this much to be so because the Delphians told me. The Milesians add that Periander son of Cypselus, a close friend of the Thrasybulus who then was sovereign of Miletus, learned what reply the oracle had given to Alyattes, and sent a messenger to tell Thrasybulus so that his friend, forewarned, could make his plans accordingly. 21.

The Milesians say it happened so. Then, when the Delphic reply was brought to Alyattes, he promptly sent a herald to Miletus, offering to make a truce with Thrasybulus and the Milesians during his rebuilding of the temple. So the envoy went to Miletus. But Thrasybulus, forewarned of the whole matter, and knowing what Alyattes meant to do, devised the following plan: [2] he brought together into the marketplace all the food in the city, from private stores and his own, and told the men of Miletus all to drink and celebrate together when he gave the word. 22.

Thrasybulus did this so that when the herald from Sardis saw a great heap of food piled up, and the citizens celebrating, he would bring word of it to Alyattes: [2] and so it happened. The herald saw all this, gave Thrasybulus the message he had been instructed by the Lydian to deliver, and returned to Sardis; and this, as I learn, was the sole reason for the reconciliation. [3] For Alyattes had supposed that

there was great scarcity in Miletus and that the people were reduced to the last extremity of misery; but now on his herald's return from the town he heard an account contrary to his expectations; [4] so presently the Lydians and Milesians ended the war and agreed to be friends and allies, and Alyattes built not one but two temples of Athena at Assesos, and recovered from his illness. That is the story of Alyattes' war against Thrasybulus and the Milesians. 23.

Periander, who disclosed the oracle's answer to Thrasybulus, was the son of Cypselus, and sovereign of Corinth. The Corinthians say (and the Lesbians agree) that the most marvellous thing that happened to him in his life was the landing on Taenarus of Arion of Methymna, brought there by a dolphin. This Arion was a lyre-player second to none in that age; he was the first man whom we know to compose and name the dithyramb^{7*} which he afterwards taught at Corinth. 24.

They say that this Arion, who spent most of his time with Periander, wished to sail to Italy and Sicily, and that after he had made a lot of money there he wanted to come back to Corinth. [2] Trusting none more than the Corinthians, he hired a Corinthian vessel to carry him from Tarentum.^{8*} But when they were out at sea, the crew plotted to take Arion's money and cast him overboard. Discovering this, he earnestly entreated them, asking for his life and offering them his money. [3] But the crew would not listen to him, and told him either to kill himself and so receive burial on land or else to jump into the sea at once. [4] Abandoned to this extremity, Arion asked that, since they had made up their minds, they would let him stand on the half-deck in all his regalia and sing; and he promised that after he had sung he would do himself in. [5] The men, pleased at the thought of hearing the best singer in the world, drew away toward the waist of the vessel from the stern. Arion, putting on all his regalia and taking his lyre, stood up on the half-deck and sang the "Stirring Song,"^{9*} and when the song was finished he threw himself into the sea, as he was with all his regalia. [6] So the crew sailed away to Corinth; but a dolphin (so the story goes) took Arion on his back and bore him to Taenarus. Landing there, he went to Corinth in his regalia, and when he arrived, he related all that had happened. [7] Periander, skeptical, kept him in confinement, letting him go

nowhere, and waited for the sailors. When they arrived, they were summoned and asked what news they brought of Arion. While they were saying that he was safe in Italy and that they had left him flourishing at Tarentum, Arion appeared before them, just as he was when he jumped from the ship; astonished, they could no longer deny what was proved against them. [8] This is what the Corinthians and Lesbians say, and there is a little bronze memorial of Arion on Taenarus, the figure of a man riding upon a dolphin. 25.

Alyattes the Lydian, his war with the Milesians finished, died after a reign of fifty-seven years. [2] He was the second of his family to make an offering to Delphi (after recovering from his illness) of a great silver bowl on a stand of welded iron. Among all the offerings at Delphi, this is the most worth seeing, and is the work of Glaucus the Chian, the only one of all men who discovered how to weld iron. 26.

After the death of Alyattes, his son Croesus, then thirty-five years of age, came to the throne^{10*}

The first Greeks whom he attacked were the Ephesians. [2] These, besieged by him, dedicated their city to Artemis; they did this by attaching a rope to the city wall from the temple of the goddess, which stood seven stades away from the ancient city which was then besieged. [3] These were the first whom Croesus attacked; afterwards he made war on the Ionian and Aeolian cities in turn, upon different pretexts: he found graver charges where he could, but sometimes alleged very petty grounds of offense. 27.

Then, when he had subjugated all the Asiatic Greeks of the mainland and made them tributary to him, he planned to build ships and attack the islanders; [2] but when his preparations for shipbuilding were underway, either Bias of Priene or Pittacus of Mytilene (the story is told of both) came to Sardis and, asked by Croesus for news about Hellas, put an end to the shipbuilding by giving the following answer: [3] "O King, the islanders are buying ten thousand horse, intending to march to Sardis against you." Croesus, thinking that he spoke the truth, said: "Would that the gods would put this in the heads of the islanders, to come on horseback against the sons of the Lydians!" Then the other answered and said: [4] "O King, you appear to me earnestly to wish to catch the islanders riding horses on the

mainland, a natural wish. And what else do you suppose the islanders wished, as soon as they heard that you were building ships to attack them, than to catch Lydians on the seas, so as to be revenged on you for the Greeks who dwell on the mainland, whom you enslaved?" [5] Croesus was quite pleased with this conclusion, for he thought the man spoke reasonably and, heeding him, stopped building ships. Thus he made friends with the Ionians inhabiting the islands. 28.

As time went on, Croesus subjugated almost all the nations west of the Halys; for except the Cilicians and Lycians, all the rest Croesus held subject under him. These were the Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandynians, Chalybes, Paphlagonians, the Thracian Thynians and Bithynians, Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Aeolians, and Pamphylians; 29.

and after these were subdued and subject to Croesus in addition to the Lydians, all the sages from Hellas who were living at that time, coming in different ways, came to Sardis, which was at the height of its property; and among them came Solon the Athenian, who, after making laws for the Athenians at their request, went abroad for ten years, sailing forth to see the world, he said. This he did so as not to be compelled to repeal any of the laws he had made, [2] since the Athenians themselves could not do that, for they were bound by solemn oaths to abide for ten years by whatever laws Solon should make. 30.

So for that reason, and to see the world, Solon went to visit Amasis in Egypt and then to Croesus in Sardis. When he got there, Croesus entertained him in the palace, and on the third or fourth day Croesus told his attendants to show Solon around his treasures, and they pointed out all those things that were great and blest. [2] After Solon had seen everything and had thought about it, Croesus found the opportunity to say, "My Athenian guest, we have heard a lot about you because of your wisdom and of your wanderings, how as one who loves learning you have traveled much of the world for the sake of seeing it, so now I desire to ask you who is the most fortunate man you have seen." [3] Croesus asked this question believing that he was the most fortunate of men, but Solon, offering no flattery but keeping to the truth, said, "O King, it is Tellus the Athenian." [4] Croesus was amazed at what he had said and replied sharply, "In

what way do you judge Tellus to be the most fortunate?" Solon said, "Tellus was from a prosperous city, and his children were good and noble. He saw children born to them all, and all of these survived. His life was prosperous by our standards, and his death was most glorious: [5] when the Athenians were fighting their neighbors in Eleusis, he came to help, routed the enemy, and died very finely. The Athenians buried him at public expense on the spot where he fell and gave him much honor." 31.

When Solon had provoked him by saying that the affairs of Tellus were so fortunate, Croesus asked who he thought was next, fully expecting to win second prize. Solon answered, "Cleobis and Biton. [2] They were of Argive stock, had enough to live on, and on top of this had great bodily strength. Both had won prizes in the athletic contests, and this story is told about them: there was a festival of Hera in Argos, and their mother absolutely had to be conveyed to the temple by a team of oxen. But their oxen had not come back from the fields in time, so the youths took the yoke upon their own shoulders under constraint of time. They drew the wagon, with their mother riding atop it, traveling five miles until they arrived at the temple. [3] When they had done this and had been seen by the entire gathering, their lives came to an excellent end, and in their case the god made clear that for human beings it is a better thing to die than to live. The Argive men stood around the youths and congratulated them on their strength; the Argive women congratulated their mother for having borne such children. [4] She was overjoyed at the feat and at the praise, so she stood before the image and prayed that the goddess might grant the best thing for man to her children Cleobis and Biton, who had given great honor to the goddess. [5] After this prayer they sacrificed and feasted. The youths then lay down in the temple and went to sleep and never rose again; death held them there. The Argives made and dedicated at Delphi statues of them as being the best of men." 32.

Thus Solon granted second place in happiness to these men. Croesus was vexed and said, "My Athenian guest, do you so much despise our happiness that you do not even make us worth as much as common men?" Solon replied, "Croesus, you ask me about human affairs, and I know that the divine is entirely grudging and

troublesome to us. [2] In a long span of time it is possible to see many things that you do not want to, and to suffer them, too. I set the limit of a man's life at seventy years; [3] these seventy years have twenty-five thousand, two hundred days, leaving out the intercalary month.^{11*} But if you make every other year longer by one month, so that the seasons agree opportunely, then there are thirty-five intercalary months during the seventy years, and from these months there are one thousand fifty days. [4] Out of all these days in the seventy years, all twenty-six thousand, two hundred and fifty of them, not one brings anything at all like another. So, Croesus, man is entirely chance. [5] To me you seem to be very rich and to be king of many people, but I cannot answer your question before I learn that you ended your life well. The very rich man is not more fortunate than the man who has only his daily needs, unless he chances to end his life with all well. Many very rich men are unfortunate, many of moderate means are lucky. [6] The man who is very rich but unfortunate surpasses the lucky man in only two ways, while the lucky surpasses the rich but unfortunate in many. The rich man is more capable of fulfilling his appetites and of bearing a great disaster that falls upon him, and it is in these ways that he surpasses the other. The lucky man is not so able to support disaster or appetite as is the rich man, but his luck keeps these things away from him, and he is free from deformity and disease, has no experience of evils, and has fine children and good looks. [7] If besides all this he ends his life well, then he is the one whom you seek, the one worthy to be called fortunate. But refrain from calling him fortunate before he dies; call him lucky. [8] It is impossible for one who is only human to obtain all these things at the same time, just as no land is self-sufficient in what it produces. Each country has one thing but lacks another; whichever has the most is the best. Just so no human being is self-sufficient; each person has one thing but lacks another. [9] Whoever passes through life with the most and then dies agreeably is the one who, in my opinion, O King, deserves to bear this name. It is necessary to see how the end of every affair turns out, for the god promises fortune to many people and then utterly ruins them.”³³

By saying this, Solon did not at all please Croesus, who sent him away without regard for him, but thinking him a great fool, because

he ignored the present good and told him to look to the end of every affair. 34.

But after Solon's departure divine retribution fell heavily on Croesus; as I guess, because he supposed himself to be blessed beyond all other men. Directly, as he slept, he had a dream, which showed him the truth of the evil things which were going to happen concerning his son. [2] He had two sons, one of whom was ruined, for he was mute, but the other, whose name was Atys, was by far the best in every way of all of his peers. The dream showed this Atys to Croesus, how he would lose him struck and killed by a spear of iron. [3] So Croesus, after he awoke and considered, being frightened by the dream, brought in a wife for his son, and although Atys was accustomed to command the Lydian armies, Croesus now would not send him out on any such enterprise, while he took the javelins and spears and all such things that men use for war from the men's apartments and piled them in his store room,^{12*} lest one should fall on his son from where it hung. 35.

Now while Croesus was occupied with the marriage of his son, a Phrygian of the royal house came to Sardis, in great distress and with unclean hands. This man came to Croesus' house, and asked to be purified according to the custom of the country; so Croesus purified him ([2] the Lydians have the same manner of purification as the Greeks), and when he had done everything customary, he asked the Phrygian where he came from and who he was: [3] "Friend," he said, "who are you, and from what place in Phrygia do you come as my suppliant? And what man or woman have you killed?" "O King," the man answered, "I am the son of Gordias the son of Midas, and my name is Adrastus; I killed my brother accidentally, and I come here banished by my father and deprived of all." [4] Croesus answered, "All of your family are my friends, and you have come to friends, where you shall lack nothing, staying in my house. As for your misfortune, bear it as lightly as possible and you will gain most." 36.

So Adrastus lived in Croesus' house. About this same time a great monster of a boar appeared on the Mysian Olympus, who would come off that mountain and ravage the fields of the Mysians. The Mysians had gone up against him often; but they never did him any harm but were hurt by him themselves. [2] At last they sent

messengers to Croesus, with this message: "O King, a great monster of a boar has appeared in the land, who is destroying our fields; for all our attempts, we cannot kill him; so now we ask you to send your son and chosen young men and dogs with us, so that we may drive him out of the country." [3] Such was their request, but Croesus remembered the prophecy of his dream and answered them thus: "Do not mention my son again: I will not send him with you. He is newly married, and that is his present concern. But I will send chosen Lydians, and all the huntsmen, and I will tell those who go to be as eager as possible to help you to drive the beast out of the country." 37.

This was his answer, and the Mysians were satisfied with it. But the son of Croesus now entered, having heard what the Mysians had asked for; and when Croesus refused to send his son with them, the young man said, [2] "Father, it was once thought very fine and noble for us to go to war and the chase and win renown; but now you have barred me from both of these, although you have seen neither cowardice nor lack of spirit in me. With what face can I now show myself whenever I go to and from the market-place? [3] What will the men of the city think of me, and what my newly wedded wife? With what kind of man will she think that she lives? So either let me go to the hunt, or show me by reasoning that what you are doing is best for me." 38.

"My son," answered Croesus, "I do this not because I have seen cowardice or anything unseemly in you, but the vision of a dream stood over me in my sleep, and told me that you would be short-lived, for you would be killed by a spear of iron. [2] It is because of that vision that I hurried your marriage and do not send you on any enterprise that I have in hand, but keep guard over you, so that perhaps I may rob death of you during my lifetime. You are my only son: for that other, since he is ruined, he doesn't exist for me." 39.

"Father," the youth replied, "no one can blame you for keeping guard over me, when you have seen such a vision; but it is my right to show you what you do not perceive, and why you mistake the meaning of the dream. [2] You say that the dream told you that I should be killed by a spear of iron? But has a boar hands? Has it that iron spear which you dread? Had the dream said I should be killed by a tusk or some other thing proper to a boar, you would be right in

acting as you act; but no, it was to be by a spear. Therefore, since it is not against men that we are to fight, let me go.”⁴⁰

Croesus answered, “My son, your judgment concerning the dream has somewhat reassured me; and being reassured by you, I change my thinking and permit you to go to the chase.”⁴¹

Having said this, Croesus sent for Adrastus the Phrygian and when he came addressed him thus: “Adrastus, when you were struck by ugly misfortune, for which I do not blame you, it was I who cleansed you, and received and still keep you in my house, defraying all your keep. [2] Now then, as you owe me a return of good service for the good which I have done you, I ask that you watch over my son as he goes out to the chase. See that no thieving criminals meet you on the way, to do you harm. [3] Besides, it is only right that you too should go where you can win renown by your deeds. That is fitting for your father’s son; and you are strong enough besides.”⁴²

“O King,” Adrastus answered, “I would not otherwise have gone into such an arena. One so unfortunate as I should not associate with the prosperous among his peers; nor have I the wish so to do, and for many reasons I would have held back. [2] But now, since you urge it and I must please you (since I owe you a return of good service), I am ready to do this; and as for your son, in so far as I can protect him, look for him to come back unharmed.”⁴³

So when Adrastus had answered Croesus thus, they went out provided with chosen young men and dogs. When they came to Mount Olympus, they hunted for the beast and, finding him, formed a circle and threw their spears at him: [2] then the guest called Adrastus, the man who had been cleansed of the deed of blood, missed the boar with his spear and hit the son of Croesus. [3] So Atys was struck by the spear and fulfilled the prophecy of the dream. One ran to tell Croesus what had happened, and coming to Sardis told the king of the fight and the fate of his son.⁴⁴

Distraught by the death of his son, Croesus cried out the more vehemently because the killer was one whom he himself had cleansed of blood, [2] and in his great and terrible grief at this mischance he called on Zeus by three names — Zeus the Purifier, Zeus of the Hearth, Zeus of Comrades: the first, because he wanted the god to know what evil his guest had done him; the second,

because he had received the guest into his house and thus unwittingly entertained the murderer of his son; and the third, because he had found his worst enemy in the man whom he had sent as a protector. 45.

Soon the Lydians came, bearing the corpse, with the murderer following after. He then came and stood before the body and gave himself up to Croesus, holding out his hands and telling him to kill him over the corpse, mentioning his former misfortune, and that on top of that he had destroyed the one who purified him, and that he was not fit to live. [2] On hearing this, Croesus took pity on Adrastus, though his own sorrow was so great, and said to him, "Friend, I have from you the entire penalty, since you sentence yourself to death. But it is not you that I hold the cause of this evil, except in so far as you were the unwilling doer of it, but one of the gods, the same one who told me long ago what was to be." [3] So Croesus buried his own son in such manner as was fitting. But Adrastus, son of Gordias who was son of Midas, this Adrastus, the destroyer of his own brother and of the man who purified him, when the tomb was undisturbed by the presence of men, killed himself there by the sepulcher, seeing clearly now that he was the most heavily afflicted of all whom he knew. 46.

After the loss of his son, Croesus remained in deep sorrow for two years. After this time, the destruction by Cyrus son of Cambyses of the sovereignty of Astyages son of Cyaxares, and the growth of the power of the Persians, distracted Croesus from his mourning; and he determined, if he could, to forestall the increase of the Persian power before they became great. [2] Having thus determined, he at once made inquiries of the Greek and Libyan oracles, sending messengers separately to Delphi, to Abae in Phocia, and to Dodona, while others were despatched to Amphiaraus and Trophonius,^{13*} and others to Branchidae in the Milesian country. [3] These are the Greek oracles to which Croesus sent for divination: and he told others to go inquire of Ammon in Libya. His intent in sending was to test the knowledge of the oracles, so that, if they were found to know the truth, he might send again and ask if he should undertake an expedition against the Persians. 47.

And when he sent to test these shrines he gave the Lydians these instructions: they were to keep track of the time from the day they

left Sardis, and on the hundredth day inquire of the oracles what Croesus, king of Lydia, son of Alyattes, was doing then; then they were to write down whatever the oracles answered and bring the reports back to him. [2] Now none relate what answer was given by the rest of the oracles. But at Delphi, no sooner had the Lydians entered the hall to inquire of the god and asked the question with which they were entrusted, than the Pythian priestess uttered the following hexameter verses: [3] ““I know the number of the grains of sand and the extent of the sea,
And understand the mute and hear the voiceless.
The smell has come to my senses of a strong-shelled tortoise
Boiling in a cauldron together with a lamb’s flesh,
Under which is bronze and over which is bronze.”

“ 48.

Having written down this inspired utterance of the Pythian priestess, the Lydians went back to Sardis. When the others as well who had been sent to various places came bringing their oracles, Croesus then unfolded and examined all the writings. Some of them in no way satisfied him. But when he read the Delphian message, he acknowledged it with worship and welcome, considering Delphi as the only true place of divination, because it had discovered what he himself had done. [2] For after sending his envoys to the oracles, he had thought up something which no conjecture could discover, and carried it out on the appointed day: namely, he had cut up a tortoise and a lamb, and then boiled them in a cauldron of bronze covered with a lid of the same. 49.

Such, then, was the answer from Delphi delivered to Croesus. As to the reply which the Lydians received from the oracle of Amphiaraus when they had followed the due custom of the temple, I cannot say what it was, for nothing is recorded of it, except that Croesus believed that from this oracle too he had obtained a true answer. 50.

After this, he tried to win the favor of the Delphian god with great sacrifices. He offered up three thousand beasts from all the kinds fit for sacrifice, and on a great pyre burnt couches covered with gold and silver, golden goblets, and purple cloaks and tunics; by these means he hoped the better to win the aid of the god, to whom he also

commanded that every Lydian sacrifice what he could. [2] When the sacrifice was over, he melted down a vast store of gold and made ingots of it, the longer sides of which were of six and the shorter of three palms' length, and the height was one palm. There were a hundred and seventeen of these. Four of them were of refined gold, each weighing two talents and a half; the rest were of gold with silver alloy, each of two talents' weight. [3] He also had a figure of a lion made of refined gold, weighing ten talents. When the temple of Delphi was burnt, this lion fell from the ingots which were the base on which it stood; and now it is in the treasury of the Corinthians, but weighs only six talents and a half, for the fire melted away three and a half talents. 51.

When these offerings were ready, Croesus sent them to Delphi, with other gifts besides: namely, two very large bowls, one of gold and one of silver. The golden bowl stood to the right, the silver to the left of the temple entrance. [2] These too were removed about the time of the temple's burning, and now the golden bowl, which weighs eight and a half talents and twelve minae,^{14*} is in the treasury of the Clazomenians, and the silver bowl at the corner of the forecourt of the temple. This bowl holds six hundred nine-gallon measures: for the Delphians use it for a mixing-bowl at the feast of the Divine Appearance.^{15*} [3] It is said by the Delphians to be the work of Theodorus of Samos, and I agree with them, for it seems to me to be of no common workmanship. Moreover, Croesus sent four silver casks, which stand in the treasury of the Corinthians, and dedicated two sprinkling-vessels, one of gold, one of silver. The golden vessel bears the inscription "Given by the Lacedaemonians," who claim it as their offering. But they are wrong, [4] for this, too, is Croesus' gift. The inscription was made by a certain Delphian, whose name I know but do not mention, out of his desire to please the Lacedaemonians. The figure of a boy, through whose hand the water runs, is indeed a Lacedaemonian gift; but they did not give either of the sprinkling-vessels. [5] Along with these Croesus sent, besides many other offerings of no great distinction, certain round basins of silver, and a female figure five feet high, which the Delphians assert to be the statue of the woman who was Croesus' baker. Moreover, he dedicated his own wife's necklaces and girdles. 52.

Such were the gifts which he sent to Delphi. To Amphiaraus, of whose courage and fate he had heard, he dedicated a shield made entirely of gold and a spear all of solid gold, point and shaft alike. Both of these were until my time at Thebes, in the Theban temple of Ismenian Apollo. ⁵³

The Lydians who were to bring these gifts to the temples were instructed by Croesus to inquire of the oracles whether he was to send an army against the Persians and whether he was to add an army of allies. [2] When the Lydians came to the places where they were sent, they presented the offerings, and inquired of the oracles, in these words: “Croesus, king of Lydia and other nations, believing that here are the only true places of divination among men, endows you with such gifts as your wisdom deserves. And now he asks you whether he is to send an army against the Persians, and whether he is to add an army of allies.” [3] Such was their inquiry; and the judgment given to Croesus by each of the two oracles was the same: namely, that if he should send an army against the Persians he would destroy a great empire. And they advised him to discover the mightiest of the Greeks and make them his friends. ⁵⁴

When the divine answers had been brought back and Croesus learned of them, he was very pleased with the oracles. So, altogether expecting that he would destroy the kingdom of Cyrus, he sent once again to Pytho and endowed the Delphians, whose number he had learned, with two gold staters^{16*} apiece. [2] The Delphians, in return, gave Croesus and all Lydians the right of first consulting the oracle, exemption from all charges, the chief seats at festivals, and perpetual right of Delphian citizenship to whoever should wish it. ⁵⁵

After his gifts to the Delphians, Croesus made a third inquiry of the oracle, for he wanted to use it to the full, having received true answers from it; and the question which he asked was whether his sovereignty would be of long duration. To this the Pythian priestess answered as follows: [2] ““When the Medes have a mule as king, Just then, tender-footed Lydian, by the stone-strewn Hermus Flee and do not stay, and do not be ashamed to be a coward.”

“ ⁵⁶.

When he heard these verses, Croesus was pleased with them above all, for he thought that a mule would never be king of the

Medes instead of a man, and therefore that he and his posterity would never lose his empire. Then he sought very carefully to discover who the mightiest of the Greeks were, whom he should make his friends. [2] He found by inquiry that the chief peoples were the Lacedaemonians among those of Doric, and the Athenians among those of Ionic stock. These races, Ionian and Dorian, were the foremost in ancient time, the first a Pelasgian and the second a Hellenic people. The Pelasgian race has never yet left its home; the Hellenic has wandered often and far. [3] For in the days of king Deucalion^{17*} it inhabited the land of Phthia, then the country called Histiaeae, under Ossa and Olympus, in the time of Dorus son of Hellen; driven from this Histiaeae country by the Cadmeans, it settled about Pindus in the territory called Macedonian; from there again it migrated to Dryopia, and at last came from Dryopia into the Peloponnese, where it took the name of Dorian.^{18*} 57.

What language the Pelasgians spoke I cannot say definitely. But if one may judge by those that still remain of the Pelasgians who live above the Tyrrheni^{19*} in the city of Creston — who were once neighbors of the people now called Dorians, and at that time inhabited the country which now is called Thessalian — [2] and of the Pelasgians who inhabited Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, who came to live among the Athenians, and by other towns too which were once Pelasgian and afterwards took a different name: if, as I said, one may judge by these, the Pelasgians spoke a language which was not Greek. [3] If, then, all the Pelasgian stock spoke so, then the Attic nation, being of Pelasgian blood, must have changed its language too at the time when it became part of the Hellenes. For the people of Creston and Placia have a language of their own in common, which is not the language of their neighbors; and it is plain that they still preserve the manner of speech which they brought with them in their migration into the places where they live. 58.

But the Hellenic stock, it seems clear to me, has always had the same language since its beginning; yet being, when separated from the Pelasgians, few in number, they have grown from a small beginning to comprise a multitude of nations, chiefly because the Pelasgians and many other foreign peoples united themselves with them. Before that, I think, the Pelasgic stock nowhere increased

much in number while it was of foreign speech. 59.

Now of these two peoples, Croesus learned that the Attic was held in subjection and divided into factions by Pisistratus, son of Hippocrates, who at that time was sovereign over the Athenians. This Hippocrates was still a private man when a great marvel happened to him when he was at Olympia to see the games: when he had offered the sacrifice, the vessels, standing there full of meat and water, boiled without fire until they boiled over. [2] Chilon the Lacedaemonian, who happened to be there and who saw this marvel, advised Hippocrates not to take to his house a wife who could bear children, but if he had one already, then to send her away, and if he had a son, to disown him. [3] Hippocrates refused to follow the advice of Chilon; and afterward there was born to him this Pisistratus, who, when there was a feud between the Athenians of the coast under Megacles son of Alcmeon and the Athenians of the plain under Lycurgus son of Aristolaides, raised up a third faction, as he coveted the sovereign power. He collected partisans and pretended to champion the uplanders, and the following was his plan. [4] Wounding himself and his mules, he drove his wagon into the marketplace, with a story that he had escaped from his enemies, who would have killed him (so he said) as he was driving into the country. So he implored the people to give him a guard: and indeed he had won a reputation in his command of the army against the Megarians, when he had taken Nisaea and performed other great exploits. [5] Taken in, the Athenian people gave him a guard of chosen citizens, whom Pisistratus made clubmen instead of spearmen: for the retinue that followed him carried wooden clubs. [6] These rose with Pisistratus and took the Acropolis; and Pisistratus ruled the Athenians, disturbing in no way the order of offices nor changing the laws, but governing the city according to its established constitution and arranging all things fairly and well. 60.

But after a short time the partisans of Megacles and of Lycurgus made common cause and drove him out. In this way Pisistratus first got Athens and, as he had a sovereignty that was not yet firmly rooted, lost it. Presently his enemies who together had driven him out began to feud once more. [2] Then Megacles, harassed by factional strife, sent a message to Pisistratus offering him his daughter to

marry and the sovereign power besides. [3] When this offer was accepted by Pisistratus, who agreed on these terms with Megacles, they devised a plan to bring Pisistratus back which, to my mind, was so exceptionally foolish that it is strange (since from old times the Hellenic stock has always been distinguished from foreign by its greater cleverness and its freedom from silly foolishness) that these men should devise such a plan to deceive Athenians, said to be the subtlest of the Greeks. [4] There was in the Paeanian deme^{20*} a woman called Phya, three fingers short of six feet, four inches in height, and otherwise, too, well-formed. This woman they equipped in full armor and put in a chariot, giving her all the paraphernalia to make the most impressive spectacle, and so drove into the city; heralds ran before them, and when they came into town proclaimed as they were instructed: [5] “Athenians, give a hearty welcome to Pisistratus, whom Athena herself honors above all men and is bringing back to her own acropolis.” So the heralds went about proclaiming this; and immediately the report spread in the demes that Athena was bringing Pisistratus back, and the townsfolk, believing that the woman was the goddess herself, worshipped this human creature and welcomed Pisistratus. 61.

Having got back his sovereignty in the manner which I have described, Pisistratus married Megacles’ daughter according to his agreement with Megacles. But as he already had young sons, and as the Alcmeonid family were said to be under a curse, he had no wish that his newly-wedded wife bear him children, and therefore had unusual intercourse with her. [2] At first the woman hid the fact: presently she told her mother (whether interrogated or not, I do not know) and the mother told her husband. Megacles was very angry to be dishonored by Pisistratus; and in his anger he patched up his quarrel with the other faction. Pisistratus, learning what was going on, went alone away from the country altogether, and came to Eretria where he deliberated with his sons. [3] The opinion of Hippias prevailing, that they should recover the sovereignty, they set out collecting contributions from all the cities that owed them anything. Many of these gave great amounts, the Thebans more than any, [4] and in course of time, not to make a long story, everything was ready for their return: for they brought Argive mercenaries from the

Peloponnese, and there joined them on his own initiative a man of Naxos called Lygdamis, who was most keen in their cause and brought them money and men. 62.

So after ten years they set out from Eretria and returned home. The first place in Attica which they took and held was Marathon: and while encamped there they were joined by their partisans from the city, and by others who flocked to them from the country — demesmen who loved the rule of one more than freedom. These, then, assembled; [2] but the Athenians in the city, who while Pisistratus was collecting money and afterwards when he had taken Marathon took no notice of it, did now, and when they learned that he was marching from Marathon against Athens, they set out to attack him. [3] They came out with all their force to meet the returning exiles. Pisistratus' men encountered the enemy when they had reached the temple of Pallenian Athena in their march from Marathon towards the city, and encamped face to face with them. [4] There (by the providence of heaven) Pisistratus met Amphilytus the Acarnanian, a diviner, who came to him and prophesied as follows in hexameter verses: ““The cast is made, the net spread,
The tunny-fish shall flash in the moonlit night.”

“ 63.

So Amphilytus spoke, being inspired; Pisistratus understood him and, saying that he accepted the prophecy, led his army against the enemy. The Athenians of the city had by this time had breakfast, and after breakfast some were dicing and some were sleeping: they were attacked by Pisistratus' men and put to flight. [2] So they fled, and Pisistratus devised a very subtle plan to keep them scattered and prevent them assembling again: he had his sons mount and ride forward: they overtook the fugitives and spoke to them as they were instructed by Pisistratus, telling them to take heart and each to depart to his home. 64.

The Athenians did, and by this means Pisistratus gained Athens for the third time, rooting his sovereignty in a strong guard and revenue collected both from Athens and from the district of the river Strymon, and he took hostage the sons of the Athenians who remained and did not leave the city at once, and placed these in Naxos. [2] (He had conquered Naxos too and put Lygdamis in

charge.) And besides this, he purified the island of Delos as a result of oracles, and this is how he did it: he removed all the dead that were buried in ground within sight of the temple and conveyed them to another part of Delos. [3] So Pisistratus was sovereign of Athens: and as for the Athenians, some had fallen in the battle, and some, with the Alcmeonids, were exiles from their native land. 65.

So Croesus learned that at that time such problems were oppressing the Athenians, but that the Lacedaemonians had escaped from the great evils and had mastered the Tegeans in war. In the kingship of Leon and Hegesicles at Sparta, the Lacedaemonians were successful in all their other wars but met disaster only against the Tegeans. [2] Before this they had been the worst-governed of nearly all the Hellenes and had had no dealings with strangers, but they changed to good government in this way: Lycurgus, a man of reputation among the Spartans, went to the oracle at Delphi. As soon as he entered the hall, the priestess said in hexameter: [3] “You have come to my rich temple, Lycurgus,

A man dear to Zeus and to all who have Olympian homes.

I am in doubt whether to pronounce you man or god,

But I think rather you are a god, Lycurgus.

“ [4] Some say that the Pythia also declared to him the constitution that now exists at Sparta, but the Lacedaemonians themselves say that Lycurgus brought it from Crete when he was guardian of his nephew Leobetes, the Spartan king. [5] Once he became guardian, he changed all the laws and took care that no one transgressed the new ones. Lycurgus afterwards established their affairs of war: the sworn divisions, the bands of thirty, the common meals; also the ephors and the council of elders. 66.

Thus they changed their bad laws to good ones, and when Lycurgus died they built him a temple and now worship him greatly. Since they had good land and many men, they immediately flourished and prospered. They were not content to live in peace, but, confident that they were stronger than the Arcadians, asked the oracle at Delphi about gaining all the Arcadian land. [2] She replied in hexameter: “You ask me for Arcadia? You ask too much; I grant it not.

There are many men in Arcadia, eaters of acorns,

Who will hinder you. But I grudge you not.

I will give you Tegea to beat with your feet in dancing,

And its fair plain to measure with a rope.

“[3] When the Lacedaemonians heard the oracle reported, they left the other Arcadians alone and marched on Tegea carrying chains, relying on the deceptive oracle. They were confident they would enslave the Tegeans, but they were defeated in battle. [4] Those taken alive were bound in the very chains they had brought with them, and they measured the Tegean plain with a rope^{21*} by working the fields. The chains in which they were bound were still preserved in my day, hanging up at the temple of Athena Alea. 67.

In the previous war the Lacedaemonians continually fought unsuccessfully against the Tegeans, but in the time of Croesus and the kingship of Anaxandrides and Ariston in Lacedaemon the Spartans had gained the upper hand. This is how: [2] when they kept being defeated by the Tegeans, they sent ambassadors to Delphi to ask which god they should propitiate to prevail against the Tegeans in war. The Pythia responded that they should bring back the bones of Orestes, son of Agamemnon. [3] When they were unable to discover Orestes’ tomb, they sent once more to the god^{22*} to ask where he was buried. The Pythia responded in hexameter to the messengers: [4] “There is a place Tegea in the smooth plain of Arcadia,

Where two winds blow under strong compulsion.

Blow lies upon blow, woe upon woe.

There the life-giving earth covers the son of Agamemnon.

Bring him back, and you shall be lord of Tegea.

“[5] When the Lacedaemonians heard this, they were no closer to discovery, though they looked everywhere. Finally it was found by Lichas, who was one of the Spartans who are called “doers of good deeds.”. These men are those citizens who retire from the knights, the five oldest each year. They have to spend the year in which they retire from the knights being sent here and there by the Spartan state, never resting in their efforts. 68.

It was Lichas, one of these men, who found the tomb in Tegea by a combination of luck and skill. At that time there was free access to Tegea, so he went into a blacksmith’s shop and watched iron being

forged, standing there in amazement at what he saw done. [2] The smith perceived that he was amazed, so he stopped what he was doing and said, "My Laconian guest, if you had seen what I saw, then you would really be amazed, since you marvel so at ironworking. [3] I wanted to dig a well in the courtyard here, and in my digging I hit upon a coffin twelve feet long. I could not believe that there had ever been men taller than now, so I opened it and saw that the corpse was just as long as the coffin. I measured it and then reburied it." So the smith told what he had seen, and Lichas thought about what was said and reckoned that this was Orestes, according to the oracle. [4] In the smith's two bellows he found the winds, hammer and anvil were blow upon blow, and the forging of iron was woe upon woe, since he figured that iron was discovered as an evil for the human race. [5] After reasoning this out, he went back to Sparta and told the Lacedaemonians everything. They made a pretence of bringing a charge against him and banishing him. Coming to Tegea, he explained his misfortune to the smith and tried to rent the courtyard, but the smith did not want to lease it. [6] Finally he persuaded him and set up residence there. He dug up the grave and collected the bones, then hurried off to Sparta with them. Ever since then the Spartans were far superior to the Tegeans whenever they met each other in battle. By the time of Croesus' inquiry, the Spartans had subdued most of the Peloponnese. 69.

Croesus, then, aware of all this, sent messengers to Sparta with gifts to ask for an alliance, having instructed them what to say. They came and said: [2] "Croesus, King of Lydia and other nations, has sent us with this message: 'Lacedaemonians, the god has declared that I should make the Greek my friend; now, therefore, since I learn that you are the leaders of Hellas, I invite you, as the oracle bids; I would like to be your friend and ally, without deceit or guile.'" [3] Croesus proposed this through his messengers; and the Lacedaemonians, who had already heard of the oracle given to Croesus, welcomed the coming of the Lydians and swore to be his friends and allies; and indeed they were obliged by certain benefits which they had received before from the king. [4] For the Lacedaemonians had sent to Sardis to buy gold, intending to use it for the statue of Apollo which now stands on Thornax^{23*} in Laconia; and Croesus, when they offered to

buy it, made them a free gift of it. 70.

For this reason, and because he had chosen them as his friends before all the other Greeks, the Lacedaemonians accepted the alliance. So they declared themselves ready to serve him when he should require, and moreover they made a bowl of bronze, engraved around the rim outside with figures, and large enough to hold twenty-seven hundred gallons, and brought it with the intention of making a gift in return to Croesus. [2] This bowl never reached Sardis, for which two reasons are given: the Lacedaemonians say that when the bowl was near Samos on its way to Sardis, the Samians descended upon them in warships and carried it off; [3] but the Samians themselves say that the Lacedaemonians who were bringing the bowl, coming too late, and learning that Sardis and Croesus were taken, sold it in Samos to certain private men, who set it up in the temple of Hera. And it may be that the sellers of the bowl, when they returned to Sparta, said that they had been robbed of it by the Samians. Such are the tales about the bowl. 71.

Croesus, mistaking the meaning of the oracle, invaded Cappadocia, expecting to destroy Cyrus and the Persian power. [2] But while he was preparing to march against the Persians, a certain Lydian, who was already held to be a wise man, and who, from the advice which he now gave, won a great name among the Lydians, advised him as follows (his name was Sandanis): "O King, you are getting ready to march against men who wear trousers of leather and whose complete wardrobe is of leather, and who eat not what they like but what they have; for their land is stony. [3] Further, they do not use wine, but drink water, have no figs to eat, or anything else that is good. Now if you conquer them, of what will you deprive them, since they have nothing? But if on the other hand you are conquered, then look how many good things you will lose; for once they have tasted of our blessings they will cling so tightly to them that nothing will pry them away. [4] For myself, then, I thank the gods that they do not put it in the heads of the Persians to march against the Lydians." Sandanis spoke thus but he did not persuade Croesus. Indeed, before they conquered the Lydians, the Persians had no luxury and no comforts. 72.

Now the Cappadocians are called by the Greeks Syrians, and

these Syrians before the Persian rule were subjects of the Medes, and, at this time, of Cyrus. [2] For the boundary of the Median and Lydian empires was the river Halys, which flows from the Armenian mountains first through Cilicia and afterwards between the Matieni on the right and the Phrygians on the other hand; then, passing these and still flowing north, it separates the Cappadocian Syrians on the right from the Paphlagonians on the left. [3] Thus the Halys river cuts off nearly the whole of the lower part of Asia from the Cyprian to the Euxine sea. Here is the narrowest neck of all this land; the length of the journey across for a man traveling unencumbered is five days.^{24*}
73.

The reasons for Croesus' expedition against Cappadocia were these: he desired to gain territory in addition to his own, and (these were the chief causes) he trusted the oracle and wished to avenge Astyages on Cyrus; for Cyrus, son of Cambyses, had conquered Astyages and held him in subjection. [2] Now Astyages, son of Cyaxares and the king of Media, was Croesus' brother-in-law: and this is how he came to be so. [3] A tribe of wandering Scythians separated itself from the rest, and escaped into Median territory. This was then ruled by Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, son of Deioces. Cyaxares at first treated the Scythians kindly, as suppliants for his mercy; and, as he had a high regard for them, he entrusted boys to their tutelage to be taught their language and the skill of archery. [4] As time went on, it happened that the Scythians, who were accustomed to go hunting and always to bring something back, once had taken nothing, and when they returned empty-handed, Cyaxares treated them very roughly and contemptuously (being, as appears from this, prone to anger). [5] The Scythians, feeling themselves wronged by the treatment they had from Cyaxares, planned to take one of the boys who were their pupils and cut him in pieces; then, dressing the flesh as they were accustomed to dress the animals which they killed, to bring and give it to Cyaxares as if it were the spoils of the hunt; and after that, to make their way with all speed to Alyattes son of Sadyattes at Sardis. All this they did. [6] Cyaxares and the guests who ate with him dined on the boy's flesh, and the Scythians, having done as they planned, fled to Alyattes for protection. 74.

After this, since Alyattes would not give up the Scythians to Cyaxares at his demand, there was war between the Lydians and the Medes for five years; each won many victories over the other, and once they fought a battle by night. [2] They were still warring with equal success, when it happened, at an encounter which occurred in the sixth year, that during the battle the day was suddenly turned to night. Thales of Miletus had foretold this loss of daylight to the Ionians, fixing it within the year in which the change did indeed happen.^{25*} [3] So when the Lydians and Medes saw the day turned to night, they stopped fighting, and both were the more eager to make peace. Those who reconciled them were Syennesis the Cilician and Labynetus the Babylonian; [4] they brought it about that there should be a sworn agreement and a compact of marriage between them: they judged that Alyattes should give his daughter Aryenis to Astyages, son of Cyaxares; for without strong constraint agreements will not keep their force. [6] These nations make sworn compacts as do the Greeks; and besides, when they cut the skin of their arms, they lick each other's blood. 75.

Cyrus had subjugated this Astyages, then, Cyrus' own mother's father, for the reason which I shall presently disclose. [2] Having this reason to quarrel with Cyrus, Croesus sent to ask the oracles if he should march against the Persians; and when a deceptive answer came he thought it to be favorable to him, and so led his army into the Persian territory. [3] When he came to the river Halys, he transported his army across it — by the bridges which were there then, as I maintain; but the general belief of the Greeks is that Thales of Miletus got the army across. [4] The story is that, as Croesus did not know how his army could pass the river (as the aforesaid bridges did not yet exist then), Thales, who was in the encampment, made the river, which flowed on the left of the army, also flow on the right, in the following way. [5] Starting from a point on the river upstream from the camp, he dug a deep semi-circular trench, so that the stream, turned from its ancient course, would flow in the trench to the rear of the camp and, passing it, would issue into its former bed, with the result that as soon as the river was thus divided into two, both channels could be forded. [6] Some even say that the ancient channel dried up altogether. But I do not believe this; for in that case,

how did they pass the river when they were returning? 76.

Passing over with his army, Croesus then came to the part of Cappadocia called Pteria (it is the strongest part of this country and lies on the line of the city of Sinope on the Euxine sea), where he encamped and devastated the farms of the Syrians; [2] and he took and enslaved the city of the Pterians, and took all the places around it also, and drove the Syrians from their homes, though they had done him no harm. Cyrus, mustering his army, advanced to oppose Croesus, gathering to him all those who lived along the way. [3] But before beginning his march, he sent heralds to the Ionians to try to draw them away from Croesus. The Ionians would not be prevailed on; but when Cyrus arrived and encamped face to face with Croesus, there in the Pterian country the armies had a trial of strength. [4] The fighting was fierce, many on both sides fell, and at nightfall they disengaged with neither side victorious. The two sides contended thus. 77.

Croesus was not content with the size of his force, for his army that had engaged was far smaller than that of Cyrus; therefore, when on the day after the battle Cyrus did not try attacking again, he marched away to Sardis, intending to summon the Egyptians in accordance with their treaty [2] (for before making an alliance with the Lacedaemonians he had made one also with Amasis king of Egypt), and to send for the Babylonians also (for with these too he had made an alliance, Labynetus at this time being their sovereign), [3] and to summon the Lacedaemonians to join him at a fixed time. He had in mind to muster all these forces and assemble his own army, then to wait until the winter was over and march against the Persians at the beginning of spring. [4] With such an intention, as soon as he returned to Sardis, he sent heralds to all his allies, summoning them to assemble at Sardis in five months' time; and as for the soldiers whom he had with him, who had fought with the Persians, all of them who were mercenaries he discharged, never thinking that after a contest so equal Cyrus would march against Sardis. 78.

This was how Croesus reasoned. Meanwhile, snakes began to swarm in the outer part of the city; and when they appeared the horses, leaving their accustomed pasture, devoured them. When Croesus saw this he thought it a portent, and so it was. [2] He at once

sent to the homes of the Telmessian interpreters,^{26*} to inquire concerning it; but though his messengers came and learned from the Telmessians what the portent meant, they could not bring back word to Croesus, for he was a prisoner before they could make their voyage back to Sardis. [3] Nonetheless, this was the judgment of the Telmessians: that Croesus must expect a foreign army to attack his country, and that when it came, it would subjugate the inhabitants of the land: for the snake, they said, was the offspring of the land, but the horse was an enemy and a foreigner. This was the answer which the Telmessians gave Croesus, knowing as yet nothing of the fate of Sardis and of the king himself; but when they gave it, Croesus was already taken. 79.

When Croesus marched away after the battle in the Pterian country, Cyrus, learning that Croesus had gone intending to disband his army, deliberated and perceived that it would be opportune for him to march quickly against Sardis, before the power of the Lydians could be assembled again. [2] This he decided, and this he did immediately; he marched his army into Lydia and so came himself to bring the news of it to Croesus. All had turned out contrary to Croesus' expectation, and he was in a great quandary; nevertheless, he led out the Lydians to battle. [3] Now at this time there was no nation in Asia more valiant or warlike than the Lydian. It was their custom to fight on horseback, carrying long spears, and they were skillful at managing horses. 80.

So the armies met in the plain, wide and bare, that is before the city of Sardis: the Hyllus and other rivers flow across it and run violently together into the greatest of them, which is called Hermus (this flows from the mountain sacred to the Mother Dindymene^{27*} and empties into the sea near the city of Phocaea). [2] When Cyrus saw the Lydians maneuvering their battle-lines here, he was afraid of their cavalry, and therefore at the urging of one Harpagus, a Mede, he did as I shall describe. Assembling all the camels that followed his army bearing food and baggage, he took off their burdens and mounted men upon them equipped like cavalrymen; having equipped them, he ordered them to advance before his army against Croesus' cavalry; he directed the infantry to follow the camels, and placed all his cavalry behind the infantry. [3] When they were all in order, he

commanded them to kill all the other Lydians who came in their way, and spare none, but not to kill Croesus himself, even if he should defend himself against capture. [4] Such was his command. The reason for his posting the camels to face the cavalry was this: horses fear camels and can endure neither the sight nor the smell of them; this then was the intention of his maneuver, that Croesus' cavalry, on which the Lydian relied to distinguish himself, might be of no use. [5] So when battle was joined, as soon as the horses smelled and saw the camels they turned to flight, and all Croesus' hope was lost. [6] Nevertheless the Lydians were no cowards; when they saw what was happening, they leaped from their horses and fought the Persians on foot. Many of both armies fell; at length the Lydians were routed and driven within their city wall, where they were besieged by the Persians. 81.

So then they were besieged. But Croesus, supposing that the siege would last a long time, again sent messengers from the city to his allies; whereas the former envoys had been sent to summon them to muster at Sardis in five months' time, these were to announce that Croesus was besieged and to plead for help as quickly as possible. 82.

So he sent to the Lacedaemonians as well as to the rest of the allies. Now at this very time the Spartans themselves were feuding with the Argives over the country called Thyrea; [2] for this was a part of the Argive territory which the Lacedaemonians had cut off and occupied. (All the land towards the west, as far as Malea, belonged then to the Argives, and not only the mainland, but the island of Cythera and the other islands.) [3] The Argives came out to save their territory from being cut off, then after debate the two armies agreed that three hundred of each side should fight, and whichever party won would possess the land. The rest of each army was to go away to its own country and not be present at the battle, since, if the armies remained on the field, the men of either party might render assistance to their comrades if they saw them losing. [4] Having agreed, the armies drew off, and picked men of each side remained and fought. Neither could gain advantage in the battle; at last, only three out of the six hundred were left, Alcenor and Chromios of the Argives, Othryades of the Lacedaemonians: these three were left alive at nightfall. [5] Then the two Argives, believing themselves victors, ran

to Argos; but Othryades the Lacedaemonian, after stripping the Argive dead and taking the arms to his camp, waited at his position. On the second day both armies came to learn the issue. [6] For a while both claimed the victory, the Argives arguing that more of their men had survived, the Lacedaemonians showing that the Argives had fled, while their man had stood his ground and stripped the enemy dead. [7] At last from arguing they fell to fighting; many of both sides fell, but the Lacedaemonians gained the victory. The Argives, who before had worn their hair long by fixed custom, shaved their heads ever after and made a law, with a curse added to it, that no Argive grow his hair, and no Argive woman wear gold, until they recovered Thyreae; [8] and the Lacedaemonians made a contrary law, that they wear their hair long ever after; for until now they had not worn it so. Othryades, the lone survivor of the three hundred, was ashamed, it is said, to return to Sparta after all the men of his company had been killed, and killed himself on the spot at Thyreae. 83.

The Sardian herald came after this had happened to the Spartans to ask for their help for Croesus, now besieged; nonetheless, when they heard the herald, they prepared to send help; but when they were already equipped and their ships ready, a second message came that the fortification of the Lydians was taken and Croesus a prisoner. Then, though very sorry indeed, they ceased their efforts. 84.

This is how Sardis was taken. When Croesus had been besieged for fourteen days, Cyrus sent horsemen around in his army to promise to reward whoever first mounted the wall. [2] After this the army made an assault, but with no success. Then, when all the others were stopped, a certain Mardian^{28*} called Hyroeades attempted to mount by a part of the acropolis where no guard had been set, since no one feared that it could be taken by an attack made here. [3] For here the height on which the acropolis stood is sheer and unlikely to be assaulted; this was the only place where Meles the former king of Sardis had not carried the lion which his concubine had borne him, the Telmessians having declared that if this lion were carried around the walls, Sardis could never be taken. Meles then carried the lion around the rest of the wall of the acropolis where it could be assaulted, but neglected this place, because the height was sheer and defied attack. It is on the side of the city which faces towards

Tmolus. [4] The day before, then, Hyroeades, this Mardian, had seen one of the Lydians come down by this part of the acropolis after a helmet that had fallen down, and fetch it; he took note of this and considered it. [5] And now he climbed up himself, and other Persians after him. Many ascended, and thus Sardis was taken and all the city sacked. 85.

I will now relate what happened to Croesus himself. He had a son, whom I have already mentioned, fine in other respects, but mute. Now in his days of prosperity past Croesus had done all that he could for his son; and besides resorting to other devices he had sent to Delphi to inquire of the oracle concerning him. [2] The Pythian priestess answered him thus: ““Lydian, king of many, greatly foolish Croesus,

Wish not to hear in the palace the voice often prayed for
Of your son speaking.

It were better for you that he remain mute as before;

For on an unlucky day shall he first speak.”

“[3] So at the taking of the fortification a certain Persian, not knowing who Croesus was, came at him meaning to kill him.

Croesus saw him coming, but because of the imminent disaster he was past caring, and it made no difference to him whether he were struck and killed. [4] But this mute son, when he saw the Persian coming on, in fear and distress broke into speech and cried, “Man, do not kill Croesus!” This was the first word he uttered, and after that for all the rest of his life he had power of speech. 86.

The Persians gained Sardis and took Croesus prisoner. Croesus had ruled fourteen years and been besieged fourteen days. Fulfilling the oracle, he had destroyed his own great empire. The Persians took him and brought him to Cyrus, [2] who erected a pyre and mounted Croesus atop it, bound in chains, with twice seven sons of the Lydians beside him. Cyrus may have intended to sacrifice him as a victory-offering to some god, or he may have wished to fulfill a vow, or perhaps he had heard that Croesus was pious and put him atop the pyre to find out if some divinity would deliver him from being burned alive. [3] So Cyrus did this. As Croesus stood on the pyre, even though he was in such a wretched position it occurred to him that Solon had spoken with god’s help when he had said that no one

among the living is fortunate. When this occurred to him, he heaved a deep sigh and groaned aloud after long silence, calling out three times the name "Solon." [4] Cyrus heard and ordered the interpreters to ask Croesus who he was invoking. They approached and asked, but Croesus kept quiet at their questioning, until finally they forced him and he said, "I would prefer to great wealth his coming into discourse with all despots." Since what he said was unintelligible, they again asked what he had said, [5] persistently harassing him. He explained that first Solon the Athenian had come and seen all his fortune and spoken as if he despised it. Now everything had turned out for him as Solon had said, speaking no more of him than of every human being, especially those who think themselves fortunate. While Croesus was relating all this, the pyre had been lit and the edges were on fire. [6] When Cyrus heard from the interpreters what Croesus said, he relented and considered that he, a human being, was burning alive another human being, one his equal in good fortune. In addition, he feared retribution, reflecting how there is nothing stable in human affairs. He ordered that the blazing fire be extinguished as quickly as possible, and that Croesus and those with him be taken down, but despite their efforts they could not master the fire. 87.

Then the Lydians say that Croesus understood Cyrus' change of heart, and when he saw everyone trying to extinguish the fire but unable to check it, he invoked Apollo, crying out that if Apollo had ever been given any pleasing gift by him, let him offer help and deliver him from the present evil. [2] Thus he in tears invoked the god, and suddenly out of a clear and windless sky clouds gathered, a storm broke, and it rained violently, extinguishing the pyre. Thus Cyrus perceived that Croesus was dear to god and a good man. He had him brought down from the pyre and asked, [3] "Croesus, what man persuaded you to wage war against my land and become my enemy instead of my friend?" He replied, "O King, I acted thus for your good fortune, but for my own ill fortune. The god of the Hellenes is responsible for these things, inciting me to wage war. [4] No one is so foolish as to choose war over peace. In peace sons bury their fathers, in war fathers bury their sons. But I suppose it was dear to the divinity that this be so." 88.

Croesus said this, and Cyrus freed him and made him sit near and

was very considerate to him, and both he and all that were with him were astonished when they looked at Croesus. He for his part was silent, deep in thought. [2] Presently he turned and said (for he saw the Persians sacking the city of the Lydians), "O King, am I to say to you what is in my mind now, or keep silent?" When Cyrus urged him to speak up boldly, Croesus asked, [3] "The multitude there, what is it at which they are so busily engaged?" "They are plundering your city," said Cyrus, "and carrying off your possessions." "No," Croesus answered, "not my city, and not my possessions; for I no longer have any share of all this; it is your wealth that they are pillaging." 89.

Cyrus thought about what Croesus had said and, telling the rest to withdraw, asked Croesus what fault he saw in what was being done. "Since the gods have made me your slave," replied the Lydian, "it is right that if I have any further insight I should point it out to you. [2] The Persians being by nature violent men are poor; so if you let them seize and hold great possessions, you may expect that he who has got most will revolt against you. Therefore do this, if you like what I say. [3] Have men of your guard watch all the gates; let them take the spoil from those who are carrying it out, and say that it must be paid as a tithe to Zeus. Thus you shall not be hated by them for taking their wealth by force, and they, recognizing that you act justly, will give up the spoil willingly." 90.

When Cyrus heard this, he was exceedingly pleased, for he believed the advice good; and praising him greatly, and telling his guard to act as Croesus had advised, he said: "Croesus, now that you, a king, are determined to act and to speak with integrity, ask me directly for whatever favor you like." [2] "Master," said Croesus, "you will most gratify me if you will let me send these chains of mine to that god of the Greeks whom I especially honored and to ask him if it is his way to deceive those who serve him well." When Cyrus asked him what grudge against the god led him to make this request, [3] Croesus repeated to him the story of all his own aspirations, and the answers of the oracles, and more particularly his offerings, and how the oracle had encouraged him to attack the Persians; and so saying he once more insistently pled that he be allowed to reproach the god for this. At this Cyrus smiled, and replied, "This I will grant you, Croesus, and whatever other favor you may ever ask me." [4] When

Croesus heard this, he sent Lydians to Delphi, telling them to lay his chains on the doorstep of the temple, and to ask the god if he were not ashamed to have persuaded Croesus to attack the Persians, telling him that he would destroy Cyrus' power; of which power (they were to say, showing the chains) these were the first-fruits. They should ask this; and further, if it were the way of the Greek gods to be ungrateful. 91.

When the Lydians came, and spoke as they had been instructed, the priestess (it is said) made the following reply. "No one may escape his lot, not even a god. Croesus has paid for the sin of his ancestor of the fifth generation before, who was led by the guile of a woman to kill his master, though he was one of the guard of the Heraclidae, and who took to himself the royal state of that master, to which he had no right. [2] And it was the wish of Loxias that the evil lot of Sardis fall in the lifetime of Croesus' sons, not in his own; but he could not deflect the Fates. [3] Yet as far as they gave in, he did accomplish his wish and favor Croesus: for he delayed the taking of Sardis for three years. And let Croesus know this: that although he is now taken, it is by so many years later than the destined hour. And further, Loxias saved Croesus from burning. [4] But as to the oracle that was given to him, Croesus is wrong to complain concerning it. For Loxias declared to him that if he led an army against the Persians, he would destroy a great empire. Therefore he ought, if he had wanted to plan well, to have sent and asked whether the god spoke of Croesus' or of Cyrus' empire. But he did not understand what was spoken, or make further inquiry: for which now let him blame himself. [5] When he asked that last question of the oracle and Loxias gave him that answer concerning the mule, even that Croesus did not understand. For that mule was in fact Cyrus, who was the son of two parents not of the same people, of whom the mother was better and the father inferior: [6] for she was a Mede and the daughter of Astyages king of the Medes; but he was a Persian and a subject of the Medes and although in all respects her inferior he married this lady of his." This was the answer of the priestess to the Lydians. They carried it to Sardis and told Croesus, and when he heard it, he confessed that the sin was not the god's, but his. And this is the story of Croesus' rule, and of the first overthrow of Ionia. 92.

There are many offerings of Croesus' in Hellas, and not only those of which I have spoken. There is a golden tripod at Thebes in Boeotia, which he dedicated to Apollo of Ismenus; at Ephesus^{29*} there are the oxen of gold and the greater part of the pillars; and in the temple of Proneia at Delphi, a golden shield.^{30*} All these survived to my lifetime; but other of the offerings were destroyed. [2] And the offerings of Croesus at Branchidae of the Milesians, as I learn by inquiry, are equal in weight and like those at Delphi. Those which he dedicated at Delphi and the shrine of Amphiaraus were his own, the first-fruits of the wealth inherited from his father; the rest came from the estate of an enemy who had headed a faction against Croesus before he became king, and conspired to win the throne of Lydia for Pantaleon. [3] This Pantaleon was a son of Alyattes, and half-brother of Croesus: Croesus was Alyattes' son by a Carian and Pantaleon by an Ionian mother. [4] So when Croesus gained the sovereignty by his father's gift, he put the man who had conspired against him to death by drawing him across a carding-comb, and first confiscated his estate, then dedicated it as and where I have said. This is all that I shall say of Croesus' offerings. 93.

There are not many marvellous things in Lydia to record, in comparison with other countries, except the gold dust that comes down from Tmolus. [2] But there is one building to be seen there which is much the greatest of all, except those of Egypt and Babylon. In Lydia is the tomb of Alyattes, the father of Croesus, the base of which is made of great stones and the rest of it of mounded earth. It was built by the men of the market and the craftsmen and the prostitutes. [3] There survived until my time five corner-stones set on the top of the tomb, and in these was cut the record of the work done by each group: and measurement showed that the prostitutes' share of the work was the greatest. [4] All the daughters of the common people of Lydia ply the trade of prostitutes, to collect dowries, until they can get themselves husbands; and they themselves offer themselves in marriage. [5] Now this tomb has a circumference of thirteen hundred and ninety yards, and its breadth is above four hundred and forty yards; and there is a great lake hard by the tomb, which, the Lydians say, is fed by ever-flowing springs; it is called the Gygaean lake. Such then is this tomb. 94.

The customs of the Lydians are like those of the Greeks, except that they make prostitutes of their female children. They were the first men whom we know who coined and used gold and silver currency; and they were the first to sell by retail. [2] And, according to what they themselves say, the games now in use among them and the Greeks were invented by the Lydians: these, they say, were invented among them at the time when they colonized Tyrrenia. This is their story: [3] In the reign of Atys son of Manes there was great scarcity of food in all Lydia. For a while the Lydians bore this with what patience they could; presently, when the famine did not abate, they looked for remedies, and different plans were devised by different men. Then it was that they invented the games of dice and knuckle-bones and ball and all other forms of game except dice, which the Lydians do not claim to have discovered. [4] Then, using their discovery to lighten the famine, every other day they would play for the whole day, so that they would not have to look for food, and the next day they quit their play and ate. This was their way of life for eighteen years. [5] But the famine did not cease to trouble them, and instead afflicted them even more. At last their king divided the people into two groups, and made them draw lots, so that the one group should remain and the other leave the country; he himself was to be the head of those who drew the lot to remain there, and his son, whose name was Tyrrenus, of those who departed. [6] Then the one group, having drawn the lot, left the country and came down to Smyrna and built ships, in which they loaded all their goods that could be transported aboard ship, and sailed away to seek a livelihood and a country; until at last, after sojourning with one people after another, they came to the Ombrici,^{31*} where they founded cities and have lived ever since. [7] They no longer called themselves Lydians, but Tyrrenians, after the name of the king's son who had led them there.

The Lydians, then, were enslaved by the Persians. 95.

But the next business of my history is to inquire who this Cyrus was who took down the power of Croesus, and how the Persians came to be the rulers of Asia. I mean then to be guided in what I write by some of the Persians who desire not to magnify the story of Cyrus but to tell the truth, though there are no less than three other

accounts of Cyrus which I could give. [2]

After the Assyrians had ruled Upper Asia for five hundred and twenty years,^{32*} the Medes were the first who began to revolt from them. These, it would seem, proved their bravery in fighting for freedom against the Assyrians; they cast off their slavery and won freedom. Afterwards, the other subject nations, too, did the same as the Medes. 96.

All of those on the mainland were now free men; but they came to be ruled by monarchs again, as I will now relate. There was among the Medes a clever man called Deioces: he was the son of Phraortes. [2] Deioces was infatuated with sovereignty, and so he set about gaining it. Already a notable man in his own town (one of the many towns into which Media was divided), he began to profess and practice justice more constantly and zealously than ever, and he did this even though there was much lawlessness throughout the land of Media, and though he knew that injustice is always the enemy of justice. Then the Medes of the same town, seeing his behavior, chose him to be their judge, and he (for he coveted sovereign power) was honest and just. [3] By acting so, he won no small praise from his fellow townsmen, to such an extent that when the men of the other towns learned that Deioces alone gave fair judgments (having before suffered from unjust decisions), they came often and gladly to plead before Deioces; and at last they would submit to no arbitration but his. 97.

The number of those who came grew ever greater, for they heard that each case turned out in accord with the truth. Then Deioces, seeing that everything now depended on him, would not sit in his former seat of judgment, and said he would give no more decisions; for it was of no advantage to him (he said) to leave his own business and spend all day judging the cases of his neighbors. [2] This caused robbery and lawlessness to increase greatly in the towns; and, gathering together, the Medes conferred about their present affairs, and said (here, as I suppose, the main speakers were Deioces' friends), [3] "Since we cannot go on living in the present way in the land, come, let us set up a king over us; in this way the land will be well governed, and we ourselves shall attend to our business and not be routed by lawlessness." With such words they persuaded

themselves to be ruled by a king. 98.

The question was at once propounded: Whom should they make king? Then every man was loud in putting Deioces forward and praising Deioces, until they agreed that he should be their king. [2] He ordered them to build him houses worthy of his royal power, and strengthen him with a bodyguard. The Medes did so. They built him a big and strong house wherever in the land he indicated to them, and let him choose a bodyguard out of all the Medes. [3] And having obtained power, he forced the Medes to build him one city and to fortify and care for this more strongly than all the rest. The Medes did this for him, too. So he built the big and strong walls, one standing inside the next in circles, which are now called Ecbatana.^{33*} [4] This fortress is so designed that each circle of walls is higher than the next outer circle by no more than the height of its battlements; to which plan the site itself, on a hill in the plain, contributes somewhat, but chiefly it was accomplished by skill. [5] There are seven circles in all; within the innermost circle are the palace and the treasuries; and the longest wall is about the length of the wall that surrounds the city of Athens.^{34*} The battlements of the first circle are white, of the second black, of the third circle purple, of the fourth blue, and of the fifth orange: [6] thus the battlements of five circles are painted with colors; and the battlements of the last two circles are coated, the one with silver and the other with gold. 99.

Deioces built these walls for himself and around his own quarters, and he ordered the people to dwell outside the wall. And when it was all built, Deioces was first to establish the rule that no one should come into the presence of the king, but everything should be done by means of messengers; that the king should be seen by no one; and moreover that it should be a disgrace for anyone to laugh or to spit in his presence. [2] He was careful to hedge himself with all this so that the men of his own age (who had been brought up with him and were as nobly born as he and his equals in courage), instead of seeing him and being upset and perhaps moved to plot against him, might by reason of not seeing him believe him to be different.^{35*} 100.

When he had made these arrangements and strengthened himself with sovereign power, he was a hard man in the protection of justice. They would write down their pleas and send them in to him; then he

would pass judgment on what was brought to him and send his decisions out. [2] This was his manner of deciding cases at law, and he had other arrangements too; for when he heard that a man was doing violence he would send for him and punish him as each offense deserved: and he had spies and eavesdroppers everywhere in his domain. 101.

Deioces, then, united the Median nation by itself and ruled it. The Median tribes are these: the Busae, the Paretaceni, the Struchates, the Arizanti, the Budii, the Magi. Their tribes are this many. 102.

Deioces had a son, Phraortes, who inherited the throne when Deioces died after a reign of fifty-three years.^{36*} Having inherited it, he was not content to rule the Medes alone: marching against the Persians, he attacked them first, and they were the first whom he made subject to the Medes. [2] Then, with these two strong nations at his back, he subjugated one nation of Asia after another, until he marched against the Assyrians; that is, against those of the Assyrians who held Ninus. These had formerly been rulers of all; but now their allies had deserted them and they were left alone, though well-off themselves. Marching against these Assyrians, then, Phraortes and most of his army perished, after he had reigned twenty-two years. 103.

At his death he was succeeded by his son Cyaxares. He is said to have been a much greater soldier than his ancestors: it was he who first organized the men of Asia in companies and posted each arm apart, the spearmen and archers and cavalry: before this they were all mingled together in confusion. [2] This was the king who fought against the Lydians when the day was turned to night in the battle, and who united under his dominion all of Asia that is beyond the river Halys. Collecting all his subjects, he marched against Ninus, wanting to avenge his father and to destroy the city. [3] He defeated the Assyrians in battle; but while he was besieging their city, a great army of Scythians came down upon him, led by their king Madyes son of Protothyas. They had invaded Asia after they had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe: pursuing them in their flight, the Scythians came to the Median country.^{37*} 104.

It is a thirty days' journey for an unencumbered man from the Maeetian lake^{38*} to the river Phasis and the land of the Colchi; from the Colchi it is an easy matter to cross into Media: there is only one

nation between, the Saspire; to pass these is to be in Media. [2] Nevertheless, it was not by this way that the Scythians entered; they turned aside and came by the upper and much longer way, keeping the Caucasian mountains on their right. There, the Medes met the Scythians, who defeated them in battle, deprived them of their rule, and made themselves masters of all Asia. 105.

From there they marched against Egypt: and when they were in the part of Syria called Palestine, Psammetichus king of Egypt met them and persuaded them with gifts and prayers to come no further. [2] So they turned back, and when they came on their way to the city of Ascalon in Syria, most of the Scythians passed by and did no harm, but a few remained behind and plundered the temple of Heavenly Aphrodite.^{39*} [3] This temple, I discover from making inquiry, is the oldest of all the temples of the goddess, for the temple in Cyprus was founded from it, as the Cyprians themselves say; and the temple on Cythera was founded by Phoenicians from this same land of Syria. [4] But the Scythians who pillaged the temple, and all their descendants after them, were afflicted by the goddess with the “female” sickness: and so the Scythians say that they are afflicted as a consequence of this and also that those who visit Scythian territory see among them the condition of those whom the Scythians call “Hermaphrodites”.^{40*} 106.

The Scythians, then, ruled Asia for twenty-eight years: and the whole land was ruined because of their violence and their pride, for, besides exacting from each the tribute which was assessed, they rode about the land carrying off everyone’s possessions. [2] Most of them were entertained and made drunk and then slain by Cyaxares and the Medes: so thus the Medes took back their empire and all that they had formerly possessed; and they took Ninus (how, I will describe in a later part of my history), and brought all Assyria except the province of Babylon under their rule. 107.

Afterwards, Cyaxares died after a reign of forty years (among which I count the years of the Scythian domination) and his son Astyages inherited the sovereignty.

Astyages had a daughter, whom he called Mandane: he dreamed that she urinated so much that she filled his city and flooded all of Asia. He communicated this vision to those of the Magi who

interpreted dreams, and when he heard what they told him he was terrified; [2] and presently, when Mandane was of marriageable age, he feared the vision too much to give her to any Mede worthy to marry into his family, but married her to a Persian called Cambyses, a man whom he knew to be wellborn and of a quiet temper: for Astyages held Cambyses to be much lower than a Mede of middle rank. 108.

But during the first year that Mandane was married to Cambyses, Astyages saw a second vision. He dreamed that a vine grew out of the genitals of this daughter, and that the vine covered the whole of Asia. [2] Having seen this vision, and communicated it to the interpreters of dreams, he sent to the Persians for his daughter, who was about to give birth, and when she arrived kept her guarded, meaning to kill whatever child she bore: for the interpreters declared that the meaning of his dream was that his daughter's offspring would rule in his place. [3] Anxious to prevent this, Astyages, when Cyrus was born, summoned Harpagus, a man of his household who was his most faithful servant among the Medes and was administrator of all that was his, and he said: [4] "Harpagus, whatever business I turn over to you, do not mishandle it, and do not leave me out of account and, giving others preference, trip over your own feet afterwards. Take the child that Mandane bore, and carry him to your house, and kill him; and then bury him however you like." [5] "O King," Harpagus answered, "never yet have you noticed anything displeasing in your man; and I shall be careful in the future, too, not to err in what concerns you. If it is your will that this be done, then my concern ought to be to attend to it scrupulously." 109.

Harpagus answered thus. The child was then given to him, consigned to its death, and he went to his house weeping. When he came in, he told his wife the entire speech uttered by Astyages. [2] "Now, then," she said to him, "what do you propose to do?" "Not to obey Astyages' instructions," he answered, "not even if he should lose his mind and be more frantic than he is now: I will not lend myself to his plan or be an accessory to such a murder. [3] There are many reasons why I will not kill him: because the child is related to me, and because Astyages is old and has no male children. [4] Now if the sovereignty passes to this daughter of his after his death, whose

son he is now killing by means of me, what is left for me but the gravest of all dangers? For the sake of my safety this child has to die; but one of Astyages' own people has to be the murderer and not one of mine." 110.

So saying, he sent a messenger at once to one of Astyages' cowherds, who he knew pastured his herds in the likeliest spots and where the mountains were most infested with wild beasts. The man's name was Mitradataes, and his wife was a slave like him; her name was in the Greek language Cyno, in the Median Spako: for "spax" is the Median word for dog. [2] The foothills of the mountains where this cowherd pastured his cattle are north of Ecbatana, towards the Euxine sea; for the rest of Media is everywhere a level plain, but here, on the side of the Saspires,^{41*} the land is very high and mountainous and covered with woods. [3] So when the cowherd came in haste at the summons, Harpagus said: "Astyages wants you to take this child and leave it in the most desolate part of the mountains so that it will perish as quickly as possible. And he wants me to tell you that if you do not kill it, but preserve it somehow, you will undergo the most harrowing death; and I am ordered to see it exposed." 111.

Hearing this, the cowherd took the child and went back the same way and came to his dwelling. Now as it happened his wife too had been on the verge of delivering every day, and as the divinity would have it, she did in fact give birth while the cowherd was away in the city. Each of them was anxious for the other, the husband being afraid about his wife's labor, and the wife because she did not know why Harpagus had so unexpectedly sent for her husband. [2] So when he returned and stood before her, she was startled by the unexpected sight and asked him before he could speak why Harpagus had so insistently summoned him. "Wife," he said, "when I came to the city, I saw and heard what I ought never to have seen, and what ought never to have happened to our masters. Harpagus' whole house was full of weeping; astonished, I went in; [3] and immediately I saw a child lying there struggling and crying, adorned in gold and embroidered clothing. And when Harpagus saw me, he told me to take the child in haste and bring it away and leave it where the mountains are the most infested with wild beasts. It was Astyages, he said, who enjoined this on me, and Harpagus threatened me

grievously if I did not do it. [4] So I took him and brought him away, supposing him to be the child of one of the servants; for I could never have guessed whose he was. But I was amazed at seeing him adorned with gold and clothing, and at hearing, too, the evident sound of weeping in the house of Harpagus. [5] Very soon on the way I learned the whole story from the servant who brought me out of the city and gave the child into my custody: namely, that it was the son of Mandane the king's daughter and Cambyses the son of Cyrus, and that Astyages gave the command to kill him. And now, here he is."

112.

And as he said this the cowherd uncovered it and showed it. But when the woman saw how fine and fair the child was, she began to cry and laid hold of the man's knees and begged him by no means to expose him. But the husband said he could not do otherwise; for, he said, spies would be coming from Harpagus to see what was done, and he would have to die a terrible death if he did not obey. [2] Being unable to move her husband, the woman then said: "Since I cannot convince you not to expose it, then, if a child has to be seen exposed, do this: I too have borne a child, but I bore it dead. [3] Take this one and put it out, but the child of the daughter of Astyages let us raise as if it were our own; this way, you won't be caught disobeying our masters, and we will not have plotted badly. For the dead child will have royal burial, and the living will not lose his life." 113.

Thinking that his wife advised him excellently in his present strait, the cowherd immediately did as she said. He gave his wife the child whom he had brought to kill, and his own dead child he put into the chest in which he carried the other, [2] and dressed it with all the other child's finery and left it out in the most desolate part of the mountains. Then on the third day after leaving the child out, the cowherd left one of his herdsmen to watch it and went to the city, where he went to Harpagus' house and said he was ready to show the child's dead body. [3] Harpagus sent the most trusted of his bodyguard, and these saw for him and buried the cowherd's child. So it was buried: and the cowherd's wife kept and raised the boy who was afterwards named Cyrus; but she did not give him that name, but another. 114.

Now when the boy was ten years old, the truth about him was

revealed in some such way as this. He was playing in the village where these herdsmen's quarters were, playing in the road with others of his age. The boys while playing chose to be their king this one who was supposed to be the son of the cowherd. [2] Then he assigned some of them to the building of houses, some to be his bodyguard, one doubtless to be the King's Eye; to another he gave the right of bringing him messages; to each he gave his proper work. [3] Now one of these boys playing with him was the son of Artembares, a notable Mede; when he did not perform his assignment from Cyrus, Cyrus told the other boys to seize him, and when they did so he handled the boy very roughly and whipped him. [4] As soon as he was let go, very upset about the indignity he had suffered, he went down to his father in the city and complained of what he had received at the hands of the son of Astyages' cowherd — not calling him Cyrus, for that name had not yet been given. [5] Artembares, going just as angry as he was to Astyages and bringing his son along, announced that an impropriety had been committed, saying, "O King, by your slave, the son of a cowherd, we have been outraged thus": and with that he bared his son's shoulders. 115.

When Astyages heard and saw, he was ready to avenge the boy in view of Artembares' rank: so he sent for the cowherd and his son. When they were both present, Astyages said, fixing his eyes on Cyrus, [2] "Is it you, then, the child of one such as this, who have dared to lay hands on the son of the greatest of my courtiers?" Cyrus answered, "Master, what I did to him I did with justice. The boys of the village, of whom he was one, chose me while playing to be their king, for they thought me the most fit for this. [3] The other boys then did as assigned: but this one was disobedient and cared nothing for me, for which he got what he deserved. Now, if I deserve punishment for this, here I am to take it." 116.

While the boy spoke, it seemed to Astyages that he recognized him; the character of his face was like his own, he thought, and his manner of answering was freer than customary: and the date of the exposure seemed to agree with the boy's age. [2] Astonished at this, he sat a while silent; but when at last with difficulty he could collect his wits, he said (for he wanted to be rid of Artembares and question the cowherd with no one present), "I shall act in such a way, Artembares, that you and your son shall have no cause of complaint." [3] So he sent Artembares away, and the attendants led Cyrus inside at Astyages' bidding. When the cowherd was left quite alone, Astyages asked him where he had got the boy and who had been the giver. [4] The cowherd answered that Cyrus was his own son and that the mother was still with him. Astyages said that he was not well advised if he wished to find himself in a desperate situation, and as he said this made a sign to the spearbearers to seize him. [5] Then, under stress of necessity, the cowherd disclosed to him the whole story, telling everything exactly as it had happened from the beginning, and at the end fell to entreaty and urged the king to pardon him. 117.

When the cowherd had disclosed the true story, Astyages took less interest in him, but he was very angry with Harpagus and had the guards summon him. [2] Harpagus came, and Astyages asked him "Harpagus, how did you kill the boy, my daughter's son, whom I gave you?" Harpagus, when he saw the cowherd was there, did not take the way of falsehood, lest he be caught and confuted: [3] "O King," he said, "when I took the boy, I thought and considered how to do what you wanted and not be held a murderer by your daughter or by you even though I was blameless toward you. [4] So I did this: I summoned this cowherd here, and gave the child to him, telling him that it was you who gave the command to kill it. And that was the truth; for such was your command. But I gave the child with the instructions that the cowherd was to lay it on a desolate mountainside and wait there and watch until it was dead; and I threatened all sorts of things if he did not accomplish this. [5] Then, when he had done what he was told, and the child was dead, I sent the most trusted of my eunuchs and had the body viewed and buried. This, O king, is the story, and such was the end of the boy." 118.

Harpagus told the story straight, while Astyages, hiding the anger that he felt against him for what had been done, first repeated the story again to Harpagus exactly as he had heard it from the cowherd, then, after repeating it, ended by saying that the boy was alive and that the matter had turned out well. [2] “For,” he said, “I was greatly afflicted by what had been done to this boy, and it weighed heavily on me that I was estranged from my daughter. Now, then, in this good turn of fortune, send your own son to this boy newly come, and (since I am about to sacrifice for the boy’s safety to the gods to whom this honor is due) come here to dine with me.” 119.

When Harpagus heard this, he bowed and went to his home, very pleased to find that his offense had turned out for the best and that he was invited to dinner in honor of this fortunate day. [2] Coming in, he told his only son, a boy of about thirteen years of age, to go to Astyages’ palace and do whatever the king commanded, and in his great joy he told his wife everything that had happened. [3] But when Harpagus’ son came, Astyages cut his throat and tore him limb from limb, roasted some of the flesh and boiled some, and kept it ready after he had prepared it. [4] So when the hour for dinner came and the rest of the guests and Harpagus were present, Astyages and the others were served dishes of lamb’s meat, but Harpagus that of his own son, all but the head and hands and feet, which lay apart covered up in a wicker basket. [5] And when Harpagus seemed to have eaten his fill, Astyages asked him, “Did you like your meal, Harpagus?” “Exceedingly,” Harpagus answered. Then those whose job it was brought him the head of his son and hands and feet concealed in the basket, and they stood before Harpagus and told him to open and take what he liked. [6] Harpagus did; he opened and saw what was left of his son: he saw this, but mastered himself and did not lose his composure. Astyages asked him, “Do you know what beast’s meat you have eaten?” [7] “I know,” he said, “and all that the king does is pleasing.” With that answer he took the remains of the meat and went home. There he meant, I suppose, after collecting everything, to bury it. 120.

Thus Astyages punished Harpagus. But, to help him to decide about Cyrus, he summoned the same Magi who had interpreted his dream as I have said: and when they came, Astyages asked them how

they had interpreted his dream. They answered as before, and said that the boy must have been made king had he lived and not died first. [2] Then Astyages said, "The boy is safe and alive, and when he was living in the country the boys of his village made him king, and he duly did all that is done by true kings: for he assigned to each individually the roles of bodyguards and sentinels and messengers and everything else, and so ruled. And what do you think is the significance of this?" [3] "If the boy is alive," said the Magi, "and has been made king without premeditation, then be confident on this score and keep an untroubled heart: he will not be made king a second time. Even in our prophecies, it is often but a small thing that has been foretold and the consequences of dreams come to nothing in the end." [4] "I too, Magi," said Astyages, "am very much of your opinion: that the dream came true when the boy was called king, and that I have no more to fear from him. Nevertheless consider well and advise me what will be safest both for my house and for you." [5] The Magi said, "O King, we too are very anxious that your sovereignty prosper: for otherwise, it passes from your nation to this boy who is a Persian, and so we Medes are enslaved and held of no account by the Persians, as we are of another blood, but while you, our countryman, are established king, we have our share of power, and great honor is shown us by you. [6] Thus, then, we ought by all means to watch out for you and for your sovereignty. And if at the present time we saw any danger we would declare everything to you: but now the dream has had a trifling conclusion, and we ourselves are confident and advise you to be so also. As for this boy, send him out of your sight to the Persians and to his parents." 121.

Hearing this, Astyages was glad, and calling Cyrus, said, "My boy, I did you wrong because of a vision I had in a dream, that meant nothing, but by your own destiny you still live; now therefore, go to the Persians, and good luck go with you; I will send guides with you. When you get there you will find a father and mother unlike the cowherd, Mitradates, and his wife." 122.

After saying this, Astyages sent Cyrus away. When he returned to Cambyses' house, his parents received him there, and learning who he was they welcomed him enthusiastically, for they had supposed that long ago he had been killed, and they asked him how his life had

been saved. [2] Then he told them, and said that until now he had known nothing but been very deceived, but that on the way he had heard the whole story of his misfortune; for he had thought, he said, that Astyages' cowherd was his father, but in his journey from the city his escort had told him the whole story. [3] And he had been raised, he said, by the cowherd's wife, and he was full of her praises, and in his tale he was constantly speaking of Cyno. Hearing this name, his parents circulated a story that Cyrus was suckled by a dog when exposed, thinking in this way to make the story of his salvation seem more marvellous to the Persians. 123.

This then was the beginning of that legend. But as Cyrus grew up to be the manliest and best loved of his peers, Harpagus courted him and sent him gifts, wishing to be avenged on Astyages; for he saw no hope for a private man like himself of punishing Astyages, but as he saw Cyrus growing up, he tried to make him an ally, for he likened Cyrus' misfortune to his own. [2] Even before this the following had been done by him: since Astyages was harsh toward the Medes, he associated with each of the chief Medes and persuaded them to make Cyrus their leader and depose Astyages. [3] So much being ready and done, Harpagus wanted to reveal his intent to Cyrus, who then lived among the Persians. But the roads were guarded, and he had no plan for sending a message but this: [4] he carefully slit the belly of a hare, and then leaving it as it was without further harm he put into it a paper on which he wrote what he thought best. Then he sewed up the hare's belly, and sent it to Persia by the most trusted of his servants, giving him nets to carry as if he were a huntsman. The messenger was instructed to give Cyrus the hare and tell him by word of mouth to cut it open with his own hands, with no one else present. 124.

All this was done. Cyrus took the hare and slit it and read the paper which was in it; the writing was as follows: "Son of Cambyeses, since the gods watch over you (otherwise you would not have prospered so) avenge yourself now on Astyages, your murderer; [2] for thanks to his intention you are dead, while thanks to the gods, and me, you live. I expect that long ago you heard the story of what was done concerning you and how Astyages treated me because I did not kill you but gave you to the cowherd. If, then, you will listen to me, you shall rule all the country which is now ruled by Astyages.

Persuade the Persians to rebel, and lead their army against the Medes; [3] then you have your wish, whether I am appointed to command the army against you or some other notable man among the Medes: for they will of themselves revolt from Astyages and join you and try to pull him down. Seeing then that all is ready here, do as I say and do it quickly.” 125.

When Cyrus read this, he deliberated as to what was the shrewdest way to persuade the Persians to revolt; and what he thought to be most effective, he did: [2] writing what he liked on a paper, he assembled the Persians, and then unfolded the paper and declared that in it Astyages appointed him leader of the Persian armies. “Now,” he said in his speech, “I command you, men of Persia, to come, each provided with a sickle.” This is what Cyrus said. [3] Now there are many tribes in Persia: those of them that Cyrus assembled and persuaded to revolt from the Medes were the Pasargadae, the Maraphii, and the Maspii. On these all the other Persians depend. The chief tribe is that of the Pasargadae; to them belongs the clan of the Achaemenidae, the royal house of Persia. [4] The other Persian tribes are the Panthialaei, the Derusiaei, and the Germanii, all tillers of the soil, and the Dai, the Mardi, the Dropici, the Sagartii, all wandering herdsmen. 126.

So when they all came with sickles as ordered, Cyrus commanded them to reclaim in one day a thorny tract of Persia, of two and one quarter or two and one half miles each way in extent. [2] The Persians accomplished the task appointed; Cyrus then commanded them to wash themselves and come the next day; meanwhile, collecting his father’s goats and sheep and oxen in one place, he slaughtered and prepared them as a feast for the Persian host, providing also wine and all the foods that were most suitable. [3] When the Persians came on the next day he had them sit and feast in a meadow. After dinner he asked them which they liked more: their task of yesterday or their present pastime. [4] They answered that the difference was great: all yesterday they had had nothing but evil, to-day nothing but good. Then, taking up their word, Cyrus laid bare his whole purpose, and said: [5] “This is your situation, men of Persia: obey me and you shall have these good things and ten thousand others besides with no toil and slavery; but if you will not obey me, you will have labors

unnumbered like your toil of yesterday. [6] Now, then, do as I tell you, and win your freedom. For I think that I myself was born by a divine chance to undertake this work; and I hold you fully as good men as the Medes in war and in everything else. All this is true; therefore revolt from Astyages quickly now!" 127.

The Persians had long been discontent that the Medes ruled them, and now having got a champion they were glad to win their freedom. But when Astyages heard that Cyrus was about this business, he sent a messenger to summon him; [2] Cyrus told the messenger to take back word that Astyages would see him sooner than he liked. Hearing this, Astyages armed all his Medes, and was distracted by Providence so that he forgot what he had done to Harpagus, and appointed him to command the army. [3] So when the Medes marched out and engaged with the Persians, those who were not in on the plan fought, while others deserted to the enemy, and most were deliberate cowards and ran. 128.

Thus the Median army was shamefully scattered. As soon as Astyages heard, he sent a threatening message to Cyrus: "Nevertheless, Cyrus shall not rejoice"; [2] and with that he took the Magi who interpreted dreams, who had persuaded him to let Cyrus go free, and impaled them; then he armed the Medes who were left in the city, the very young and very old men. [3] Leading these out, and engaging the Persians, he was beaten: Astyages himself was taken prisoner, and lost the Median army which he led. 129.

When Astyages was a captive, Harpagus came and exulted over him and taunted him, and besides much other bitter mockery he recalled his banquet, when Astyages had fed Harpagus his son's flesh, and asked Astyages what it was like to be a slave after having been a king. [2] Fixing his gaze on Harpagus, Astyages asked, "Do you imagine that this, which Cyrus has done, is your work?" "It was I," said the other, "who wrote the letter; the accomplishment of the work is rightly mine." [3] "Then," said Astyages, "you stand confessed the most foolish and most unjust man on earth; most foolish, in giving another the throne which you might have had for yourself, if the present business is indeed your doing; most unjust, in enslaving the Medes because of that banquet. [4] For if in any event another and not you had to possess the royal power, then in justice

some Mede should have had it, not a Persian: but now you have made the Medes, who did you no harm, slaves instead of masters and the Persians, who were the slaves, are now the masters of the Medes.” 130.

Thus Astyages was deposed from his sovereignty after a reign of thirty-five years: and the Medes had to bow down before the Persians because of Astyages’ cruelty. They had ruled all Asia beyond the Halys for one hundred and twenty-eight years,^{42*} from which must be subtracted the time when the Scythians held sway. [2] At a later time they repented of what they now did, and rebelled against Darius^{43*} ; but they were defeated in battle and brought back into subjection. But now, in Astyages’ time, Cyrus and the Persians rose in revolt against the Medes, and from this time ruled Asia. [3] As for Astyages, Cyrus did him no further harm, and kept him in his own house until Astyages died.

This is the story of the birth and upbringing of Cyrus, and of how he became king; and afterwards, as I have already related, he subjugated Croesus in punishment for the unprovoked wrong done him; and after this victory he became sovereign of all Asia. 131.

As to the customs of the Persians, I know them to be these. It is not their custom to make and set up statues and temples and altars, but those who do such things they think foolish, because, I suppose, they have never believed the gods to be like men, as the Greeks do; [2] but they call the whole circuit of heaven Zeus, and to him they sacrifice on the highest peaks of the mountains; they sacrifice also to the sun and moon and earth and fire and water and winds. [3] From the beginning, these are the only gods to whom they have ever sacrificed; they learned later to sacrifice to the “heavenly”^{44*} Aphrodite from the Assyrians and Arabians. She is called by the Assyrians Mylitta, by the Arabians Alilat, by the Persians Mitra. 132.

And this is their method of sacrifice to the aforesaid gods: when about to sacrifice, they do not build altars or kindle fire, employ libations, or music, or fillets, or barley meal: when a man wishes to sacrifice to one of the gods, he leads a beast to an open space and then, wearing a wreath on his tiara, of myrtle usually, calls on the god. [2] To pray for blessings for himself alone is not lawful for the sacrificer; rather, he prays that the king and all the Persians be well;

for he reckons himself among them. He then cuts the victim limb from limb into portions, and, after boiling the flesh, spreads the softest grass, trefoil usually, and places all of it on this. [3] When he has so arranged it, a Magus comes near and chants over it the song of the birth of the gods, as the Persian tradition relates it; for no sacrifice can be offered without a Magus. Then after a little while the sacrificer carries away the flesh and uses it as he pleases. 133.

The day which every man values most is his own birthday. On this day, he thinks it right to serve a more abundant meal than on other days: oxen or horses or camels or asses, roasted whole in ovens, are set before the rich; the poorer serve the lesser kinds of cattle. [2] Their courses are few, the dainties that follow many, and not all served together. This is why the Persians say of Greeks that they rise from table still hungry, because not much dessert is set before them: were this too given to Greeks (the Persians say) they would never stop eating. [3] They are very partial to wine. No one may vomit or urinate in another's presence: this is prohibited among them. Moreover, it is their custom to deliberate about the gravest matters when they are drunk; [4] and what they approve in their deliberations is proposed to them the next day, when they are sober, by the master of the house where they deliberate; and if, being sober, they still approve it, they act on it, but if not, they drop it. And if they have deliberated about a matter when sober, they decide upon it when they are drunk. 134.

When one man meets another on the road, it is easy to see if the two are equals; for, if they are, they kiss each other on the lips without speaking; if the difference in rank is small, the cheek is kissed; if it is great, the humbler bows and does obeisance to the other. [2] They honor most of all those who live nearest them, next those who are next nearest, and so going ever onwards they assign honor by this rule: those who dwell farthest off they hold least honorable of all; for they think that they are themselves in all regards by far the best of all men, that the rest have only a proportionate claim to merit, until those who live farthest away have least merit of all. [3] Under the rule of the Medes, one tribe would even govern another; the Medes held sway over all alike and especially over those who lived nearest to them; these ruled their neighbors, and the neighbors in turn those who came next to them, on the same scheme

by which the Persians assign honor; for the nation kept advancing its rule and dominion.^{45*} 135.

But the Persians more than all men welcome foreign customs. They wear the Median dress, thinking it more beautiful than their own, and the Egyptian cuirass in war. Their luxurious practices are of all kinds, and all borrowed: the Greeks taught them pederasty. Every Persian marries many lawful wives, and keeps still more concubines. 136.

After valor in battle it is accounted noble to father the greatest number of sons: the king sends gifts yearly to him who gets most. Strength, they believe, is in numbers. [2] They educate their boys from five to twenty years old, and teach them only three things: riding and archery and honesty. A boy is not seen by his father before he is five years old, but lives with the women: the point of this is that, if the boy should die in the interval of his rearing, the father would suffer no grief. 137.

This is a law which I praise; and it is a praiseworthy law, too, which does not allow the king himself to slay any one for a single offense, or any other Persian to do incurable harm to one of his servants for one offense. Not until an accounting shows that the offender's wrongful acts are more and greater than his services may a man give rein to his anger. [2] They say that no one has ever yet killed his father or mother; when such a thing has been done, it always turns out on inquest that the doer is shown to be a changeling or the fruit of adultery; for it is not to be believed (say they) that a son should kill his true parent. 138.

Furthermore, of what they may not do, they may not speak, either. They hold lying to be the most disgraceful thing of all and next to that debt; for which they have many other reasons, but this in particular: it is inevitable (so they say) that the debtor also speak some falsehood. The citizen who has leprosy or the white sickness may not come into town or mingle with other Persians. They say that he is so afflicted because he has sinned in some way against the sun. [2] Every stranger who gets such a disease, many drive out of the country; and they do the same to white doves, for the reason given. Rivers they especially revere; they will neither urinate nor spit nor wash their hands in them, nor let anyone else do so. 139.

There is another thing that always happens among them; we have noted it although the Persians have not: their names, which agree with the nature of their persons and their nobility, all end in the same letter, that which the Dorians call san, and the Ionians sigma; you will find, if you search, that not some but all Persian names alike end in this letter. 140.

So much I can say of them from my own certain knowledge. But there are other matters concerning the dead which are secretly and obscurely told: how the dead bodies of Persians are not buried before they have been mangled by birds or dogs. [2] That this is the way of the Magi, I know for certain; for they do not conceal the practice. But this is certain, that before the Persians bury the body in earth they embalm it in wax. These Magi are as unlike the priests of Egypt as they are unlike all other men: [3] for the priests consider it sacrilege to kill anything that lives, except what they sacrifice; but the Magi kill with their own hands every creature, except dogs and men; they kill all alike, ants and snakes, creeping and flying things, and take great pride in it. Leaving this custom to be such as it has been from the first,^{46*} I return now to my former story. 141.

As soon as the Lydians had been subjugated by the Persians, the Ionians and Aeolians sent messengers to Cyrus, offering to be his subjects on the same terms as those which they had under Croesus. After hearing what they proposed, Cyrus told them a story. Once, he said, there was a flute-player who saw fish in the sea and played upon his flute, thinking that they would come out on to the land. [2] Disappointed of his hope, he cast a net and gathered it in and took out a great multitude of fish; and seeing them leaping, "You had best," he said, "stop your dancing now; you would not come out and dance before, when I played to you." [3] The reason why Cyrus told the story to the Ionians and Aeolians was that the Ionians, who were ready to obey him when the victory was won, had before refused when he sent a message asking them to revolt from Croesus. [4] So he answered them in anger. But when the message came to the Ionians in their cities, they fortified themselves with walls, and assembled in the Panionion,^{47*} all except the Milesians, with whom alone Cyrus made a treaty on the same terms as that which they had with the Lydians. The rest of the Ionians resolved to send envoys in the name

of them all to Sparta, to ask help for the Ionians. 142.

Now these Ionians possessed the Panionion, and of all men whom we know, they happened to found their cities in places with the loveliest of climate and seasons. [2] For neither to the north of them nor to the south does the land effect the same thing as in Ionia [nor to the east nor to the west], affected here by the cold and wet, there by the heat and drought. [3] They do not all have the same speech but four different dialects. Miletus lies farthest south among them, and next to it come Myus and Priene; these are settlements in Caria, and they have a common language; Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomenae, Phocaea, all of them in Lydia, [4] have a language in common which is wholly different from the speech of the three former cities. There are yet three Ionian cities, two of them situated on the islands of Samos and Chios, and one, Erythrae, on the mainland; the Chians and Erythraeans speak alike, but the Samians have a language which is their own and no one else's. It is thus seen that there are four modes of speech. 143.

Among these Ionians, the Milesians were safe from the danger (for they had made a treaty), and the islanders among them had nothing to fear: for the Phoenicians were not yet subjects of the Persians, nor were the Persians themselves mariners. [2] But those of Asia were cut off from the rest of the Ionians only in the way that I shall show. The whole Hellenic stock was then small, and the last of all its branches and the least regarded was the Ionian; for it had no considerable city except Athens. [3] Now the Athenians and the rest would not be called Ionians, but spurned the name; even now the greater number of them seem to me to be ashamed of it; but the twelve cities aforesaid gloried in this name, and founded a holy place for themselves which they called the Panionion, and agreed among themselves to allow no other Ionians to use it (nor in fact did any except the men of Smyrna ask to be admitted); 144.

just as the Dorians of what is now the country of the "Five Cities" — formerly the country of the "Six Cities" — forbid admitting any of the neighboring Dorians to the Triopian temple, and even barred from using it those of their own group who had broken the temple law. [2] For long ago, in the games in honor of Triopian Apollo, they offered certain bronze tripods to the victors; and those who won

these were not to carry them away from the temple but dedicate them there to the god. [3] Now when a man of Halicarnassus called Agasicles won, he disregarded this law, and, carrying the tripod away, nailed it to the wall of his own house. For this offense the five cities — Lindus, Ialysus, Camirus, Cos, and Cnidus — forbade the sixth city — Halicarnassus — to share in the use of the temple. Such was the penalty imposed on the Halicarnassians. 145.

As for the Ionians, the reason why they made twelve cities and would admit no more was in my judgment this: there were twelve divisions of them when they dwelt in the Peloponnese, just as there are twelve divisions of the Achaeans who drove the Ionians out — Pellene nearest to Sicyon; then Aegira and Aegae, where is the never-failing river Crathis, from which the river in Italy took its name; Bura and Helice, where the Ionians fled when they were worsted in battle by the Achaeans; Aegion; Rhype; Patrae; Phareae; and Olenus, where is the great river Pirus; Dyme and Tritaee, the only inland city of all these — these were the twelve divisions of the Ionians, as they are now of the Achaeans. 146.

For this reason, and for no other, the Ionians too made twelve cities; for it would be foolishness to say that these are more truly Ionian or better born than the other Ionians; since not the least part of them are Abantes from Euboea, who are not Ionians even in name, and there are mingled with them Minyans of Orchomenus, Cadmeans, Dryopians, Phocian renegades from their nation, Molossians, Pelasgian Arcadians, Dorians of Epidaurus, and many other tribes; [2] and as for those who came from the very town-hall of Athens and think they are the best born of the Ionians, these did not bring wives with them to their settlements, but married Carian women whose parents they had put to death. [3] For this slaughter, these women made a custom and bound themselves by oath (and enjoined it on their daughters) that no one would sit at table with her husband or call him by his name, because the men had married them after slaying their fathers and husbands and sons. This happened at Miletus. 147.

And as kings, some of them chose Lycian descendants of Glaucus son of Hippolochus, and some Caucones of Pylus, descendants of Codrus son of Melanthus, and some both. Yet since they set more

store by the name than the rest of the Ionians, let it be granted that those of pure birth are Ionians; [2] and all are Ionians who are of Athenian descent and keep the feast Apaturia.^{48*} All do keep it, except the men of Ephesus and Colophon; these are the only Ionians who do not keep it, and these because, they say, of a certain pretext of murder. 148.

The Panionion is a sacred ground in Mykale, facing north; it was set apart for Poseidon of Helicon by the joint will of the Ionians. Mykale is a western promontory of the mainland opposite Samos; the Ionians used to assemble there from their cities and keep the festival to which they gave the name of Panionia. [2] Not only the Ionian festivals, but all those of all the Greeks alike, end in the same letter, just as do the names of the Persians. 149.

Those are the Ionian cities, and these are the Aeolian: Cyme (called "Phriconian"),^{49*} Lerisae, Neon Teichos, Temnos, Cilla, Notion, Aegiroessa, Pitane, Aegaeae, Myrina, Gryneia.^{50*} These are the ancient Aeolian cities, eleven in number; but one of them, Smyrna, was taken away by the Ionians; for these too were once twelve, on the mainland. [2] These Aeolians had settled where the land was better than the Ionian territory, but the climate was not so good. 150.

Now this is how the Aeolians lost Smyrna. Some men of Colophon, the losers in civil strife and exiles from their country, had been received by them into the town. These Colophonian exiles waited for the time when the men of Smyrna were holding a festival to Dionysus outside the walls; then they shut the gates and so got the city. [2] Then all the Aeolians came to recover it; and an agreement was made, whereby the Aeolians would receive back their movable goods from the Ionians, and leave the city. After this was done, the other eleven cities divided the Smyrnaeans among themselves and made them citizens of their own. 151.

These then are the Aeolian cities on the mainland, besides those that are situated on Ida and are separate. [2] Among those on the islands, five divide Lesbos among them (there was a sixth on Lesbos, Arisba, but its people were enslaved by their kinfolk of Methymna); there is one on Tenedos, and one again in the "Hundred Isles,"^{51*} as they are called. [3] The men of Lesbos and Tenedos, then, like the

Ionian islanders, had nothing to fear. The rest of the cities deliberated together and decided to follow the Ionians' lead. 152.

So when the envoys of the Ionians and Aeolians came to Sparta (for they set about this in haste) they chose a Phocaeen, whose name was Pythennos, to speak for all. He then put on a purple cloak, so that as many Spartans as possible might assemble to hear him, and stood up and made a long speech asking aid for his people. [2] But the Lacedaemonians would not listen to him and refused to help the Ionians. So the Ionians departed; but the Lacedaemonians, though they had rejected their envoys, did nevertheless send men in a ship of fifty oars to see (as I suppose) the situation with Cyrus and Ionia. [3] These, after coming to Phocaea, sent Lacrines, who was the most esteemed among them, to Sardis, to repeat there to Cyrus a proclamation of the Lacedaemonians, that he was to harm no city on Greek territory, or else the Lacedaemonians would punish him. 153.

When the herald had proclaimed this, Cyrus is said to have asked the Greeks who were present who and how many in number these Lacedaemonians were who made this declaration. When he was told, he said to the Spartan herald, "I never yet feared men who set apart a place in the middle of their city where they perjure themselves and deceive each other. They, if I keep my health, shall talk of their own misfortunes, not those of the Ionians." [2] He uttered this threat against all the Greeks, because they have markets and buy and sell there; for the Persians themselves were not used to resorting to markets at all, nor do they even have a market of any kind. [3] Presently, entrusting Sardis to a Persian called Tabalus, and instructing Pactyes, a Lydian, to take charge of the gold of Croesus and the Lydians, he himself marched away to Ecbatana, taking Croesus with him, and at first taking no notice of the Ionians. [4] For he had Babylon on his hands and the Bactrian nation and the Sacae and Egyptians; he meant to lead the army against these himself, and to send another commander against the Ionians. 154.

But no sooner had Cyrus marched away from Sardis than Pactyes made the Lydians revolt from Tabalus and Cyrus; and he went down to the sea, where, as he had all the gold of Sardis, he hired soldiers and persuaded the men of the coast to join his undertaking. Then, marching to Sardis, he penned Tabalus in the acropolis and besieged

him there. 155.

When Cyrus heard of this on his journey, he said to Croesus, "What end to this business, Croesus? It seems that the Lydians will never stop making trouble for me and for themselves. It occurs to me that it may be best to make slaves of them; for it seems I have acted like one who slays the father and spares the children. [2] So likewise I have taken with me you who were more than a father to the Lydians, and handed the city over to the Lydians themselves; and then indeed I marvel that they revolt!" So Cyrus uttered his thought; but Croesus feared that he would destroy Sardis, and answered him thus: [3] "O King, what you say is reasonable. But do not ever yield to anger, or destroy an ancient city that is innocent both of the former and of the present offense. For the former I am responsible, and bear the punishment on my head; while Pactyes, in whose charge you left Sardis, does this present wrong; let him, then, pay the penalty. [4] But pardon the Lydians, and give them this command so that they not revolt or pose a danger to you: send and forbid them to possess weapons of war, and order them to wear tunics under their cloaks and knee-boots on their feet, and to teach their sons lyre-playing and song and dance and shop-keeping. And quickly, O king, you shall see them become women instead of men, so that you need not fear them, that they might revolt." 156.

Croesus proposed this to him, because he thought this was better for the Lydians than to be sold as slaves; he knew that without some reasonable plea he could not change the king's mind, and feared that even if the Lydians should escape this time they might later revolt and be destroyed by the Persians. [2] Cyrus was pleased by this counsel; he relented in his anger and said he would follow Croesus' advice. Then calling Mazares, a Mede, he told him to give the Lydians the commands that Croesus advised; further, to enslave all the others who had joined the Lydians in attacking Sardis; and as for Pactyes himself, by all means to bring him into his presence alive. 157.

After giving these commands on his journey, he marched away into the Persian country. But Pactyes, learning that an army sent against him was approaching, was frightened and fled to Cyme. [2] Mazares the Mede, when he came to Sardis with the part that he had of Cyrus' host and found Pactyes' followers no longer there, first of

all compelled the Lydians to carry out Cyrus' commands; and by his order they changed their whole way of life. [3] After this, he sent messengers to Cyme demanding that Pactyes be surrendered. The Cymaeans resolved to make the god at Branchidae their judge as to what course they should take; for there was an ancient place of divination there, which all the Ionians and Aeolians used to consult; the place is in the land of Miletus, above the harbor of Panormus. 158.

The men of Cyme, then, sent to Branchidae to inquire of the shrine what they should do in the matter of Pactyes that would be most pleasing to the gods; and the oracle replied that they must surrender Pactyes to the Persians. [2] When this answer came back to them, they set about surrendering him. But while the greater part were in favor of doing this, Aristodicus son of Heraclides, a notable man among the citizens, stopped the men of Cyme from doing it; for he did not believe the oracle and thought that those who had inquired of the god spoke falsely; until at last a second band of inquirers was sent to inquire concerning Pactyes, among whom was Aristodicus. 159.

When they came to Branchidae, Aristodicus, speaking for all, put this question to the oracle: "Lord, Pactyes the Lydian has come to us a suppliant fleeing a violent death at the hands of the Persians; and they demand him of us, telling the men of Cyme to surrender him. [2] But we, as much as we fear the Persian power, have not dared give up this suppliant of ours until it is clearly made known to us by you whether we are to do this or not." Thus Aristodicus inquired; and the god again gave the same answer, that Pactyes should be surrendered to the Persians. [3] With that Aristodicus did as he had already decided; he went around the temple, and took away the sparrows and all the families of nesting birds that were in it. But while he was doing so, a voice (they say) came out of the inner shrine calling to Aristodicus, and saying, "Vilest of men, how dare you do this? Will you rob my temple of those that take refuge with me?" [4] Then Aristodicus had his answer ready: "Lord," he said, "will you save your own suppliants, yet tell the men of Cyme to deliver up theirs?" But the god replied, "Yes, I do command them, so that you may perish all the sooner for your impiety, and never again come to inquire of my oracle about giving up those that seek refuge with

you.” 160.

When the Cymaeans heard this answer, they sent Pactyes away to Mytilene; for they were anxious not to perish for delivering him up or to be besieged for keeping him with them. [2] Then Mazares sent a message to Mytilene demanding the surrender of Pactyes, and the Mytilenaeans prepared to give him, for a price; I cannot say exactly how much it was, for the bargain was never fulfilled; [3] for when the Cymaeans learned what the Mytilenaeans were about, they sent a ship to Lesbos and took Pactyes away to Chios. From there he was dragged out of the temple of City-guarding Athena and delivered up by the Chians, [4] who received in return Atarneus, which is a district in Mysia opposite Lesbos. The Persians thus received Pactyes and kept him guarded, so that they might show him to Cyrus; [5] and for a long time no one would use barley meal from this land of Atarneus in sacrifices to any god, or make sacrificial cakes of what grew there; everything that came from that country was kept away from any sacred rite. 161.

The Chians, then, surrendered Pactyes, and afterwards Mazares led his army against those who had helped to besiege Tabalus, and he enslaved the people of Priene, and overran the plain of the Maeandrus, giving it to his army to pillage and Magnesia likewise. Immediately after this he died of an illness. 162.

After his death, Harpagus, a Mede like Mazares, came down to succeed him in his command; this is the Harpagus who was entertained by Astyages the king of the Medes at that unnatural feast, and who helped win the kingship for Cyrus. [2] This man was now made general by Cyrus. When he came to Ionia, he took the cities by means of earthworks; he would drive the men within their walls and then build earthworks against the walls and so take the cities. 163.

Phocaea was the first Ionian town that he attacked. These Phocaeans were the earliest of the Greeks to make long sea-voyages, and it was they who discovered the Adriatic Sea, and Tyrrhenia, and Iberia, and Tartessus,^{52*} [2] not sailing in round freightships but in fifty-oared vessels. When they came to Tartessus they made friends with the king of the Tartessians, whose name was Arganthonius; he ruled Tartessus for eighty years and lived a hundred and twenty.^{53*} [3] The Phocaeans won this man's friendship to such a degree that he

invited them to leave Ionia and settle in his country wherever they liked; and then, when he could not persuade them to, and learned from them how the Median power was increasing, he gave them money to build a wall around their city. [4] He gave it generously: for the circuit of the wall is of not a few stades, and all this is made of great stones well fitted together. 164.

In such a manner the Phocaeans' wall was built. Harpagus marched against the city and besieged it, but he made overtures, and said that it would suffice him if the Phocaeans would demolish one rampart of the wall and dedicate one house. [2] But the Phocaeans, very indignant at the thought of slavery, said they wanted to deliberate for a day, and then they would answer; but while they were deliberating, Harpagus must withdraw his army from the walls, they said. Harpagus said that he well knew what they intended to do, but that nevertheless he would allow them to deliberate. [3] So when Harpagus withdrew his army from the walls, the Phocaeans launched their fifty-oared ships, embarked their children and women and all their movable goods, besides the statues from the temples and everything dedicated in them except bronze or stonework or painting, and then embarked themselves and set sail for Chios; and the Persians took Phocaea, left thus uninhabited. 165.

The Phocaeans would have bought the islands called Oenussae from the Chians;^{54*} but the Chians would not sell them, because they feared that the islands would become a market and so their own island be cut off from trade: so the Phocaeans prepared to sail to Cynus,^{55*} where at the command of an oracle they had built a city called Alalia twenty years before. [2] Arganthonius was by this time dead. While getting ready for their voyage, they first sailed to Phocaea, where they destroyed the Persian guard to whom Harpagus had entrusted the defense of the city; and when this was done, they called down mighty curses on any one of them who should stay behind when the rest sailed. [3] Not only this, but they sank a mass of iron in the sea, and swore never to return to Phocaea before the iron should appear again. But while they prepared to sail to Cynus, more than half of the citizens were overcome with longing and pitiful sorrow for the city and the life of their land, and they broke their oath and sailed back to Phocaea. Those of them who kept the oath put out

to sea from the Oenussae. 166.

And when they came to Cynus they lived there for five years as one community with those who had come first, and they founded temples there. But they harassed and plundered all their neighbors, as a result of which the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians made common cause against them, and sailed to attack them with sixty ships each. [2] The Phocaeans also manned their ships, sixty in number, and met the enemy in the sea called Sardonian. They engaged and the Phocaeans won, yet it was only a kind of Cadmean victory;^{56*} for they lost forty of their ships, and the twenty that remained were useless, their rams twisted awry. [3] Then sailing to Alalia they took their children and women and all of their possessions that their ships could hold on board, and leaving Cynus they sailed to Rhegium. 167.

As for the crews of the disabled ships, the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians drew lots for them, and of the Tyrrhenians the Agyllai^{57*} were allotted by far the majority and these they led out and stoned to death. But afterwards, everything from Agylla that passed the place where the stoned Phocaeans lay, whether sheep or beasts of burden or men, became distorted and crippled and palsied. [2] The Agyllaeans sent to Delphi, wanting to mend their offense; and the Pythian priestess told them to do what the people of Agylla do to this day: for they pay great honors to the Phocaeans, with religious rites and games and horse-races. [3] Such was the end of this part of the Phocaeans. Those of them who fled to Rhegium set out from there and gained possession of that city in the Oenotrian^{58*} country which is now called Hyele;^{59*} [4] they founded this because they learned from a man of Posidonia that the Cynus whose establishment the Pythian priestess ordained was the hero, and not the island. 168.

Thus, then, it went with the Ionian Phocaea. The Teians did the same things as the Phocaeans: when Harpagus had taken their walled city by building an earthwork, they all embarked aboard ship and sailed away for Thrace. There they founded a city, Abdera, which before this had been founded by Timesius of Clazomenae; yet he got no profit of it, but was driven out by the Thracians. This Timesius is now honored as a hero by the Teians of Abdera. 169.

These were the only Ionians who left their native lands, unable to

endure slavery. The rest of the Ionians, except the Milesians, though they faced Harpagus in battle as did the exiles, and conducted themselves well, each fighting for his own country, yet, when they were defeated and their cities taken, they remained where they were and did as they were told. [2] The Milesians, as I have already said, made a treaty with Cyrus himself and struck no blow. Thus Ionia was enslaved for the second time: and when Harpagus had conquered the Ionians of the mainland, the Ionians of the islands, fearing the same fate, surrendered to Cyrus. 170.

When the Ionians, despite their evil plight, nonetheless assembled at the Panionion, Bias of Priene, I have learned, gave them very useful advice, and had they followed it they might have been the most prosperous of all Greeks: [2] for he advised them to put out to sea and sail all together to Sardo and then found one city for all Ionians: thus, possessing the greatest island in the world and ruling others, they would be rid of slavery and have prosperity; but if they stayed in Ionia he could see (he said) no hope of freedom for them. [3] This was the advice which Bias of Priene gave after the destruction of the Ionians; and that given before the destruction by Thales of Miletus, a Phoenician by descent, was good too; he advised that the Ionians have one place of deliberation, and that it be in Teos (for that was the center of Ionia), and that the other cities be considered no more than demes.

Thus Bias and Thales advised. 171.

Harpagus, after subjugating Ionia, made an expedition against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians, taking Ionians and Aeolians with him. [2] Of these, the Carians have come to the mainland from the islands; for in the past they were islanders, called Leleges and under the rule of Minos, not (as far as I can learn by report) paying tribute, but manning ships for him when he needed them. [3] Since Minos had subjected a good deal of territory for himself and was victorious in war, this made the Carians too at that time by far the most respected of all nations. [4] They invented three things in which they were followed by the Greeks: it was the Carians who originated wearing crests on their helmets and devices on their shields, and who first made grips for their shields; until then all who used shields carried them without these grips, and guided them with leather belts which

they slung round the neck and over the left shoulder.^{60*} [5] Then, a long time afterwards, the Carians were driven from the islands by Dorians and Ionians and so came to the mainland. This is the Cretan story about the Carians; but the Carians themselves do not subscribe to it, but believe that they are aboriginal inhabitants of the mainland and always bore the name which they bear now; [6] and they point to an ancient shrine of Carian Zeus at Mylasa, to which Mysians and Lydians, as brethren of the Carians (for Lydus and Mysus, they say, were brothers of Car), are admitted, but not those who spoke the same language as the Carians but were of another people. 172.

I think the Caunians are aborigines of the soil, but they say that they came from Crete. Their speech has become like the Carian, or the Carian like theirs (for I cannot clearly decide), but in their customs they diverge widely from the Carians, as from all other men. Their chief pleasure is to assemble for drinking-bouts in groups according to their ages and friendships: men, women, and children. [2] Certain foreign rites of worship were established among them; but afterwards, when they were inclined otherwise, and wanted to worship only the gods of their fathers, all Caunian men of full age put on their armor and went together as far as the boundaries of Calynda, striking the air with their spears and saying that they were casting out the alien gods. 173.

Such are their ways. The Lycians were from Crete in ancient times (for in the past none that lived on Crete were Greek). [2] Now there was a dispute in Crete about the royal power between Sarpedon and Minos, sons of Europa; Minos prevailed in this dispute and drove out Sarpedon and his partisans; who, after being driven out, came to the Milyan land in Asia. What is now possessed by the Lycians was in the past Milyan, and the Milyans were then called Solymi. [3] For a while Sarpedon ruled them, and the people were called Termilae, which was the name that they had brought with them and that is still given to the Lycians by their neighbors; but after Lycus son of Pandion came from Athens — banished as well by his brother, Aegeus — to join Sarpedon in the land of the Termilae, they came in time to be called Lycians after Lycus. [4] Their customs are partly Cretan and partly Carian. But they have one which is their own and shared by no other men: they take their names not from their

fathers but from their mothers, [5] and when one is asked by his neighbor who he is, he will say that he is the son of such a mother, and rehearse the mothers of his mother. Indeed, if a female citizen marries a slave, her children are considered pure-blooded; but if a male citizen, even the most prominent of them, takes an alien wife or concubine, the children are dishonored. 174.

Neither the Carians nor any Greeks who dwell in this country did any thing notable before they were all enslaved by Harpagus. [2] Among those who inhabit it are certain Cnidians, colonists from Lacedaemon. Their country (it is called the Triopion) lies between the sea and that part of the peninsula which belongs to Bubassus, and all but a small part of the Cnidian territory is washed by the sea [3] (for it is bounded on the north by the gulf of Ceramicus, and on the south by the sea off Syme and Rhodes). Now while Harpagus was conquering Ionia, the Cnidians dug a trench across this little space, which is about two-thirds of a mile wide, in order that their country might be an island. So they brought it all within the entrenchment; for the frontier between the Cnidian country and the mainland is on the isthmus across which they dug. [4] Many of them were at this work; and seeing that the workers were injured when breaking stones more often and less naturally than usual, some in other ways, but most in the eyes, the Cnidians sent envoys to Delphi to inquire what it was that opposed them. [5] Then, as they themselves say, the priestess gave them this answer in iambic verse: ““Do not wall or trench the isthmus:

Zeus would have given you an island, if he had wanted to.”

“[6] At this answer from the priestess, the Cnidians stopped their digging, and when Harpagus came against them with his army they surrendered to him without resistance. 175.

There were Pedaseans dwelling inland above Halicarnassus; when any misfortune was approaching them or their neighbors, the priestess of Athena grew a long beard. This had happened to them thrice. These were the only men near Caria who held out for long against Harpagus, and they gave him the most trouble; they fortified a hill called Lide. 176.

The Pedaseans were at length taken, and when Harpagus led his army into the plain of Xanthus, the Lycians came out to meet him,

and showed themselves courageous fighting few against many; but being beaten and driven into the city, they gathered their wives and children and goods and servants into the acropolis, and then set the whole acropolis on fire. [2] Then they swore great oaths to each other, and sallying out fell fighting, all the men of Xanthus. [3] Of the Xanthians who claim now to be Lycians the greater number, all except eighty households, are of foreign descent; these eighty families as it happened were away from the city at that time, and thus survived. So Harpagus gained Xanthus, and Caunus too in a somewhat similar manner, the Caunians following for the most part the example of the Lycians. 177.

Harpagus, then, made havoc of lower Asia; in the upper country, Cyrus himself vanquished every nation, leaving none untouched. Of the greater part of these I will say nothing, but will speak only of those which gave Cyrus the most trouble and are most worthy of being described. 178.

When Cyrus had made all the mainland submit to him, he attacked the Assyrians. In Assyria there are many other great cities, but the most famous and the strongest was Babylon, where the royal dwelling had been established after the destruction of Ninus.^{61*} Babylon was a city such as I will now describe. [2] It lies in a great plain, and is in shape a square, each side fifteen miles in length; thus sixty miles make the complete circuit of the city. Such is the size of the city of Babylon; and it was planned like no other city of which we know. [3] Around it runs first a moat deep and wide and full of water, and then a wall eighty three feet thick and three hundred thirty three feet high. The royal measure is greater by three fingers' breadth than the common measure.^{62*} 179.

Further, I must relate where the earth was used as it was dug from the moat and how the wall was constructed. As they dug the moat, they made bricks of the earth which was carried out of the place they dug, and when they had moulded bricks enough, they baked them in ovens; [2] then using hot bitumen for cement and interposing layers of wattled reeds at every thirtieth course of bricks, they built first the border of the moat and then the wall itself in the same fashion. [3] On the top, along the edges of the wall, they built houses of a single room, facing each other, with space enough between to drive a four-

horse chariot. There are a hundred gates in the circuit of the wall, all of bronze, with posts and lintels of the same. [4] There is another city, called Is,^{63*} eight days' journey from Babylon, where there is a little river, also named Is, a tributary of the Euphrates river; from the source of this river Is, many lumps of bitumen rise with the water; and from there the bitumen was brought for the wall of Babylon. 180.

Thus, then, this wall was built; the city is divided into two parts; for it is cut in half by a river named Euphrates, a wide, deep, and swift river, flowing from Armenia and issuing into the Red Sea. [2] The angles of the wall, then, on either side are built quite down to the river; here they turn, and from here a fence of baked bricks runs along each bank of the stream. [3] The city itself is full of houses three and four stories high; and the ways that traverse it, those that run crosswise towards the river and the rest, are all straight. [4] Further, at the end of each road there was a gate in the riverside fence, one gate for each alley; these gates also were of bronze, and these too opened on the river. 181.

These walls are the city's outer armor; within them there is another encircling wall, nearly as strong as the other, but narrower. [2] In the middle of one division of the city stands the royal palace, surrounded by a high and strong wall; and in the middle of the other is still to this day the sacred enclosure of Zeus Belus,^{64*} a square of four hundred and forty yards each way, with gates of bronze. [3] In the center of this sacred enclosure a solid tower has been built, two hundred and twenty yards long and broad; a second tower rises from this and from it yet another, until at last there are eight. [4] The way up them mounts spirally outside the height of the towers; about halfway up is a resting place, with seats for repose, where those who ascend sit down and rest. [5] In the last tower there is a great shrine; and in it stands a great and well-covered couch, and a golden table nearby. But no image has been set up in the shrine, nor does any human creature lie there for the night, except one native woman, chosen from all women by the god, as the Chaldaeans say, who are priests of this god. 182.

These same Chaldaeans say (though I do not believe them) that the god himself is accustomed to visit the shrine and rest on the couch, as in Thebes of Egypt, as the Egyptians say [2] (for there too a

woman sleeps in the temple of Theban Zeus,^{65*} and neither the Egyptian nor the Babylonian woman, it is said, has intercourse with men), and as does the prophetess of the god^{66*} at Patara in Lycia, whenever she is appointed; for there is not always a place of divination there; but when she is appointed she is shut up in the temple during the night. 183.

In the Babylonian temple there is another shrine below, where there is a great golden image of Zeus, sitting at a great golden table, and the footstool and the chair are also gold; the gold of the whole was said by the Chaldeans to be eight hundred talents' weight. [2] Outside the temple is a golden altar. There is also another great altar, on which are sacrificed the full-grown of the flocks; only nurslings may be sacrificed on the golden altar, but on the greater altar the Chaldeans even offer a thousand talents' weight of frankincense yearly, when they keep the festival of this god; and in the days of Cyrus there was still in this sacred enclosure a statue of solid gold twenty feet high. [3] I myself have not seen it, but I relate what is told by the Chaldeans. Darius son of Hystaspes proposed to take this statue but dared not; Xerxes his son took it, and killed the priest who warned him not to move the statue. Such is the furniture of this temple, and there are many private offerings besides. 184.

Now among the many rulers of this city of Babylon (whom I shall mention in my Assyrian history) who finished the building of the walls and the temples, there were two that were women. The first of these lived five generations earlier than the second, and her name was Semiramis: it was she who built dikes on the plain, a notable work; before that the whole plain used to be flooded by the river. 185.

The second queen, whose name was Nitocris, was a wiser woman than the first. She left such monuments as I shall record; and moreover, seeing that the kingdom of Media was great and restless and Ninus itself among other cities had fallen to it, she took such precautions as she could for her protection. [2] First she dealt with the river Euphrates, which flows through the middle of her city; this had been straight before; but by digging canals higher up she made the river so crooked that its course now passes one of the Assyrian villages three times; the village which is so approached by the Euphrates is called Ardericca. And now those who travel from our

sea to Babylon must spend three days as they float down the Euphrates coming three times to the same village. [3] Such was this work; and she built an embankment along either shore of the river, marvellous for its greatness and height. [4] Then a long way above Babylon she dug the reservoir of a lake, a little way off from the river, always digging deep enough to find water, and making the circumference a distance of fifty two miles; what was dug out of this hole, she used to embank either edge of the river; [5] and when she had it all dug, she brought stones and made a quay all around the lake. [6] Her purpose in making the river wind and turning the hole into marsh was this: that the current might be slower because of the many windings that broke its force, and that the passages to Babylon might be crooked, and that right after them should come also the long circuit of the lake. [7] All this work was done in that part of the country where the passes are and the shortest road from Media, so that the Medes might not mix with her people and learn of her affairs. 186.

So she made the deep river her protection; and this work led to another which she added to it. Her city was divided into two parts by the river that flowed through the middle. In the days of the former rulers, when one wanted to go from one part to the other, one had to cross in a boat; and this, I suppose, was a nuisance. But the queen also provided for this; she made another monument of her reign out of this same work when the digging of the basin of the lake was done. [2] She had very long blocks of stone cut; and when these were ready and the place was dug, she turned the course of the river into it, and while it was filling, the former channel now being dry, she bricked the borders of the river in the city and the descent from the gate leading down to the river with baked bricks, like those of the wall; and near the middle of the city she built a bridge with the stones that had been dug up, binding them together with iron and lead. [3] Each morning, she laid square-hewn logs across it, on which the Babylonians crossed; but these logs were removed at night, lest folk always be crossing over and stealing from one another. [4] Then, when the basin she had made for a lake was filled by the river and the bridge was finished, Nitocris brought the Euphrates back to its former channel out of the lake; thus she had served her purpose, as

she thought, by making a swamp of the basin, and her citizens had a bridge made for them. 187.

There was a trick, too, that this same queen contrived. She had a tomb made for herself and set high over the very gate of that entrance of the city which was used most, with writing engraved on the tomb, which read: [2] “If any king of Babylon in the future is in need of money, let him open this tomb and take as much as he likes: but let him not open it unless he is in need; for it will be the worse for him.” [3] This tomb remained untouched until the kingship fell to Darius. He thought it a very strange thing that he should never use this gate, or take the money when it lay there and the writing itself invited him to. [4] The reason he did not use the gate was that the dead body would be over his head as he passed through. [5] After opening the tomb, he found no money there, only the dead body, with writing which read: “If you were ever satisfied with what you had and did not disgrace yourself seeking more, you would not have opened the coffins of the dead.” Such a woman, it is recorded, was this queen. 188.

Cyrus, then, marched against Nitocris’ son, who inherited the name of his father Labynetos and the sovereignty of Assyria. Now when the Great King campaigns, he marches well provided with food and flocks from home; and water from the Choaspes river that flows past Susa is carried with him, the only river from which the king will drink. [2] This water of the Choaspes^{67*} is boiled, and very many four-wheeled wagons drawn by mules carry it in silver vessels, following the king wherever he goes at any time. 189.

When Cyrus reached the Gyndes river on his march to Babylon,^{68*} which rises in the mountains of the Matieni and flows through the Dardanean country into another river, the Tigris, that again passes the city of Opis and empties into the Red Sea — when, I say, Cyrus tried to cross the Gyndes, which was navigable there, one of his sacred white horses dashed recklessly into the river trying to get through it, but the current overwhelmed him and swept him under and away. [2] At this violence of the river Cyrus was very angry, and he threatened to make it so feeble that women could ever after cross it easily without wetting their knees. [3] After uttering this threat, he paused in his march against Babylon, and, dividing his army into two parts,

drew lines planning out a hundred and eighty canals running every way from either bank of the Gyndes; then he organized his army along the lines and made them dig. [4] Since a great multitude was at work, it went quickly; but they spent the whole summer there before it was finished. 190.

Then at the beginning of the following spring, when Cyrus had punished the Gyndes by dividing it among the three hundred and sixty canals, he marched against Babylon at last. The Babylonians sallied out and awaited him; and when he came near their city in his march, they engaged him, but they were beaten and driven inside the city. [2] There they had stored provisions enough for very many years, because they knew already that Cyrus was not a man of no ambition, and saw that he attacked all nations alike; so now they were indifferent to the siege; and Cyrus did not know what to do, being so long delayed and gaining no advantage. 191.

Whether someone advised him in his difficulty, or whether he perceived for himself what to do, I do not know, but he did the following. [2] He posted his army at the place where the river goes into the city, and another part of it behind the city, where the river comes out of the city, and told his men to enter the city by the channel of the Euphrates when they saw it to be fordable. Having disposed them and given this command, he himself marched away with those of his army who could not fight; [3] and when he came to the lake, Cyrus dealt with it and with the river just as had the Babylonian queen: drawing off the river by a canal into the lake, which was a marsh, he made the stream sink until its former channel could be forded. [4] When this happened, the Persians who were posted with this objective made their way into Babylon by the channel of the Euphrates, which had now sunk to a depth of about the middle of a man's thigh. [5] Now if the Babylonians had known beforehand or learned what Cyrus was up to, they would have let the Persians enter the city and have destroyed them utterly; for then they would have shut all the gates that opened on the river and mounted the walls that ran along the river banks, and so caught their enemies in a trap. [6] But as it was, the Persians took them unawares, and because of the great size of the city (those who dwell there say) those in the outer parts of it were overcome, but the inhabitants of the

middle part knew nothing of it; all this time they were dancing and celebrating a holiday which happened to fall then, until they learned the truth only too well. 192.

And Babylon, then for the first time, was taken in this way. I shall show how great the power of Babylon is by many other means, but particularly by this. All the land that the great King rules is parcelled out to provision him and his army, and pays tribute besides: now the territory of Babylon feeds him for four of the twelve months in the year, the whole of the rest of Asia providing for the other eight. [2] Thus the wealth of Assyria is one third of the entire wealth of Asia. The governorship of this land, which the Persians call “satrapy,” is by far the most powerful of all the governorships, since the daily income of Tritantæchmes son of Artabazus, who governed this province by the king’s will, was an artaba full of silver [3] (the artaba is a Persian measure, containing more than an Attic medimnus by three Attic choenixes),^{69*} and besides warhorses he had eight hundred stallions in his stables, and sixteen thousand brood mares, each stallion servicing twenty mares. [4] Moreover he kept so great a number of Indian dogs that four great villages of the plain were appointed to provide food for the dogs and exempted from all other burdens. Such were the riches of the governor of Babylon. 193.

There is little rain in Assyria. This nourishes the roots of the grain; but it is irrigation from the river that ripens the crop and brings the grain to fullness. In Egypt, the river itself rises and floods the fields; in Assyria, they are watered by hand and by swinging beams.^{70*} [2] For the whole land of Babylon, like Egypt, is cut across by canals. The greatest of these is navigable: it runs towards where the sun rises in winter, from the Euphrates to another river, the Tigris, on which stood the city of Ninus. This land is by far the most fertile in grain which we know. [3] It does not even try to bear trees, fig, vine, or olive, but Demeter’s grain is so abundant there that it yields for the most part two hundred fold, and even three hundred fold when the harvest is best. The blades of the wheat and barley there are easily four fingers broad; [4] and for millet and sesame, I will not say to what height they grow, though it is known to me; for I am well aware that even what I have said regarding grain is wholly disbelieved by those who have never visited Babylonia. They use no

oil except what they make from sesame.^{71*} There are palm trees there growing all over the plain, most of them yielding fruit, from which food is made and wine and honey. [5] The Assyrians tend these like figs, and chiefly in this respect, that they tie the fruit of the palm called male by the Greeks to the date-bearing palm, so that the gall-fly may enter the dates and cause them to ripen, and that the fruit of the palm may not fall; for the male palms, like unripened figs, have gall-flies in their fruit. 194.

I am going to indicate what seems to me to be the most marvellous thing in the country, next to the city itself. Their boats which ply the river and go to Babylon are all of skins, and round. [2] They make these in Armenia, higher up the stream than Assyria. First they cut frames of willow, then they stretch hides over these for a covering, making as it were a hold; they neither broaden the stern nor narrow the prow, but the boat is round, like a shield. They then fill it with reeds and send it floating down the river with a cargo; and it is for the most part palm wood casks of wine that they carry down. [3] Two men standing upright steer the boat, each with a paddle, one drawing it to him, the other thrusting it from him. These boats are of all sizes, some small, some very large; the largest of them are of as much as five thousand talents^{72*} burden. There is a live ass in each boat, or more than one in the larger. [4] So when they have floated down to Babylon and disposed of their cargo, they sell the framework of the boat and all the reeds; the hides are set on the backs of asses, which are then driven back to Armenia, [5] for it is not by any means possible to go upstream by water, because of the swiftness of the current; it is for this reason that they make their boats of hides and not of wood. When they have driven their asses back into Armenia, they make more boats in the same way. 195.

Such then are their boats. For clothing, they wear a linen tunic, reaching to the feet; over this the Babylonian puts on another tunic, of wool, and wraps himself in a white mantle; he wears the shoes of his country, which are like Boeotian sandals. Their hair is worn long, and covered by caps; the whole body is perfumed. [2] Every man has a seal and a carved staff, and on every staff is some image, such as that of an apple or a rose or a lily or an eagle: no one carries a staff without an image. 196.

This is the equipment of their persons. I will now speak of their established customs. The wisest of these, in our judgment, is one which I have learned by inquiry is also a custom of the Eneti in Illyria. It is this: once a year in every village all the maidens as they attained marriageable age were collected and brought together into one place, with a crowd of men standing around. [2] Then a crier would display and offer them for sale one by one, first the fairest of all; and then, when she had fetched a great price, he put up for sale the next most attractive, selling all the maidens as lawful wives. Rich men of Assyria who desired to marry would outbid each other for the fairest; the ordinary people, who desired to marry and had no use for beauty, could take the ugly ones and money besides; [3] for when the crier had sold all the most attractive, he would put up the one that was least beautiful, or crippled, and offer her to whoever would take her to wife for the least amount, until she fell to one who promised to accept least; the money came from the sale of the attractive ones, who thus paid the dowry of the ugly and the crippled. But a man could not give his daughter in marriage to whomever he liked, nor could one that bought a girl take her away without giving security that he would in fact make her his wife. [4] And if the couple could not agree, it was a law that the money be returned. Men might also come from other villages to buy if they so desired. [5] This, then, was their best custom; but it does not continue at this time; they have invented a new one lately [so that the women not be wronged or taken to another city]; since the conquest of Babylon made them afflicted and poor, everyone of the people that lacks a livelihood prostitutes his daughters. 197.

I come now to the next wisest of their customs: having no use for physicians, they carry the sick into the market-place; then those who have been afflicted themselves by the same illness as the sick man's, or seen others in like case, come near and advise him about his disease and comfort him, telling him by what means they have themselves recovered from it or seen others recover. No one may pass by the sick man without speaking and asking after his sickness. 198.

The dead are embalmed in honey for burial, and their dirges are like the dirges of Egypt. Whenever a Babylonian has had intercourse

with his wife, they both sit before a burnt offering of incense, and at dawn they wash themselves; they will touch no vessel before this is done. This is the custom in Arabia also. 199.

The foulest Babylonian custom is that which compels every woman of the land to sit in the temple of Aphrodite and have intercourse with some stranger once in her life. Many women who are rich and proud and disdain to mingle with the rest, drive to the temple in covered carriages drawn by teams, and stand there with a great retinue of attendants. [2] But most sit down in the sacred plot of Aphrodite, with crowns of cord on their heads; there is a great multitude of women coming and going; passages marked by line run every way through the crowd, by which the men pass and make their choice. [3] Once a woman has taken her place there, she does not go away to her home before some stranger has cast money into her lap, and had intercourse with her outside the temple; but while he casts the money, he must say, "I invite you in the name of Mylitta" (that is the Assyrian name for Aphrodite). [4] It does not matter what sum the money is; the woman will never refuse, for that would be a sin, the money being by this act made sacred. So she follows the first man who casts it and rejects no one. After their intercourse, having discharged her sacred duty to the goddess, she goes away to her home; and thereafter there is no bribe however great that will get her. [5] So then the women that are fair and tall are soon free to depart, but the uncomely have long to wait because they cannot fulfill the law; for some of them remain for three years, or four. There is a custom like this in some parts of Cyprus. 200.

These are established customs among the Babylonians. Furthermore, there are three tribes in the country that eat nothing but fish, which they catch and dry in the sun; then, after throwing it into a mortar, they pound it with pestles and strain everything through linen. Then whoever desires kneads as it were a cake of it and eats it; others bake it like bread. 201.

When Cyrus had conquered this nation, too, he wanted to subject the Massagetae. These are said to be a great and powerful people dwelling towards the east and the sunrise, beyond the Araxes and opposite the Issedones; and some say that they are a Scythian people.

The Araxes is said by some to be greater and by some to be less than the Ister. It is reported that there are many islands in it as big as Lesbos, and men on them who in summer live on roots of all kinds that they dig up, and in winter on fruit that they have got from trees when it was ripe and stored for food; [2] and they know (it is said) of trees bearing a fruit whose effect is this: gathering in groups and kindling a fire, the people sit around it and throw the fruit into the flames; then the fumes of it as it burns make them drunk as the Greeks are with wine, and more and more drunk as more fruit is thrown on the fire, until at last they rise up to dance and even sing. Such is said to be their way of life. [3] The Araxes^{73*} flows from the country of the Matieni (as does the Gyndes, which Cyrus divided into the three hundred and sixty channels) and empties itself through forty mouths, of which all except one issue into bogs and swamps, where men are said to live whose food is raw fish, and their customary dress sealskins. [4] The one remaining stream of the Araxes flows in a clear channel into the Caspian sea.

This is a sea by itself, not joined to the other sea. For that on which the Greeks sail, and the sea beyond the pillars of Heracles, which they call Atlantic, and the Red Sea, are all one: 203. but the Caspian is separate and by itself. Its length is what a ship rowed by oars can traverse in fifteen days, and its breadth, where it is broadest, is an eight days' journey. Along its western shore stretches the range of Caucasus, which has more and higher peaks than any other range. Many and all kinds of nations dwell in the Caucasus, and the most of them live on the fruits of the forest. [2] Here, it is said, are trees growing leaves that men crush and mix with water and use for painting figures on their clothing; these figures cannot be washed out, but last as long as the wool, as if they had been woven into it from the first. Men and women here (they say) have intercourse openly, like beasts of the flock. 204.

This sea called Caspian is hemmed in to the west by the Caucasus: towards the east and the sunrise there stretches from its shores a boundless plain as far as the eye can see. The greater part of this wide plain is the country of the Massagetae, against whom Cyrus was eager to lead his army. [2] For there were many weighty reasons that impelled and encouraged him to do so: first, his birth, because of

which he seemed to be something more than mortal; and next, his victories in his wars: for no nation that Cyrus undertook to attack could escape from him. 205.

Now at this time the Massagetae were ruled by a queen called Tomyris, whose husband was dead. Cyrus sent a message with a pretence of wanting her for his wife, but Tomyris would have none of his advances, well understanding that he wanted not her but the kingdom of the Massagetae. [2] So when guile was of no avail, Cyrus marched to the Araxes and openly prepared to attack the Massagetae; he bridged the river for his army to cross, and built towers on the pontoons bridging the river. 206.

But while he was busy at this, Tomyris sent a herald to him with this message: "O king of the Medes, stop hurrying on what you are hurrying on, for you cannot know whether the completion of this work will be for your advantage. Stop, and be king of your own country; and endure seeing us ruling those whom we rule. [2] But if you will not take this advice, and will do anything rather than remain at peace, then if you so greatly desire to try the strength of the Massagetae, stop your present work of bridging the river, and let us withdraw three days' journey from the Araxes; and when that is done, cross into our country. [3] Or if you prefer to receive us into your country, then withdraw yourself as I have said." Hearing this, Cyrus called together the leading Persians and laid the matter before them, asking them to advise him which he should do. They all spoke to the same end, urging him to let Tomyris and her army enter his country. 207.

But Croesus the Lydian, who was present, was displeased by their advice and spoke against it. "O King," he said, "you have before now heard from me that since Zeus has given me to you I will turn aside to the best of my ability whatever misadventure I see threatening your house. And disaster has been my teacher. [2] Now, if you think that you and the army that you lead are immortal, I have no business giving you advice; but if you know that you and those whom you rule are only men, then I must first teach you this: men's fortunes are on a wheel, which in its turning does not allow the same man to prosper forever. [3] So, if that is the case, I am not of the same opinion about the business in hand as these other counsellors of yours. This is

the danger if we agree to let the enemy enter your country: if you lose the battle, you lose your empire also, for it is plain that if the Massagetae win they will not retreat but will march against your provinces. [4] And if you conquer them, it is a lesser victory than if you crossed into their country and routed the Massagetae and pursued them; for I weigh your chances against theirs, and suppose that when you have beaten your adversaries you will march for the seat of Tomyris' power. [5] And besides what I have shown, it would be a shameful thing and not to be endured if Cyrus the son of Cambyses should yield and give ground before a woman. Now then, it occurs to me that we should cross and go forward as far as they draw back, and that then we should endeavor to overcome them by doing as I shall show. [6] As I understand, the Massagetae have no experience of the good things of Persia, and have never fared well as to what is greatly desirable. Therefore, I advise you to cut up the meat of many of your sheep and goats into generous portions for these men, and to cook it and serve it as a feast in our camp, providing many bowls of unmixed wine and all kinds of food. [7] Then let your army withdraw to the river again, leaving behind that part of it which is of least value. For if I am not mistaken in my judgment, when the Massagetae see so many good things they will give themselves over to feasting on them; and it will be up to us then to accomplish great things." 208.

So these opinions clashed; and Cyrus set aside his former plan and chose that of Croesus; consequently, he told Tomyris to draw her army off, for he would cross (he said) and attack her; so she withdrew as she had promised before. Then he entrusted Croesus to the care of his own son Cambyses, to whom he would leave his sovereignty, telling Cambyses to honor Croesus and treat him well if the crossing of the river against the Massagetae should not go well. With these instructions, he sent the two back to Persia, and he and his army crossed the river. 209.

After he had crossed the Araxes, he dreamed that night while sleeping in the country of the Massagetae that he saw the eldest of Hystapes' sons with wings on his shoulders, the one wing overshadowing Asia and the other Europe. [2] Hystapes son of Arsames was an Achaemenid, and Darius was the eldest of his sons,

then about twenty years old; this Darius had been left behind in Persia, not yet being of an age to go on campaign. [3] So when Cyrus awoke he considered his vision, and because it seemed to him to be of great importance, he sent for Hystaspes and said to him privately, "Hystaspes, I have caught your son plotting against me and my sovereignty; and I will tell you how I know this for certain. [4] The gods care for me and show me beforehand all that is coming. Now then, I have seen in a dream in the past night your eldest son with wings on his shoulders, overshadowing Asia with the one and Europe with the other. [5] From this vision, there is no way that he is not plotting against me. Therefore hurry back to Persia, and see that when I come back after subjecting this country you bring your son before me to be questioned about this." 210.

Cyrus said this, thinking that Darius was plotting against him; but in fact, heaven was showing him that he himself was to die in the land where he was and Darius inherit his kingdom. [2] So then Hystaspes replied with this: "O King, may there not be any Persian born who would plot against you! But if there is, may he perish suddenly; for you have made the Persians free men instead of slaves and rulers of all instead of subjects of any. [3] But if your vision does indeed signify that my son is planning revolution, I give him to you to treat as you like." 211.

After having given this answer and crossed the Araxes, Hystaspes went to Persia to watch his son for Cyrus; and Cyrus, advancing a day's journey from the Araxes, acted according to Croesus' advice. [2] Cyrus and the sound portion of the Persian army marched back to the Araxes, leaving behind those that were useless; a third of the Massagetae forces attacked those of the army who were left behind and destroyed them despite resistance; then, when they had overcome their enemies, seeing the banquet spread they sat down and feasted, and after they had had their fill of food and wine, they fell asleep. [3] Then the Persians attacked them, killing many and taking many more alive, among whom was the son of Tomyris the queen, Spargapises by name, the leader of the Massagetae. 212.

When Tomyris heard what had happened to her army and her son, she sent a herald to Cyrus with this message: [2] "Cyrus who can never get enough blood, do not be elated by what you have done; it is

nothing to be proud of if, by the fruit of the vine — with which you Persians fill yourselves and rage so violently that evil words rise in a flood to your lips when the wine enters your bodies — if, by tricking him with this drug, you got the better of my son, and not by force of arms in battle. [3] Now, then, take a word of good advice from me: give me back my son and leave this country unpunished, even though you have savaged a third of the Massagetae army. But if you will not, then I swear to you by the sun, lord of the Massagetae, that I shall give even you who can never get enough of it your fill of blood.” 213.

Cyrus dismissed this warning when it was repeated to him. But Spargapises, the son of the queen Tomyris, after the wine wore off and he recognized his evil plight, asked Cyrus to be freed from his bonds; and this was granted him; but as soon as he was freed and had the use of his hands, he did away with himself. 214.

Such was the end of Spargapises. Tomyris, when Cyrus would not listen to her, collected all her forces and engaged him. This fight I judge to have been the fiercest ever fought by men that were not Greek; and indeed I have learned that this was so. [2] For first (it is said) they shot arrows at each other from a distance; then, when their arrows were all spent, they rushed at each other and fought with their spears and swords; and for a long time they stood fighting and neither would give ground; but at last the Massagetae got the upper hand. [3] The greater part of the Persian army was destroyed there on the spot, and Cyrus himself fell there, after having reigned for one year short of thirty years. [4] Tomyris filled a skin with human blood, and searched among the Persian dead for Cyrus’ body; and when she found it, she pushed his head into the skin, and insulted the dead man in these words: [5] “Though I am alive and have defeated you in battle, you have destroyed me, taking my son by guile; but just as I threatened, I give you your fill of blood.” Many stories are told of Cyrus’ death; this, that I have told, is the most credible. 215.

These Massagetae are like the Scythians in their dress and way of life. They are both cavalry and infantry (having some of each kind), and spearmen and archers; and it is their custom to carry battle-axes. They always use gold and bronze; all their spear-points and arrow-heads and battle-axes are bronze and the adornment of their headgear and belts and girdles is gold. [2] They equip their horses similarly,

protecting their chests with bronze breastplates and putting gold on reins, bits, and cheekplates. But they never use iron and silver, for there is none at all in their country, but gold and bronze abound. 216.

Now for their customs: each man marries a wife, but the wives are common to all. The Greeks say this is a Scythian custom; it is not, but a custom of the Massagetae. There, when a man desires a woman, he hangs his quiver before her wagon, and has intercourse with her without fear. [2] Though they fix no certain term to life, yet when a man is very old all his family meet together and kill him, with beasts of the flock besides, then boil the flesh and feast on it. [3] This is held to be the happiest death; when a man dies of an illness, they do not eat him, but bury him in the earth, and lament that he did not live to be killed. They never plant seed; their fare is their livestock and the fish which they take in abundance from the Araxes. [4] Their drink is milk. The sun is the only god whom they worship; they sacrifice horses to him; the reasoning is that he is the swiftest of the gods, and therefore they give him the swiftest of mortal things.

FOOTNOTES: BOOK I

1 Not the modern Red Sea, but the Persian Gulf and adjacent waters.

2 This is the legendary cruise of the Argonauts.

3 Descendants of Heracles seems to mean descended from the Asiatic sun god identified with Heracles by the Greeks.

4 The “Attic” talent had a weight of about 58 lbs. avoirdupois, the “Aeginetan” of about 82.

5 Many Greek states had special “treasuries” allotted to them in the temple precincts at Delphi, in which their offerings were deposited.

6 A small town or village near Miletus.

7 The dithyramb was a kind of dance-music particularly associated with the cult of Dionysus.

8 Terentum

9 The ὄρθιος νόμος was a high-pitched (and apparently very well-known) song or hymn in honor of Apollo.

10 Croesus’ reign began in 560 B.C., probably.

11 The “intercalary” month is a month periodically inserted to make the series of solar and calendar years eventually correspond. But Herodotus’ reckoning here would make the average length of a year three hundred seventy-five days.

12 Or, perhaps, “in the women’s quarters.”

13 That is, to the oracular shrines of these legendary heroes.

14 μνᾶ= about 15 oz. Troy weight.

15 The Theophania was a festival at Delphi, at which the statues of gods were shown.

16 The stater was the common gold coin of the Greek world. The value of Croesus’ stater was probably about twenty-three shillings of our money.

17 Deucalion and Pyrrha were the survivors of the Deluge as known to Greek legend.

18 The localities mentioned in the story of the migration into the Peloponnese are all in northern Greece.

19 If these are the Etruscans, then Creston may = Cortona: but the whole matter is doubtful.

20 Local division of Attica.

21 That is, mapping the land out for cultivation.

22 τὴν ἐξ θεόν, explained as =τὴν θεὸν ὀδόν. τὴν ἐνθεον(= the inspired one: after ἐπιρησομένων) would be an easy correction. But all MSS. have ἐξ θεόν.

23 A mountain north-east of Sparta, overlooking the Eurotas valley.

24 τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ κάτω means here and elsewhere in Hdt. the western part of Asia, west of the Halys (Kizil Irmak). The width from sea to sea of the αὐχὴν is obviously much underestimated by Hdt., as also by later writers; the actual distance at the narrowest part is about 280 miles as the crow flies; much

more than a five days' march.

25 All evidence, historical and astronomical, fixes the date of this eclipse as May 28, 585 B.C. There was another eclipse of the sun in Alyattes' reign, on Sept. 30, 610; but it appears that this latter was not total in Asia Minor: and Pliny's mention of the phenomenon places it in the 170th year from the foundation of Rome. Thales died at an advanced age in 548 B.C.

26 These were a caste of priests of Apollo at Telmessus or Telmissus in Lycia. τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων is contrary to Greek usage, ἐξηγητής being a substantive: Stein suggests that the true reading may be Τελμησσέων τῶν ἐξηγητέων.

27 Identified with the Phrygian and Lydian goddess Cybele.

28 The Mardi were a nomadic Persian tribe.

29 The temple at Ephesus was founded probably in Alyattes' reign, and not completed till the period of the Graeco-Persian War.

30 The temple of Athena Proneia (= before the shrine) was situated outside the temple of Apollo.

31 In northern and central Italy; the Umbria of Roman history perpetuates the name.

32 From 1229 to 709 B.C., as Deioces' reign began in 709.

33 Modern Hamadan, probably; but see Rawlinson's note.

34 About eight miles, according to a scholiast's note on Thucyd. ii. 13; but this is disputed.

35 Or, perhaps, different from themselves.

36 Deioces died in 656 B.C.

37 This is the same story as that related in the early chapters of Book IV. The Scythians, apparently, marched eastwards along the northern slope of the Caucasus, turning south between the end of the range and the Caspian. But Herodotus' geography in this story is difficult to follow. — The "Saspires" are in Armenia.

38 The Maeetan lake is the Sea of Azov.

39 The great goddess (Mother of Heaven and Earth) worshipped by Eastern nations under various names — Mylitta in Assyria, Astarte in Phoenicia: called Heavenly Aphrodite, or simply the Heavenly One, by the Greeks.

40 The derivation of this word is uncertain; it is agreed that the disease was a loss of virility. In Hdt. 4.67 ἐναρήξ = ἀνδρόγονος.

41 In the north-western part of Media: modern Azerbaijan.

42 687 to 559 B.C. The Scythians ruled 634-606 B.C.

43 In 520 B.C.; the event is recorded in a cuneiform inscription.

44 See note on Hdt. 1.105.

45 This appears to mean, that the farther off a subject nation is, the less direct is the control exercised by the Medes; on the same principle as that which makes the Persians hold their subjects in less and less estimation in proportion to their distance from the seat of empire.

46 Lit. "let matters stand concerning this custom as it was first instituted:" i.e., apparently, "let us be content with knowing that this custom is as it has been from its origin."

47 See Hdt. 1.148.

48 A festival celebrated at Athens and most Ionian cities by the members of each "phratría" or clan,

lasting three days; on the last day grown-up youths were formally admitted as members of the phratría. The festival was held in the month Pyanepsion (late October and early November).

49 Perhaps so called from a mountain in Aeolis, Phricion, near which the Aeolians had been settled before their migration to Asia.

50 These places lie between Smyrna and Pergamum, on or near the coast. But Aegiroessa has not been exactly identified.

51 A group of small islands between Lesbos and the mainland.

52 The lower valley of the Guadalquivir. Later Tartessus was identified with Gades (Cadiz), which Herodotus (Hdt. 4.8) calls Gadir.

53 A common Greek tradition, apparently; Anacreon (*Fr.* 8) says “I would not... rule Tartessus for an hundred and fifty years.

54 Between Chios and the mainland.

55 Corsica.

56 Polynices and Eteocles, sons of Oedipus and descendants of Cadmus, fought for the possession of Thebes and killed each other. Hence a Cadmean victory means one where victor and vanquished suffer alike.

57 Later Caere in Etruria. “And of the Tyrrhenians the Agyllaiotai” supplemented by Stein.

58 Oenotria corresponds to Southern Italy (the Lucania and Bruttium of Roman history.).

59 Later Elea (Velia).

60 This is the management of the Homeric “man-covering” shield, as shown in the Iliad. The shield is not carried on the arm, but hangs by a belt which passes over the left shoulder and under the right arm-pit; by a pull on the *τελαμών* it can be shifted so as to protect breast or back.

61 606 B.C. Ninus = Nineveh.

62 Common cubit, 18 1/4 inches : royal, 20 1/2.

63 The modern Hit or Ait, where the Euphrates enters the alluvial plain.

64 Bel or Baal, the greatest of Assyrian gods.

65 Amon-Api (Greek *Ἀμένωφις*); cp. Hdt. 2.42.

66 Apollo.

67 Modern Kerkha.

68 Modern Diala.

69 The Attic medimnus = about 12 gallons; it contained 48 *χοίνικες*.

70 That is, by the “shadoof,” a familiar object to travellers on the Nile; a lever with a bucket attached, revolving on a post.

71 Sesame-oil or “Benre-oil” is still in common use in the East.

72 The Attic talent = about 58 lbs. avoirdupois; the Aeginetan = about 82.

73 The Araxes of this chapter appears to be, from the description of its course, the modern Aras. But the Araxes of Hdt. 1.205, separating Cyrus’ kingdom from the Massagetae, must be either the Oxus (jihon) or Jaxartes (Sihon), both of which now flow into the Aral Sea. For a full discussion of the question the reader is referred to Essay IX. in the Appendix to Book I. of Rawlinson’s Herodotus.

BOOK II.

1. After the death of Cyrus, Cambyses inherited his throne. He was the son of Cyrus and of Cassandane, the daughter of Pharnaspes, for whom Cyrus mourned deeply when she died before him, and had all his subjects mourn also. [2] Cambyses was the son of this woman and of Cyrus. He considered the Ionians and Aeolians slaves inherited from his father, and prepared an expedition against Egypt, taking with him some of these Greek subjects besides others whom he ruled. 2.

Now before Psammetichus became king of Egypt,^{1*} the Egyptians believed that they were the oldest people on earth. But ever since Psammetichus became king and wished to find out which people were the oldest, they have believed that the Phrygians were older than they, and they than everybody else. [2] Psammetichus, when he was in no way able to learn by inquiry which people had first come into being, devised a plan by which he took two newborn children of the common people and gave them to a shepherd to bring up among his flocks. He gave instructions that no one was to speak a word in their hearing; they were to stay by themselves in a lonely hut, and in due time the shepherd was to bring goats and give the children their milk and do everything else necessary. [3] Psammetichus did this, and gave these instructions, because he wanted to hear what speech would first come from the children, when they were past the age of indistinct babbling. And he had his wish; for one day, when the shepherd had done as he was told for two years, both children ran to him stretching out their hands and calling "Bekos!" as he opened the door and entered. [4] When he first heard this, he kept quiet about it; but when, coming often and paying careful attention, he kept hearing this same word, he told his master at last and brought the children into the king's presence as required. Psammetichus then heard them himself, and asked to what language the word "Bekos" belonged; he found it to be a Phrygian word, signifying bread. [5] Reasoning from this, the Egyptians acknowledged that the Phrygians were older than they. This is the story which I heard from the priests of Hephaestus'^{2*} temple at Memphis; the Greeks say among many foolish things that

Psammetichus had the children reared by women whose tongues he had cut out. 3.

Besides this story of the rearing of the children, I also heard other things at Memphis in conversation with the priests of Hephaestus;^{3*} and I visited Thebes and Heliopolis, too, for this very purpose, because I wished to know if the people of those places would tell me the same story as the priests at Memphis; for the people of Heliopolis are said to be the most learned of the Egyptians. [2] Now, such stories as I heard about the gods I am not ready to relate, except their names, for I believe that all men are equally knowledgeable about them; and I shall say about them what I am constrained to say by the course of my history. 4.

But as to human affairs, this was the account in which they all agreed: the Egyptians, they said, were the first men who reckoned by years and made the year consist of twelve divisions of the seasons. They discovered this from the stars (so they said). And their reckoning is, to my mind, a juster one than that of the Greeks; for the Greeks add an intercalary month every other year, so that the seasons agree; but the Egyptians, reckoning thirty days to each of the twelve months, add five days in every year over and above the total, and thus the completed circle of seasons is made to agree with the calendar. [2] Furthermore, the Egyptians (they said) first used the names of twelve gods^{4*} (which the Greeks afterwards borrowed from them); and it was they who first assigned to the several gods their altars and images and temples, and first carved figures on stone. Most of this they showed me in fact to be the case. The first human king of Egypt, they said, was Min. [3] In his time all of Egypt except the Thebaic^{5*} district was a marsh: all the country that we now see was then covered by water, north of lake Moeris,^{6*} which is seven days' journey up the river from the sea. 5.

And I think that their account of the country was true. For even if a man has not heard it before, he can readily see, if he has sense, that that Egypt to which the Greeks sail is land deposited for the Egyptians, the river's gift — not only the lower country, but even the land as far as three days' voyage above the lake, which is of the same nature as the other, although the priests did not say this, too. [2] For this is the nature of the land of Egypt: in the first place, when you

approach it from the sea and are still a day's sail from land, if you let down a sounding line you will bring up mud from a depth of eleven fathoms. This shows that the deposit from the land reaches this far. 6.

Further, the length of the seacoast of Egypt itself is sixty "schoeni"^{7*} — of Egypt, that is, as we judge it to be, reaching from the Plinthinete gulf to the Serbonian marsh, which is under the Casian mountain — between these there is this length of sixty schoeni. [2] Men that have scant land measure by feet; those that have more, by miles; those that have much land, by parasangs; and those who have great abundance of it, by schoeni. [3] The parasang is three and three quarters miles, and the schoenus, which is an Egyptian measure, is twice that. 7.

By this reckoning, then, the seaboard of Egypt will be four hundred and fifty miles in length. Inland from the sea as far as Heliopolis, Egypt is a wide land, all flat and watery and marshy. From the sea up to Heliopolis is a journey about as long as the way from the altar of the twelve gods at Athens to the temple of Olympian Zeus at Pisa. [2] If a reckoning is made, only a little difference of length, not more than two miles, will be found between these two journeys; for the journey from Athens to Pisa is two miles short of two hundred, which is the number of miles between the sea and Heliopolis. 8.

Beyond and above Heliopolis, Egypt is a narrow land. For it is bounded on the one side by the mountains of Arabia, which run north to south, always running south towards the sea called the Red Sea. In these mountains are the quarries that were hewn out for making the pyramids at Memphis. This way, then, the mountains run, and end in the places of which I have spoken; their greatest width from east to west, as I learned by inquiry, is a two months' journey, and their easternmost boundaries yield frankincense. [2] Such are these mountains. On the side of Libya, Egypt is bounded by another range of rocky mountains among which are the pyramids; these are all covered with sand, and run in the same direction as those Arabian hills that run southward. [3] Beyond Heliopolis, there is no great distance — in Egypt, that is:^{8*} the narrow land has a length of only fourteen days' journey up the river. Between the aforesaid mountain ranges, the land is level, and where the plain is narrowest it seemed

to me that there were no more than thirty miles between the Arabian mountains and those that are called Libyan. Beyond this Egypt is a wide land again. Such is the nature of this country. 9.

From Heliopolis to Thebes is nine days' journey by river, and the distance is six hundred and eight miles, or eighty-one schoeni. [2] This, then, is a full statement of all the distances in Egypt: the seaboard is four hundred and fifty miles long; and I will now declare the distance inland from the sea to Thebes : it is seven hundred and sixty-five miles. And between Thebes and the city called Elephantine there are two hundred and twenty-five miles. 10.

The greater portion, then, of this country of which I have spoken was land deposited for the Egyptians as the priests told me, and I myself formed the same judgment; all that lies between the ranges of mountains above Memphis to which I have referred seemed to me to have once been a gulf of the sea, just as the country about Ilion and Teuthrania and Ephesus and the plain of the Maeander, to compare these small things with great. [2] For of the rivers that brought down the stuff to make these lands, there is none worthy to be compared for greatness with even one of the mouths of the Nile, and the Nile has five mouths. [3] There are also other rivers, not so great as the Nile, that have had great effects; I could rehearse their names, but principal among them is the Achelous, which, flowing through Acarnania and emptying into the sea, has already made half of the Echinades Islands mainland. 11.

Now in Arabia, not far from Egypt, there is a gulf extending inland from the sea called Red* , whose length and width are such as I shall show: [2] in length, from its inner end out to the wide sea, it is a forty days' voyage for a ship rowed by oars; and in breadth, it is half a day's voyage at the widest. Every day the tides ebb and flow in it. [3] I believe that where Egypt is now, there was once another such gulf; this extended from the northern sea towards Aethiopia, and the other, the Arabian gulf of which I shall speak, extended from the south towards Syria; the ends of these gulfs penetrated into the country near each other, and but a little space of land separated them. [4] Now, if the Nile inclined to direct its current into this Arabian gulf, why should the latter not be silted up by it inside of twenty thousand years? In fact, I expect that it would be silted up inside of ten

thousand years. Is it to be doubted, then, that in the ages before my birth a gulf even much greater than this should have been silted up by a river so great and so busy? ¹².

As for Egypt, then, I credit those who say it, and myself very much believe it to be the case; for I have seen that Egypt projects into the sea beyond the neighboring land, and shells are exposed to view on the mountains, and things are coated with salt, so that even the pyramids show it, and the only sandy mountain in Egypt is that which is above Memphis; ^[2] besides, Egypt is like neither the neighboring land of Arabia nor Libya, not even like Syria (for Syrians inhabit the seaboard of Arabia); it is a land of black and crumbling earth, as if it were alluvial deposit carried down the river from Aethiopia; ^[3] but we know that the soil of Libya is redder and somewhat sandy, and Arabia and Syria are lands of clay and stones. ¹³.

This, too, that the priests told me about Egypt, is a strong proof: when Moeris was king, if the river rose as much as thirteen feet, it watered all of Egypt below Memphis.^{10*} Moeris had not been dead nine hundred years when I heard this from the priests. But now, if the river does not rise at least twenty-six or twenty-five feet, the land is not flooded. ^[2] And, in my opinion, the Egyptians who inhabit the lands lower down the river than lake Moeris, and especially what is called the Delta — if this land of theirs rises in the same proportion and broadens likewise in extent, and the Nile no longer floods it — will forever after be in the same straits as they themselves once said the Greeks would be; ^[3] for, learning that all the Greek land is watered by rain, but not by river water like theirs, they said that one day the Greeks would be let down by what they counted on, and miserably starve: meaning that, if heaven send no rain for the Greeks and afflict them with drought, the Greeks will be overtaken by famine, for there is no other source of water for them except Zeus alone. ¹⁴.

And this prediction of the Egyptians about the Greeks was true enough. But now let me show the prospect for the Egyptians themselves: if, as I have already said, the country below Memphis (for it is this which rises) should increase in height in the same proportion as formerly, will not the Egyptians who inhabit it go

hungry, as there is no rain in their country and the river will be unable to inundate their fields? [2] At present, of course, there are no people, either in the rest of Egypt or in the whole world, who live from the soil with so little labor; they do not have to break the land up with the plough, or hoe, or do any other work that other men do to get a crop; the river rises of itself, waters the fields, and then sinks back again; then each man sows his field and sends swine into it to tread down the seed, and waits for the harvest; then he has the swine thresh his grain, and so garners it. 15.

Now if we agree with the opinion of the Ionians, who say that only the Delta is Egypt, and that its seaboard reaches from the so-called Watchtower of Perseus forty schoeni to the Salters' at Pelusium, while inland it stretches as far as the city of Cercasorus,^{11*} where the Nile divides and flows to Pelusium and Canobus, and that all the rest of Egypt is partly Libya and partly Arabia — if we follow this account, we can show that there was once no land for the Egyptians; [2] for we have seen that (as the Egyptians themselves say, and as I myself judge) the Delta is alluvial land and but lately (so to speak) came into being. Then if there was once no land for them, it was an idle notion that they were the oldest nation on earth, and they need not have made that trial to see what language the children would first speak. [3] I maintain, rather, that the Egyptians did not come into existence together with what the Ionians call the Delta, but have existed since the human race came into being; and as the land grew in extent, there were many of them who stayed behind, and many who spread down over it. Be that as it may, the Theban district, a land of seven hundred and sixty-five miles in circumference, was in the past called Egypt. 16.

If, then, our judgment of this is right, the Ionians are in error concerning Egypt; but if their opinion is right, then it is plain that they and the rest of the Greeks cannot reckon truly, when they divide the whole earth into three parts, Europe, Asia, and Libya; [2] they must add to these a fourth part, the Delta of Egypt, if it belongs neither to Asia nor to Libya; for by their showing the Nile is not the river that separates Asia and Libya; the Nile divides at the apex of this Delta, so that this land must be between Asia and Libya. 17.

We leave the Ionians' opinion aside, and our own judgment about

the matter is this: Egypt is all that country which is inhabited by Egyptians, just as Cilicia and Assyria are the countries inhabited by Cilicians and Assyrians, and we know of no boundary line (rightly so called) below Asia and Libya except the borders of the Egyptians. [2] But if we follow the belief of the Greeks, we shall consider all Egypt commencing from the Cataracts and the city of Elephantine^{12*} to be divided into two parts, and to claim both the names, the one a part of Libya and the other of Asia. [3] For the Nile, beginning from the Cataracts, divides Egypt into two parts as it flows to the sea. Now, as far as the city Cercasorus the Nile flows in one channel, but after that it parts into three. [4] One of these, which is called the Pelusian mouth, flows east; the second flows west, and is called the Canobic mouth. But the direct channel of the Nile, when the river in its downward course reaches the apex of the Delta, flows thereafter clean through the middle of the Delta into the sea; in this is seen the greatest and most famous part of its waters, and it is called the Sebennyitic mouth. [5] There are also two channels which separate themselves from the Sebennyitic and so flow into the sea: by name, the Saïtic and the Mendesian. [6] The Bolbitine and Bucolic mouths are not natural but excavated channels. 18.

The response of oracle of Ammon in fact bears witness to my opinion, that Egypt is of such an extent as I have argued; I learned this by inquiry after my judgment was already formed about Egypt. [2] The men of the cities of Marea and Apis, in the part of Egypt bordering on Libya, believing themselves to be Libyans and not Egyptians, and disliking the injunction of the religious law that forbade them to eat cows' meat, sent to Ammon saying that they had no part of or lot with Egypt: for they lived (they said) outside the Delta and did not consent to the ways of its people, and they wished to be allowed to eat all foods. [3] But the god forbade them: all the land, he said, watered by the Nile in its course was Egypt, and all who lived lower down than the city Elephantine and drank the river's water were Egyptians. Such was the oracle given to them. 19.

When the Nile is in flood, it overflows not only the Delta but also the lands called Libyan and Arabian, as far as two days' journey from either bank in places, and sometimes more than this, sometimes less. Concerning its nature, I could not learn anything either from the

priests or from any others. [2] Yet I was anxious to learn from them why the Nile comes down with a rising flood for a hundred days from the summer solstice; and when this number of days is passed, sinks again with a diminishing stream, so that the river is low for the whole winter until the summer solstice again. [3] I was not able to get any information from any of the Egyptians regarding this, when I asked them what power the Nile has to be contrary in nature to all other rivers. I wished to know this, and asked; also, why no breezes blew from it as from every other river^{13*}. 20.

But some of the Greeks, wishing to be notable for cleverness, put forward three opinions about this river, two of which I would not even mention except just to show what they are. [2] One of them maintains that the Etesian winds^{14*} are the cause of the river being in flood, because they hinder the Nile from emptying into the sea. But there are many times when the Etesian winds do not blow, yet the Nile does the same as before. [3] And further, if the Etesian winds were the cause, then the other rivers which flow contrary to those winds should be affected like the Nile, and even more so, since being smaller they have a weaker current. Yet there are many rivers in Syria and many in Libya, and they behave nothing like the Nile. 21.

The second opinion is less grounded on knowledge than the previous, though it is more marvellous to the ear: according to it, the river effects what it does because it flows from Ocean, which flows around the whole world. 22.

The third opinion is by far the most plausible, yet the most erroneous of all. It has no more truth in it than the others. According to this, the Nile flows from where snows melt; but it flows from Libya through the midst of Ethiopia, and comes out into Egypt. [2] How can it flow from snow, then, seeing that it comes from the hottest places to lands that are for the most part cooler? In fact, for a man who can reason about such things, the principal and strongest evidence that the river is unlikely to flow from snows is that the winds blowing from Libya and Ethiopia are hot. [3] In the second place, the country is rainless and frostless; but after snow has fallen, it has to rain within five days^{15*}; so that if it snowed, it would rain in these lands. And thirdly, the men of the country are black because of the heat. [4] Moreover, kites and swallows live there all year round,

and cranes come every year to these places to winter there, flying from the wintry weather of Scythia. Now, were there but the least fall of snow in this country through which the Nile flows and where it rises, none of these things would happen, as necessity proves. 23.

The opinion about Ocean is grounded in obscurity and needs no disproof; for I know of no Ocean river; and I suppose that Homer or some older poet invented this name and brought it into his poetry. 24.

If, after having condemned the opinions proposed, I must indicate what I myself think about these obscure matters, I shall say why I think the Nile floods in the summer. During the winter, the sun is driven by storms from his customary course and passes over the inland parts of Libya. [2] For the briefest demonstration, everything has been said; for whatever country this god is nearest, or over, it is likely that that land is very thirsty for water and that the local rivers are dried up. 25.

A lengthier demonstration goes as follows. In its passage over the inland parts of Libya, the sun does this: as the air is always clear in that region, the land warm, and the winds cool, the sun does in its passage exactly as it would do in the summer passing through the middle of the heaven: [2] it draws the water to itself, and having done so, expels it away to the inland regions, and the winds catch it and scatter and dissolve it; and, as is to be expected, those that blow from that country, the south and the southwest, are the most rainy of all winds. [3] Yet I think that the sun never lets go of all of the water that it draws up from the Nile yearly, but keeps some back near itself. Then, as the winter becomes milder, the sun returns to the middle of the heaven, and after that draws from all rivers alike. [4] Meanwhile, the other rivers are swollen to high flood by the quantity of water that falls into them from the sky, because the country is rained on and cut into gullies; but in the summer they are low, lacking the rain and being drawn up too by the sun. [5] But the Nile, being fed by no rain, and being the only river drawn up by the sun in winter, at this time falls far short of the height that it had in summer; which is but natural; for in summer all other waters too and not it alone are attracted to the sun, but in the winter it alone is afflicted. 26.

I am convinced, therefore, that the sun is the cause of this phenomenon. The dryness of the air in these parts is also caused by

the sun, in my opinion, because it burns its way through it; hence, it is always summer in the inland part of Libya. [2] But were the stations of the seasons changed, so that the south wind and the summer had their station where the north wind and winter are now set, and the north wind was where the south wind is now — if this were so, the sun, when driven from mid-heaven by the winter and the north wind, would pass over the inland parts of Europe as it now passes over Libya, and I think that in its passage over all Europe it would have the same effect on the Ister as it now does on the Nile. 27.

And as to why no breeze blows from the river, this is my opinion: it is not natural that any breeze blow from very hot places; breezes always come from that which is very cold. 28.

Let this be, then, as it is and as it was in the beginning. But as to the sources of the Nile, no one that conversed with me, Egyptian, Libyan, or Greek, professed to know them, except the recorder of the sacred treasures of Athena in the Egyptian city of Saïs. [2] I thought he was joking when he said that he had exact knowledge, but this was his story. Between the city of Syene in the Thebaid and Elephantine, there are two hills with sharp peaks, one called Crophi and the other Mophi. [3] The springs of the Nile, which are bottomless, rise between these hills; half the water flows north towards Egypt, and the other half south towards Ethiopia. [4] He said that Psammetichus king of Egypt had put to the test whether the springs are bottomless: for he had a rope of many thousand fathoms' length woven and let down into the spring, but he could not reach to the bottom. [5] This recorder, then, if he spoke the truth, showed, I think, that there are strong eddies and an upward flow of water, such that with the stream rushing against the hills the sounding-line when let down cannot reach bottom. 29.

I was unable to learn anything from anyone else, but this much further I did learn by the most extensive investigation that I could make, going as far as the city of Elephantine to look myself, and beyond that by question and hearsay. [2] Beyond Elephantine, as one travels inland, the land rises. Here one must pass with the boat roped on both sides as men harness an ox; and if the rope breaks, the boat will be carried away by the strength of the current. [3] This part of the river is a four days' journey by boat, and the Nile here is twisty just

as the Maeander; a distance of twelve schoeni must be passed in the foregoing manner. After that, you come to a level plain, where there is an island in the Nile, called Takhompso. [4] The country above Elephantine now begins to be inhabited by Ethiopians: half the people of the island are Ethiopians, and half Egyptians. Near the island is a great lake, on whose shores live nomadic Ethiopians. After crossing this, you come to the stream of the Nile, which empties into this lake. [5] Then you disembark and journey along the river bank for forty days; for there are sharp projecting rocks in the Nile and many reefs, through which no boat can pass. [6] Having traversed this part in forty days as I have said, you take boat again and so travel for twelve days until you come to a great city called Meroe, which is said to be the capital of all Ethiopia. [7] The people of the place worship no other gods but Zeus and Dionysus;^{16*} these they greatly honor, and they have a place of divination sacred to Zeus; they send out armies whenever and wherever this god through his oracle commands them.^{17*} 30.

From this city you make a journey by water equal in distance to that by which you came from Elephantine to the capital city of Ethiopia, and you come to the land of the Deserters. These Deserters are called Asmakh, which translates, in Greek, as “those who stand on the left hand of the king”. [2] These once revolted and joined themselves to the Ethiopians, two hundred and forty thousand Egyptians of fighting age. The reason was as follows. In the reign of Psammetichus, there were watchposts at Elephantine facing Ethiopia, at Daphnae of Pelusium facing Arabia and Assyria, and at Marea facing Libya. [3] And still in my time the Persians hold these posts as they were held in the days of Psammetichus; there are Persian guards at Elephantine and at Daphnae. Now the Egyptians had been on guard for three years, and no one came to relieve them; so, organizing and making common cause, they revolted from Psammetichus and went to Ethiopia. [4] Psammetichus heard of it and pursued them; and when he overtook them, he asked them in a long speech not to desert their children and wives and the gods of their fathers. Then one of them, the story goes, pointed to his genitals and said that wherever that was, they would have wives and children. [5] So they came to Ethiopia, and gave themselves up to the king of the

country; who, to make them a gift in return, told them to dispossess certain Ethiopians with whom he was feuding, and occupy their land. These Ethiopians then learned Egyptian customs and have become milder-mannered by intermixture with the Egyptians. ³¹

To a distance of four months' travel by land and water, then, there is knowledge of the Nile, besides the part of it that is in Egypt. So many months, as reckoning shows, are found to be spent by one going from Elephantine to the country of the Deserters. The river flows from the west and the sun's setting. Beyond this, no one has clear information to declare; for all that country is desolate because of the heat. ³²

But I heard this from some men of Cyrene, who told me that they had gone to the oracle of Ammon, and conversed there with Etearchus king of the Ammonians, and that from other subjects the conversation turned to the Nile, how no one knows the source of it. Then Etearchus told them that once he had been visited by some Nasamonians. ^[2] These are a Libyan people, inhabiting the country of the Syrtis and a little way to the east of the Syrtis. ^[3] When these Nasamonians were asked on their arrival if they brought any news concerning the Libyan desert, they told Etearchus that some sons of their leading men, proud and violent youths, when they came to manhood, besides planning other wild adventures, had chosen by lot five of their company to visit the deserts of Libya and see whether they could see any farther than those who had seen the farthest. ^[4] It must be known that the whole northern seacoast of Libya, from Egypt as far as the promontory of Soloeis, which is the end of Libya, is inhabited throughout its length by Libyans, many tribes of them, except the part held by Greeks and Phoenicians; the region of Libya that is above the sea and the inhabitants of the coast is infested by wild beasts; and farther inland than the wild-beast country everything is sand, waterless and desolate. ^[5] When the young men left their companions, being well supplied with water and provisions, they journeyed first through the inhabited country, and after passing this they came to the region of wild beasts. ^[6] After this, they travelled over the desert, towards the west, and crossed a wide sandy region, until after many days they saw trees growing in a plain; when they came to these and were picking the fruit of the trees, they were met

by little men of less than common stature, who took them and led them away. The Nasamonians did not know these men's language nor did the escort know the language of the Nasamonians. [7] The men led them across great marshes, after crossing which they came to a city where all the people were of a stature like that of the guides, and black. A great river ran past this city, from the west towards the rising sun; crocodiles could be seen in it. 33.

This is enough of the story told by Etearchus the Ammonian; except he said that the Nasamonians returned, as the men of Cyrene told me, and that the people to whose country they came were all wizards; [2] as to the river that ran past the city, Etearchus guessed it to be the Nile; and reason proves as much. For the Nile flows from Libya, right through the middle of it; and as I guess, reasoning about things unknown from visible signs, it rises proportionally as far away as does the Ister.^{18*} [3] For the Ister flows from the land of the Celts and the city of Pyrene through the very middle of Europe; now the Celts live beyond the Pillars of Heracles, being neighbors of the Cynesii, who are the westernmost of all the peoples inhabiting Europe. [4] The Ister, then, flows clean across Europe and ends its course in the Euxine sea, at Istria, which is inhabited by Milesian colonists. 34.

The Ister, since it flows through inhabited country, is known from many reports; but no one can speak of the source of the Nile; for Libya, though which it runs, is uninhabited and desert. Regarding its course, I have related everything that I could learn by inquiry; and it issues into Egypt. Now Egypt lies about opposite to the mountainous part of Cilicia; [2] from there, it is a straight five days' journey for an unencumbered man to Sinope on the Euxine; and Sinope lies opposite the place where the Ister falls into the sea. Thus I suppose the course of the Nile in its passage through Libya to be like the course of the Ister. 35.

It is sufficient to say this much concerning the Nile. But concerning Egypt, I am going to speak at length, because it has the most wonders, and everywhere presents works beyond description; therefore, I shall say the more concerning Egypt. [2]

Just as the Egyptians have a climate peculiar to themselves, and their river is different in its nature from all other rivers, so, too, have

they instituted customs and laws contrary for the most part to those of the rest of mankind. Among them, the women buy and sell, the men stay at home and weave; and whereas in weaving all others push the woof upwards, the Egyptians push it downwards. [3] Men carry burdens on their heads, women on their shoulders. Women pass water standing, men sitting. They ease their bowels indoors, and eat out of doors in the streets, explaining that things unseemly but necessary should be done alone in private, things not unseemly should be done openly. [4] No woman is dedicated to the service of any god or goddess; men are dedicated to all deities male or female. Sons are not compelled against their will to support their parents, but daughters must do so though they be unwilling. 36.

Everywhere else, priests of the gods wear their hair long; in Egypt, they are shaven. For all other men, the rule in mourning for the dead is that those most nearly concerned have their heads shaven; Egyptians are shaven at other times, but after a death they let their hair and beard grow. [2] The Egyptians are the only people who keep their animals with them in the house. Whereas all others live on wheat and barley, it is the greatest disgrace for an Egyptian to live so; they make food from a coarse grain which some call spelt. [3] They knead dough with their feet, and gather mud and dung with their hands. The Egyptians and those who have learned it from them are the only people who practise circumcision. Every man has two garments, every woman only one. [4] The rings and sheets of sails are made fast outside the boat elsewhere, but inside it in Egypt. The Greeks write and calculate from left to right; the Egyptians do the opposite; yet they say that their way of writing is towards the right, and the Greek way towards the left. They employ two kinds of writing; one is called sacred, the other demotic^{19*}. 37.

They are religious beyond measure, more than any other people; and the following are among their customs. They drink from cups of bronze, which they clean out daily; this is done not by some but by all. [2] They are especially careful always to wear newly-washed linen. They practise circumcision for cleanliness' sake; for they would rather be clean than more becoming. Their priests shave the whole body every other day, so that no lice or anything else foul may infest them as they attend upon the gods. [3] The priests wear a single

linen garment and sandals of papyrus:^{20*} they may have no other kind of clothing or footwear. Twice a day and twice every night they wash in cold water. Their religious observances are, one may say, innumerable. [4] But also they receive many benefits: they do not consume or spend anything of their own; sacred food is cooked for them, beef and goose are brought in great abundance to each man every day, and wine of grapes is given to them, too. They may not eat fish. [5] The Egyptians sow no beans in their country; if any grow, they will not eat them either raw or cooked; the priests cannot endure even to see them, considering beans an unclean kind of legume. Many (not only one) are dedicated to the service of each god. One of these is the high priest; and when a high priest dies, his son succeeds to his office. 38.

They believe that bulls belong to Epaphus,^{21*} and for this reason scrutinize them as follows; if they see even one black hair on them, the bull is considered impure. [2] One of the priests, appointed to the task, examines the beast, making it stand and lie, and drawing out its tongue, to determine whether it is clean of the stated signs which I shall indicate hereafter.^{22*} He looks also to the hairs of the tail, to see if they grow naturally. [3] If it is clean in all these respects, the priest marks it by wrapping papyrus around the horns, then smears it with sealing-earth and stamps it with his ring; and after this they lead the bull away. But the penalty is death for sacrificing a bull that the priest has not marked. Such is the manner of approving the beast; I will now describe how it is sacrificed. 39.

After leading the marked beast to the altar where they will sacrifice it, they kindle a fire; then they pour wine on the altar over the victim and call upon the god; then they cut its throat, and having done so sever the head from the body. [2] They flay the carcass of the victim, then invoke many curses on its head, which they carry away. Where there is a market, and Greek traders in it, the head is taken to the market and sold; where there are no Greeks, it is thrown into the river. [3] The imprecation which they utter over the heads is that whatever ill threatens those who sacrifice, or the whole of Egypt, fall upon that head. [4] In respect of the heads of sacrificed beasts and the libation of wine, the practice of all Egyptians is the same in all sacrifices; and from this ordinance no Egyptian will taste of the head

of anything that had life. 40.

But in regard to the disembowelling and burning of the victims, there is a different way for each sacrifice. I shall now, however, speak of that goddess whom they consider the greatest, and in whose honor they keep highest festival. [2] After praying in the foregoing way, they take the whole stomach out of the flayed bull, leaving the entrails and the fat in the carcass, and cut off the legs, the end of the loin, the shoulders, and the neck. [3] Having done this, they fill what remains of the carcass with pure bread, honey, raisins, figs, frankincense, myrrh, and other kinds of incense, and then burn it, pouring a lot of oil on it. [4] They fast before the sacrifice, and while it is burning, they all make lamentation; and when their lamentation is over, they set out a meal of what is left of the victim. 41.

All Egyptians sacrifice unblemished bulls and bull-calves; they may not sacrifice cows: these are sacred to Isis. [2] For the images of Isis are in woman's form, horned like a cow, exactly as the Greeks picture Io, and cows are held by far the most sacred of all beasts of the herd by all Egyptians alike. [3] For this reason, no Egyptian man or woman will kiss a Greek man, or use a knife, or a spit, or a cauldron belonging to a Greek, or taste the flesh of an unblemished bull that has been cut up with a Greek knife. [4] Cattle that die are dealt with in the following way. Cows are cast into the river, bulls are buried by each city in its suburbs, with one or both horns uncovered for a sign; then, when the carcass is decomposed, and the time appointed is at hand, a boat comes to each city from the island called Prosopitis, [5] an island in the Delta, nine schoeni in circumference. There are many other towns on Prosopitis; the one from which the boats come to gather the bones of the bulls is called Atarbekhis;^{23*} a temple of Aphrodite stands in it of great sanctity. [6] From this town many go out, some to one town and some to another, to dig up the bones, which they then carry away and all bury in one place. As they bury the cattle, so do they all other beasts at death. Such is their ordinance respecting these also; for they, too, may not be killed. 42.

All that have a temple of Zeus of Thebes or are of the Theban district sacrifice goats, but will not touch sheep. [2] For no gods are worshipped by all Egyptians in common except Isis and Osiris, who they say is Dionysus; these are worshipped by all alike. Those who

have a temple of Mendes^{24*} or are of the Mendesian district sacrifice sheep, but will not touch goats. [3] The Thebans, and those who by the Theban example will not touch sheep, give the following reason for their ordinance:^{25*} they say that Heracles wanted very much to see Zeus and that Zeus did not want to be seen by him, but that finally, when Heracles prayed, Zeus contrived [4] to show himself displaying the head and wearing the fleece of a ram which he had flayed and beheaded. It is from this that the Egyptian images of Zeus have a ram's head; and in this, the Egyptians are imitated by the Ammonians, who are colonists from Egypt and Ethiopia and speak a language compounded of the tongues of both countries. [5] It was from this, I think, that the Ammonians got their name, too; for the Egyptians call Zeus "Amon". The Thebans, then, consider rams sacred for this reason, and do not sacrifice them. [6] But one day a year, at the festival of Zeus, they cut in pieces and flay a single ram and put the fleece on the image of Zeus, as in the story; then they bring an image of Heracles near it. Having done this, all that are at the temple mourn for the ram, and then bury it in a sacred coffin. 43.

Concerning Heracles, I heard it said that he was one of the twelve gods. But nowhere in Egypt could I hear anything about the other Heracles, whom the Greeks know. [2] I have indeed a lot of other evidence that the name of Heracles did not come from Hellas to Egypt, but from Egypt to Hellas (and in Hellas to those Greeks who gave the name Heracles to the son of Amphitryon), besides this: that Amphitryon and Alcmene, the parents of this Heracles, were both Egyptian by descent^{26*}; and that the Egyptians deny knowing the names Poseidon and the Dioscuri, nor are these gods reckoned among the gods of Egypt. [3] Yet if they got the name of any deity from the Greeks, of these not least but in particular would they preserve a recollection, if indeed they were already making sea voyages and some Greeks, too, were seafaring men, as I expect and judge; so that the names of these gods would have been even better known to the Egyptians than the name of Heracles. [4] But Heracles is a very ancient god in Egypt; as the Egyptians themselves say, the change of the eight gods to the twelve, one of whom they acknowledge Heracles to be, was made seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis. 44.

Moreover, wishing to get clear information about this matter where it was possible so to do, I took ship for Tyre in Phoenicia, where I had learned by inquiry that there was a holy temple of Heracles.^{27*} [2] There I saw it, richly equipped with many other offerings, besides two pillars, one of refined gold, one of emerald: a great pillar that shone at night; and in conversation with the priests, I asked how long it was since their temple was built. [3] I found that their account did not tally with the belief of the Greeks, either; for they said that the temple of the god was founded when Tyre first became a city, and that was two thousand three hundred years ago. At Tyre I saw yet another temple of the so-called Thasian Heracles. [4] Then I went to Thasos, too, where I found a temple of Heracles built by the Phoenicians, who made a settlement there when they voyaged in search of Europe; now they did so as much as five generations before the birth of Heracles the son of Amphitryon in Hellas. [5] Therefore, what I have discovered by inquiry plainly shows that Heracles is an ancient god. And furthermore, those Greeks, I think, are most in the right, who have established and practise two worships of Heracles, sacrificing to one Heracles as to an immortal, and calling him the Olympian, but to the other bringing offerings as to a dead hero^{28*}. 45.

And the Greeks say many other ill-considered things, too; among them, this is a silly story which they tell about Heracles: that when he came to Egypt, the Egyptians crowned him and led him out in a procession to sacrifice him to Zeus; and for a while (they say) he followed quietly, but when they started in on him at the altar, he resisted and killed them all. [2] Now it seems to me that by this story the Greeks show themselves altogether ignorant of the character and customs of the Egyptians; for how should they sacrifice men when they are forbidden to sacrifice even beasts, except swine and bulls and bull-calves, if they are unblemished, and geese? [3] And furthermore, as Heracles was alone, and, still, only a man, as they say, how is it natural that he should kill many myriads? In talking so much about this, may I keep the goodwill of gods and heroes! 46.

This is why the Egyptians of whom I have spoken sacrifice no goats, male or female: the Mendesians reckon Pan among the eight gods who, they say, were before the twelve gods. [2] Now in their

painting and sculpture, the image of Pan is made with the head and the legs of a goat, as among the Greeks; not that he is thought to be in fact such, or unlike other gods; but why they represent him so, I have no wish to say. [3] The Mendesians consider all goats sacred, the male even more than the female, and goatherds are held in special estimation: one he-goat is most sacred of all; when he dies, it is ordained that there should be great mourning in all the Mendesian district. [4] In the Egyptian language Mendes is the name both for the he-goat and for Pan. In my lifetime a strange thing occurred in this district: a he-goat had intercourse openly with a woman. This came to be publicly known. 47.

Swine are held by the Egyptians to be unclean beasts. In the first place, if an Egyptian touches a hog in passing, he goes to the river and dips himself in it, clothed as he is; and in the second place, swineherds, though native born Egyptians, are alone of all men forbidden to enter any Egyptian temple; nor will any give a swineherd his daughter in marriage, nor take a wife from their women; but swineherds intermarry among themselves. [2] Nor do the Egyptians think it right to sacrifice swine to any god except the Moon and Dionysus; to these, they sacrifice their swine at the same time, in the same season of full moon; then they eat the meat. The Egyptians have an explanation of why they sacrifice swine at this festival, yet abominate them at others; I know it, but it is not fitting that I relate it. [3] But this is how they sacrifice swine to the Moon: the sacrificer lays the end of the tail and the spleen and the caul together and covers them up with all the fat that he finds around the belly, then consigns it all to the fire; as for the rest of the flesh, they eat it at the time of full moon when they sacrifice the victim; but they will not taste it on any other day. Poor men, with but slender means, mold swine out of dough, which they then take and sacrifice. 48.

To Dionysus, on the evening of his festival, everyone offers a piglet which he kills before his door and then gives to the swineherd who has sold it, for him to take away. [2] The rest of the festival of Dionysus is observed by the Egyptians much as it is by the Greeks, except for the dances; but in place of the phallus, they have invented the use of puppets two feet high moved by strings, the male member nodding and nearly as big as the rest of the body, which are carried

about the villages by women; a flute-player goes ahead, the women follow behind singing of Dionysus. [3] Why the male member is so large and is the only part of the body that moves, there is a sacred legend that explains. 49.

Now then, it seems to me that Melampus son of Amytheon was not ignorant of but was familiar with this sacrifice. For Melampus was the one who taught the Greeks the name of Dionysus and the way of sacrificing to him and the phallic procession; he did not exactly unveil the subject taking all its details into consideration, for the teachers who came after him made a fuller revelation; but it was from him that the Greeks learned to bear the phallus along in honor of Dionysus, and they got their present practice from his teaching. [2] I say, then, that Melampus acquired the prophetic art, being a discerning man, and that, besides many other things which he learned from Egypt, he also taught the Greeks things concerning Dionysus, altering few of them; for I will not say that what is done in Egypt in connection with the god and what is done among the Greeks originated independently: for they would then be of an Hellenic character and not recently introduced. [3] Nor again will I say that the Egyptians took either this or any other custom from the Greeks. But I believe that Melampus learned the worship of Dionysus chiefly from Cadmus of Tyre and those who came with Cadmus from Phoenicia to the land now called Boeotia. 50.

In fact, the names of nearly all the gods came to Hellas from Egypt. For I am convinced by inquiry that they have come from foreign parts, and I believe that they came chiefly from Egypt. [2] Except the names of Poseidon and the Dioscuri, as I have already said, and Hera, and Hestia, and Themis, and the Graces, and the Nereids, the names of all the gods have always existed in Egypt. I only say what the Egyptians themselves say. The gods whose names they say they do not know were, as I think, named by the Pelasgians, except Poseidon, the knowledge of whom they learned from the Libyans. [3] Alone of all nations the Libyans have had among them the name of Poseidon from the beginning, and they have always honored this god. The Egyptians, however, are not accustomed to pay any honors to heroes. 51.

These customs, then, and others besides, which I shall indicate,

were taken by the Greeks from the Egyptians. It was not so with the ithyphallic images of Hermes; the production of these came from the Pelasgians, from whom the Athenians were the first Greeks to take it, and then handed it on to others. [2] For the Athenians were then already counted as Greeks when the Pelasgians came to live in the land with them and thereby began to be considered as Greeks. Whoever has been initiated into the rites of the Cabeiri, which the Samothracians learned from the Pelasgians and now practice, understands what my meaning is. [3] Samothrace was formerly inhabited by those Pelasgians who came to live among the Athenians, and it is from them that the Samothracians take their rites. [4] The Athenians, then, were the first Greeks to make ithyphallic images of Hermes, and they did this because the Pelasgians taught them. The Pelasgians told a certain sacred tale about this, which is set forth in the Samothracian mysteries. 52.

Formerly, in all their sacrifices, the Pelasgians called upon gods without giving name or appellation to any (I know this, because I was told at Dodona); for as yet they had not heard of such. They called them gods^{29*} from the fact that, besides setting everything in order, they maintained all the dispositions. [2] Then, after a long while, first they learned the names of the rest of the gods, which came to them from Egypt, and, much later, the name of Dionysus; and presently they asked the oracle at Dodona about the names; for this place of divination, held to be the most ancient in Hellas, was at that time the only one. [3] When the Pelasgians, then, asked at Dodona whether they should adopt the names that had come from foreign parts, the oracle told them to use the names. From that time onwards they used the names of the gods in their sacrifices; and the Greeks received these later from the Pelasgians. 53.

But whence each of the gods came to be, or whether all had always been, and how they appeared in form, they did not know until yesterday or the day before, so to speak; [2] for I suppose Hesiod and Homer flourished not more than four hundred years earlier than I; and these are the ones who taught the Greeks the descent of the gods, and gave the gods their names, and determined their spheres and functions, and described their outward forms. [3] But the poets who are said to have been earlier than these men were, in my opinion,

later. The earlier part of all this is what the priestesses of Dodona tell; the later, that which concerns Hesiod and Homer, is what I myself say. 54.

But about the oracles in Hellas, and that one which is in Libya, the Egyptians give the following account. The priests of Zeus of Thebes told me that two priestesses had been carried away from Thebes by Phoenicians; one, they said they had heard was taken away and sold in Libya, the other in Hellas; these women, they said, were the first founders of places of divination in the aforesaid countries. [2] When I asked them how it was that they could speak with such certain knowledge, they said in reply that their people had sought diligently for these women, and had never been able to find them, but had learned later the story which they were telling me. 55.

That, then, I heard from the Theban priests; and what follows, the prophetesses of Dodona say: that two black doves had come flying from Thebes in Egypt, one to Libya and one to Dodona; [2] the latter settled on an oak tree, and there uttered human speech, declaring that a place of divination from Zeus must be made there; the people of Dodona understood that the message was divine, and therefore established the oracular shrine. [3] The dove which came to Libya told the Libyans (they say) to make an oracle of Ammon; this also is sacred to Zeus. Such was the story told by the Dodonaean priestesses, the eldest of whom was Promeneia and the next Timarete and the youngest Nicandra; and the rest of the servants of the temple at Dodona similarly held it true. 56.

But my own belief about it is this. If the Phoenicians did in fact carry away the sacred women and sell one in Libya and one in Hellas, then, in my opinion, the place where this woman was sold in what is now Hellas, but was formerly called Pelasgia, was Thesprotia; [2] and then, being a slave there, she established a shrine of Zeus under an oak that was growing there; for it was reasonable that, as she had been a handmaid of the temple of Zeus at Thebes, she would remember that temple in the land to which she had come. [3] After this, as soon as she understood the Greek language, she taught divination; and she said that her sister had been sold in Libya by the same Phoenicians who sold her. 57.

I expect that these women were called “doves” by the people of

Dodona because they spoke a strange language, and the people thought it like the cries of birds; [2] then the woman spoke what they could understand, and that is why they say that the dove uttered human speech; as long as she spoke in a foreign tongue, they thought her voice was like the voice of a bird. For how could a dove utter the speech of men? The tale that the dove was black signifies that the woman was Egyptian^{30*}. [3]

The fashions of divination at Thebes of Egypt and at Dodona are like one another; moreover, the practice of divining from the sacrificed victim has also come from Egypt. 58. It would seem, too, that the Egyptians were the first people to establish solemn assemblies, and processions, and services; the Greeks learned all that from them. I consider this proved, because the Egyptian ceremonies are manifestly very ancient, and the Greek are of recent origin. 59.

The Egyptians hold solemn assemblies not once a year, but often. The principal one of these and the most enthusiastically celebrated is that in honor of Artemis at the town of Bubastis^{31*}, and the next is that in honor of Isis at Busiris. [2] This town is in the middle of the Egyptian Delta, and there is in it a very great temple of Isis, who is Demeter in the Greek language. [3] The third greatest festival is at Saïs in honor of Athena; the fourth is the festival of the sun at Heliopolis, the fifth of Leto at Buto, and the sixth of Ares at Papremis. 60.

When the people are on their way to Bubastis, they go by river, a great number in every boat, men and women together. Some of the women make a noise with rattles, others play flutes all the way, while the rest of the women, and the men, sing and clap their hands. [2] As they travel by river to Bubastis, whenever they come near any other town they bring their boat near the bank; then some of the women do as I have said, while some shout mockery of the women of the town; others dance, and others stand up and lift their skirts. They do this whenever they come alongside any riverside town. [3] But when they have reached Bubastis, they make a festival with great sacrifices, and more wine is drunk at this feast than in the whole year besides. It is customary for men and women (but not children) to assemble there to the number of seven hundred thousand, as the people of the place say. 61.

This is what they do there; I have already described how they keep the feast of Isis at Busiris. There, after the sacrifice, all the men and women lament, in countless numbers; but it is not pious for me to say who it is for whom they lament. [2] Carians who live in Egypt do even more than this, inasmuch as they cut their foreheads with knives; and by this they show that they are foreigners and not Egyptians. 62.

When they assemble at Saïs on the night of the sacrifice, they keep lamps burning outside around their houses. These lamps are saucers full of salt and oil on which the wick floats, and they burn all night. This is called the Feast of Lamps. [2] Egyptians who do not come to this are mindful on the night of sacrifice to keep their own lamps burning, and so they are alight not only at Saïs but throughout Egypt. A sacred tale is told showing why this night is lit up thus and honored. 63.

When the people go to Heliopolis and Buto, they offer sacrifice only. At Papremis sacrifice is offered and rites performed just as elsewhere; but when the sun is setting, a few of the priests hover about the image, while most of them go and stand in the entrance to the temple with clubs of wood in their hands; others, more than a thousand men fulfilling vows, who also carry wooden clubs, stand in a mass opposite. [2] The image of the god, in a little gilded wooden shrine, they carry away on the day before this to another sacred building. The few who are left with the image draw a four-wheeled wagon conveying the shrine and the image that is in the shrine; the others stand in the space before the doors and do not let them enter, while the vow-keepers, taking the side of the god, strike them, who defend themselves. [3] A fierce fight with clubs breaks out there, and they are hit on their heads, and many, I expect, even die from their wounds; although the Egyptians said that nobody dies. [4] The natives say that they made this assembly a custom from the following incident: the mother of Ares lived in this temple; Ares had been raised apart from her and came, when he grew up, wishing to visit his mother; but as her attendants kept him out and would not let him pass, never having seen him before, Ares brought men from another town, manhandled the attendants, and went in to his mother. From this, they say, this hitting for Ares became a custom in the festival^{32*}.

Furthermore, it was the Egyptians who first made it a matter of religious observance not to have intercourse with women in temples or to enter a temple after such intercourse without washing. Nearly all other peoples are less careful in this matter than are the Egyptians and Greeks, and consider a man to be like any other animal; [2] for beasts and birds (they say) are seen to mate both in the temples and in the sacred precincts; now were this displeasing to the god, the beasts would not do so. This is the reason given by others for practices which I, for my part, dislike; 65. but the Egyptians in this and in all other matters are exceedingly strict against desecration of their temples. [2]

Although Egypt has Libya on its borders, it is not a country of many animals. All of them are held sacred; some of these are part of men's households and some not; but if I were to say why they are left alone as sacred, I should end up talking of matters of divinity, which I am especially averse to treating; I have never touched upon such except where necessity has compelled me. [3] But I will indicate how it is customary to deal with the animals. Men and women are appointed guardians to provide nourishment for each kind respectively; a son inherits this office from his father. [4] Townsfolk in each place, when they pay their vows, pray to the god to whom the animal is dedicated, shaving all or one half or one third of their children's heads, and weighing the hair in a balance against a sum of silver; then the weight in silver of the hair is given to the female guardian of the creatures, who buys fish with it and feeds them. [5] Thus, food is provided for them. Whoever kills one of these creatures intentionally is punished with death; if he kills accidentally, he pays whatever penalty the priests appoint. Whoever kills an ibis or a hawk, intentionally or not, must die for it. 66.

There are many household animals; and there would be many more, were it not for what happens among the cats. When the females have a litter, they are no longer receptive to the males; those that seek to have intercourse with them cannot; [2] so their recourse is to steal and carry off and kill the kittens (but they do not eat what they have killed). The mothers, deprived of their young and desiring to have more, will then approach the males; for they are creatures

that love offspring. [3] And when a fire breaks out, very strange things happen among the cats. The Egyptians stand around in a broken line, thinking more of the cats than of quenching the burning; but the cats slip through or leap over the men and spring into the fire. [4] When this happens, there is great mourning in Egypt. The occupants of a house where a cat has died a natural death shave their eyebrows and no more; where a dog has died, the head and the whole body are shaven. 67.

Dead cats are taken away to sacred buildings in the town of Bubastis, where they are embalmed and buried; female dogs are buried by the townsfolk in their own towns in sacred coffins; and the like is done with mongooses. Shrewmice and hawks are taken away to Buto, ibises to the city of Hermes. [2] There are few bears, and the wolves are little bigger than foxes; both these are buried wherever they are found lying. 68.

The nature of crocodiles is as follows. For the four winter months, it eats nothing. It has four feet, and lives both on land and in the water, for it lays eggs and hatches them out on land and spends the greater part of the day on dry ground, and the night in the river, the water being warmer than the air and dew. [2] No mortal creature of all which we know grows from so small a beginning to such greatness; for its eggs are not much bigger than goose eggs, and the young crocodile is of a proportional size, but it grows to a length of twenty-eight feet and more. [3] It has eyes like pigs' eyes, and long, protruding teeth. It is the only animal that has no tongue. It does not move the lower jaw, but brings the upper jaw down upon the lower, uniquely among beasts. [4] It also has strong claws, and a scaly, impenetrable hide on its back. It is blind in the water, but very keen of sight in the air. Since it lives in the water, its mouth is all full of leeches. All birds and beasts flee from it, except the sandpiper^{33*}, with which it is at peace because this bird does the crocodile a service; [5] for whenever the crocodile comes ashore out of the water and then opens its mouth (and it does this mostly to catch the west wind), the sandpiper goes into its mouth and eats the leeches; the crocodile is pleased by this service and does the sandpiper no harm. 69.

Some of the Egyptians consider crocodiles sacred; others do not,

but treat them as enemies. Those who live near Thebes and lake Moeris consider them very sacred. [2] Every household raises one crocodile, trained to be tame; they put ornaments of glass and gold on its ears and bracelets on its forefeet, provide special food and offerings for it, and give the creatures the best of treatment while they live; after death, the crocodiles are embalmed and buried in sacred coffins. [3] But around Elephantine they are not held sacred, and are even eaten. The Egyptians do not call them crocodiles, but khampsae. The Ionians named them crocodiles, from their resemblance to the lizards which they have in their walls^{34*}. 70.

There are many different ways of crocodile hunting; I will write of the way that I think most worth mentioning. The hunter baits a hook with a hog's back, and lets it float into the midst of the river; he himself stays on the bank with a young live pig, which he beats. [2] Hearing the squeals of the pig, the crocodile goes after the sound, and meets the bait, which it swallows; then the hunters pull the line. When the crocodile is drawn ashore, first of all the hunter smears its eyes over with mud; when this is done, the quarry is very easily mastered — no light matter, without that. 71.

Hippopotamuses are sacred in the district of Papremis, but not elsewhere in Egypt. They present the following appearance: four-footed, with cloven hooves like cattle; blunt-nosed; with a horse's mane, visible tusks, a horse's tail and voice; big as the biggest bull. Their hide is so thick that, when it is dried, spearshafts are made of it. 72.

Otters are found in the river, too, which the Egyptians consider sacred; and they consider sacred that fish, too, which is called the scale-fish, and the eel. These, and the fox-goose^{35*} among birds, are said to be sacred to the god of the Nile. 73.

There is another sacred bird, too, whose name is phoenix. I myself have never seen it, only pictures of it; for the bird seldom comes into Egypt: once in five hundred years, as the people of Heliopolis say. [2] It is said that the phoenix comes when his father dies. If the picture truly shows his size and appearance, his plumage is partly golden and partly red. He is most like an eagle in shape and size. [3] What they say this bird manages to do is incredible to me. Flying from Arabia to the temple of the sun, they say, he conveys his father encased in

myrrh and buries him at the temple of the Sun. [4] This is how he conveys him: he first molds an egg of myrrh as heavy as he can carry, then tries lifting it, and when he has tried it, he then hollows out the egg and puts his father into it, and plasters over with more myrrh the hollow of the egg into which he has put his father, which is the same in weight with his father lying in it, and he conveys him encased to the temple of the Sun in Egypt. This is what they say this bird does. 74.

Near Thebes there are sacred snakes, harmless to men, small in size, and bearing two horns on the top of their heads. These, when they die, are buried in the temple of Zeus, to whom they are said to be sacred. 75.

There is a place in Arabia not far from the town of Buto where I went to learn about the winged serpents. When I arrived there, I saw innumerable bones and backbones of serpents: many heaps of backbones, great and small and even smaller. [2] This place, where the backbones lay scattered, is where a narrow mountain pass opens into a great plain, which adjoins the plain of Egypt. [3] Winged serpents are said to fly from Arabia at the beginning of spring, making for Egypt; but the ibis birds encounter the invaders in this pass and kill them. [4] The Arabians say that the ibis is greatly honored by the Egyptians for this service, and the Egyptians give the same reason for honoring these birds. 76.

Now this is the appearance of the ibis. It is all quite black, with the legs of a crane, and a beak sharply hooked, and is as big as a landrail. Such is the appearance of the ibis which fights with the serpents. Those that most associate with men (for there are two kinds of ibis^{36*}) [2] have the whole head and neck bare of feathers; their plumage is white, except the head and neck and wingtips and tail (these being quite black); the legs and beak of the bird are like those of the other ibis. The serpents are like water-snakes. [3] Their wings are not feathered but very like the wings of a bat.

I have now said enough concerning creatures that are sacred. 77.

Among the Egyptians themselves, those who live in the cultivated country are the most assiduous of all men at preserving the memory of the past, and none whom I have questioned are so skilled in history. [2] They practice the following way of life. For three

consecutive days in every month they purge themselves, pursuing health by means of emetics and drenches; for they think that it is from the food they eat that all sicknesses come to men. [3] Even without this, the Egyptians are the healthiest of all men, next to the Libyans; the explanation of which, in my opinion, is that the climate in all seasons is the same: for change is the great cause of men's falling sick, more especially changes of seasons. [4] They eat bread, making loaves which they call "cyllestis,"^{37*} of coarse grain. For wine, they use a drink made from barley, for they have no vines in their country. They eat fish either raw and sun-dried, or preserved with brine. [5] Quails and ducks and small birds are salted and eaten raw; all other kinds of birds, as well as fish (except those that the Egyptians consider sacred) are eaten roasted or boiled. 78.

After rich men's repasts, a man carries around an image in a coffin, painted and carved in exact imitation of a corpse two or four feet long. This he shows to each of the company, saying "While you drink and enjoy, look on this; for to this state you must come when you die." Such is the custom at their symposia. 79.

They keep the customs of their fathers, adding none to them. Among other notable customs of theirs is this, that they have one song, the Linus-song,^{38*} which is sung in Phoenicia and Cyprus and elsewhere; each nation has a name of its own for this, [2] but it happens to be the same song that the Greeks sing, and call Linus; so that of many things in Egypt that amaze me, one is: where did the Egyptians get Linus? Plainly they have always sung this song; but in Egyptian Linus is called Maneros.^{39*} [3] The Egyptians told me that Maneros was the only son of their first king, who died prematurely, and this dirge was sung by the Egyptians in his honor; and this, they said, was their earliest and their only chant. 80.

There is a custom, too, which no Greeks except the Lacedaemonians have in common with the Egyptians: younger men, encountering their elders, yield the way and stand aside, and rise from their seats for them when they approach. [2] But they are like none of the Greeks in this: passers-by do not address each other, but salute by lowering the hand to the knee. 81.

They wear linen tunics with fringes hanging about the legs, called "calasiris," and loose white woolen mantles over these. But nothing

woolen is brought into temples, or buried with them: that is impious. [2] They agree in this with practices called Orphic and Bacchic, but in fact Egyptian and Pythagorean: for it is impious, too, for one partaking of these rites to be buried in woolen wrappings. There is a sacred legend about this. 82.

Other things originating with the Egyptians are these. Each month and day belong to one of the gods, and according to the day of one's birth are determined how one will fare and how one will end and what one will be like; those Greeks occupied with poetry exploit this. [2] More portents have been discovered by them than by all other peoples; when a portent occurs, they take note of the outcome and write it down; and if something of a like kind happens again, they think it will have a like result. 83.

As to the art of divination among them, it belongs to no man, but to some of the gods; there are in their country oracles of Heracles, Apollo, Athena, Artemis, Ares, and Zeus, and of Leto (the most honored of all) in the town of Buto. Nevertheless, they have several ways of divination, not just one. 84.

The practice of medicine is so specialized among them that each physician is a healer of one disease and no more. All the country is full of physicians, some of the eye, some of the teeth, some of what pertains to the belly, and some of internal diseases. 85.

They mourn and bury the dead like this: whenever a man of note is lost to his house by death, all the women of the house daub their faces or heads with mud; then they leave the corpse in the house and roam about the city lamenting, with their garments girt around them and their breasts showing, and with them all the women of their relatives; [2] elsewhere, the men lament, with garments girt likewise. When this is done, they take the dead body to be embalmed. 86.

There are men whose sole business this is and who have this special craft. [2] When a dead body is brought to them, they show those who brought it wooden models of corpses, painted likenesses; the most perfect way of embalming belongs, they say, to One whose name it would be impious for me to mention in treating such a matter; the second way, which they show, is less perfect than the first, and cheaper; and the third is the least costly of all. Having shown these, they ask those who brought the body in which way they

desire to have it prepared. [3] Having agreed on a price, the bearers go away, and the workmen, left alone in their place, embalm the body. If they do this in the most perfect way, they first draw out part of the brain through the nostrils with an iron hook, and inject certain drugs into the rest. [4] Then, making a cut near the flank with a sharp knife of Ethiopian stone, they take out all the intestines, and clean the belly, rinsing it with palm wine and bruised spices; [5] they sew it up again after filling the belly with pure ground myrrh and casia and any other spices, except frankincense. After doing this, they conceal the body for seventy days, embalmed in saltpetre; no longer time is allowed for the embalming; [6] and when the seventy days have passed, they wash the body and wrap the whole of it in bandages of fine linen cloth, anointed with gum, which the Egyptians mostly use instead of glue; [7] then they give the dead man back to his friends. These make a hollow wooden figure like a man, in which they enclose the corpse, shut it up, and keep it safe in a coffin-chamber, placed erect against a wall. 87.

That is how they prepare the dead in the most costly way;^{40*} those who want the middle way and shun the costly, they prepare as follows. [2] The embalmers charge their syringes with cedar oil and fill the belly of the dead man with it, without making a cut or removing the intestines, but injecting the fluid through the anus and preventing it from running out; then they embalm the body for the appointed days; on the last day they drain the belly of the cedar oil which they put in before. [3] It has such great power as to bring out with it the internal organs and intestines all dissolved; meanwhile, the flesh is eaten away by the saltpetre, and in the end nothing is left of the body but hide and bones. Then the embalmers give back the dead body with no more ado. 88.

The third manner of embalming, the preparation of the poorer dead, is this: they cleanse the belly with a purge, embalm the body for the seventy days and then give it back to be taken away. 89.

Wives of notable men, and women of great beauty and reputation, are not at once given to the embalmers, but only after they have been dead for three or four days; [2] this is done to deter the embalmers from having intercourse with the women. For it is said that one was caught having intercourse with the fresh corpse of a woman, and was

denounced by his fellow-workman. 90.

Anyone, Egyptian or foreigner, known to have been carried off by a crocodile or drowned by the river itself, must by all means be embalmed and wrapped as attractively as possible and buried in a sacred coffin by the people of the place where he is cast ashore; [2] none of his relatives or friends may touch him, but his body is considered something more than human, and is handled and buried by the priests of the Nile themselves. 91.

The Egyptians shun using Greek customs, and (generally speaking) the customs of all other peoples as well. Yet, though the rest are wary of this, there is a great city called Khemmis, in the Theban district, near the New City. [2] In this city is a square temple of Perseus son of Danae, in a grove of palm trees. Before this temple stand great stone columns; and at the entrance, two great stone statues. In the outer court there is a shrine with an image of Perseus standing in it. [3] The people of this Khemmis say that Perseus is seen often up and down this land, and often within the temple, and that the sandal he wears, which is four feet long, keeps turning up, and that when it does turn up, all Egypt prospers. [4] This is what they say; and their doings in honor of Perseus are Greek, inasmuch as they celebrate games that include every form of contest, and offer animals and cloaks and skins as prizes. [5] When I asked why Perseus appeared only to them, and why, unlike all other Egyptians, they celebrate games, they told me that Perseus was by lineage of their city; for Danaus and Lynceus, who travelled to Greece, were of Khemmis; and they traced descent from these down to Perseus. [6] They told how he came to Khemmis, too, when he came to Egypt for the reason alleged by the Greeks as well — namely, to bring the Gorgon's head from Libya — and recognized all his relatives; and how he had heard the name of Khemmis from his mother before he came to Egypt. It was at his bidding, they said, that they celebrated the games. 92.

All these are the customs of Egyptians who live above the marsh country. Those who inhabit the marshes have the same customs as the rest of Egyptians, even that each man has one wife just like Greeks. They have, besides, devised means to make their food less costly. [2] When the river is in flood and flows over the plains, many

lilies, which the Egyptians call lotus, grow in the water. They gather these and dry them in the sun; then they crush the poppy-like center of the plant and bake loaves of it. [3] The root of this lotus is edible also, and of a sweetish taste; it is round, and the size of an apple. [4] Other lilies grow in the river, too, that are like roses; the fruit of these is found in a calyx springing from the root by a separate stalk, and is most like a comb made by wasps; this produces many edible seeds as big as olive pits, which are eaten both fresh and dried. [5] They also use the byblus which grows annually: it is gathered from the marshes, the top of it cut off and put to other uses, and the lower part, about twenty inches long, eaten or sold. Those who wish to use the byblus at its very best, roast it before eating in a red-hot oven. Some live on fish alone. They catch the fish, take out the intestines, then dry them in the sun and eat them dried. 93.

Fish that go in schools are seldom born in rivers; they are raised in the lakes, and this is how they behave: when the desire of spawning comes on them, they swim out to sea in schools, the males leading, and throwing out their milt, while the females come after and swallow and conceive from it. [2] When the females have grown heavy in the sea, then all the fish swim back to their own haunts. But the same no longer lead; now the leadership goes to the females. They go before in a school as the males had, and now and then throw off some of their eggs (which are like millet-seeds), which the males devour as they follow. These millet-seeds, or eggs, are fish. [3] The fish that are reared come from the eggs that survive and are not devoured. Those fish that are caught while swimming seawards show bruises on the left side of their heads; those that are caught returning, on the right side. [4] This happens because they keep close to the left bank as they swim seawards, and keep to the same bank also on their return, grazing it and keeping in contact with it as well as they can, I suppose lest the current make them miss their way. [5] When the Nile begins to rise, hollow and marshy places near the river are the first to begin to fill, the water trickling through from the river, and as soon as they are flooded, they are suddenly full of little fishes. [6] Where these probably come from, I believe that I can guess. When the Nile falls, the fish have dropped their eggs into the mud before they leave with the last of the water; and when in the course of time the flood

comes again in the following year, from these eggs at once come the fish. 94.

So much, then, for the fish. The Egyptians who live around the marshes use an oil drawn from the castor-berry, which they call kiki. They sow this plant, which grows wild in Hellas, on the banks of the rivers and lakes; [2] sown in Egypt, it produces abundant fruit, though malodorous; when they gather this, some bruise and press it, others boil after roasting it, and collect the liquid that comes from it. This is thick and useful as oil for lamps, and gives off a strong smell. 95.

Against the mosquitos that abound, the following have been devised by them: those who dwell higher up than the marshy country are well served by the towers where they ascend to sleep, for the winds prevent the mosquitos from flying aloft; [2] those living about the marshes have a different recourse, instead of the towers. Every one of them has a net, with which he catches fish by day, and at night he sets it around the bed where he rests, then creeps under it and sleeps. [3] If he sleeps wrapped in a garment or cloth, the mosquitos bite through it; but through the net they absolutely do not even venture. 96.

The boats in which they carry cargo are made of the acacia,^{41*} which is most like the lotus of Cyrene in form, and its sap is gum. Of this tree they cut logs of four feet long and lay them like courses of bricks,^{42*} and build the boat [2] by fastening these four foot logs to long and close-set stakes; and having done so, they set crossbeams athwart and on the logs. They use no ribs. They caulk the seams within with byblus. [3] There is one rudder, passing through a hole in the boat's keel. The mast is of acacia-wood and the sails of byblus. These boats cannot move upstream unless a brisk breeze continues; they are towed from the bank; but downstream they are managed thus: [4] they have a raft made of tamarisk wood, fastened together with matting of reeds, and a pierced stone of about two talents' weight; the raft is let go to float down ahead of the boat, connected to it by a rope, and the stone is connected by a rope to the after part of the boat. [5] So, driven by the current, the raft floats swiftly and tows the "baris" (which is the name of these boats,) and the stone dragging behind on the river bottom keeps the boat's course straight. There are many of these boats; some are of many thousand talents' burden. 97.

When the Nile overflows the land, only the towns are seen high and dry above the water, very like the islands in the Aegean sea. These alone stand out, the rest of Egypt being a sheet of water. So when this happens, folk are not ferried, as usual, in the course of the stream, but clean over the plain. [2] Indeed, the boat going up from Naucratis to Memphis passes close by the pyramids themselves, though the course does not go by here,^{43*} but by the Delta's point and the town Cercasorus; but your voyage from the sea and Canobus to Naucratis will take you over the plain near the town of Anthylla and that which is called Arkhandrus' town. 98.

Anthylla is a town of some reputation, and is especially assigned to the consort of the reigning king of Egypt, to provide her shoes. This has been done since Egypt has been under Persian dominion. [2] The other town, I think, is named after Arkhandrus son of Phthius the Achaean, and son-in-law of Danaus; for it is called Arkhandrus' town. It may be that there was another Arkhandrus; but the name is not Egyptian. 99.

So far, all I have said is the record of my own autopsy and judgment and inquiry. Henceforth I will record Egyptian chronicles, according to what I have heard, adding something of what I myself have seen. [2] The priests told me that Min was the first king of Egypt, and that first he separated Memphis from the Nile by a dam. All the river had flowed close under the sandy mountains on the Libyan side, but Min made the southern bend of it, which begins about twelve and one half miles above Memphis, by damming the stream, thereby drying up the ancient channel, and carried the river by a channel so that it flowed midway between the hills. [3] And to this day the Persians keep careful watch on this bend of the river, strengthening its dam every year to keep the current in; for were the Nile to burst its dikes and overflow here, all Memphis would be in danger of flooding. [4] Then, when this first king Min had made dry land of what he thus cut off, he first founded in it that city which is now called Memphis (for even Memphis lies in the narrow part of Egypt), and outside of it he dug a lake from the river to its north and west (for the Nile itself bounds it on the east); and secondly, he built in it the great and most noteworthy temple of Hephaestus. 100.

After him came three hundred and thirty kings, whose names the

priests recited from a papyrus roll. In all these many generations there were eighteen Ethiopian kings, and one queen, native to the country; the rest were all Egyptian men. [2] The name of the queen was the same as that of the Babylonian princess, Nitocris. She, to avenge her brother (he was king of Egypt and was slain by his subjects, who then gave Nitocris the sovereignty) put many of the Egyptians to death by treachery. [3] She built a spacious underground chamber; then, with the pretence of inaugurating it, but with quite another intent in her mind, she gave a great feast, inviting to it those Egyptians whom she knew to have had the most complicity in her brother's murder; and while they feasted, she let the river in upon them by a vast secret channel. [4] This was all that the priests told of her, except that when she had done this she cast herself into a chamber full of hot ashes, to escape vengeance. 101.

But of the other kings they related no achievement or act of great note, except of Moeris, the last of them. [2] This Moeris was remembered as having built the northern forecourt of the temple of Hephaestus, and dug a lake, of as great a circumference as I shall later indicate; and built pyramids there also, the size of which I will mention when I speak of the lake. All this was Moeris' work, they said; of none of the rest had they anything to record. 102.

Leaving the latter aside, then, I shall speak of the king who came after them, whose name was Sesostris^{44*}. [2] This king, the priests said, set out with a fleet of long ships^{45*} from the Arabian Gulf and subjugated all those living by the Red Sea, until he came to a sea which was too shallow for his vessels. [3] After returning from there back to Egypt, he gathered a great army (according to the account of the priests) and marched over the mainland, subjugating every nation to which he came. [4] When those that he met were valiant men and strove hard for freedom, he set up pillars in their land, the inscription on which showed his own name and his country's, and how he had overcome them with his own power; [5] but when the cities had made no resistance and been easily taken, then he put an inscription on the pillars just as he had done where the nations were brave; but he also drew on them the private parts of a woman, wishing to show clearly that the people were cowardly. 103.

He marched over the country doing this until he had crossed over

from Asia to Europe and defeated the Scythians and Thracians. Thus far and no farther, I think, the Egyptian army went; for the pillars can be seen standing in their country, but in none beyond it. [2] From there, he turned around and went back home; and when he came to the Phasis river, that King, Sesostris, may have detached some part of his army and left it there to live in the country (for I cannot speak with exact knowledge), or it may be that some of his soldiers grew weary of his wanderings, and stayed by the Phasis. 104.

For it is plain to see that the Colchians are Egyptians; and what I say, I myself noted before I heard it from others. When it occurred to me, I inquired of both peoples; and the Colchians remembered the Egyptians better than the Egyptians remembered the Colchians; [2] the Egyptians said that they considered the Colchians part of Sesostris' army. I myself guessed it, partly because they are dark-skinned and woolly-haired; though that indeed counts for nothing, since other peoples are, too; but my better proof was that the Colchians and Egyptians and Ethiopians are the only nations that have from the first practised circumcision. [3] The Phoenicians and the Syrians of Palestine acknowledge that they learned the custom from the Egyptians, and the Syrians of the valleys of the Thermodon and the Parthenius, as well as their neighbors the Macrones, say that they learned it lately from the Colchians. These are the only nations that circumcise, and it is seen that they do just as the Egyptians. [4] But as to the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I cannot say which nation learned it from the other; for it is evidently a very ancient custom. That the others learned it through traffic with Egypt, I consider clearly proved by this: that Phoenicians who traffic with Hellas cease to imitate the Egyptians in this matter and do not circumcise their children. 105.

Listen to something else about the Colchians, in which they are like the Egyptians: they and the Egyptians alone work linen and have the same way of working it, a way peculiar to themselves; and they are alike in all their way of life, and in their speech. Linen has two names: the Colchian kind is called by the Greeks Sardonian^{46*}; that which comes from Egypt is called Egyptian. 106.

As to the pillars that Sesostris, king of Egypt, set up in the countries, most of them are no longer to be seen. But I myself saw

them in the Palestine district of Syria, with the aforesaid writing and the women's private parts on them. [2] Also, there are in Ionia two figures^{47*} of this man carved in rock, one on the road from Ephesus to Phocaea, and the other on that from Sardis to Smyrna. [3] In both places, the figure is over twenty feet high, with a spear in his right hand and a bow in his left, and the rest of his equipment proportional; for it is both Egyptian and Ethiopian; [4] and right across the breast from one shoulder to the other a text is cut in the Egyptian sacred characters, saying: "I myself won this land with the strength of my shoulders." There is nothing here to show who he is and whence he comes, but it is shown elsewhere. [5] Some of those who have seen these figures guess they are Memnon, but they are far indeed from the truth. 107.

Now when this Egyptian Sesostris (so the priests said) reached Daphnae of Pelusium on his way home, leading many captives from the peoples whose lands he had subjugated, his brother, whom he had left in charge in Egypt, invited him and his sons to a banquet and then piled wood around the house and set it on fire. [2] When Sesostris was aware of this, he at once consulted his wife, whom (it was said) he had with him; and she advised him to lay two of his six sons on the fire and make a bridge over the burning so that they could walk over the bodies of the two and escape. This Sesostris did; two of his sons were thus burnt but the rest escaped alive with their father. 108.

After returning to Egypt, and avenging himself on his brother, Sesostris found work for the multitude which he brought with him from the countries which he had subdued. [2] It was these who dragged the great and long blocks of stone which were brought in this king's reign to the temple of Hephaestus; and it was they who were compelled to dig all the canals which are now in Egypt, and involuntarily made what had been a land of horses and carts empty of these. [3] For from this time Egypt, although a level land, could use no horses or carts, because there were so many canals going every which way. The reason why the king thus intersected the country was this: [4] those Egyptians whose towns were not on the Nile, but inland from it, lacked water whenever the flood left their land, and drank only brackish water from wells. 109.

For this reason Egypt was intersected. This king also (they said) divided the country among all the Egyptians by giving each an equal parcel of land, and made this his source of revenue, assessing the payment of a yearly tax. [2] And any man who was robbed by the river of part of his land could come to Sesostris and declare what had happened; then the king would send men to look into it and calculate the part by which the land was diminished, so that thereafter it should pay in proportion to the tax originally imposed. [3] From this, in my opinion, the Greeks learned the art of measuring land; the sun-clock and the sundial, and the twelve divisions of the day, came to Hellas from Babylonia and not from Egypt. 110.

Sesostris was the only Egyptian king who also ruled Ethiopia. To commemorate his name, he set before the temple of Hephaestus two stone statues, of himself and of his wife, each fifty feet high, and statues of his four sons, each thirty-three feet. [2] Long afterwards, Darius the Persian would have set up his statue before these; but the priest of Hephaestus forbade him, saying that he had achieved nothing equal to the deeds of Sesostris the Egyptian; for Sesostris (he said) had subjugated the Scythians, besides as many nations as Darius had conquered, and Darius had not been able to overcome the Scythians; [3] therefore, it was not just that Darius should set his statue before the statues of Sesostris, whose achievements he had not equalled. Darius, it is said, let the priest have his way. 111.

When Sesostris died, he was succeeded in the kingship (the priests said) by his son Pheros^{48*}. This king waged no wars, and chanced to become blind, for the following reason: the Nile came down in such a flood as there had never been, rising to a height of thirty feet, and the water that flowed over the fields was roughened by a strong wind; [2] then, it is said, the king was so audacious as to seize a spear and hurl it into the midst of the river eddies. Right after this, he came down with a disease of the eyes, and became blind. When he had been blind for ten years, an oracle from the city of Buto declared to him that the term of his punishment was drawing to an end, and that he would regain his sight by washing his eyes with the urine of a woman who had never had intercourse with any man but her own husband. [3] Pheros tried his own wife first; and, as he remained blind, all women, one after another. When he at last recovered his

sight, he took all the women whom he had tried, except the one who had made him see again, and gathered them into one town, the one which is now called "Red Clay"; having concentrated them together there, he burnt them and the town; [4] but the woman by whose means he had recovered his sight, he married. Most worthy of mention among the many offerings which he dedicated in all the noteworthy temples for his deliverance from blindness are the two marvellous stone obelisks which he set up in the temple of the Sun. Each of these is made of a single block, and is over one hundred and sixty-six feet high and thirteen feet thick. 112.

Pheros was succeeded (they said) by a man of Memphis, whose name in the Greek tongue was Proteus. This Proteus has a very attractive and well-appointed temple precinct at Memphis, south of the temple of Hephaestus. [2] Around the precinct live Phoenicians of Tyre, and the whole place is called the Camp of the Tyrians. There is in the precinct of Proteus a temple called the temple of the Stranger Aphrodite; I guess this is a temple of Helen, daughter of Tyndarus, partly because I have heard the story of Helen's abiding with Proteus, and partly because it bears the name of the Foreign Aphrodite: for no other of Aphrodite's temples is called by that name. 113.

When I inquired of the priests, they told me that this was the story of Helen. After carrying off Helen from Sparta, Alexandrus sailed away for his own country; violent winds caught him in the Aegean and drove him into the Egyptian sea; and from there (as the wind did not let up) he came to Egypt, to the mouth of the Nile called the Canopic mouth, and to the Salters'. [2] Now there was (and still is) on the coast a temple of Heracles; if a servant of any man takes refuge there and is branded with certain sacred marks, delivering himself to the god, he may not be touched. This law continues today the same as it has always been from the first. [3] Hearing of the temple law, some of Alexandrus' servants ran away from him, threw themselves on the mercy of the god, and brought an accusation against Alexandrus meaning to injure him, telling the whole story of Helen and the wrong done Menelaus. They laid this accusation before the priests and the warden of the Nile mouth, whose name was Thonis. 114.

When Thonis heard it, he sent this message the quickest way to

Proteus at Memphis: [2] “A stranger has come, a Trojan, who has committed an impiety in Hellas. After defrauding his guest-friend, he has come bringing the man’s wife and a very great deal of wealth, driven to your country by the wind. Are we to let him sail away untouched, or are we to take away what he has come with?” [3] Proteus sent back this message: “Whoever this is who has acted impiously against his guest-friend, seize him and bring him to me, that I may know what he will say.” 115.

Hearing this, Thonis seized Alexandrus and detained his ships there, and then brought him with Helen and all the wealth, and the suppliants too, to Memphis. [2] When all had arrived, Proteus asked Alexandrus who he was and whence he sailed; Alexandrus told him his lineage and the name of his country, and about his voyage, whence he sailed. [3] Then Proteus asked him where he had got Helen; when Alexandrus was evasive in his story and did not tell the truth, the men who had taken refuge with the temple confuted him, and related the whole story of the wrong. [4] Finally, Proteus declared the following judgment to them, saying, “If I did not make it a point never to kill a stranger who has been caught by the wind and driven to my coasts, I would have punished you on behalf of the Greek, you most vile man. You committed the gravest impiety after you had had your guest-friend’s hospitality: you had your guest-friend’s wife. [5] And as if this were not enough, you got her to fly with you and went off with her. And not just with her, either, but you plundered your guest-friend’s wealth and brought it, too. [6] Now, then, since I make it a point not to kill strangers, I shall not let you take away this woman and the wealth, but I shall watch them for the Greek stranger, until he come and take them away; but as for you and your sailors, I warn you to leave my country for another within three days, and if you do not, I will declare war on you.” 116.

This, the priests said, was how Helen came to Proteus. And, in my opinion, Homer knew this story, too; but seeing that it was not so well suited to epic poetry as the tale of which he made use, he rejected it, showing that he knew it. [2] This is apparent from the passage in the Iliad (and nowhere else does he return to the story) where he relates the wanderings of Alexander, and shows how he and Helen were carried off course, and wandered to, among other places,

Sidon in Phoenicia. [3] This is in the story of the Prowess of Diomedes, where the verses run as follows:

“There were the robes, all embroidered,
The work of women of Sidon, whom godlike Alexandrus himself
Brought from Sidon, crossing the broad sea,
The same voyage on which he brought back Helen of noble descent.
“

Hom. Il. 6.289-92

[4] [He mentions it in the Odyssey also:

“The daughter of Zeus had such ingenious drugs,
Good ones, which she had from Thon’s wife, Polydamna, an
Egyptian,
Whose country’s fertile plains bear the most drugs,
Many mixed for good, many for harm:
“

Hom. Od. 4.227-30

] [5] and again Menelaus says to Telemachus:

“I was eager to return here, but the gods still held me in Egypt,
Since I had not sacrificed entire hecatombs to them.
“

Hom. Od. 4. 351-2

[6]

In these verses the poet shows that he knew of Alexander’s wanderings to Egypt; for Syria borders on Egypt, and the Phoenicians, to whom Sidon belongs, dwell in Syria. 117.

These verses and this passage prove most clearly that the Cyprian poems are not the work of Homer but of someone else. For the Cyprian poems relate that Alexandrus reached Ilion with Helen in three days from Sparta, having a fair wind and a smooth sea; but according to the Iliad, he wandered from his course in bringing her.
118.

Enough, then, of Homer and the Cyprian poems. But, when I

asked the priests whether the Greek account of what happened at Troy were idle or not, they gave me the following answer, saying that they had inquired and knew from Menelaus himself. [2] After the rape of Helen, a great force of Greeks came to the Trojan land on Menelaus' behalf. After disembarking and disposing their forces, they sent messengers to Ilion, one of whom was Menelaus himself. [3] When these were let inside the city walls, they demanded the restitution of Helen and of the property which Alexandrus had stolen from Menelaus and carried off, and they demanded reparation for the wrongs; but the Trojans gave the same testimony then and later, sworn and unsworn: that they did not have Helen or the property claimed, but all of that was in Egypt, and they could not justly make reparation for what Proteus the Egyptian had. [4] But the Greeks, thinking that the Trojans were mocking them, laid siege to the city, until they took it; but there was no Helen there when they breached the wall, but they heard the same account as before; so, crediting the original testimony, they sent Menelaus himself to Proteus. 119.

Menelaus then went to Egypt and up the river to Memphis; there, relating the truth of the matter, he met with great hospitality and got back Helen, who had not been harmed, and also all his wealth, besides. [2] Yet, although getting this, Menelaus was guilty of injustice toward the Egyptians. For adverse weather detained him when he tried to sail away; after this continued for some time, he carried out something impious, [3] taking two native children and sacrificing them. When it became known that he had done this, he fled with his ships straight to Libya, hated and hunted; and where he went from there, the Egyptians could not say. The priests told me that they had learned some of this by inquiry, but that they were sure of what had happened in their own country. 120.

The Egyptians' priests said this, and I myself believe their story about Helen, for I reason thus: had Helen been in Ilion, then with or without the will of Alexandrus she would have been given back to the Greeks. [2] For surely Priam was not so mad, or those nearest to him, as to consent to risk their own persons and their children and their city so that Alexandrus might cohabit with Helen. [3] Even if it were conceded that they were so inclined in the first days, yet when not only many of the Trojans were slain in fighting against the

Greeks, but Priam himself lost to death two or three or even more of his sons in every battle (if the poets are to be believed), in this turn of events, had Helen been Priam's own wife, I cannot but think that he would have restored her to the Greeks, if by so doing he could escape from the evils besetting him. [4] Alexandrus was not even heir to the throne, in which case matters might have been in his hands since Priam was old, but Hector, who was an older and a better man than Alexandrus, was going to receive the royal power at Priam's death, and ought not have acquiesced in his brother's wrongdoing, especially when that brother was the cause of great calamity to Hector himself and all the rest of the Trojans. [5] But since they did not have Helen there to give back, and since the Greeks would not believe them although they spoke the truth — I am convinced and declare — the divine powers provided that the Trojans, perishing in utter destruction, should make this clear to all mankind: that retribution from the gods for terrible wrongdoing is also terrible. This is what I think, and I state it. 121.

The next to reign after Proteus (they said) was Rhampsinitus. The memorial of his name left by him was the western forecourt of the temple of Hephaestus; he set two statues here forty-one feet high; the northernmost of these the Egyptians call Summer, and the southernmost Winter; the one that they call Summer they worship and treat well, but do the opposite to the statue called Winter. 121A. This king (they told me) had great wealth in silver, so great that none of the succeeding kings could surpass or come near it. To store his treasure safely, he had a stone chamber built, one of its walls abutting on the outer side of his palace. But the builder of it shrewdly provided that one stone be so placed as to be easily removed by two men or even by one. [2] So when the chamber was finished, the king stored his treasure in it, and as time went on, the builder, drawing near the end of his life, summoned his sons (he had two) and told them how he had provided for them, that they have an ample livelihood, by the art with which he had built the king's treasure-house; explaining clearly to them how to remove the stone, he gave the coordinates of it, and told them that if they kept these in mind, they would be the custodians of the king's riches. [3] So when he was dead, his sons got to work at once: coming to the palace by night,

they readily found and managed the stone in the building, and took away much of the treasure. 121B. When the king opened the building, he was amazed to see the containers lacking their treasure; yet he did not know whom to accuse, seeing that the seals were unbroken and the building shut fast. But when less treasure appeared the second and third times he opened the building (for the thieves did not stop plundering), he had traps made and placed around the containers in which his riches were stored. [2] The thieves came just as before, and one of them crept in; when he came near the container, right away he was caught in the trap. When he saw the trouble he was in, he called to his brother right away and explained to him the problem, and told him to come in quickly and cut off his head, lest he be seen and recognized and destroy him, too. He seemed to have spoken rightly to the other, who did as he was persuaded and then, replacing the stone, went home, carrying his brother's head. 121C. When day came, the king went to the building, and was amazed to see in the trap the thief's body without a head, yet the building intact, with no way in or out. At a loss, he did as follows: he suspended the thief's body from the wall and set guards over it, instructing them to seize and bring to him any whom they saw weeping or making lamentation. [2]

But the thief's mother, when the body had been hung up, was terribly stricken: she had words with her surviving son, and told him that he was somehow to think of some way to cut loose and bring her his brother's body, and if he did not obey, she threatened to go to the king and denounce him as having the treasure. 121D. So when his mother bitterly reproached the surviving son and for all that he said he could not dissuade her, he devised a plan: he harnessed asses and put skins full of wine on the asses, then set out driving them; and when he was near those who were guarding the hanging body, he pulled at the feet of two or three of the skins and loosed their fastenings; [2] and as the wine ran out, he beat his head and cried aloud like one who did not know to which ass he should turn first, while the guards, when they saw the wine flowing freely, ran out into the road with cups and caught what was pouring out, thinking themselves in luck; [3] feigning anger, the man cursed all; but as the guards addressed him peaceably, he pretended to be soothed and to

relent in his anger, and finally drove his asses out of the road and put his harness in order. [4] And after more words passed and one joked with him and got him to laugh, he gave them one of the skins: and they lay down there just as they were, disposed to drink, and included him and told him to stay and drink with them; and he consented and stayed. [5] When they cheerily saluted him in their drinking, he gave them yet another of the skins; and the guards grew very drunk with the abundance of liquor, and lay down right there where they were drinking, overpowered by sleep; [6] but he, when it was late at night, cut down the body of his brother and shaved the right cheek of each of the guards for the indignity, and loading the body on his asses, drove home, fulfilling his mother's commands. 121E.

When the king learned that the body of the thief had been taken, he was beside himself and, obsessed with finding who it was who had managed this, did as follows — they say, but I do not believe it. [2] He put his own daughter in a brothel, instructing her to accept all alike and, before having intercourse, to make each tell her the shrewdest and most impious thing he had done in his life; whoever told her the story of the thief, she was to seize and not let get out. [3] The girl did as her father told her, and the thief, learning why she was doing this, did as follows, wanting to get the better of the king by craft. [4] He cut the arm off a fresh corpse at the shoulder, and went to the king's daughter, carrying it under his cloak, and when asked the same question as the rest, he said that his most impious act had been when he had cut the head off his brother who was caught in a trap in the king's treasury; and his shrewdest, that after making the guards drunk he had cut down his brother's hanging body. [5] When she heard this, the princess grabbed for him; but in the darkness the thief let her have the arm of the corpse; and clutching it, she held on, believing that she had the arm of the other; but the thief, after giving it to her, was gone in a flash out the door. 121F.

When this also came to the king's ears, he was astonished at the man's ingenuity and daring, and in the end, he sent a proclamation to every town, promising the thief immunity and a great reward if he would come into the king's presence. [2] The thief trusted the king and came before him; Rhampsinitus was very admiring and gave him

his daughter to marry on the grounds that he was the cleverest of men; for as the Egyptians (he said) surpassed all others in craft, so he surpassed the Egyptians. 122.

They said that later this king went down alive to what the Greeks call Hades and there played dice with Demeter, and after winning some and losing some, came back with a gift from her of a golden hand towel. [2] From the descent of Rhampsinitus, when he came back, they said that the Egyptians celebrate a festival, which I know that they celebrate to this day, but whether this is why they celebrate, I cannot say. [3] On the day of the festival, the priests weave a cloth and bind it as a headband on the eyes of one of their number, whom they then lead, wearing the cloth, into a road that goes to the temple of Demeter; they themselves go back, but this priest with his eyes bandaged is guided (they say) by two wolves^{49*} to Demeter's temple, a distance of three miles from the city, and led back again from the temple by the wolves to the same place. 123.

These Egyptian stories are for the benefit of whoever believes such tales: my rule in this history is that I record what is said by all as I have heard it. The Egyptians say that Demeter and Dionysus are the rulers of the lower world.^{50*} [2] The Egyptians were the first who maintained the following doctrine, too, that the human soul is immortal, and at the death of the body enters into some other living thing then coming to birth; and after passing through all creatures of land, sea, and air, it enters once more into a human body at birth, a cycle which it completes in three thousand years. [3] There are Greeks who have used this doctrine, some earlier and some later, as if it were their own; I know their names, but do not record them. 124.

They said that Egypt until the time of King Rhampsinitus was altogether well-governed and prospered greatly, but that Kheops, who was the next king, brought the people to utter misery. For first he closed all the temples, so that no one could sacrifice there; and next, he compelled all the Egyptians to work for him. [2] To some, he assigned the task of dragging stones from the quarries in the Arabian mountains to the Nile; and after the stones were ferried across the river in boats, he organized others to receive and drag them to the mountains called Libyan. [3] They worked in gangs of a hundred thousand men, each gang for three months. For ten years the people wore themselves out building the road over which the stones were dragged, work which was in my opinion not much lighter at all than the building of the pyramid^{51*} [4] (for the road is nearly a mile long and twenty yards wide, and elevated at its highest to a height of sixteen yards, and it is all of stone polished and carved with figures). The aforesaid ten years went to the building of this road and of the underground chambers in the hill where the pyramids stand; these, the king meant to be burial-places for himself, and surrounded them with water, bringing in a channel from the Nile. [5] The pyramid itself was twenty years in the making. Its base is square, each side eight hundred feet long, and its height is the same; the whole is of stone polished and most exactly fitted; there is no block of less than thirty feet in length. 125.

This pyramid was made like stairs, which some call steps and others, tiers. [2] When this, its first form, was completed, the workmen used short wooden logs as levers to raise the rest of the stones^{52*}; they heaved up the blocks from the ground onto the first tier of steps; [3] when the stone had been raised, it was set on another lever that stood on the first tier, and the lever again used to lift it from this tier to the next. [4] It may be that there was a new lever on each tier of steps, or perhaps there was only one lever, quite portable, which they carried up to each tier in turn; I leave this uncertain, as both possibilities were mentioned. [5] But this is certain, that the upper part of the pyramid was finished off first, then the next below it, and last of all the base and the lowest part. [6] There are writings on^{53*} the pyramid in Egyptian characters indicating how much was

spent on radishes and onions and garlic for the workmen; and I am sure that, when he read me the writing, the interpreter said that sixteen hundred talents of silver had been paid. [7] Now if that is so, how much must have been spent on the iron with which they worked, and the workmen's food and clothing, considering that the time aforesaid was spent in building, while hewing and carrying the stone and digging out the underground parts was, as I suppose, a business of long duration. 126.

And so evil a man was Kheops that, needing money, he put his own daughter in a brothel and made her charge a fee (how much, they did not say). She did as her father told her, but was disposed to leave a memorial of her own, and asked of each coming to her that he give one stone; [2] and of these stones they said the pyramid was built that stands midmost of the three, over against the great pyramid; each side of it measures one hundred and fifty feet. 127.

The Egyptians said that this Kheops reigned for fifty years; at his death he was succeeded by his brother Khephren, who was in all respects like Kheops. Khephren also built a pyramid, smaller than his brother's. I have measured it myself. [2] It has no underground chambers, nor is it entered like the other by a canal from the Nile, but the river comes in through a built passage and encircles an island, in which, they say, Kheops himself lies. [3] This pyramid was built on the same scale as the other, except that it falls forty feet short of it in height; it stands near the great pyramid; the lowest layer of it is of variegated Ethiopian stone. Both of them stand on the same ridge, which is about a hundred feet high. Khephren, they said, reigned for fifty-six years. 128.

Thus, they reckon that for a hundred and six years Egypt was in great misery and the temples so long shut were never opened. The people hate the memory of these two kings so much that they do not much wish to name them, and call the pyramids after the shepherd Philitis, who then pastured his flocks in this place^{s4}. 129.

The next king of Egypt, they said, was Kheops' son Mycerinus. Disliking his father's doings, he opened the temples and let the people, ground down to the depth of misery, go to their business and their sacrifices; and he was the most just judge among all the kings. [2] This is why he is praised above all the rulers of Egypt; for not only

were his judgments just, but Mycerinus would give any who were not satisfied with the judgment a present out of his own estate to compensate him for his loss. [3] Though mild toward his people and conducting himself as he did, yet he suffered calamities, the first of which was the death of his daughter, the only child of his household. Deeply grieved over this misfortune, he wanted to give her a burial somewhat more sumptuous than ordinary; he therefore made a hollow cow's image of gilded wood and placed the body of his dead daughter therein. 130.

This cow was not buried in the earth but was to be seen even in my time, in the town of Saïs, where it stood in a furnished room of the palace; incense of all kinds is offered daily before it, and a lamp burns by it all through every night. [2] Near this cow in another chamber statues of Mycerinus' concubines stand, so the priests of Saïs said; and in fact there are about twenty colossal wooden figures there, made like naked women; but except what I was told, I cannot tell who these are. 131.

But some tell the following story about the cow and the statues: that Mycerinus conceived a passion for his own daughter and then had intercourse with her against her will; [2] and they say that afterwards the girl strangled herself for grief, and that he buried her in this cow, but that her mother cut off the hands of the attendants who had betrayed the daughter to her father, and that now their statues are in the same condition as the living women were. [3] But this I believe to be a silly story, especially about the hands of the figures. For in fact we ourselves saw that the hands have fallen off through age, and were lying at their feet even in my day. 132.

As for the cow, it is covered with a purple robe, only the head and neck exposed, encrusted with a very thick layer of gold. Between the horns is the golden figure of the sun's orb. [2] It does not stand, but kneels; it is as big as a live cow of great size. This image is carried out of the chamber once every year, whenever the Egyptians mourn the god whose name I omit in speaking of these matters: [3] then the cow is brought out into the light; for they say that before she died she asked her father, Mycerinus, that she see the sun once a year^{ss}. 133.

After what happened to his daughter, the following happened next to this king: an oracle came to him from the city of Buto, announcing

that he had just six years to live and was to die in the seventh. [2] The king took this badly, and sent back to the oracle a message of reproach, blaming the god that his father and his uncle, though they had shut up the temples, and disregarded the gods, and destroyed men, had lived for a long time, but that he who was pious was going to die so soon. [3] But a second oracle came announcing that for this very reason his life was hastening to a close: he had done what was contrary to fate; Egypt should have been afflicted for a hundred and fifty years, and the two kings before him knew this, but not he. [4] Hearing this, Mycerinus knew that his doom was fixed. Therefore, he had many lamps made, and would light these at nightfall and drink and enjoy himself, not letting up day or night, roaming to the marsh country and the groves and wherever he heard of the likeliest places of pleasure. [5] This was his recourse, so that by turning night into day he might make his six years into twelve and so prove the oracle false. 134.

This king, too, left a pyramid, but far smaller than his father's, each side twenty feet short of three hundred feet long, square at the base, and as much as half its height of Ethiopian stone. Some Greeks say that it was built by Rhodopis, the courtesan, but they are wrong; [2] indeed, it is clear to me that they say this without even knowing who Rhodopis was (otherwise, they would never have credited her with the building of a pyramid on which what I may call an uncountable sum of money was spent), or that Rhodopis flourished in the reign of Amasis, not of Mycerinus; [3] for very many years later than these kings who left the pyramids came Rhodopis, who was Thracian by birth, and a slave of Iadmon son of Hephaestopolis the Samian, and a fellow-slave of Aesop the story-writer. For he was owned by Iadmon, too, as the following made crystal clear: [4] when the Delphians, obeying an oracle, issued many proclamations summoning anyone who wanted it to accept compensation for the killing of Aesop, no one accepted it except the son of Iadmon's son, another Iadmon; hence Aesop, too, was Iadmon's. 135.

Rhodopis came to Egypt to work, brought by Xanthes of Samos, but upon her arrival was freed for a lot of money by Kharaxus of Mytilene, son of Scamandronymus and brother of Sappho the poetess. [2] Thus Rhodopis lived as a free woman in Egypt, where, as

she was very alluring, she acquired a lot of money — sufficient for such a Rhodopis, so to speak, but not for such a pyramid. [3] Seeing that to this day anyone who likes can calculate what one tenth of her worth was, she cannot be credited with great wealth. For Rhodopis desired to leave a memorial of herself in Greece, by having something made which no one else had thought of or dedicated in a temple and presenting this at Delphi to preserve her memory; [4] so she spent one tenth of her substance on the manufacture of a great number of iron beef spits, as many as the tenth would pay for, and sent them to Delphi; these lie in a heap to this day, behind the altar set up by the Chians and in front of the shrine itself. [5] The courtesans of Naucratis seem to be peculiarly alluring, for the woman of whom this story is told became so famous that every Greek knew the name of Rhodopis, and later on a certain Archidice was the theme of song throughout Greece, although less celebrated than the other. [6] Kharaxus, after giving Rhodopis her freedom, returned to Mytilene. He is bitterly attacked by Sappho in one of her poems. This is enough about Rhodopis. 136.

After Mycerinus, the priests said, Asukhis became king of Egypt. He built the eastern outer court of Hephaestus' temple; this is by far the finest and grandest of all the courts, for while all have carved figures and innumerable felicities of architecture, this court has far more than any. [2] As not much money was in circulation during this king's reign, they told me, a law was made for the Egyptians allowing a man to borrow on the security of his father's corpse; and the law also provided that the lender become master of the entire burial-vault of the borrower, and that the penalty for one giving this security, should he fail to repay the loan, was that he was not to be buried at his death either in that tomb of his fathers or in any other, nor was he to bury any relative of his there. [3] Furthermore, in his desire to excel all who ruled Egypt before him, this king left a pyramid of brick to commemorate his name, on which is this writing, cut on a stone: [4] "Do not think me less than pyramids of stone; for I excel them as much as Zeus does other gods; for they stuck a pole down into a marsh and collected what mud clung to the pole, made bricks of it, and thus built me." These were the acts of Asukhis. 137.

After him reigned a blind man called Anysis, of the town of that

name. In his reign Egypt was invaded by Sabacos king of Ethiopia and a great army of Ethiopians.^{56*} [2] The blind man fled to the marshes, and the Ethiopian ruled Egypt for fifty years, during which he distinguished himself for the following: [3] he would never put to death any Egyptian wrongdoer but sentenced all, according to the severity of their offenses, to raise embankments in their native towns. Thus the towns came to stand yet higher than before; [4] for after first being built on embankments made by the excavators of the canals in the reign of Sesostris, they were yet further raised in the reign of the Ethiopian. [5] Of the towns in Egypt that were raised, in my opinion, Bubastis is especially prominent, where there is also a temple of Bubastis, a building most worthy of note. Other temples are greater and more costly, but none more pleasing to the eye than this. Bubastis is, in the Greek language, Artemis. 138.

Her temple is of this description: except for the entrance, it stands on an island; for two channels approach it from the Nile without mixing with one another, running as far as the entryway of the temple, the one and the other flowing around it, each a hundred feet wide and shaded by trees. [2] The outer court is sixty feet high, adorned with notable figures ten feet high. The whole circumference of the city commands a view down into the temple in its midst; for the city's level has been raised, but that of the temple has been left as it was from the first, so that it can be seen into from above. [3] A stone wall, cut with figures, runs around it; within is a grove of very tall trees growing around a great shrine where the image of the goddess is; the temple is a square, each side measuring an eighth of a mile. [4] A road, paved with stone, about three eighths of a mile long leads to the entrance, running eastward through the marketplace, towards the temple of Hermes; this road is about four hundred feet wide, and bordered by trees reaching to heaven. Such is this temple. 139.

Now the departure of the Ethiopian (they said) came about in this way. After seeing in a dream one who stood over him and urged him to gather together all the Priests in Egypt and cut them in half, he fled from the country. [2] Seeing this vision, he said, he supposed it to be a manifestation sent to him by the gods, so that he might commit sacrilege and so be punished by gods or men; he would not (he said)

do so, but otherwise, for the time foretold for his rule over Egypt was now fulfilled, after which he was to depart: [3] for when he was still in Ethiopia, the oracles that are consulted by the people of that country told him that he was fated to reign fifty years over Egypt. Seeing that this time was now completed and that he was troubled by what he saw in his dream, Sabacos departed from Egypt of his own volition. 140.

When the Ethiopian left Egypt, the blind man (it is said) was king once more, returning from the marshes where he had lived for fifty years on an island that he built of ashes and earth; for the Egyptians who were to bring him food without the Ethiopian's knowledge were instructed by the king to bring ashes whenever they came, to add to their gift. [2] This island was never discovered before the time of Amyrtaeus; all the kings before him sought it in vain for more than seven hundred years. The name of it is Elbo, and it is over a mile long and of an equal breadth. 141.

The next king was the priest of Hephaestus whose name was Sethos. He despised and had no regard for the warrior Egyptians, thinking he would never need them; besides otherwise dishonoring them, he took away the chosen lands which had been given to them, twelve fields to each man, in the reign of former kings. [2] So when presently king Sanacharib^{57*} came against Egypt, with a great force of Arabians and Assyrians, the warrior Egyptians would not march against him. [3] The priest, in this quandary, went into the temple shrine and there before the god's image bitterly lamented over what he expected to suffer. Sleep came on him while he was lamenting, and it seemed to him the god stood over him and told him to take heart, that he would come to no harm encountering the power of Arabia: "I shall send you champions," said the god. [4] So he trusted the vision, and together with those Egyptians who would follow him camped at Pelusium, where the road comes into Egypt; and none of the warriors would go with him, but only merchants and craftsmen and traders. [5] Their enemies came there, too, and during the night were overrun by a horde of field mice^{58*} that gnawed quivers and bows and the handles of shields, with the result that many were killed fleeing unarmed the next day. [6] And to this day a stone statue of the Egyptian king stands in Hephaestus' temple, with a mouse in his

hand, and an inscription to this effect: "Look at me, and believe." 142.

Thus far went the record given by the Egyptians and their priests; and they showed me that the time from the first king to that priest of Hephaestus, who was the last, covered three hundred and forty-one generations, and that in this time this also had been the number of their kings, and of their high priests. [2] Now three hundred generations are ten thousand years, three generations being equal to a hundred. And over and above the three hundred, the remaining forty-one cover thirteen hundred and forty years. [3] Thus the whole period is eleven thousand three hundred and forty years; in all of which time (they said) they had had no king who was a god in human form, nor had there been any such either before or after those years among the rest of the kings of Egypt. [4] Four times in this period (so they told me) the sun rose contrary to experience; twice he came up where he now goes down, and twice went down where he now comes up; yet Egypt at these times underwent no change, either in the produce of the river and the land, or in the matter of sickness and death. 143.

Hecataeus^{59*} the historian was once at Thebes, where he made a genealogy for himself that had him descended from a god in the sixteenth generation. But the priests of Zeus did with him as they also did with me (who had not traced my own lineage). [2] They brought me into the great inner court of the temple and showed me wooden figures there which they counted to the total they had already given, for every high priest sets up a statue of himself there during his lifetime; [3] pointing to these and counting, the priests showed me that each succeeded his father; they went through the whole line of figures, back to the earliest from that of the man who had most recently died. [4] Thus, when Hecataeus had traced his descent and claimed that his sixteenth forefather was a god, the priests too traced a line of descent according to the method of their counting; for they would not be persuaded by him that a man could be descended from a god; they traced descent through the whole line of three hundred and forty-five figures, not connecting it with any ancestral god or hero, but declaring each figure to be a "Piromis" the son of a "Piromis"; in Greek, one who is in all respects a good man.

144.

Thus they showed that all those whose statues stood there had

been good men, but quite unlike gods. [2] Before these men, they said, the rulers of Egypt were gods, but none had been contemporary with the human priests. Of these gods one or another had in succession been supreme; the last of them to rule the country was Osiris' son Horus, whom the Greeks call Apollo; he deposed Typhon,^{60*} and was the last divine king of Egypt. Osiris is, in the Greek language, Dionysus. 145.

Among the Greeks, Heracles, Dionysus, and Pan are held to be the youngest of the gods. But in Egypt, Pan^{61*} is the most ancient of these and is one of the eight gods who are said to be the earliest of all; Heracles belongs to the second dynasty (that of the so-called twelve gods); and Dionysus to the third, which came after the twelve.

[2] How many years there were between Heracles and the reign of Amasis, I have already shown; Pan is said to be earlier still; the years between Dionysus and Amasis are the fewest, and they are reckoned by the Egyptians at fifteen thousand. [3] The Egyptians claim to be sure of all this, since they have reckoned the years and chronicled them in writing. [4] Now the Dionysus who was called the son of Semele, daughter of Cadmus, was about sixteen hundred years before my time, and Heracles son of Alcmena about nine hundred years; and Pan the son of Penelope (for according to the Greeks Penelope and Hermes were the parents of Pan) was about eight hundred years before me, and thus of a later date than the Trojan war. 146.

With regard to these two, Pan and Dionysus, one may follow whatever story one thinks most credible; but I give my own opinion concerning them here. Had Dionysus son of Semele and Pan son of Penelope appeared in Hellas and lived there to old age, like Heracles the son of Amphitryon, it might have been said that they too (like Heracles) were but men, named after the older Pan and Dionysus, the gods of antiquity; [2] but as it is, the Greek story has it that no sooner was Dionysus born than Zeus sewed him up in his thigh and carried him away to Nysa in Ethiopia beyond Egypt; and as for Pan, the Greeks do not know what became of him after his birth. It is therefore plain to me that the Greeks learned the names of these two gods later than the names of all the others, and trace the birth of both to the time when they gained the knowledge. 147.

So far I have recorded what the Egyptians themselves say. I shall

now relate what is recorded alike by Egyptians and foreigners, and shall add something of what I myself have seen. [2]

After the reign of the priest of Hephaestus the Egyptians were made free. But they could never live without a king, so they divided Egypt into twelve districts and set up twelve kings. [3] These kings intermarried, and agreed to be close friends, no one deposing another or seeking to possess more than another. [4] The reason for this agreement, which they scrupulously kept, was this: no sooner were they established in their districts than an oracle was given them that whichever of them poured a libation from a bronze vessel in the temple of Hephaestus (where, as in all the temples, they used to assemble) would be king of all Egypt. 148.

Moreover, they decided to preserve the memory of their names by a common memorial, and so they made a labyrinth^{62*} a little way beyond lake Moeris and near the place called the City of Crocodiles. I have seen it myself, and indeed words cannot describe it;^{63*} [2] if one were to collect the walls and evidence of other efforts of the Greeks, the sum would not amount to the labor and cost of this labyrinth. And yet the temple at Ephesus and the one on Samos are noteworthy. [3] Though the pyramids beggar description and each one of them is a match for many great monuments built by Greeks, this maze surpasses even the pyramids. [4] It has twelve roofed courts with doors facing each other: six face north and six south, in two continuous lines, all within one outer wall. There are also double sets of chambers, three thousand altogether, fifteen hundred above and the same number under ground. [5] We ourselves viewed those that are above ground, and speak of what we have seen, but we learned through conversation about the underground chambers; the Egyptian caretakers would by no means show them, as they were, they said, the burial vaults of the kings who first built this labyrinth, and of the sacred crocodiles. [6] Thus we can only speak from hearsay of the lower chambers; the upper we saw for ourselves, and they are creations greater than human. The exits of the chambers and the mazy passages hither and thither through the courts were an unending marvel to us as we passed from court to apartment and from apartment to colonnade, from colonnades again to more chambers and then into yet more courts. [7] Over all this is a roof,

made of stone like the walls, and the walls are covered with cut figures, and every court is set around with pillars of white stone very precisely fitted together. Near the corner where the labyrinth ends stands a pyramid two hundred and forty feet high, on which great figures are cut. A passage to this has been made underground. 149.

Such is this labyrinth; and still more marvellous is lake Moeris, on which it stands. This lake has a circumference of four hundred and fifty miles, or sixty schoeni: as much as the whole seaboard of Egypt. Its length is from north to south; the deepest part has a depth of fifty fathoms. [2] That it has been dug out and made by men's hands the lake shows for itself; for almost in the middle of it stand two pyramids, so built that fifty fathoms of each are below and fifty above the water; atop each is a colossal stone figure seated on a throne. [3] Thus these pyramids are a hundred fathoms high; and a hundred fathoms equal a furlong of six hundred feet, the fathom measuring six feet or four cubits, the foot four spans and the cubit six spans. [4] The water of the lake is not natural (for the country here is exceedingly arid) but brought by a channel from the Nile; six months it flows into the lake, and six back into the river. [5] For the six months that it flows out of the lake, the daily take of fish brings a silver talent into the royal treasury, and twenty minae for each day of the flow into the lake. 150.

Furthermore, the natives said that this lake drains underground into the Libyan Syrtis, and extends under the mountains that are above Memphis, having the inland country on its west. [2] When I could not see anywhere the earth taken from the digging of this lake, since this was curious to me, I asked those who live nearest the lake where the stuff was that had been dug out. They told me where it had been carried, and I readily believed them, for I had heard of a similar thing happening in the Assyrian city of Ninus. [3] Sardanapallus king of Ninus had great wealth, which he kept in an underground treasury. Some thieves plotted to carry it off; they surveyed their course and dug an underground way from their own house to the palace, carrying the earth taken out of the passage dug by night to the Tigris, which runs past Ninus, until at last they accomplished their end. [4] This, I was told, had happened when the Egyptian lake was dug, except that the work went on not by night but by day. The Egyptians

bore the earth dug out by them to the Nile, to be caught and scattered (as was to be expected) by the river. Thus is this lake said to have been dug. ¹⁵¹.

Now the twelve kings were just, and in time came to sacrifice in Hephaestus' temple. On the last day of the feast, as they were about to pour libations, the high priest brought out the golden vessels which they commonly used for this; but he counted wrongly and had only eleven for the twelve. [2] So the last in line, Psammetichus, as he had no vessel, took off his bronze helmet and held it out and poured the libation with it. All the kings were accustomed to wear helmets, and were then helmeted; [3] it was not in guile, then, that Psammetichus held out his headgear; but the rest perceived what Psammetichus had done, and remembered the oracle that promised the sovereignty of all Egypt to whoever poured a libation from a vessel of bronze; therefore, though they considered Psammetichus not deserving of death (for they examined him and found that he had acted without intent), they decided to strip him of most of his power and to chase him away into the marshes, and that he was not to concern himself with the rest of Egypt. ¹⁵².

This Psammetichus had formerly been in exile in Syria, where he had fled from Sabacos the Ethiopian, who killed his father Necos; then, when the Ethiopian departed because of what he saw in a dream, the Egyptians of the district of Saïs brought him back from Syria. [2] Psammetichus was king for the second time when he found himself driven away into the marshes by the eleven kings because of the helmet. [3] Believing, therefore, that he had been abused by them, he meant to be avenged on those who had expelled him. He sent to inquire in the town of Buto, where the most infallible oracle in Egypt is; the oracle answered that he would have vengeance when he saw men of bronze coming from the sea. [4] Psammetichus did not in the least believe that men of bronze would come to aid him. But after a short time, Ionians and Carians, voyaging for plunder, were forced to put in on the coast of Egypt, where they disembarked in their armor of bronze; and an Egyptian came into the marsh country and brought news to Psammetichus (for he had never before seen armored men) that men of bronze had come from the sea and were foraging in the plain. [5] Psammetichus saw in this the fulfillment of the oracle; he

made friends with the Ionians and Carians, and promised them great rewards if they would join him and, having won them over, deposed the eleven kings with these allies and those Egyptians who volunteered. 153.

Having made himself master of all Egypt, he made the southern outer court of Hephaestus' temple at Memphis, and built facing this a court for Apis, where Apis is kept and fed whenever he appears; this court has an inner colonnade all around it and many cut figures; the roof is held up by great statues twenty feet high for pillars. Apis in Greek is Euphus. 154.

To the Ionians and Carians who had helped him, Psammetichus gave places to live in called The Camps, opposite each other on either side of the Nile; and besides this, he paid them all that he had promised. [2] Moreover, he put Egyptian boys in their hands to be taught Greek, and from these, who learned the language, are descended the present-day Egyptian interpreters. [3] The Ionians and Carians lived for a long time in these places, which are near the sea, on the arm of the Nile called the Pelusian, a little way below the town of Bubastis. Long afterwards, king Amasis removed them and settled them at Memphis to be his guard against the Egyptians. [4] It is a result of our communication with these settlers in Egypt (the first of foreign speech to settle in that country) that we Greeks have exact knowledge of the history of Egypt from the reign of Psammetichus onwards. [5] There still remained in my day, in the places out of which the Ionians and Carians were turned, the winches^{64*} for their ships and the ruins of their houses. This is how Psammetichus got Egypt. 155.

I have often mentioned the Egyptian oracle, and shall give an account of this, as it deserves. This oracle is sacred to Leto, and is situated in a great city by the Sebennyitic arm of the Nile, on the way up from the sea. [2] Buto is the name of the city where this oracle is; I have already mentioned it. In Buto there is a temple of Apollo and Artemis. The shrine of Leto where the oracle is, is itself very great, and its outer court is sixty feet high. [3] But what caused me the most wonder among the things apparent there I shall mention. In this precinct is the shrine of Leto, the height and length of whose walls is all made of a single stone slab; each wall has an equal length and

height; namely, seventy feet. Another slab makes the surface of the roof, the cornice of which is seven feet broad. 156.

Thus, then, the shrine is the most marvellous of all the things that I saw in this temple; but of things of second rank, the most wondrous is the island called Khemmis. [2] This lies in a deep and wide lake near the temple at Buto, and the Egyptians say that it floats. I never saw it float, or move at all, and I thought it a marvellous tale, that an island should truly float. [3] However that may be, there is a great shrine of Apollo on it, and three altars stand there; many palm trees grow on the island, and other trees too, some yielding fruit and some not. [4] This is the story that the Egyptians tell to explain why the island moves: that on this island that did not move before, Leto, one of the eight gods who first came to be, who was living at Buto where this oracle of hers is, taking charge of Apollo from Isis, hid him for safety in this island which is now said to float, when Typhon came hunting through the world, keen to find the son of Osiris. [5] Apollo and Artemis were (they say) children of Dionysus and Isis, and Leto was made their nurse and preserver; in Egyptian, Apollo is Horus, Demeter Isis, Artemis Bubastis. [6] It was from this legend and no other that Aeschylus son of Euphorion took a notion which is in no poet before him: that Artemis was the daughter of Demeter. For this reason the island was made to float. So they say. 157.

Psammetichus ruled Egypt for fifty-three years, twenty-nine of which he spent before Azotus, a great city in Syria, besieging it until he took it. Azotus held out against a siege longer than any city of which we know. 158.

Psammetichus had a son, Necos, who became king of Egypt. It was he who began building the canal into the Red Sea,^{65*} which was finished by Darius the Persian. This is four days' voyage in length, and it was dug wide enough for two triremes to move in it rowed abreast. [2] It is fed by the Nile, and is carried from a little above Bubastis by the Arabian town of Patumus; it issues into the Red Sea. Digging began in the part of the Egyptian plain nearest to Arabia; the mountains that extend to Memphis (the mountains where the stone quarries are) come close to this plain; [3] the canal is led along the foothills of these mountains in a long reach from west to east; passing then into a ravine, it bears southward out of the hill country

towards the Arabian Gulf. [4] Now the shortest and most direct passage from the northern to the southern or Red Sea is from the Casian promontory, the boundary between Egypt and Syria, to the Arabian Gulf, and this is a distance of one hundred and twenty five miles, neither more nor less; [5] this is the most direct route, but the canal is far longer, inasmuch as it is more crooked. In Necos' reign, a hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians died digging it. Necos stopped work, stayed by a prophetic utterance that he was toiling beforehand for the barbarian. The Egyptians call all men of other languages barbarians. 159.

Necos, then, stopped work on the canal and engaged in preparations for war; some of his ships of war were built on the northern sea, and some in the Arabian Gulf, by the Red Sea coast: the winches for landing these can still be seen. [2] He used these ships when needed, and with his land army met and defeated the Syrians at Magdolus,^{66*} taking the great Syrian city of Cadytis^{67*} after the battle. [3] He sent to Branchidae of Miletus and dedicated there to Apollo the garments in which he won these victories. Then he died after a reign of sixteen years, and his son Psammis reigned in his place. 160.

While this Psammis was king of Egypt, he was visited by ambassadors from Elis, the Eleans boasting that they had arranged the Olympic games with all the justice and fairness in the world, and claiming that even the Egyptians, although the wisest of all men, could not do better. [2] When the Eleans came to Egypt and announced why they had come, Psammis assembled the Egyptians reputed to be wisest. These assembled and learned all that the Eleans were to do regarding the games; after explaining this, the Eleans said that they had come to learn whether the Egyptians could discover any juster way. [3] The Egyptians deliberated, and then asked the Eleans if their own citizens took part in the contests. The Eleans answered that they did: all Greeks from Elis or elsewhere might contend. [4] Then the Egyptians said that in establishing this rule they fell short of complete fairness: "For there is no way that you will not favor your own townsfolk in the contest and wrong the stranger; if you wish in fact to make just rules and have come to Egypt for that reason, you should admit only strangers to the contest, and not Eleans." Such was

the counsel of the Egyptians to the Eleans. 161.

Psammis reigned over Egypt for only six years; he invaded Ethiopia, and immediately thereafter died, and Apries^{68*} the son of Psammis reigned in his place. [2] He was more fortunate than any former king (except his great-grandfather Psammetichus) during his rule of twenty-five years, during which he sent an army against Sidon and fought at sea with the king of Tyre. [3] But when it was fated that evil should overtake him, the cause of it was something that I will now deal with briefly, and at greater length in the Libyan part of this history. [4] Apries sent a great force against Cyrene and suffered a great defeat. The Egyptians blamed him for this and rebelled against him; for they thought that Apries had knowingly sent his men to their doom, so that after their perishing in this way he might be the more secure in his rule over the rest of the Egyptians. Bitterly angered by this, those who returned home and the friends of the slain openly revolted. 162.

Hearing of this, Apries sent Amasis to dissuade them. When Amasis came up with the Egyptians, he exhorted them to desist; but as he spoke an Egyptian came behind him and put a helmet on his head, saying it was the token of royalty. [2] And Amasis showed that this was not displeasing to him, for after being made king by the rebel Egyptians he prepared to march against Apries. [3] When Apries heard of it, he sent against Amasis an esteemed Egyptian named Patarbemis, one of his own court, instructing him to take the rebel alive and bring him into his presence. When Patarbemis came and summoned Amasis, Amasis (who was on horseback) rose up and farted, telling the messenger to take that back to Apries. [4] But when in spite of this Patarbemis insisted that Amasis obey the king's summons and go to him, Amasis answered that he had long been preparing to do just that, and Apries would find him above reproach, for he would present himself, and bring others. [5] Hearing this, Patarbemis could not mistake Amasis; he saw his preparations and hastened to depart, the more quickly to make known to the king what was going on. When Apries saw him return without Amasis, he did not stop to reflect, but in his rage and fury had Patarbemis' ears and nose cut off. [6] The rest of the Egyptians, who were until now Apries' friends, seeing this outrage done to the man who was most

prominent among them, changed sides without delay and offered themselves to Amasis. 163.

Learning of this, too, Apries armed his guard and marched against the Egyptians; he had a bodyguard of Carians and Ionians, thirty thousand of them, and his royal palace was in the city of Saïs, a great and marvellous palace. [2] Apries' men marched against the Egyptians, and so did Amasis' men against the foreigners. So they both came to Momemphis and were going to make trial of one another. 164.

The Egyptians are divided into seven classes: priests, warriors, cowherds, swineherds, merchants, interpreters, and pilots. There are this many classes, each named after its occupation. [2] The warriors are divided into Kalasiries and Hermotubies, and they belong to the following districts (for all divisions in Egypt are made according to districts). 165.

The Hermotubies are from the districts of Busiris, Saïs, Khemmis, and Papremis, the island called Prosopitis, and half of Natho — from all of these; their number, at its greatest, attained to a hundred and sixty thousand. None of these has learned any common trade; they are free to follow the profession of arms alone. 166.

The Kalasiries are from the districts of Thebes, Bubastis, Aphthis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennys, Athribis, Pharbaïthis, Thmuis, Onuphis, Anytis, Myecphoris (this last is in an island opposite the city of Bubastis) — [2] from all of these; their number, at its greatest, attained to two hundred and fifty thousand men. These too may practise no trade but war, which is their hereditary calling. 167.

Now whether this, too, the Greeks have learned from the Egyptians, I cannot confidently judge. I know that in Thrace and Scythia and Persia and Lydia and nearly all foreign countries, those who learn trades are held in less esteem than the rest of the people, and those who have least to do with artisans' work, especially men who are free to practise the art of war, are highly honored. [2] This much is certain: that this opinion, which is held by all Greeks and particularly by the Lacedaemonians, is of foreign origin. It is in Corinth that artisans are held in least contempt. 168.

The warriors were the only Egyptians, except the priests, who had special privileges: for each of them an untaxed plot of twelve acres

was set apart. This acre is a square of a hundred Egyptian cubits each way, the Egyptian cubit being equal to the Samian. [2] These lands were set apart for all; it was never the same men who cultivated them, but each in turn.^{69*} A thousand Kalasiries and as many Hermotubies were the king's annual bodyguard. These men, besides their lands, each received a daily provision of five minae's weight of roast grain, two minae of beef, and four cups of wine. These were the gifts received by each bodyguard. 169.

When Apries with his guards and Amasis with the whole force of Egyptians came to the town of Momemphis, they engaged; and though the foreigners fought well, they were vastly outnumbered, and therefore were beaten. [2] Apries, they say, supposed that not even a god could depose him from his throne, so firmly did he think he was established; and now, defeated in battle and taken captive, he was brought to Saïs, to the royal dwelling which belonged to him once but now belonged to Amasis. [3] There, he was kept alive for a while in the palace and well treated by Amasis. But presently the Egyptians complained that there was no justice in keeping alive one who was their own and their king's bitterest enemy; whereupon Amasis gave Apries up to them, and they strangled him and then buried him in the burial-place of his fathers. [4] This is in the temple of Athena, very near to the sanctuary, on the left of the entrance. The people of Saïs buried within the temple precinct all kings who were natives of their district. [5] The tomb of Amasis is farther from the sanctuary than the tomb of Apries and his ancestors; yet it, too, is within the temple court; it is a great colonnade of stone, richly adorned, the pillars made in the form of palm trees. In this colonnade are two portals, and the place where the coffin lies is within their doors. 170.

There is also at Saïs the burial-place of one whose name I think it impious to mention in speaking of such a matter; it is in the temple of Athena, behind and close to the length of the wall of the shrine. [2] Moreover, great stone obelisks stand in the precinct; and there is a lake nearby, adorned with a stone margin and made in a complete circle; it is, as it seemed to me, the size of the lake at Delos which they call the Round Pond. 171.

On this lake they enact by night the story of the god's sufferings, a

rite which the Egyptians call the Mysteries. I could say more about this, for I know the truth, but let me preserve a discreet silence. [2] Let me preserve a discreet silence, too, concerning that rite of Demeter which the Greeks call Thesmophoria^{70*}, except as much of it as I am not forbidden to mention. [3] The daughters of Danaus were those who brought this rite out of Egypt and taught it to the Pelasgian women; afterwards, when the people of the Peloponnese were driven out by the Dorians, it was lost, except in so far as it was preserved by the Arcadians, the Peloponnesian people which was not driven out but left in its home. 172.

After Apries was deposed, Amasis became king; he was from a town called Siuph in the district of Saïs. [2] Now at first he was scorned and held in low regard by the Egyptians on the ground that he was a common man and of no high family; but presently he won them over by being shrewd and not arrogant. [3] He had among his countless treasures a golden washbowl, in which he and all those who ate with him were accustomed to clean their feet. This he broke in pieces and out of it made a god's image, which he set in a most conspicuous spot in the city; and the Egyptians came frequently to this image and held it in great reverence. [4] When Amasis learned what the townsfolk were doing, he called the Egyptians together and told them that the image had been made out of the washbowl, in which Egyptians had once vomited and urinated and cleaned their feet, but which now they greatly revered. [5] "Now then," he said, "I have fared like the washbowl, since if before I was a common man, still, I am your king now." And he told them to honor and show respect for him. 173.

The following was how he scheduled his affairs: in the morning, until the the hour when the marketplace filled, he readily conducted whatever business was brought to him; the rest of the day, he drank and joked at the expense of his companions and was idle and playful. [2] But this displeased his friends, who admonished him thus: "O King, you do not conduct yourself well by indulging too much in vulgarity. You, a celebrated man, ought to conduct your business throughout the day, sitting on a celebrated throne; and thus the Egyptians would know that they are governed by a great man, and you would be better spoken of; as it is, what you do is by no means

kingly.” [3] But he answered them like this: “Men that have bows string them when they must use them, and unstring them when they have used them; were bows kept strung forever, they would break, and so could not be used when needed. [4] Such, too, is the nature of man. Were one to be always at serious work and not permit oneself a bit of relaxation, he would go mad or idiotic before he knew it; I am well aware of that, and give each of the two its turn.” Such was his answer to his friends. 174.

It is said that even when Amasis was a private man he was fond of drinking and joking and was not at all a sober man; and that when his drinking and pleasure-seeking cost him the bare necessities, he would go around stealing. Then when he contradicted those who said that he had their possessions, they would bring him to whatever place of divination was nearby, and sometimes the oracles declared him guilty and sometimes they acquitted him. [2] When he became king, he did not take care of the shrines of the gods who had acquitted him of theft, or give them anything for maintenance, or make it his practice to sacrifice there, for he knew them to be worthless and their oracles false; but he took scrupulous care of the gods who had declared his guilt, considering them to be gods in very deed and their oracles infallible. 175.

Amasis made a marvellous outer court for the temple of Athena^{71*} at Saïs, far surpassing all in its height and size, and in the size and quality of the stone blocks; moreover, he set up huge images and vast man-headed sphinxes,^{72*} and brought enormous blocks of stone besides for the building. [2] Some of these he brought from the stone quarries of Memphis; the largest came from the city of Elephantine,^{73*} twenty days’ journey distant by river from Saïs. [3] But what I admire most of his works is this: he brought from Elephantine a shrine made of one single block of stone; its transport took three years and two thousand men had the carriage of it, all of them pilots. This chamber is thirty-five feet long, twenty-three feet wide, thirteen feet high. [4] These are the external dimensions of the chamber which is made of one block; its internal dimensions are: thirty-one feet long, twenty feet wide, eight feet high. It stands at the entrance of the temple; [5] it was not dragged within (so they say) because while it was being drawn the chief builder complained aloud

of the great expense of time and his loathing of the work, and Amasis taking this to heart would not let it be drawn further. Some also say that a man, one of those who heaved up the shrine, was crushed by it, and therefore it was not dragged within. 176.

Furthermore, Amasis dedicated, besides monuments of marvellous size in all the other temples of note, the huge image that lies supine before Hephaestus' temple at Memphis; this image is seventy-five feet in length; there stand on the same base, on either side of the great image, two huge statues hewn from the same block, each of them twenty feet high. [2] There is at Saïs another stone figure of like size, supine as is the figure at Memphis. It was Amasis, too, who built the great and most marvellous temple of Isis at Memphis. 177.

It is said that in the reign of Amasis Egypt attained to its greatest prosperity, in respect of what the river did for the land and the land for its people: and that the number of inhabited cities in the country was twenty thousand. [2] It was Amasis also who made the law that every Egyptian declare his means of livelihood to the ruler of his district annually, and that omitting to do so or to prove that one had a legitimate livelihood be punishable with death. Solon the Athenian got this law from Egypt and established it among his people; may they always have it, for it is a perfect law. 178.

Amasis became a philhellene, and besides other services which he did for some of the Greeks, he gave those who came to Egypt the city of Naucratis to live in; and to those who travelled to the country without wanting to settle there, he gave lands where they might set up altars and make holy places for their gods. [2] Of these the greatest and most famous and most visited precinct is that which is called the Hellenion, founded jointly by the Ionian cities of Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae, the Dorian cities of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis, and one Aeolian city, Mytilene. [3] It is to these that the precinct belongs, and these are the cities that furnish overseers of the trading port; if any other cities advance claims, they claim what does not belong to them. The Aeginetans made a precinct of their own, sacred to Zeus; and so did the Samians for Hera and the Milesians for Apollo. 179.

Naucratis was in the past the only trading port in Egypt. Whoever

came to any other mouth of the Nile had to swear that he had not come intentionally, and had then to take his ship and sail to the Canobic mouth; or if he could not sail against contrary winds, he had to carry his cargo in barges around the Delta until he came to Naucratis. In such esteem was Naucratis held. 180.

When the Amphictyons paid three hundred talents to have the temple that now stands at Delphi finished (as that which was formerly there burnt down by accident), it was the Delphians' lot to pay a fourth of the cost. [2] They went about from city to city collecting gifts, and got most from Egypt; for Amasis gave them a thousand talents' weight of astringent earth,^{74*} and the Greek settlers in Egypt twenty minae. 181.

Amasis made friends and allies of the people of Cyrene. And he decided to marry from there, either because he had his heart set on a Greek wife, or for the sake of the Corcyreans' friendship; [2] in any case, he married a certain Ladice, said by some to be the daughter of Battus, of Arcesilaus by others, and by others again of Critobulus, an esteemed citizen of the place. But whenever Amasis lay with her, he became unable to have intercourse, though he managed with every other woman; [3] and when this happened repeatedly, Amasis said to the woman called Ladice, "Woman, you have cast a spell on me, and there is no way that you shall avoid perishing the most wretchedly of all women." [4] So Ladice, when the king did not relent at all although she denied it, vowed in her heart to Aphrodite that, if Amasis could have intercourse with her that night, since that would remedy the problem, she would send a statue to Cyrene to her. And after the prayer, immediately, Amasis did have intercourse with her. And whenever Amasis came to her thereafter, he had intercourse, and he was very fond of her after this. [5] Ladice paid her vow to the goddess; she had an image made and sent it to Cyrene, where it stood safe until my time, facing outside the city. Cambyses, when he had conquered Egypt and learned who Ladice was, sent her away to Cyrene unharmed. 182.

Moreover, Amasis dedicated offerings in Hellas. He gave to Cyrene a gilt image of Athena and a painted picture of himself; to Athena of Lindus, two stone images and a marvellous linen breast-plate; and to Hera in Samos, two wooden statues of himself that were

still standing in my time behind the doors in the great shrine. [2] The offerings in Samos were dedicated because of the friendship between Amasis and Polycrates,^{75*} son of Aeaces; what he gave to Lindus was not out of friendship for anyone, but because the temple of Athena in Lindus is said to have been founded by the daughters of Danaus, when they landed there in their flight from the sons of Egyptus. Such were Amasis' offerings. Moreover, he was the first conqueror of Cyprus, which he made tributary to himself.

FOOTNOTES: BOOK II

1 In 664 B.C., probably.

2 Identified by the Greeks with the Egyptian Ptah.

3 Identified by the Greeks with the Egyptian Ptah.

4 There is much obscurity about the “Twelve Gods.” This only appears to be clear, that eight (or nine) gods form the first order of the Egyptian hierarchy, and that there are twelve of the second rank. See Hdt. 2.43, and Rawlinson’s essay (ch. 3 in his Appendix to Book II.).

5 the southern part of Upper Egypt.

6 In the modern Fayyum, west of the Nile.

7 Literally “ropes.”

8 ὥς εἶναι αἰγύπτου; so much of the Nile valley being outside Egypt. But it is possible that the words may mean “no great distance, for Egypt,” i.e. no great distance relatively to the size of the country.

9 The “sea called Red,” it will be remembered, is the sea south and east of Arabia: the gulf entering in from it is our Red Sea. Suppose the Delta to have been once a gulf too, then there would have been two gulfs, both running up into Egypt, their heads not far from each other.

10 Supposing this statement to be true, Moeris must have been king much more than 900 years before Hdt.: 900 years being much too short a period for a rise of eight cubits in the height of the Nile valley.

11 At the southern point of the Delta, where the two main channels of the Nile divide, not far below Cairo.

12 On the island opposite Syene (Assuan).

13 Not from the river itself, perhaps; but there is a regular current of air blowing up the valley.

14 The regular N.W. winds which blow in summer from the Mediterranean.

15 It does not seem to be known what authority there is for this assertion.

16 The Greek equivalents for Amun and Osiris.

17 Herodotus’ account of the Nile in this chapter is for the most part vague and untrustworthy. He is right as to the current above Elephantine, as those who have made the passage between the Assuan Dam and Assuan will realize. But the conditions have of course been entirely altered by the construction of the dam.

18 ἐκ τῶν ἴσων μέτρων is an obscure expression. What Hdt. appears to mean is, that as the Nile (according to him) flows first from W. to E. and then turns northward, so the Danube flows first from W. to E. and then (as he says) from N. to S.; and so the rivers in a manner correspond: one crosses Africa, the other Europe.

19 Three kinds, really: hieroglyphic, hieratic (derived from hieroglyphic), and demotic, a simplified form of hieratic. See Rawlinson’s essay, ch. 5, in Appendix to Book II.

20 On this plant, see Hdt. 2.92.

21 Epaphus is the Greek form of Apis or Hapi, the bull-god of Memphis; for bulls cf. *Mair’s Opian*

(L.C.L.) *Cyn. II. 86, note.*

22 Hdt. 3.28

23 No doubt from Athor or Hathor, under which name Isis was often worshipped.

24 Mendes, Greek form of Binded, a town in the Delta where Osiris was worshipped in the form of a ram, according to monuments. Here Mendes apparently = Osiris.

25 The Greeks identified with Heracles an Egyptian god Shu (called at Thebes Chonsu-Neferhotep, ἀγαθοδαίμων).

26 As grandchildren of Perseus, for whose Egyptian origin see Hdt. 2.91.

27 The Tyrian god Melkart.

28 There is a dual Heracles in the Odyssey, Hom. Od. 11.601 ff. An εἰδωλον of him is seen in the world of the dead; but "he himself" is an immortal among the gods of heaven.

29 On the supposition that θεός meant "a disposer," connected with θεσμός, τίθημι, etc.

30 Perhaps Herodotus' explanation is right. But the name "doves" may be purely symbolic; thus priestesses of Demeter and Artemis were sometimes called Bees.

31 Bubastis in the Delta, the "city of Pasht," where the cat-headed goddess Pasht (identified by Herodotus with Artemis) was worshipped.

32 It is uncertain what Egyptian deity Herodotus identifies with Ares. In a Greek papyrus, "Ares" is the equivalent for the Egyptian Anhur, a god, apparently, not clearly differentiated from "Shu" or "Heracles."

33 Egyptian spur-winged lapwing (Hoplotes armatus).

34 κροκόδειλος is Ionic for a lizard; the commoner word is σαύρα or σαῦρος. χάμψα is the Egyptian "em-suh," a name which survives in the Arabic "timsah," i.e. em-suh with the feminine article prefixed.

35 Or "Nile-goose." The Egyptian goose (Chenalopex Aegyptica).

36 Geronticus Calvus and Ibis Aethiopica.

37 Loaves twisted to a point, apparently.

38 This is the hymn for a slain youth (said to typify the departure of early summer), Thammuz, Atys, Hylas, or Linus; the Semitic refrain ai lenu, "alas for us," becomes the Greek αἴλινοϛ, from which comes the name Linus.

39 Maneros, probably from the refrain ma-n-hra, "come back to us."

40 τοὺς τὰ πολυτελέστατα, sc. βουλομένους.

41 The "Mimosa Nilotica," still used for boat-building in Egypt.

42 That is, like bricks laid not one directly over another but with the joints alternating.

43 The meaning of these words is not clear. Some think that they mean "though here the course is not so" and that perhaps ὁ ἔωθός has been lost after οὗτος.

44 Rameses II., called by the Greeks Sesostris; said to have ruled in the fourteenth century B.C.

45 Ships of war.

46 There seems to be no reason for connecting Colchian linen with Sardinia (as Σαρδωνικόν would imply). The Colchian word may have had a similar sound.

47 Two such figures have been discovered in the pass of Karabel, near the old road from Ephesus to

Smyrna. They are not, however, Egyptian in appearance.

48 Manetho's list shows no such name. It is probably not a name but a title, Pharaoh.

49 Jackals appear on Egyptian monuments, symbolizing Anubis, the guide of the dead.

50 Isis and Osiris.

51 The "Great Pyramid."

52 That is, the stones which were to fill up the angles of the steps, and make the side of the pyramid a smooth inclined plane. The Pyramids built by Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus respectively are the pyramids of Gizeh, near Cairo.

53 Or, "in."

54 This is the form which Hdt. gives to the story of the rule of the "shepherds" (Hyksos) in Lower Egypt, perhaps from 2100 to 1600 B.C.

55 The cow-worship is no doubt the cult of Isis, honored at Saïs under the name Nit.

56 In Manetho's list three Ethiopian kings form the twenty-fifth dynasty, Sabacon, Sebichos, and Taracos (the Tirhaka of the Old Testament).

57 Sennacherib's attack on Hezekiah of Judaea was made on his march to Egypt. — II Kings, xviii.

58 This is Hdt.'s version of the Jewish story of the pestilence which destroyed the Assyrian army before Jerusalem. Mice are a Greek symbol of pestilence; it is Apollo Smintheus (the mouse god) who sends and then ends the plague in Hom. Il. 1. It has long been known that rats are carriers of the plague.

59 Hecataeus died soon after the Persian war.

60 Typhon is the Egyptian Set, the god of destruction.

61 The Egyptian Khem.

62 This "labyrinth" was a horseshoe-shaped group of buildings, supposed to have been near the pyramid of Hawara (Sayce).

63 I take ἡδῆ as = ἡ δῆ, with λόγου μέζω.

64 Probably capstans for hauling the ships ashore.

65 This canal ran from near Tel Basta (Bubastis) apparently to Suez. Inscriptions recording Darius' construction of it have been found in the neighborhood.

66 Magdolus appears to be the Mogdol of O.T.

67 Gaza.

68 Apries is the Hophra of O.T.; he reigned from 589 to 570 B.C., apparently. But the statement that he attacked Tyre and Sidon is inconsistent with Jewish history (Jerem.xxvii, Ezek.xvii.).

69 That is, each twelve-acre plot was cultivated by a new occupier every year.

70 A festival celebrated by Athenian women in autumn.

71 Apparently, Nit; also identified with Demeter (Hdt. 2.132, note).

72 Visitors to Karnak will remember the double row of sphinxes leading to the temple.

73 The island opposite Assuan; the Assuan quarries have always been famous.

74 Alum, apparently.

75 Polycrates' rule began probably in 532 B.C. For the friendship between him and Amasis, see Hdt. 3.39.

BOOK III.

1. Cyrus' son Cambyses was leading an army of his subjects, Ionian and Aeolian Greeks among them,^{1*} against this Amasis for the following reason. Cambyses had sent a herald to Egypt asking Amasis for his daughter; he asked on the advice of an Egyptian, who advised it out of resentment against Amasis, that out of all the Egyptian physicians Amasis had dragged him away from his wife and children and sent him up to Persia when Cyrus sent to Amasis asking for the best eye-doctor in Egypt. [2] Out of resentment, the Egyptian by his advice induced Cambyses to ask Amasis for his daughter, so that Amasis would either be wretched if he gave her, or hated by Cambyses if he did not. Amasis, intimidated by the power of Persia and frightened, could neither give his daughter nor refuse her; for he knew well that Cambyses was not going to take her as his wife but as his concubine. [3] After considering the matter, he did as follows. There was a daughter of the former king Apries, all that was left of that family, quite tall and pretty, and her name was Nitetis; this girl Amasis adorned with clothes and gold and sent to Cambyses as his own daughter. [4] But after a time, as he embraced her addressing her as the daughter of Amasis, the girl said to him, "O King, you do not understand how you have been made a fool of by Amasis, who dressed me in finery and sent me to you as his own daughter, when I am in fact the daughter of Apries, the ruler Amasis revolted from with the Egyptians and killed." [5] This speech and this crime that occurred turned Cyrus' son Cambyses, furiously angry, against Egypt. So the Persians say. 2.

But the Egyptians, who say that Cambyses was the son of this daughter of Apries, claim him as one of theirs; they say that it was Cyrus who asked Amasis for his daughter, and not Cambyses. [2] But what they say is false. They are certainly not unaware (for if any understand the customs of the Persians the Egyptians do) firstly, that it is not their custom for illegitimate offspring to rule when there are legitimate offspring; and secondly, that Cambyses was the son of Cassandane, the daughter of Pharnaspes, who was an Achaemenid, and not of the Egyptian woman. But they falsify the story, pretending

to be related to the house of Cyrus. That is the truth of the matter. 3.

The following story, incredible to me, is also told: that one of the Persian women who came to visit Cyrus' wives, and saw the tall and attractive children who stood by Cassandane, expressed her admiration in extravagant terms. Then Cassandane, Cyrus' wife, said, [2] "Although I am the mother of such children, Cyrus dishonors me and honors his new woman from Egypt." So she spoke in her bitterness against Nitetis; and Cambyeses, the eldest of her sons, said, [3] "Then, mother, when I am grown up, I will turn all Egypt upside down." When he said this, he was about ten years old, and the women were amazed; but he kept it in mind, and it was thus that when he grew up and became king, he made the campaign against Egypt. 4.

It so happened, too, that something else occurred contributing to this campaign. There was among Amasis' mercenaries a man who was a Halicarnassian by birth, a clever man and a good soldier, whose name was Phanes. [2] This Phanes had some grudge against Amasis, and fled from Egypt aboard ship, hoping to talk to Cambyeses. Since he was a man much admired among the mercenaries and had an exact knowledge of all Egyptian matters, Amasis was anxious to catch him, and sent a trireme with his most trusted eunuch to pursue him. This eunuch caught him in Lycia but never brought him back to Egypt, for Phanes was too clever for him. [3] He made his guards drunk and so escaped to Persia. There he found Cambyeses prepared to set out against Egypt, but in doubt as to his march, how he should cross the waterless desert; so Phanes showed him what was Amasis' condition and how he should march; as to this, he advised Cambyeses to send and ask the king of the Arabians for a safe passage. 5.

Now the only apparent way of entry into Egypt is this. The road runs from Phoenicia as far as the borders of the city of Cadytis,^{2*} which belongs to the so-called Syrians of Palestine. [2] From Cadytis (which, as I judge, is a city not much smaller than Sardis) to the city of Ienysus the seaports belong to the Arabians; then they are Syrian again from Ienysus as far as the Serbonian marsh, beside which the Casian promontory stretches seawards; [3] from this Serbonian marsh, where Typho is supposed to have been hidden,^{3*} the country is

Egypt. Now between Ienysus and the Casian mountain and the Serbonian marsh there lies a wide territory for as much as three days' journey, terribly arid. 6.

I am going to mention something now which few of those who sail to Egypt know. Earthen jars full of wine are brought into Egypt twice a year from all Greece and Phoenicia besides: yet one might safely say there is not a single empty wine jar anywhere in the country. [2] What then (one may ask) becomes of them? I shall explain this too. Each governor of a district must gather in all the earthen pots from his own township and take them to Memphis, and the people of Memphis must fill them with water and carry them to those arid lands of Syria; so the earthen pottery that is brought to Egypt and unloaded or emptied there is carried to Syria to join the stock that has already been taken there. 7.

Now as soon as the Persians took possession of Egypt, they became the caretakers of the entryway into it, having it provisioned with water in the way I have described. [2] But at this time there was as yet no ready supply of water; and so Cambyses, hearing what was said by the stranger from Halicarnassus, sent messengers to the Arabian and asked and obtained safe conduct, giving to him and receiving from him pledges. 8.

There are no men who respect pledges more than the Arabians. This is how they give them: a man stands between the two pledging parties, and with a sharp stone cuts the palms of their hands, near the thumb; then he takes a piece of wood from the cloak of each and smears with their blood seven stones that lie between them, meanwhile calling on Dionysus and the Heavenly Aphrodite; [2] after this is done, the one who has given his pledge commends the stranger (or his countryman if the other be one) to his friends, and his friends hold themselves bound to honor the pledge. [3] They believe in no other gods except Dionysus and the Heavenly Aphrodite; and they say that they wear their hair as Dionysus does his, cutting it round the head and shaving the temples. They call Dionysus, Orotalt; and Aphrodite, Alilat.^{4*} 9.

When, then, the Arabian had made the pledge to the messengers who had come from Cambyses, he devised the following expedient: he filled camel-skins with water and loaded all his camels with these;

then he drove them into the waterless land and there awaited Cambyses' army. [2] This is the most credible of the stories told; but I must relate the less credible tale also, since they tell it. There is a great river in Arabia called Corys, emptying into the sea called Red. [3] From this river (it is said) the king of the Arabians brought water by an aqueduct made of sewn oxhides and other hides and extensive enough to reach to the dry country; and he had great tanks dug in that country to try to receive and keep the water. [4] It is a twelve days' journey from the river to that desert. By three aqueducts (they say) he brought the water to three different places. 10.

Psammenitus, son of Amasis, was encamped by the mouth of the Nile called Pelusian, awaiting Cambyses. [2] For when Cambyses marched against Egypt, he found Amasis no longer alive; he had died after reigning forty-four years, during which he had suffered no great misfortune; and being dead he was embalmed and laid in the burial-place built for him in the temple. [3] While his son Psammenitus was king of Egypt, the people saw an extraordinary thing, namely, rain at Thebes of Egypt, where, as the Thebans themselves say, there had never been rain before, nor since to my lifetime; for indeed there is no rain at all in the upper parts of Egypt; but at that time a drizzle of rain fell at Thebes .5* 11.

When the Persians had crossed the waterless country and encamped near the Egyptians intending to engage them, the Egyptian mercenaries, Greeks and Carians, devised a plan to punish Phanes, angered at him for leading a foreign army into Egypt. [2] Phanes had left sons in Egypt; these they brought to the camp, into their father's sight, and set a great bowl between the two armies; then they brought the sons one by one and cut their throats over the bowl. [3] When all the sons had been slaughtered, they poured wine and water into the bowl, and the mercenaries drank this and then gave battle. The fighting was fierce, and many of both armies fell; but at last the Egyptians were routed. 12.

I saw a strange thing on the site of the battle, of which the people of the country had told me. The bones of those killed on either side in this fight lying scattered separately (for the Persian bones lay in one place and the Egyptian in another, where the armies had first separately stood), the skulls of the Persians are so brittle that if you

throw no more than a pebble it will pierce them, but the Egyptian skulls are so strong that a blow of a stone will hardly crack them. [2] And this, the people said (which for my own part I readily believed), is the explanation of it: the Egyptians shave their heads from childhood, and the bone thickens by exposure to the sun. [3] This also is the reason why they do not grow bald; for nowhere can one see so few bald heads as in Egypt. [4] Their skulls then are strong for this reason; while the Persian skulls are weak because they cover their heads throughout their lives with the felt hats (called tiaras) which they wear. Such is the truth of the matter. I saw too the skulls of those Persians at Papremis who were killed with Darius' son Achaemenes by Inaros the Libyan, and they were like the others. 13.

After their rout in the battle the Egyptians fled in disorder; and when they had been overtaken in Memphis, Cambyses sent a Persian herald up the river aboard a Mytilenean boat to invite the Egyptians to an accord. [2] But when they saw the boat coming to Memphis, they sallied out all together from their walls, destroyed the boat, dismembered the crew (like butchers) and carried them within the walls. [3] So the Egyptians were besieged, and after a long while surrendered; but the neighboring Libyans, frightened by what had happened in Egypt, surrendered without a fight, laying tribute on themselves and sending gifts; and so too did the people of Cyrene and Barca, frightened like the Libyans. [4] Cambyses received in all kindness the gifts of the Libyans; but he seized what came from Cyrene and, displeased, I think, because it was so little — for the Cyrenaeans had sent five hundred silver minae — cast it with his own hands among his army. 14.

On the tenth day after the surrender of the walled city of Memphis, Cambyses took Psammenitus king of Egypt, who had reigned for six months, and confined him in the outer part of the city with other Egyptians, to insult him; having confined him there, he tried Psammenitus' spirit, as I shall show. [2] He dressed the daughter of the king as a slave and sent her out with a pitcher to fetch water, together with other girls from the families of the leading men, dressed like the daughter of the king. [3] So when the girls went out before their fathers' eyes crying and lamenting, all the rest answered with cries and weeping, seeing their children abused; but

Psammenitus, having seen with his own eyes and learned all, bowed himself to the ground. [4] After the water-carriers had passed by, Cambyses next made Psammenitus' son go out before him with two thousand Egyptians of the same age, all with ropes bound round their necks and bridle-bits in their mouths; [5] they were led out to be punished for those Mytileneans who had perished with their boat at Memphis; for such was the judgment of the royal judges, that every man's death be paid for by the deaths of ten noble Egyptians. [6] When Psammenitus saw them passing and perceived that his son was being led out to die, and all the Egyptians who sat with him wept and showed their affliction, he did as he had done at the sight of his daughter. [7] After these too had gone out, it happened that there was one of his companions, a man past his prime, who had lost all his possessions, and had only what a poor man might have, and begged of the army; this man now went out before Psammenitus son of Amasis and the Egyptians confined in the outer part of the city. When Psammenitus saw him, he broke into loud weeping, striking his head and calling on his companion by name. [8] Now there were men set to watch Psammenitus, who told Cambyses all that he did as each went forth. Wondering at what the king did, Cambyses made this inquiry of him by a messenger: [9] "Psammenitus, Lord Cambyses wants to know why, seeing your daughter abused and your son going to his death, you did not cry out or weep, yet you showed such feeling for the beggar, who (as Cambyses learns from others) is not one of your kindred?" So the messenger inquired. Psammenitus answered: [10] "Son of Cyrus, my private grief was too great for weeping; but the unhappiness of my companion deserves tears — a man fallen from abundance and prosperity to beggary come to the threshold of old age." When the messenger reported this, Cambyses and his court, it is said, thought the answer good. [11] And, the Egyptians say, Croesus wept (for it happened that he too had come with Cambyses to Egypt) and the Persians that were there wept; Cambyses himself felt some pity, and he ordered that Psammenitus' son be spared from those that were to be executed, and that Psammenitus himself be brought in from the outer part of the city and brought before him. 15.

Those that went for him found that the son was no longer alive,

but had been the first to be slaughtered; but they brought Psammenitus up and led him to Cambyses; and there he lived, and no violence was done him for the rest of his life. [2] And if he had known how to mind his own business, he would have regained Egypt to govern; for the Persians are inclined to honor kings' sons; even though kings revolt from them, they give back to their sons the sovereign power. [3] There are many instances showing that it is their custom so to do, and notably the giving back of his father's sovereign power to Thannyras son of Inaros, and also to Pausiris son of Amyrtaeus; yet none ever did the Persians more harm than Inaros and Amyrtaeus.^{6*} [4] But as it was, Psammenitus plotted evil and got his reward; for he was caught raising a revolt among the Egyptians; and when Cambyses heard of it, Psammenitus drank bull's blood^{7*} and died. Such was his end. 16.

From Memphis Cambyses went to the city Sais, anxious to do exactly what he did do. Entering the house of Amasis, he had the body of Amasis carried outside from its place of burial; and when this had been done, he gave orders to scourge it and pull out the hair and pierce it with goads, and to desecrate it in every way. [2] When they were weary of doing this (for the body, being embalmed, remained whole and did not fall to pieces), Cambyses gave orders to burn it, a sacrilegious command; for the Persians hold fire to be a god; [3] therefore neither nation thinks it right to burn the dead, the Persians for the reason given, as they say it is wrong to give the dead body of a man to a god; while the Egyptians believe fire to be a living beast that devours all that it catches, and when sated with its meal dies together with that on which it feeds. [4] Now it is by no means their custom to give the dead to beasts; and this is why they embalm the corpse, that it may not lie and feed worms. Thus what Cambyses commanded was contrary to the custom of both peoples. [5] The Egyptians say, however, that it was not Amasis to whom this was done, but another Egyptian of the same age as Amasis, whom the Persians abused thinking that they were abusing Amasis. [6] For their story is that Amasis learned from an oracle what was to be done to him after his death, and so to escape this fate buried this dead man, the one that was scourged, near the door inside his own vault, and ordered his son that he himself should be laid in the farthest corner of

the vault. [7] I think that these commands of Amasis, regarding the burial-place and the man, were never given at all, and that the Egyptians believe in them in vain. 17.

After this Cambyses planned three expeditions, against the Carchedonians,^{8*} against the Ammonians, and against the “long-lived”^{9*} Ethiopians, who inhabit that part of Libya that is on the southern sea. [2] He decided after consideration to send his fleet against the Carthaginians and a part of his land army against the Ammonians; to Ethiopia he would first send spies, to see what truth there was in the story of a Table of the Sun in that country, and to spy out all else besides, under the pretext of bringing gifts for the Ethiopian king. 18.

Now the Table of the Sun is said to be something of this kind:^{10*} there is a meadow outside the city, filled with the boiled flesh of all four-footed things; here during the night the men of authority among the townsmen are careful to set out the meat, and all day whoever wishes comes and feasts on it. These meats, say the people of the country, are ever produced by the earth of itself. Such is the story of the Sun’s Table. 19.

When Cambyses determined to send the spies, he sent for those Fish-eaters from the city of Elephantine who understood the Ethiopian language. [2] While they were fetching them, he ordered his fleet to sail against Carthage. But the Phoenicians said they would not do it; for they were bound, they said, by strong oaths, and if they sailed against their own progeny they would be doing an impious thing; and the Phoenicians being unwilling, the rest were inadequate fighters. [3] Thus the Carthaginians escaped being enslaved by the Persians; for Cambyses would not use force with the Phoenicians, seeing that they had willingly surrendered to the Persians, and the whole fleet drew its strength from them. The Cyprians too had come of their own accord to aid the Persians against Egypt. 20.

When the Fish-eaters arrived from Elephantine at Cambyses’ summons, he sent them to Ethiopia, with orders what to say, and bearing as gifts a red cloak and a twisted gold necklace and bracelets and an alabaster box of incense and an earthenware jar of palm wine. These Ethiopians, to whom Cambyses sent them, are said to be the tallest and most handsome of all men. [2] Their way of choosing kings

is different from that of all others, as (it is said) are all their laws; they consider that man worthy to be their king whom they judge to be tallest and to have strength proportional to his stature. 21.

When the Fish-eaters arrived among these men, they gave the gifts to their king and said: “Cambyses, the king of the Persians, wishing to become your friend and ally, sent us with orders to address ourselves to you; and he offers you as gifts these things which he enjoys using himself.” [2] But the Ethiopian, perceiving that they had come as spies, spoke thus to them: “It is not because he values my friendship that the Persian King sends you with gifts, nor do you speak the truth (for you have come to spy on my realm), nor is that man just; for were he just, he would not have coveted a land other than his own, nor would he try to lead into slavery men by whom he has not been injured. Now, give him this bow, and this message: [3] ‘The King of the Ethiopians advises the King of the Persians to bring overwhelming odds to attack the long-lived Ethiopians when the Persians can draw a bow of this length as easily as I do; but until then, to thank the gods who do not incite the sons of the Ethiopians to add other land to their own.’” 22.

So speaking he unstrung the bow and gave it to the men who had come. Then, taking the red cloak, he asked what it was and how it was made; and when the Fish-eaters told him the truth about the color and the process of dyeing, he said that both the men and their garments were full of deceit. [2] Next he inquired about the twisted gold necklace and the bracelets; and when the Fish-eaters told him how they were made, the king smiled, and, thinking them to be fetters, said: “We have stronger chains than these.” [3] Thirdly he inquired about the incense; and when they described making and applying it, he made the same reply as about the cloak. But when he came to the wine and asked about its making, he was vastly pleased with the drink, and asked further what food their king ate, and what was the greatest age to which a Persian lived. [4] They told him their king ate bread, showing him how wheat grew; and said that the full age to which a man might hope to live was eighty years. Then, said the Ethiopian, it was no wonder that they lived so few years, if they ate dung;^{11*} they would not even have been able to live that many unless they were refreshed by the drink — signifying to the Fish-

eaters the wine — for in this, he said, the Persians excelled the Ethiopians. 23.

The Fish-eaters then in turn asking of the Ethiopian length of life and diet, he said that most of them attained to a hundred and twenty years, and some even to more; their food was boiled meat and their drink milk. [2] The spies showed wonder at the tale of years; whereupon he led them, it is said, to a spring, by washing in which they grew sleeker, as though it were of oil; and it smelled of violets. [3] So light, the spies said, was this water, that nothing would float on it, neither wood nor anything lighter than wood, but all sank to the bottom. If this water is truly such as they say, it is likely that their constant use of it makes the people long-lived. [4] When they left the spring, the king led them to a prison where all the men were bound with fetters of gold. Among these Ethiopians there is nothing so scarce and so precious as bronze. Then, having seen the prison, they saw what is called the Table of the Sun. 24. Last after this they viewed the Ethiopian coffins; these are said to be made of alabaster, as I shall describe: [2] they cause the dead body to shrink, either as the Egyptians do or in some other way, then cover it with gypsum and paint it all as far as possible in the likeness of the living man; [3] then they set it within a hollow pillar of alabaster, which they dig in abundance from the ground, and it is easily worked; the body can be seen in the pillar through the alabaster, no evil stench nor anything unpleasant proceeding from it, and showing clearly all its parts, as if it were the man himself. [4] The nearest of kin keep the pillar in their house for a year, giving it of the first-fruits and offering it sacrifices; after which they bring the pillars out and set them round about the city. 25.

Having seen everything, the spies departed again. When they reported all this, Cambyzes was angry, and marched at once against the Ethiopians, neither giving directions for any provision of food nor considering that he was about to lead his army to the ends of the earth; [2] being not in his right mind but mad, however, he marched at once on hearing from the Fish-eaters, ordering the Greeks who were with him to await him where they were, and taking with him all his land army. [3] When he came in his march to Thebes, he detached about fifty thousand men from his army, and directed them to enslave

the Ammonians and burn the oracle of Zeus; and he himself went on towards Ethiopia with the rest of his host. [4] But before his army had accomplished the fifth part of their journey they had come to an end of all there was in the way of provision, and after the food was gone, they ate the beasts of burden until there was none of these left either. [5] Now had Cambyes, when he perceived this, changed his mind and led his army back again, he would have been a wise man at last after his first fault; but as it was, he went ever forward, taking account of nothing. [6] While his soldiers could get anything from the earth, they kept themselves alive by eating grass; but when they came to the sandy desert, some did a terrible thing, taking by lot one man out of ten and eating him. [7] Hearing this, Cambyes feared their becoming cannibals, and so gave up his expedition against the Ethiopians and marched back to Thebes, with the loss of many of his army; from Thebes he came down to Memphis, and sent the Greeks to sail away. 26.

So fared the expedition against Ethiopia. As for those who were sent to march against the Ammonians, they set out and journeyed from Thebes with guides; and it is known that they came to the city of Oasis,^{12*} inhabited by Samians said to be of the Aeschirionian tribe, seven days' march from Thebes across sandy desert; this place is called, in the Greek language, Islands of the Blest. [2] Thus far, it is said, the army came; after that, except for the Ammonians themselves and those who heard from them, no man can say anything of them; for they neither reached the Ammonians nor returned back. [3] But this is what the Ammonians themselves say: when the Persians were crossing the sand from Oasis to attack them, and were about midway between their country and Oasis, while they were breakfasting a great and violent south wind arose, which buried them in the masses of sand which it bore; and so they disappeared from sight. Such is the Ammonian tale about this army. 27.

When Cambyes was back at Memphis, there appeared in Egypt that Apis^{13*} whom the Greeks call Epaphus; at whose epiphany the Egyptians put on their best clothing and held a festival. [2] Seeing the Egyptians so doing, Cambyes was fully persuaded that these signs of joy were for his misfortunes, and summoned the rulers of Memphis; when they came before him, he asked them why the

Egyptians behaved so at the moment he returned with so many of his army lost, though they had done nothing like it when he was before at Memphis. [3] The rulers told him that a god, wont to appear after long intervals of time, had now appeared to them; and that all Egypt rejoiced and made holiday whenever he so appeared. At this Cambyses said that they lied, and he punished them with death for their lie. 28.

Having put them to death, he next summoned the priests before him. When they gave him the same account, he said that if a tame god had come to the Egyptians he would know it; and with no more words he bade the priests bring Apis. So they went to fetch and bring him. [2] This Apis, or Epaphus, is a calf born of a cow that can never conceive again. By what the Egyptians say, the cow is made pregnant by a light from heaven, and thereafter gives birth to Apis. [3] The marks of this calf called Apis are these: he is black, and has on his forehead a three-cornered white spot, and the likeness of an eagle on his back; the hairs of the tail are double, and there is a knot under the tongue. 29.

When the priests led Apis in, Cambyses — for he was all but mad — drew his dagger and, meaning to stab the calf in the belly, stuck the thigh; then laughing he said to the priests: [2] “Simpletons, are these your gods, creatures of flesh and blood that can feel weapons of iron? That is a god worthy of the Egyptians. But for you, you shall suffer for making me your laughing-stock.” So saying he bade those, whose business it was, to scourge the priests well, and to kill any other Egyptian whom they found holiday-making. [3] So the Egyptian festival ended, and the priests were punished, and Apis lay in the temple and died of the wound in the thigh. When he was dead of the wound, the priests buried him without Cambyses’ knowledge. 30.

But Cambyses, the Egyptians say, owing to this wrongful act immediately went mad, although even before he had not been sensible. His first evil act was to destroy his full brother Smerdis, whom he had sent away from Egypt to Persia out of jealousy, because Smerdis alone could draw the bow brought from the Ethiopian by the Fish-eaters as far as two fingerbreadths, but no other Persian could draw it. [2] Smerdis having gone to Persia, Cambyses saw in a dream a vision, in which it seemed to him that a

messenger came from Persia and told him that Smerdis sitting on the royal throne touched heaven with his head. [3] Fearing therefore for himself, lest his brother might slay him and so be king, he sent Prexaspes, the most trusted of his Persians, to Persia to kill him. Prexaspes went up to Susa and killed Smerdis; some say that he took Smerdis out hunting, others that he brought him to the Red^{14*} Sea and there drowned him. 31.

This, they say, was the first of Cambyses' evil acts; next, he destroyed his full sister, who had come with him to Egypt, and whom he had taken to wife. [2] He married her in this way (for before this, it had by no means been customary for Persians to marry their sisters): Cambyses was infatuated with one of his sisters and when he wanted to marry her, because his intention was contrary to usage, he summoned the royal judges^{15*} and inquired whether there were any law enjoining one, that so desired, to marry his sister. [3] These royal judges are men chosen out from the Persians to function until they die or are detected in some injustice; it is they who decide suits in Persia and interpret the laws of the land; all matters are referred to them. [4] These then replied to Cambyses with an answer which was both just and prudent, namely, that they could find no law enjoining a brother to marry his sister; but that they had found a law permitting the King of Persia to do whatever he liked. [5] Thus, although they feared Cambyses they did not break the law, and, to save themselves from death for keeping it, they found another law abetting one who wished to marry sisters. [6] So Cambyses married the object of his desire; yet not long afterwards he took another sister as well. It was the younger of these who had come with him to Egypt, and whom he now killed. 32.

There are two tales of her death, as there are of the death of Smerdis. The Greeks say that Cambyses had set a lion cub to fight a puppy, and that this woman was watching too; and that as the puppy was losing, its brother broke its leash and came to help, and the two dogs together got the better of the cub. [2] Cambyses, they say, was pleased with the sight, but the woman wept as she sat by. Cambyses perceiving it asked why she wept, and she said that when she saw the puppy help its brother she had wept, recalling Smerdis and knowing that there would be no avenger for him. [3] For saying this, according

to the Greek story, she was killed by Cambyses. But the Egyptian tale is that as the two sat at table the woman took a lettuce and plucked off the leaves, then asked her husband whether he preferred the look of it with or without leaves. "With the leaves," he said; whereupon she answered: [4] "Yet you have stripped Cyrus' house as bare as this lettuce." Angered at this, they say, he sprang upon her, who was great with child, and she miscarried and died of the hurt he gave her. 33.

Such were Cambyses' mad acts to his own household, whether they were done because of Apis or grew from some of the many troubles that are wont to beset men; for indeed he is said to have been afflicted from his birth with that grievous disease which some call "sacred."^{16*} It is not unlikely then that when his body was grievously afflicted his mind too should be diseased. 34.

I will now relate his mad dealings with the rest of Persia. He said, as they report, to Prexaspes — whom he held in particular honor, who brought him all his messages, whose son held the very honorable office of Cambyses' cup-bearer — thus, I say, he spoke to Prexaspes: [2] "What manner of man, Prexaspes, do the Persians think me to be, and how do they speak of me?" "Sire," said Prexaspes, "for all else they greatly praise you, but they say that you love wine too well." [3] So he reported of the Persians. The king angrily replied: "If the Persians now say that it is my fondness for wine that drives me to frenzy and madness, then it would seem that their former saying also was a lie." [4] For it is said that before this, while some Persians and Croesus were sitting with him, Cambyses asked what manner of man they thought him to be in comparison with Cyrus his father; and they answered, "Cambyses was the better man; for he had all of Cyrus' possessions and had won Egypt and the sea besides." [5] So said the Persians; but Croesus, who was present, and was dissatisfied with their judgment, spoke thus to Cambyses: "To me, son of Cyrus, you do not seem to be the equal of your father; for you have as yet no son such as he left after him in you." This pleased Cambyses, and he praised Croesus' judgment. 35.

Remembering this, then, he said to Prexaspes in his anger: "Judge then if the Persians speak the truth, or rather are themselves out of their minds when they speak of me so. [2] Yonder stands your son in

the porch; now if I shoot and pierce his heart, that will prove the Persians to be wrong; if I miss, then say that they are right and that I am out of my senses.” [3] So saying, he strung his bow and hit the boy, and gave orders to open the fallen body and examine the wound: and the arrow being found in the heart, Cambyses laughed in great glee and said to the boy’s father: [4] “It is plain, Prexaspes, that I am in my right mind and the Persians mad; now tell me: what man in the world did you ever see that shot so true to the mark?” Prexaspes, it is said, replied (for he saw that Cambyses was mad, and he feared for his own life), “Master, I think that not even the god himself could shoot so true.” [5] Thus did Cambyses then; at another time he took twelve Persians, equal to the noblest in the land, convicted them of some minor offense, and buried them alive up to the neck. 36.

For these acts Croesus the Lydian thought fit to take him to task, and addressed him thus: “Sire, do not sacrifice everything to youth and temper, but restrain and control yourself; prudence is a good thing, forethought is wise. But you kill men of your own country whom you have convicted of some minor offense, and you kill boys. [2] If you do so often, beware lest the Persians revolt from you. As for me, your father Cyrus earnestly begged me to counsel you and to give you such advice as I think to be good.” Croesus gave him this counsel out of goodwill; but Cambyses answered: [3] “It is very well that you should even dare to counsel me; you, who governed your own country so well, and gave fine advice to my father — telling him, when the Massagetae were willing to cross over into our lands, to pass the Araxes and attack them; thus you worked your own ruin by misgoverning your country and Cyrus’, who trusted you. But you shall regret it; I have long waited for an occasion to deal with you.” [4] With that Cambyses took his bow to shoot him dead; but Croesus leapt up and ran out; and Cambyses, being unable to shoot him, ordered his attendants to catch and kill him. [5] They, knowing Cambyses’ mood, hid Croesus; intending to reveal him and receive gifts for saving his life, if Cambyses should repent and ask for Croesus, but if he should not repent nor wish Croesus back, then to kill the Lydian. [6] Not long after this Cambyses did wish Croesus back, and the attendants, understanding this, told him that Croesus was alive still. Cambyses said that he was glad of it; but that they,

who had saved Croesus, should not escape with impunity, but be killed; and this was done. 37.

Cambyzes committed many such mad acts against the Persians and his allies; he stayed at Memphis, and there opened ancient coffins and examined the dead bodies. [2] Thus too he entered the temple of Hephaestus and jeered at the image there. This image of Hephaestus is most like the Phoenician Pataici,^{17*} which the Phoenicians carry on the prows of their triremes. I will describe it for anyone who has not seen these figures: it is the likeness of a dwarf. [3] Also he entered the temple of the Cabeiri, into which no one may enter save the priest; the images here he even burnt, with bitter mockery. These also are like the images of Hephaestus, and are said to be his sons. 38.

I hold it then in every way proved that Cambyzes was quite insane; or he would never have set himself to deride religion and custom. For if it were proposed to all nations to choose which seemed best of all customs, each, after examination, would place its own first; so well is each convinced that its own are by far the best. [2] It is not therefore to be supposed that anyone, except a madman, would turn such things to ridicule. I will give this one proof among many from which it may be inferred that all men hold this belief about their customs. [3] When Darius was king, he summoned the Greeks who were with him and asked them for what price they would eat their fathers' dead bodies. They answered that there was no price for which they would do it. [4] Then Darius summoned those Indians who are called Callatiae,^{18*} who eat their parents, and asked them (the Greeks being present and understanding through interpreters what was said) what would make them willing to burn their fathers at death. The Indians cried aloud, that he should not speak of so horrid an act. So firmly rooted are these beliefs; and it is, I think, rightly said in Pindar's poem that custom is lord of all.^{19*} 39. While Cambyzes was attacking Egypt, the Lacedaemonians too were making war upon Samos and upon Aeaces' son Polycrates, who had revolted and won Samos.^{20*} [2] And first, dividing the city into three parts, he gave a share in the government to his brothers Pantagnotus and Syloson; but presently he put one of them to death, banished the younger, Syloson, and so made himself lord of all Samos; then he

made a treaty with Amasis king of Egypt, sending to him and receiving from him gifts. [2] Very soon after this, Polycrates grew to such power that he was famous in Ionia and all other Greek lands; for all his military affairs succeeded. He had a hundred fifty-oared ships, and a thousand archers. [4] And he pillaged every place, indiscriminately; for he said that he would get more thanks if he gave a friend back what he had taken than if he never took it at all. He had taken many of the islands, and many of the mainland cities. Among others, he conquered the Lesbians; they had brought all their force to aid the Milesians, and Polycrates defeated them in a sea-fight; it was they who, being his captives, dug all the trench around the acropolis of Samos. 40.

Now Amasis was somehow aware of Polycrates' great good fortune; and as this continued to increase greatly, he wrote this letter and sent it to Samos: "Amasis addresses Polycrates as follows. [2] It is pleasant to learn that a friend and ally is doing well. But I do not like these great successes of yours; for I know the gods, how jealous they are, and I desire somehow that both I and those for whom I care succeed in some affairs, fail in others, and thus pass life faring differently by turns, rather than succeed at everything. [3] For from all I have heard I know of no man whom continual good fortune did not bring in the end to evil, and utter destruction. Therefore if you will be ruled by me do this regarding your successes: [4] consider what you hold most precious and what you will be sorriest to lose, and cast it away so that it shall never again be seen among men; then, if after this the successes that come to you are not mixed with mischances, strive to mend the matter as I have counselled you." 41.

Reading this, and perceiving that Amasis' advice was good, Polycrates considered which of his treasures it would most grieve his soul to lose, and came to this conclusion: he wore a seal set in gold, an emerald, crafted by Theodorus son of Telecles of Samos; [2] being resolved to cast this away, he embarked in a fifty-oared ship with its crew, and told them to put out to sea; and when he was far from the island, he took off the seal-ring in sight of all that were on the ship and cast it into the sea. This done, he sailed back and went to his house, where he grieved for the loss. 42.

But on the fifth or sixth day from this it happened that a

fisherman, who had taken a fine and great fish, and desired to make a gift of it to Polycrates, brought it to the door and said that he wished to see Polycrates. This being granted, he gave the fish, saying: [2] “O King, when I caught this fish, I thought best not to take it to market, although I am a man who lives by his hands, but it seemed to me worthy of you and your greatness; and so I bring and offer it to you.” Polycrates was pleased with what the fisherman said; “You have done very well,” he answered, “and I give you double thanks, for your words and for the gift; and I invite you to dine with me.” [3] Proud of this honor, the fisherman went home; but the servants, cutting up the fish, found in its belly Polycrates’ seal-ring. [4] As soon as they saw and seized it, they brought it with joy to Polycrates, and giving the ring to him told him how it had been found. Polycrates saw the hand of heaven in this matter; he wrote a letter and sent it to Egypt, telling all that he had done, and what had happened to him. 43.

When Amasis had read Polycrates’ letter, he perceived that no man could save another from his destiny, and that Polycrates, being so continually fortunate that he even found what he cast away, must come to an evil end. [2] So he sent a herald to Samos to renounce his friendship, determined that when some great and terrible mischance overtook Polycrates he himself might not have to sadden his heart for a friend. 44.

It was against this ever-victorious Polycrates that the Lacedaemonians now made war, invited by the Samians who afterwards founded Cydonia in Crete. Polycrates had without the knowledge of his subjects sent a herald to Cambyses, son of Cyrus, then raising an army against Egypt, inviting Cambyses to send to Samos too and request men from him. [2] At this message Cambyses very readily sent to Samos, asking Polycrates to send a fleet to aid him against Egypt. Polycrates chose those men whom he most suspected of planning a rebellion against him, and sent them in forty triremes, directing Cambyses not to send the men back. 45.

Some say that these Samians who were sent never came to Egypt, but that when they had sailed as far as Carpathus discussed the matter among themselves and decided to sail no further; others say that they did come to Egypt and there escaped from the guard that was set over them. [2] But as they sailed back to Samos, Polycrates’

ships met and engaged them; and the returning Samians were victorious and landed on the island, but were there beaten in a land battle, and so sailed to Lacedaemon. [3] There are those who say that the Samians from Egypt defeated Polycrates; but to my thinking this is untrue; for they need not have invited the Lacedaemonians if in fact they had been able to master Polycrates by themselves. Besides, it is not even reasonable to suppose that he, who had a great army of hired soldiers and bowmen of his own, was beaten by a few men like the returning Samians. [4] Polycrates took the children and wives of the townsmen who were subject to him and shut them up in the boathouses, with intent to burn them and the boathouses too if their men should desert to the returned Samians. 46.

When the Samians who were expelled by Polycrates came to Sparta, they came before the ruling men and made a long speech to show the greatness of their need. But the Spartans at their first sitting answered that they had forgotten the beginning of the speech and could not understand its end. [2] After this the Samians came a second time with a sack, and said nothing but this: "The sack wants flour." To this the Spartans replied that they were over-wordy with "the sack";^{21*} but they did resolve to help them. 47.

The Lacedaemonians then equipped and sent an army to Samos, returning a favor, as the Samians say, because they first sent a fleet to help the Lacedaemonians against Messenia; but the Lacedaemonians say that they sent this army less to aid the Samians in their need than to avenge the robbery of the bowl which they had been carrying to Croesus and the breastplate which Amasis King of Egypt had sent them as a gift. [2] This breastplate had been stolen by the Samians in the year before they took the bowl; it was of linen, decked with gold and cotton embroidery, and embroidered with many figures; [3] but what makes it worthy of wonder is that each thread of the breastplate, fine as each is, is made up of three hundred and sixty strands, each plainly seen. It is the exact counterpart of that one which Amasis dedicated to Athena in Lindus. 48.

The Corinthians also enthusiastically helped to further the expedition against Samos. For an outrage had been done them by the Samians a generation before this expedition, about the time of the robbery of the bowl. [2] Periander son of Cypselus sent to Alyattes at

Sardis three hundred boys, sons of notable men in Corcyra, to be made eunuchs. The Corinthians who brought the boys put in at Samos; and when the Samians heard why the boys were brought, first they instructed them to take sanctuary in the temple of Artemis, [3] then they would not allow the suppliants to be dragged from the temple; and when the Corinthians tried to starve the boys out, the Samians held a festival which they still celebrate in the same fashion; throughout the time that the boys were seeking asylum, they held nightly dances of young men and women to which it was made a custom to bring cakes of sesame and honey, so that the Corcyraean boys might snatch these and have food. [4] This continued to be done until the Corinthian guards left their charge and departed; then the Samians took the boys back to Corcyra. 49.

If after the death of Periander, the Corinthians had been friendly towards the Corcyraeans, they would not have taken part in the expedition against Samos for this reason. But as it was, ever since the island was colonized, they have been at odds with each other, despite their kinship. [2] For these reasons then the Corinthians bore a grudge against the Samians.

Periander chose the sons of the notable Corcyraeans and sent them to Sardis to be made eunuchs as an act of vengeance; for the Corcyraeans had first begun the quarrel by committing a terrible crime against him. 50.

For after killing his own wife Melissa, Periander suffered yet another calamity on top of what he had already suffered. He had two sons by Melissa, one seventeen and one eighteen years old. [2] Their mother's father, Procles, the sovereign of Epidaurus, sent for the boys and treated them affectionately, as was natural, seeing that they were his own daughter's sons. When they left him, he said as he sent them forth: [3] "Do you know, boys, who killed your mother?" The elder of them paid no attention to these words; but the younger, whose name was Lycophron, was struck with such horror when he heard them that when he came to Corinth he would not speak to his father, his mother's murderer, nor would he answer him when addressed nor reply to his questions. At last Periander was so angry that he drove the boy from his house. 51.

Having driven this one away, he asked the elder son what their

grandfather had said to them. The boy told him that Procles had treated them kindly, but did not mention what he had said at parting; for he had paid no attention. Periander said that by no means could Procles not have dropped some hint, and interrogated him persistently; [2] until the boy remembered, and told him. And Periander, comprehending, and wishing to show no weakness, sent a message to those with whom his banished son was living and forbade them to keep him. [3] So when the boy, driven out, would go to another house, he would be driven from this also, since Periander threatened all who received him and ordered them to shut him out; so when driven forth, he would go to some other house of his friends, and they, although he was the son of Periander, and although they were afraid, nonetheless took him in. 52.

In the end Periander made a proclamation, that whoever sheltered the boy in his house or spoke to him, would owe a fine to Apollo, and he set the amount. [2] In view of this proclamation no one wished to address or receive the boy into his house; and besides, the boy himself did not think it right to attempt what was forbidden, but accepting it slept in the open. [3] On the fourth day, when Periander saw him starved and unwashed, he took pity on him, and his anger being softened, he came near and said: "My son, which is preferable — to follow your present way of life, or by being well-disposed toward your father to inherit my power and the goods which I now possess? [4] Though my son and a prince of prosperous Corinth, you prefer the life of a vagrant, by opposing and being angry with me with whom you least ought to be. For if something has happened as a result of which you have a suspicion about me, it has happened to my disadvantage and I bear the brunt of it, inasmuch as I am the cause. [5] But bearing in mind how much better it is to be envied than to be pitied, and at the same time what sort of thing it is to be angry with your parents and with those that are stronger than you, come back to the house." [6] With these words Periander tried to move his son, but he said nothing else to his father, only told him that because he had conversed with him he owed the fine to Apollo. When Periander saw that his son's stubbornness could not be got around or overcome, he sent him away out of his sight in a ship to Corcyra; for Corcyra too was subject to him. [7] And when he had sent him away, he sent an

army against Procles his father-in-law, since he was most to blame for his present troubles; and he took Epidaurus, captured Procles, and imprisoned him. 53.

As time went on, Periander, now grown past his prime and aware that he could no longer oversee and direct all his affairs, sent to Corcyra inviting Lycophron to be sovereign; for he saw no hope in his eldest son, who seemed to him to be slow-witted. [2] Lycophron did not dignify the invitation with a reply. Then Periander, pressing the young man, sent to him (as the next best way) his daughter, the boy's sister, thinking that he would listen to her. [3] She came and said, "Child, would you want the power to fall to others, and our father's house destroyed, rather than to return and have it yourself? Come home and stop punishing yourself. [4] Pride is an unhappy possession. Do not cure evil by evil. Many place the more becoming thing before the just; and many pursuing their mother's business have lost their father's. Power is a slippery thing; many want it, and our father is now old and past his prime; do not lose what is yours to others." [5] So she spoke communicating their father's inducements. But he answered that he would never come to Corinth as long as he knew his father was alive. [6] When she brought this answer back, Periander sent a third messenger, through whom he proposed that he should go to Corcyra, and that the boy should return to Corinth and be the heir of his power. [7] The son consented to this; Periander got ready to go to Corcyra and Lycophron to go to Corinth; but when the Corcyraeans learned of all these matters, they put the young man to death so that Periander would not come to their country. It was for this that Periander desired vengeance on the Corcyraeans. 54.

The Lacedaemonians then came with a great army, and besieged Samos. They advanced to the wall and entered the tower that stands by the seaside in the outer part of the city; but then Polycrates himself attacked them with a great force and drove them out. [2] The mercenaries and many of the Samians themselves sallied out near the upper tower on the ridge of the hill and withstood the Lacedaemonian advance for a little while; then they fled back, with the Lacedaemonians pursuing and destroying them. 55.

Had all the Lacedaemonians there that day been like Archias and Lycopas, Samos would have been taken. These two alone entered the

fortress along with the fleeing crowd of Samians, and were cut off and killed in the city of Samos. [2] I myself have met in his native town of Pitana^{22*} another Archias son of Samius, and grandson of the Archias mentioned above, who honored the Samians more than any other of his guest-friends, and told me that his father had borne the name Samius because he was the son of that Archias who was killed fighting bravely at Samos. The reason that he honored the Samians, he said, was that they had given his grandfather a public funeral. ⁵⁶ So when the Lacedaemonians had besieged Samos for forty days with no success, they went away to the Peloponnesus. [2] There is a foolish tale abroad that Polycrates bribed them to depart by making and giving them a great number of gilded lead coins, as a native currency. This was the first expedition to Asia made by Dorians of Lacedaemon.^{23*} ⁵⁷

When the Lacedaemonians were about to abandon them, the Samians who had brought an army against Polycrates sailed away too, and went to Siphnus; [2] for they were in need of money; and the Siphnians were at this time very prosperous and the richest of the islanders, because of the gold and silver mines on the island. They were so wealthy that the treasure dedicated by them at Delphi, which is as rich as any there, was made from a tenth of their income; and they divided among themselves each year's income. [3] Now when they were putting together the treasure they inquired of the oracle if their present prosperity was likely to last long; whereupon the priestess gave them this answer: [4] ""When the prytaneum on Siphnus becomes white

And white-browed the market, then indeed a shrewd man is wanted
Beware a wooden force and a red herald."

" At this time the market-place and town-hall of Siphnus were adorned with Parian marble. ⁵⁸ They could not understand this oracle either when it was spoken or at the time of the Samians' coming. As soon as the Samians put in at Siphnus, they sent ambassadors to the town in one of their ships; [2] now in ancient times all ships were painted with vermilion;^{24*} and this was what was meant by the warning given by the priestess to the Siphnians, to beware a wooden force and a red herald. [3] The messengers, then, demanded from the Siphnians a loan of ten talents; when the Siphnians refused them, the

Samians set about ravaging their lands. [4] Hearing this the Siphnians came out at once to drive them off, but they were defeated in battle, and many of them were cut off from their town by the Samians; who presently exacted from them a hundred talents. 59.

Then the Samians took from the men of Hermione, instead of money, the island Hydrea which is near to the Peloponnesus, and gave it to men of Troezen for safekeeping; they themselves settled at Cydonia in Crete, though their voyage had been made with no such intent, but rather to drive Zacynthians out of the island. [2] Here they stayed and prospered for five years; indeed, the temples now at Cydonia and the shrine of Dictyna are the Samians' work; [3] but in the sixth year Aeginetans and Cretans came and defeated them in a sea-fight and made slaves of them; moreover they cut off the ships' prows, that were shaped like boars' heads, and dedicated them in the temple of Athena in Aegina. [4] The Aeginetans did this out of a grudge against the Samians; for previously the Samians, in the days when Amphicrates was king of Samos, sailing in force against Aegina, had hurt the Aeginetans and been hurt by them. This was the cause. 60.

I have written at such length of the Samians, because the three greatest works of all the Greeks were engineered by them. The first of these is the tunnel with a mouth at either end driven through the base of a hill nine hundred feet high; [2] the whole tunnel is forty-two hundred feet long,^{25*} eight feet high and eight feet wide; and throughout the whole of its length there runs a channel thirty feet deep and three feet wide, through which the water coming from an abundant spring is carried by pipes to the city of Samos. [3] The designer of this work was Eupalinus son of Naustrophus, a Megarian. This is one of the three works; the second is a breakwater in the sea enclosing the harbor, sunk one hundred and twenty feet, and more than twelve hundred feet in length. [4] The third Samian work is the temple, which is the greatest of all the temples of which we know; its first builder was Rhoecus son of Philes, a Samian. It is for this cause that I have expounded at more than ordinary length of Samos. 61.

Now after Cambyses, son of Cyrus, had lost his mind, while he was still in Egypt, two Magus brothers rebelled against him.^{26*} One of them had been left by Cambyses as steward of his house; this man

now revolted from him, perceiving that the death of Smerdis was kept secret, and that few knew of it, most believing him to be still alive. [2] Therefore he plotted to gain the royal power: he had a brother, his partner, as I said, in rebellion; this brother was in appearance very like Cyrus' son Smerdis, whom Cambyses, his brother, had killed; nor was he like him in appearance only, but he bore the same name too, Smerdis. [3] Patizeithes the Magus persuaded this man that he would manage everything for him; he brought his brother and set him on the royal throne; then he sent heralds to all parts, one of whom was to go to Egypt and proclaim to the army that henceforth they must obey not Cambyses but Smerdis, the son of Cyrus. 62.

So this proclamation was made everywhere. The herald appointed to go to Egypt, finding Cambyses and his army at Ecbatana in Syria, came out before them all and proclaimed the message given him by the Magus. [2] When Cambyses heard what the herald said, he supposed that it was the truth, and that Prexaspes, when sent to kill Smerdis, had not done it but had played Cambyses false; and he said, fixing his eyes on Prexaspes, "Is it thus, Prexaspes, that you carried out my instructions?" [3] "No," said Prexaspes, "this is not true, sire, that your brother Smerdis has rebelled against you; he cannot have any quarrel with you, small or great; I myself did as you instructed, and I buried him with my own hands. [4] If then the dead can rise, you may expect to see Astyages the Mede rise up against you; but if things are as usual, assuredly no harm to you will arise from Smerdis. Now then this is my opinion, that we pursue this herald and interrogate him, to learn from whom he comes with his proclamation that we must obey Smerdis as our king." 63.

Cambyses liked Prexaspes' advice; the herald was pursued at once and brought; and when he came, Prexaspes put this question to him: "Fellow, you say that your message is from Cyrus' son Smerdis; tell me this now, and you may go away unpunished: was it Smerdis who appeared to you and gave you this charge, or was it one of his servants?" [2] "Since King Cambyses marched to Egypt," answered the herald, "I have never seen Smerdis the son of Cyrus; the Magus whom Cambyses made overseer of his house gave me the message, saying that it was the will of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, that I should

make it known to you.” [3] So spoke the herald, telling the whole truth; and Cambyses said, “Prexaspes, having done what you were told like a good man you are free of blame; but who can this Persian be who rebels against me and usurps the name of Smerdis?” [4] Prexaspes replied, “I think, sire, that I understand what has been done here; the rebels are the Magi, Patizeithes whom you left steward of your house, and his brother Smerdis.” 64.

The truth of the words and of a dream struck Cambyses the moment he heard the name Smerdis; for he had dreamt that a message had come to him that Smerdis sitting on the royal throne touched heaven with his head; [2] and perceiving that he had killed his brother without cause, he wept bitterly for Smerdis. Having wept, and grieved by all his misfortune, he sprang upon his horse, with intent to march at once to Susa against the Magus. [3] As he sprang upon his horse, the cap fell off the sheath of his sword, and the naked blade pierced his thigh, wounding him in the same place where he had once wounded the Egyptian god Apis; and believing the wound to be mortal, Cambyses asked what was the name of the town where he was. [4] They told him it was Ecbatana. Now a prophecy had before this come to him from Buto, that he would end his life at Ecbatana; Cambyses supposed this to signify that he would die in old age at the Median Ecbatana, his capital city; but as the event proved, the oracle prophesied his death at Ecbatana of Syria. [5] So when he now inquired and learned the name of the town, the shock of his wound, and of the misfortune that came to him from the Magus, brought him to his senses; he understood the prophecy and said: “Here Cambyses son of Cyrus is to die.” 65.

At this time he said no more. But about twenty days later, he sent for the most prominent of the Persians that were about him, and thus addressed them: “Persians, I have to make known to you something which I kept most strictly concealed. [2] When I was in Egypt I had a dream, which I wish I had not had; it seemed to me that a messenger came from home to tell me that Smerdis sitting on the royal throne touched heaven with his head. [3] Then I feared that my brother would take away my sovereignty from me, and I acted with more haste than wisdom; for it is not in the power of human nature to run away from what is to be; but I, blind as I was, sent Prexaspes to Susa to kill

Smerdis. When that great wrong was done I lived without fear, for I never thought that when Smerdis was removed another man might rise against me. [4] But I mistook altogether what was to be; I have killed my brother when there was no need, and I have lost my kingdom none the less; for it was the Magus Smerdis that the divinity forewarned in the dream would revolt. [5] Now he has been done for by me, and I would have you believe that Smerdis Cyrus' son no longer lives; the Magi rule the kingdom, the one that I left caretaker of my house, and his brother Smerdis. So then, the man is dead of an unholy destiny at the hands of his relations who ought to have been my avenger for the disgrace I have suffered from the Magi; [6] and as he is no longer alive, necessity constrains me to charge you, men of Persia, in his place, with the last desire of my life. In the name of the gods of my royal house I charge all of you, but chiefly those Achaemenids that are here, not to let the sovereignty fall again into Median hands; if they have it after getting it by trickery, take it back through trickery of your own; if they have got it away by force, then by force all the stronger get it back. [7] And if you do this, may your land bring forth fruit, and your women and your flocks and herds be blessed with offspring, remaining free for all time; but if you do not get the kingdom back or attempt to get it back, then I pray things turn out the opposite for you, and on top of this, that every Persian meet an end such as mine." With that Cambyses wept bitterly for all that had happened to him. 66.

When the Persians saw their king weep, they all tore the clothing which they wore and wailed loud and long. [2] But when after this the bone rotted and the thigh rapidly putrefied, it carried off Cambyses son of Cyrus, who had reigned in all seven years and five months, but was altogether childless, without male or female issue. [3] To the Persians who were present it was quite incredible that the Magi were masters of the kingdom; they believed that Cambyses' intent was to deceive them with his story of Smerdis' death, so that all Persia might be embroiled in a war against him. 67.

So they believed that it was Cyrus' son Smerdis who had been made king. For Prexaspes stoutly denied that he had killed Smerdis, since now that Cambyses was dead, it was not safe for him to say that he had slain the son of Cyrus with his own hands. [2] Cambyses

being dead, the Magus, pretending to be the Smerdis of like name, Cyrus' son, reigned without fear for the seven months by which Cambyses had fallen short of reigning eight years. [3] In this time he benefitted all his subjects to such an extent that after his death all the Asiatics except the Persians wished him back; for he sent to every nation he ruled and proclaimed an exemption for three years from military service and from tribute. 68.

Such was his proclamation at the beginning of his reign; but in the eighth month he was exposed in the following manner. There was one Otanes, son of Pharnaspes, as well-born and rich a man as any Persian. [2] This Otanes was the first to guess that the Magus was not Cyrus' son Smerdis and who, in fact, he was; the reason was, that he never left the acropolis nor summoned any notable Persian into his presence. And having formed this suspicion Otanes did as follows: [3] Cambyses had taken his daughter, whose name was Phaedyne; this same girl the Magus had now and he lived with her and with all Cambyses' other wives. Otanes sent to this daughter, asking at what man's side she lay, with Smerdis, Cyrus' son, or with some other? [4] She sent back a message that she did not know; for (she said) she had never seen Cyrus' son Smerdis, nor did she know who her bedfellow was. Then Otanes sent a second message, to this effect: "If you do not know Cyrus' son Smerdis yourself, then find out from Atossa who it is that she and you are living with; for surely she knows her own brother." [5] To this his daughter replied: "I cannot communicate with Atossa, nor can I see any other of the women of the household; for no sooner had this man, whoever he is, made himself king, than he sent us to live apart, each in her own appointed place." 69.

When Otanes heard that, he saw more clearly how the matter stood; and he sent her this third message: [2] "Daughter, your noble birth obliges you to run any risk that your father commands you to face. If this man is not Smerdis son of Cyrus but who I think he is, then he must not get away with sleeping with you and sitting on the throne of Persia, but be punished. [3] Now, then, when he lies with you and you see that he is sleeping, feel his ears; if he has ears, rest assured that you are living with Smerdis son of Cyrus; but if he has none, it is Smerdis the Magus." [4] Phaedyne answered by messenger that she would run a very great risk by so doing; for if it should turn

out that he had no ears, and she were caught feeling for them, he would surely kill her; nevertheless she would do it. [5] So she promised to do this for her father. Cyrus son of Cambyses during his reign cut off the ears of this Magus Smerdis for some grave reason. [6] So Phaedyne, daughter of Otanes, performed her promise to her father. When it was her turn to go to the Magus (for their wives go in sequence to the Persians), she came to his bed and felt for the Magus' ears while he slumbered deeply; and having with no great difficulty assured herself that he had no ears, she sent and told this to her father as soon as it was morning. 70.

Otanes then took aside two Persians of the highest rank whom he thought worthiest of trust, Aspathines and Gobryas, and told them the whole story. These, it would seem, had themselves suspected that it was so; and now they readily believed what Otanes revealed to them. [2] They resolved that each should take into his confidence that Persian whom he most trusted; Otanes brought in Intaphrenes, Gobryas brought Megabyzus, and Aspathines Hydarnes.^{27*} [3] When they were six, Darius, whose father, Hystaspes, was a subordinate governor of the Persians, arrived at Susa. When he came, then, the six Persians resolved to include Darius too. 71.

The seven then met and gave each other tokens of good faith and spoke together; and when it was Darius' turn to declare his mind, he spoke as follows: [2] "I thought that I alone knew that it was the Magus who was king and that Smerdis son of Cyrus was dead; and it was for this reason that I made haste to come, that I might effect the Magus' death; but since it turns out that you know too and not only I, I think that we should act at once and not put it off." [3] Otanes replied, "son of Hystaspes, you have a good father and seem likely yourself to be in no way inferior to your father; do not hurry this undertaking without thinking, but take it up more prudently; there must be more of us to try it." [4] To this Darius answered: "You gentlemen who are here, if you do as Otanes says, know that you will die horribly; for someone will inform the Magus, looking to enrich himself alone. [5] You ought to have done it by yourselves; but since you decided to confide in others and have included me, let us either act today or else understand that if the present day passes, nobody else will betray you before I do, for I shall myself betray you to the

Magus.”⁷² To this Otanes replied, seeing Darius’ vehemence, “Since you force us to hurry and will tolerate no delay, tell us now yourself how we shall pass into the palace and attack them. For you know yourself, I suppose, if not because you have seen them then you have heard, that guards are stationed all around; how shall we go past the guards?”^[2] “Otanés,” answered Darius, “there are many things that cannot be described in words, but in deed; and there are other things that can be described in words, but nothing illustrious comes of them. You know well that the guards who are set are easy to go by.^[3] There is no one who will not allow us to pass, from respect or from fear, because of who we are; and further, I have myself the best pretext for entering, for I shall say that I have just arrived from Persia and have a message for the king from my father.^[4] When it is necessary to lie, lie. For we want the same thing, liars and those who tell the truth; some lie to win credence and advantage by lies, while others tell the truth in order to obtain some advantage by the truth and to be more trusted; thus we approach the same ends by different means.^[5] If the hope of advantage were taken away, the truth-teller would be as ready to lie as the liar to tell the truth. Now if any of the watchmen willingly let us pass, it will be better for him later. But if any tries to withstand us, let us note him as an enemy, and so thrust ourselves in and begin our work.”⁷³

Then Gobryas said, “Friends, when shall we have a better chance to win back the kingship, or, if we cannot, to die, since we who are Persians are ruled by a Mede, a Magus, and he a man that has no ears?”^[2] Those of you that were with Cambyases at his death-bed of course remember the curse which he pronounced as he died on the Persians if they should not try to get back the kingship, although we did not believe Cambyases then, but thought that he spoke to deceive us.^[3] Now therefore my vote is that we follow Darius’ plan, and not quit this council to do anything else but attack the Magus at once.” So spoke Gobryas; and they all consented to what he said.⁷⁴

While they were making these plans, by coincidence the following happened. The Magi had resolved after consideration to make a friend of Prexaspes, because he had been wronged by Cambyases (who had killed his son with an arrow) and because he alone knew of the death of Cyrus’ son Smerdis, having himself been

the slayer; but besides this, because he was in great repute among the Persians. [2] For these reasons they summoned him and tried to make him a friend, having bound him by tokens of good faith and oaths to keep to himself and betray to no one their deception of the Persians, and promising to give him all things in great abundance. [3] When Prexaspes agreed to do this, since the Magi importuned him, the Magi made this second proposal to him, that they should call an assembly of all the Persians before the palace wall, and he should go up on to a tower and declare that it was Smerdis son of Cyrus and no other who was king of Persia. [4] They gave him this charge, because they thought him to be the man most trusted by the Persians, and because he had often asserted that Cyrus' son Smerdis was alive, and had denied the murder. 75.

When Prexaspes said that he was ready to do this too, the Magi summoned the Persians together, and brought him up on to a tower and bade him speak. Then, deliberately forgetting all the Magi's instructions, he traced the lineage of Cyrus from Achaemenes downwards; when he came at last to the name of Cyrus, he recounted all the good which that king had done to Persia, [2] and after he had narrated this, he revealed the truth, saying that he had concealed it before, as it had not been safe for him to tell what had happened, but at the present time necessity forced him to reveal it: and he said that he himself, forced by Cambyses, had killed Smerdis son of Cyrus, and that the Magi were in power. [3] Then, invoking a terrible curse on the Persians if they did not win back the throne and take vengeance on the Magi, he threw himself headlong down from the tower; so Prexaspes, a man who was always well thought of, perished in this way. 76.

The seven Persians, when they had decided to attack the Magi at once and not delay, prayed to the gods and set forth, knowing nothing of what had happened to Prexaspes. [2] But when they had gone half way they learned what had happened to Prexaspes. Then they argued there, standing beside the road, Otanes' party demanding that they delay and not attack while events were in flux, and Darius' party that they go directly and do what they had decided and not put it off. [3] While they were arguing, they saw seven pairs of hawks chase and slash and tear to bits two pairs of vultures. And seeing this

all seven consented to Darius' opinion, and went on to the palace, encouraged by the birds. 77.

When they came to the gate, it turned out as Darius had expected; the guards, out of respect for the leading men in Persia and never suspecting that there would be trouble from them, allowed them to pass, who enjoyed divine guidance, and no one asked any questions. [2] And when they came to the court, they met the eunuchs that carry messages, who asked the seven why they had come; and while they were questioning these, they were threatening the watchmen for letting them pass, and restraining the seven who wanted to go on. [3] These gave each other the word, drew their knives, and stabbing the eunuchs who barred their way, went forward at a run to the men's apartment. 78.

Both the Magi were within, deliberating about the consequences of Prexaspes' act. Seeing the eunuchs in confusion and hearing their cries they both sprang up: and when they realized what was happening they turned to defending themselves. [2] One rushed to take down a bow, the other went for a spear. Then the fighting started. The one that had caught up the bow found it was no use to him, as the antagonists were close and jostling one another; but the other defended himself with his spear, wounding Aspathines in the thigh and Intaphrenes in the eye; Intaphrenes lost his eye from the wound but was not killed. [3] So one of the Magi wounded these; the other, as the bow was no use to him, fled into a chamber adjoining the men's apartment and would have shut its door. [4] Two of the seven flung into the room with him, Darius and Gobryas; as Gobryas and the Magus wrestled together, Darius stood helpless in the darkness, afraid of stabbing Gobryas. [5] Gobryas, seeing Darius stand helpless, asked why he did not lend a hand; and he said, "Because I am afraid for you, that I might stab you." And Gobryas answered, "Stick your sword even if it goes through us both." So Darius complying stabbed with his knife and somehow stuck the Magus. 79.

When they had killed the Magi and cut off their heads, they left their wounded there because of their infirmity and for the sake of guarding the acropolis, while five of them carrying the Magi's heads ran outside with much shouting and commotion, calling all Persians

to aid, telling what they had done and showing the heads; at the same time they killed every Magus that came in their way. [2] The Persians, when they learned what had been done by the seven and how the Magi had tricked them, resolved to follow the example set, and drew their daggers and killed all the Magi they could find; and if nightfall had not stopped them they would not have left one Magus alive. [3] This day is the greatest holy day that all Persians alike keep; they celebrate a great festival on it, which they call the Massacre of the Magi; while the festival lasts no Magus may go outdoors, but during this day the Magi remain in their houses. 80.

After the tumult quieted down, and five days passed, the rebels against the Magi held a council on the whole state of affairs, at which sentiments were uttered which to some Greeks seem incredible, but there is no doubt that they were spoken. [2] Otanes was for turning the government over to the Persian people: "It seems to me," he said, "that there can no longer be a single sovereign over us, for that is not pleasant or good. You saw the insolence of Cambyses, how far it went, and you had your share of the insolence of the Magus. [3] How can monarchy be a fit thing, when the ruler can do what he wants with impunity? Give this power to the best man on earth, and it would stir him to unaccustomed thoughts. Insolence is created in him by the good things to hand, while from birth envy is rooted in man. [4] Acquiring the two he possesses complete evil; for being satiated he does many reckless things, some from insolence, some from envy. And yet an absolute ruler ought to be free of envy, having all good things; but he becomes the opposite of this towards his citizens; he envies the best who thrive and live, and is pleased by the worst of his fellows; and he is the best confidant of slander. [5] Of all men he is the most inconsistent; for if you admire him modestly he is angry that you do not give him excessive attention, but if one gives him excessive attention he is angry because one is a flatter. But I have yet worse to say of him than that; he upsets the ancestral ways and rapes women and kills indiscriminately. [6] But the rule of the multitude has in the first place the loveliest name of all, equality, and does in the second place none of the things that a monarch does. It determines offices by lot, and holds power accountable, and conducts all deliberating publicly. Therefore I give my opinion that we make an

end of monarchy and exalt the multitude, for all things are possible for the majority.”⁸¹

Such was the judgment of Otanes: but Megabyzus urged that they resort to an oligarchy. “I agree,” said he, “with all that Otanes says against the rule of one; but when he tells you to give the power to the multitude, his judgment strays from the best. Nothing is more foolish and violent than a useless mob; [2] for men fleeing the insolence of a tyrant to fall victim to the insolence of the unguided populace is by no means to be tolerated. Whatever the one does, he does with knowledge, but for the other knowledge is impossible; how can they have knowledge who have not learned or seen for themselves what is best, but always rush headlong and drive blindly onward, like a river in flood? [3] Let those like democracy who wish ill to Persia; but let us choose a group of the best men and invest these with the power. For we ourselves shall be among them, and among the best men it is likely that there will be the best counsels.”⁸²

Such was the judgment of Megabyzus. Darius was the third to express his opinion. “It seems to me,” he said, “that Megabyzus speaks well concerning democracy but not concerning oligarchy. For if the three are proposed and all are at their best for the sake of argument, the best democracy and oligarchy and monarchy, I hold that monarchy is by far the most excellent. [2] One could describe nothing better than the rule of the one best man; using the best judgment, he will govern the multitude with perfect wisdom, and best conceal plans made for the defeat of enemies. [3] But in an oligarchy, the desire of many to do the state good service often produces bitter hate among them; for because each one wishes to be first and to make his opinions prevail, violent hate is the outcome, from which comes faction and from faction killing, and from killing it reverts to monarchy, and by this is shown how much better monarchy is. [4] Then again, when the people rule it is impossible that wickedness will not occur; and when wickedness towards the state occurs, hatred does not result among the wicked, but strong alliances; for those that want to do the state harm conspire to do it together. This goes on until one of the people rises to stop such men. He therefore becomes the people’s idol, and being their idol is made their monarch; and thus he also proves that monarchy is best. [5] But

(to conclude the whole matter in one word) tell me, where did freedom come from for us and who gave it, from the people or an oligarchy or a single ruler? I believe, therefore, that we who were liberated through one man should maintain such a government, and, besides this, that we should not alter our ancestral ways that are good; that would not be better.”⁸³

Having to choose between these three options, four of the seven men preferred the last. Then Otanes, whose proposal to give the Persians equality was defeated, spoke thus among them all: [2] “Fellow partisans, it is plain that one of us must be made king (whether by lot, or entrusted with the office by the choice of the Persians, or in some other way), but I shall not compete with you; I desire neither to rule nor to be ruled; but if I waive my claim to be king, I make this condition, that neither I nor any of my descendants shall be subject to any one of you.” [3] To these terms the six others agreed; Otanes took no part in the contest but stood aside; and to this day his house (and no other in Persia) remains free, and is ruled only so far as it is willing to be, so long as it does not transgress Persian law.⁸⁴

The rest of the seven then considered what was the fairest way of making a king; and they decided that if another of the seven than Otanes should gain the royal power, that Otanes and his descendants should receive a yearly gift of Median clothing and everything else that the Persians hold most valuable. The reason for this decision was that it was he who had first planned the matter and assembled the conspirators. [2] For Otanes, then, they choose this particular honor; but with regard to all of them they decreed that any one of the seven should, if he wished, enter the king’s palace unannounced, except when the king was sleeping with a woman; and that the king should be forbidden to take a wife except from the households of the conspirators. [3] As for the making of a king, they decided that he should be elected whose horse, after they were all in their saddles in the suburb of the city, should first be heard to neigh at sunrise.⁸⁵

Now Darius had a clever groom, whose name was Oebares. When the council broke up, Darius said to him: “Oebares, we have resolved to do as follows about the kingship: he shall be elected whose horse, after we are all mounted on our horses in the suburb of the city,

neighs first at sunrise. Now if you have any cunning, figure out how we and no one else can win this prize.” [2] “Master,” Oebares answered, “if this is to determine whether you become king or not, be confident for this reason and have an easy mind, for no one else shall be king before you, such are the tricks I have.” “Then,” said Darius, “if you have any trick such as you say, use it and don’t put it off, for tomorrow is the day of decision.” [3] When Oebares heard that, he did as follows. At nightfall he brought one of the mares which Darius’ horse particularly favored, and tethered her in the suburb of the city; then bringing Darius’ horse, he repeatedly led him near the horse, bumping against the mare, and at last let the horse mount. 86.

At dawn of day the six came on horseback as they had agreed. As they rode out through the suburb and came to the place where the mare had been tethered in the past night, Darius’ horse trotted forward and whinnied; [2] and as he so did there came lightning and thunder out of a clear sky. These signs given to Darius were thought to be foreordained and made his election perfect; his companions leapt from their horses and bowed to him. 87.

Some say that this was Oebares’ plan; but there is another story in Persia besides this: that he rubbed this mare’s vulva with his hand, which he then kept inside his clothing until the six were about to let go their horses at sunrise, when he took his hand out and held it to the nostrils of Darius’ horse, which at once snorted and whinnied. 88.

So Darius son of Hystaspes was made king,^{28*} and the whole of Asia, which Cyrus first and Cambyzes after him had conquered, was subject to him, except the Arabians; these did not yield as of slaves to the Persians, but were united to them by friendship, having given Cambyzes passage into Egypt, which the Persians could not enter without the consent of the Arabians. [2] Darius took wives from the noblest houses of Persia, marrying Cyrus’ daughters Atossa and Artystone; Atossa had been a wife of her brother Cambyzes and afterwards of the Magus; Artystone was a virgin. [3] He also married a daughter of Cyrus’ son Smerdis, whose name was Parmys, and the daughter of Otanes who had discovered the truth about the Magus; and everything was full of his power. First he made and set up a carved stone, upon which was cut the figure of a horseman, with this

inscription: “Darius son of Hystaspes, aided by the excellence of his horse” (here followed the horse’s name) “and of Oebares his groom, got possession of the kingdom of Persia.” 89.

Having done these things in Persia, he divided his dominions into twenty provinces, which they call satrapies;^{29*} and having divided his dominions and appointed governors, he instructed each people to pay him tribute, consolidating neighboring peoples and distributing outlying peoples among different provinces, passing over those adjoining. [2] I will now show how he divided his provinces and the tributes which were paid him yearly. Those that paid in silver were required to render the weight of a Babylonian talent; those that paid in gold, of a Euboic talent; the Babylonian talent being equal to seventy-eight Euboic minae. [3] In the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses after him there was no fixed tribute, but payment was made in gifts. It is because of this fixing of tribute, and other similar ordinances, that the Persians called Darius the merchant, Cambyses the master, and Cyrus the father; for Darius made petty profit out of everything, Cambyses was harsh and arrogant, Cyrus was merciful and always worked for their well-being. 90.

The Ionians, Magnesians of Asia, Aeolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyans, and Pamphylians, on whom Darius laid one joint tribute, paid a revenue of four hundred talents of silver. This was established as his first province. The Mysians, Lydians, Lasonians, Cabalians, and Hytennians paid five hundred talents; this was the second province. [2] The third comprised the Hellespontians on the right of the entrance of the straits, the Phrygians, Thracians of Asia, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, and Syrians; these paid three hundred and sixty talents of tribute. [3] The fourth province was Cilicia. This rendered three hundred and sixty white horses, one for each day in the year, and five hundred talents of silver. A hundred and forty of these were expended on the horsemen who were the guard of Cilicia; the three hundred and sixty that remained were paid to Darius. 91.

The fifth province was the country (except the part belonging to the Arabians, which paid no tribute) between Posideion, a city founded on the Cilician and Syrian border by Amphilochous son of Amphiarus, and Egypt; this paid three hundred and fifty talents; in this province was all Phoenicia, and the part of Syria called Palestine,

and Cyprus. [2] The sixth province was Egypt and the neighboring parts of Libya, and Cyrene and Barca, all of which were included in the province of Egypt. From here came seven hundred talents, besides the income in silver from the fish of the lake Moeris; [3] besides that silver and the assessment of grain that was given also, seven hundred talents were paid; for a hundred and twenty thousand bushels of grain were also assigned to the Persians quartered at the White Wall of Memphis and their allies. [4] The Sattagydae, Gandarii, Dadicae, and Aparytae paid together a hundred and seventy talents; this was the seventh province; the eighth was Susa and the rest of the Cissian country, paying three hundred talents. 92.

From Babylon and the rest of Assyria came to Darius a thousand talents of silver and five hundred castrated boys; this was the ninth province; Ecbatana and the rest of Media, with the Paricanians and Orthocorybantians, paid four hundred and fifty talents, and was the tenth province. [2] The eleventh comprised the Caspii, Pausicae, Pantimathi, and Daritae, paying jointly two hundred; 93.

The twelfth, the Bactrians as far as the land of the Aegli; these paid three hundred and sixty. The thirteenth, the Pactyic country and Armenia and the lands adjoining as far as the Euxine sea; these paid four hundred. [2] The fourteenth province was made up of the Sagartii, Sarangeis, Thamanaei, Utii, Myci, and the inhabitants of those islands of the southern sea on which the king settles the so-called displaced people;^{30*} these together paid a tribute of six hundred talents. [3] The Sacae and Caspii were the fifteenth, paying two hundred and fifty. The Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdi, and Arii were the sixteenth, paying three hundred. 94.

The Paricanii and Ethiopians of Asia, the seventeenth, paid four hundred; the Matieni, Saspiri, and Alarodii were the eighteenth, and two hundred talents were the appointed tribute. [2] The Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mossynoeci, and Mares, the nineteenth province, were ordered to pay three hundred. The Indians made up the twentieth province. These are more in number than any nation of which we know, and they paid a greater tribute than any other province, namely three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust. 95.

Now if these Babylonian silver talents be calculated in Euboic money, the sum is seen to be nine thousand eight hundred and eighty

Euboic talents: [2] and the gold coin being thirteen times the value of the silver, the gold-dust is found to be worth four thousand six hundred and eighty Euboic talents. Therefore it is seen by adding all together that Darius collected a yearly tribute of fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty talents; I take no account of figures less than ten. 96.

This was Darius' revenue from Asia and a few parts of Libya. But as time went on he drew tribute also from the islands and the dwellers in Europe, as far as Thessaly. [2] The tribute is stored by the king in this fashion: he melts it down and pours it into earthen vessels; when the vessel is full he breaks the earthenware away, and when he needs money coins as much as serves his purpose. 97.

These were the governments and appointments of tribute. The Persian country is the only one which I have not recorded as tributary; for the Persians live free from all taxes. [2] As for those on whom no tribute was laid, but who rendered gifts instead, they were, firstly, the Ethiopians nearest to Egypt, whom Cambyses conquered in his march towards the long-lived Ethiopians; and also those who dwell about the holy Nysa,^{31*} where Dionysus is the god of their festivals. These Ethiopians and their neighbors use the same seed as the Indian Callantiae, and they live underground. [3] These together brought every other year and still bring a gift of two choenixes^{32*} of unrefined gold, two hundred blocks of ebony, five Ethiopian boys, and twenty great elephants' tusks. [4] Gifts were also required of the Colchians and their neighbors as far as the Caucasus mountains (which is as far as the Persian rule reaches, the country north of the Caucasus paying no regard to the Persians); these were rendered every four years and are still rendered, namely, a hundred boys and as many maids. [5] The Arabians rendered a thousand talents' weight of frankincense yearly. Such were the gifts of these peoples to the king, besides the tribute. 98.

All this abundance of gold, from which the Indians send the aforementioned gold-dust to the king, they obtain in the following way. [2] To the east of the Indian country is sand. Of all the people of Asia whom we know - even those about whom something is said with precision - the Indians dwell nearest to the dawn and the rising sun; for on the eastern side of India all is desolate because of the

sand. [3] There are many Indian nations, none speaking the same language; some of them are nomads, some not; some dwell in the river marshes and live on raw fish, which they catch from reed boats. Each boat is made of one joint of reed.^{33*} [4] These Indians wear clothes of bullrushes; they mow and cut these from the river, then weave them crosswise like a mat, and wear them like a breastplate. 99.

Other Indians, to the east of these, are nomads and eat raw flesh; they are called Padaei. It is said to be their custom that when anyone of their fellows, whether man or woman, is sick, a man's closest friends kill him, saying that if wasted by disease he will be lost to them as meat; though he denies that he is sick, they will not believe him, but kill and eat him. [2] When a woman is sick, she is put to death like the men by the women who are her close acquaintances. As for one that has come to old age, they sacrifice him and feast on his flesh; but not many reach this reckoning, for before that everyone who falls ill they kill. 100.

There are other Indians, again, who kill no living creature, nor plant anything, nor are accustomed to have houses; they eat grass, and they have a grain growing naturally from the earth in its husk, about the size of a millet-seed, which they gather with the husk and boil and eat. When any one of them falls sick, he goes into the desert and lies there, and no one notices whether he is sick or dies. 101.

These Indians whom I have described have intercourse openly like cattle; they are all black-skinned, like the Ethiopians. [2] Their semen too, which they ejaculate into the women, is not white like other men's, but black like their skin, and resembles in this respect that of the Ethiopians. These Indians dwell far away from the Persians southwards, and were not subjects of King Darius. 102.

Other Indians dwell near the town of Caspatyrus and the Pactyic country,^{34*} north of the rest of India; these live like the Bactrians; they are of all Indians the most warlike, and it is they who are sent for the gold; for in these parts all is desolate because of the sand. [2] In this sandy desert are ants,^{35*} not as big as dogs but bigger than foxes; the Persian king has some of these, which have been caught there. These ants live underground, digging out the sand in the same way as the ants in Greece, to which they are very similar in shape, and the sand which they carry from the holes is full of gold. [3] It is

for this sand that the Indians set forth into the desert. They harness three camels apiece, males on either side sharing the drawing, and a female in the middle: the man himself rides on the female, that when harnessed has been taken away from as young an offspring as may be. Their camels are as swift as horses, and much better able to bear burdens besides. 103.

I do not describe the camel's appearance to Greeks, for they know it; but I shall tell them something that they do not know concerning it: the hindlegs of the camel have four thighbones and four knee-joints; its genitals are turned towards the tail between the hindlegs. 104.

Thus and with teams so harnessed the Indians ride after the gold, being careful to be engaged in taking it when the heat is greatest; for the ants are then out of sight underground. [2] Now in these parts the sun is hottest in the morning, not at midday as elsewhere, but from sunrise to the hour of market-closing. Through these hours it is much hotter than in Hellas at noon, so that men are said to sprinkle themselves with water at this time. [3] At midday the sun's heat is nearly the same in India as elsewhere. As it goes to afternoon, the sun of India has the power of the morning sun in other lands; as day declines it becomes ever cooler, until at sunset it is exceedingly cold. 105.

So when the Indians come to the place with their sacks, they fill these with the sand and drive back as fast as possible; for the ants at once scent them out, the Persians say, and give chase. They say nothing is equal to them for speed, so that unless the Indians have a headstart while the ants were gathering, not one of them would get away. [2] They cut loose the male trace-camels, which are slower than the females, as they begin to lag, one at a time; the mares never tire, for they remember the young that they have left. Such is the tale. Most of the gold (say the Persians) is got in this way by the Indians; they dig some from mines in their country, too, but it is less abundant. 106.

The most outlying nations of the world have somehow drawn the finest things as their lot, exactly as Greece has drawn the possession of far the best seasons. [2] As I have lately said, India lies at the world's most distant eastern limit; and in India all living creatures

four-footed and flying are much bigger than those of other lands, except the horses, which are smaller than the Median horses called Nesaeon; moreover, the gold there, whether dug from the earth or brought down by rivers or got as I have described, is very abundant. [3] There, too, wool more beautiful and excellent than the wool of sheep grows on wild trees; these trees supply the Indians with clothing. 107.

Again, Arabia is the most distant to the south of all inhabited countries: and this is the only country which produces frankincense and myrrh and casia and cinnamon and gum-mastich. All these except myrrh are difficult for the Arabians to get. [2] They gather frankincense by burning that storax^{36*} which Phoenicians carry to Hellas; they burn this and so get the frankincense; for the spice-bearing trees are guarded by small winged snakes of varied color, many around each tree; these are the snakes that attack Egypt. Nothing except the smoke of storax will drive them away from the trees. 108.

The Arabians also say that the whole country would be full of these snakes if the same thing did not occur among them that I believe occurs among vipers. [2] Somehow the forethought of God (just as is reasonable) being wise has made all creatures prolific that are timid and edible, so that they do not become extinct through being eaten, whereas few young are born to hardy and vexatious creatures. [3] On the one hand, because the hare is hunted by every beast and bird and man, therefore it is quite prolific; alone of all creatures it conceives during pregnancy; some of the unborn young are hairy, some still naked, some are still forming in the womb while others are just conceived. [4] On the one hand there is this sort of thing, but on the other hand the lioness, that is so powerful and so bold, once in her life bears one cub; for in the act of bearing she casts her uterus out with her cub. The explanation of this is that when the cub first begins to stir in the mother, its claws, much sharper than those of any other creature, tear the uterus, and the more it grows the more it scratches and tears, so that when the hour of birth is near seldom is any of the uterus left intact. 109.

So too if the vipers and the winged serpents of Arabia were born in the natural manner of serpents life would be impossible for men;

but as it is, when they copulate, while the male is in the act of procreation and as soon as he has ejaculated his seed, the female seizes him by the neck, and does not let go until she has bitten through. [2] The male dies in the way described, but the female suffers in return for the male the following punishment: avenging their father, the young while they are still within the womb gnaw at their mother and eating through her bowels thus make their way out. [3] Other snakes, that do no harm to men, lay eggs and hatch out a vast number of young. The Arabian winged serpents do indeed seem to be numerous; but that is because (although there are vipers in every land) these are all in Arabia and are found nowhere else. 110.

The Arabians get frankincense in the foregoing way, and casia in the following way: when they go after it they bind oxhides and other skins all over their bodies and faces except for the eyes. Casia grows in a shallow lake; around this and in it live winged creatures, very like bats, that squeak similarly and make a fierce resistance; these have to be kept away from the eyes in order to take the casia. 111.

As for cinnamon, they gather it in an even stranger way. Where it comes from and what land produces it they cannot say, except that it is reported, reasonably enough, to grow in the places where Dionysus was reared. [2] There are great birds, it is said, that take these dry sticks which we have learned from the Phoenicians to call cinnamon and carry them off to nests stuck with mud to precipitous cliffs, where man has no means of approach. [3] The Arabian solution to this is to cut dead oxen and asses and other beasts of burden into the largest possible pieces, then to set these near the eyries and withdraw far off. The birds then fly down (it is said) and carry the pieces of the beasts up to their nests, while these, not being able to bear the weight, break and fall down the mountain side, and then the Arabians come and gather them up. Thus is cinnamon said to be gathered, and so to come from Arabia to other lands. 112.

But ledanon, which the Arabians call ladanon, is produced yet more strangely than this. For it is the most fragrant thing produced in the most malodorous; for it is found in he-goats' beards, forming in them like gum among timber. This is used in the manufacture of many perfumes; there is nothing that the Arabians burn so often as incense. 113.

Enough of marvels, and yet the land of Arabia gives off a scent as sweet as if divine. They have besides two marvellous kinds of sheep, found nowhere else. One of these has tails no less than nine feet long. Were the sheep to trail these after them they would suffer by the chafing of the tails on the ground; [2] but every shepherd there knows enough of carpentry to make little carts which they fix under the tails, binding the tail of each sheep on its own cart. The other kind of sheep has a tail a full three feet broad. 114.

Where south inclines westwards, the part of the world stretching farthest towards the sunset is Ethiopia; this produces gold in abundance, and huge elephants, and all sorts of wild trees, and ebony, and the tallest and handsomest and longest-lived people. 115.

These then are the most distant lands in Asia and Libya. But concerning those in Europe that are the farthest away towards evening, I cannot speak with assurance; for I do not believe that there is a river called by foreigners Eridanus issuing into the northern sea, where our amber is said to come from, nor do I have any knowledge of Tin Islands, where our tin is brought from. [2] The very name Eridanus betrays itself as not a foreign but a Greek name, invented by some poet; nor for all my diligence have I been able to learn from one who has seen it that there is a sea beyond Europe. All we know is that our tin and amber come from the most distant parts. 116.

But in the north of Europe there is by far the most gold. In this matter again I cannot say with assurance how the gold is produced, but it is said that one-eyed men called Arimaspians steal it from griffins. [2] But I do not believe this, that there are one-eyed men who have a nature otherwise the same as other men. [3] The most outlying lands, though, as they enclose and wholly surround all the rest of the world, are likely to have those things which we think the finest and the rarest. 117.

There is a plain in Asia shut in on all sides by mountains through which there are five passes.^{37*} This plain was once the Chorasmians', being at the boundaries of the Chorasmians, the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangians, and Thamanaei, but since the Persians have held power it has been the king's. [2] Now from the encircling mountains flows a great river whose name is the Aces. Its stream divides into five channels and formerly watered the lands of the

above-mentioned peoples, going to each through a different pass, but since the beginning of the Persian rule [3] the king has blocked the mountain passes, and closed each passage with a gate; with the water barred from outlet, the plain within the mountains becomes a lake, seeing that the river pours into it and finds no way out. [4] Those therefore who before were accustomed to use the water endure great hardship in not being able to use it; for during the winter, god rains for them just as for the rest of mankind, but in the summer they are in need of the water for their sown millet and sesame. [5] So whenever no water is given to them, they come into Persia with their women, and cry and howl before the door of the king's palace, until the king commands that the river-gate should be opened for those whose need is greatest; [6] then, when this land has drunk its fill of water, that gate is shut, and the king has another opened for those of the rest who most require it. I know by hearsay that he gets a lot of money, over and above the tribute, for opening the gates. So much for these matters. 118.

Of the seven men who revolted against the Magus, one, Intaphrenes, got his death through his own violence immediately after the rebellion. He wanted to enter the palace and speak with the king; and in fact the law was, that the rebels against the Magus could come into the king's presence unannounced, if the king were not having intercourse with one of his wives. [2] Intaphrenes, as one of the seven, claimed his right to enter unannounced; but the gatekeeper and the messenger forbade him, telling him that the king was having intercourse with one of his wives. Intaphrenes thought that they were lying; drawing his scimitar he cut off their noses and ears, then strung these on his horse's bridle and hung it around the men's necks, and so let them go. 119.

They showed themselves to the king and told him why they had been treated so. Darius, fearing that the six had done this by common consent, sent for each and asked his opinion, whether they approved what had been done; [2] and being assured that they had no part in it, he seized Intaphrenes with his sons and all his household — for he strongly suspected that the man was plotting a rebellion with his kinsmen — and imprisoned them with the intention of putting them to death. [3] Then Intaphrenes' wife began coming to the palace gates,

weeping and lamenting; and by continuing to do this same thing she persuaded Darius to pity her; and he sent a messenger to tell her, “Woman, King Darius will allow one of your imprisoned relatives to survive, whomever you prefer of them all.” [4] After considering she answered, “If indeed the king gives me the life of one, I chose from them all my brother.” [5] Darius was astonished when he heard her answer, and sent someone who asked her: “Woman, the king asks you with what in mind you abandon your husband and your children and choose to save the life of your brother, who is less close to you than your children and less dear than your husband?” [6] “O King,” she answered, “I may have another husband, if a god is willing, and other children, if I lose these; but since my father and mother are no longer living, there is no way that I can have another brother; I said what I did with that in mind.” [7] Darius thought that the woman answered well, and for her sake he released the one for whom she had asked, and the eldest of her sons as well; he put to death all the rest. Thus immediately perished one of the seven. 120.

While Cambyses was still ill, the following events occurred. The governor of Sardis appointed by Cyrus was Oroetes, a Persian. This man had an impious desire; for although he had not been injured or spoken badly of by Polycrates of Samos, and had in fact never even seen him before, he desired to seize and kill him, for the following reason, most people say. [2] As Oroetes and another Persian whose name was Mitrobates, governor of the province at Dascyleium, sat at the king’s doors, they fell from talking to quarreling; and as they compared their achievements Mitrobates said to Oroetes, [3] “You are not to be reckoned a man; the island of Samos lies close to your province, yet you have not added it to the king’s dominion — an island so easy to conquer that some native of it revolted against his rulers with fifteen hoplites, and is now lord of it.”^{38*} [4] Some say that Oroetes, angered by this reproach, did not so much desire to punish the source of it as to destroy Polycrates utterly, the occasion of the reproach. 121.

A few people, however, say that when Oroetes sent a herald to Samos with some request (it is not said what this was), the herald found Polycrates lying in the men’s apartments, in the company of Anacreon of Teos; [2] and, whether on purpose to show contempt for

Oroetes, or by mere chance, when Oroetes' herald entered and addressed him, Polycrates, then lying with his face to the wall, never turned or answered him. ¹²².

These are the two reasons alleged for Polycrates' death; believe whichever you like. But the consequence was that Oroetes, then at Magnesia which is above the river Maeander, sent Myrsus son of Gyges, a Lydian, with a message to Samos, having learned Polycrates' intention; [2] for Polycrates was the first of the Greeks whom we know to aim at the mastery of the sea, leaving out of account Minos of Cnossus and any others who before him may have ruled the sea; of what may be called the human race Polycrates was the first, and he had great hope of ruling Ionia and the Islands. [3] Learning then that he had this intention, Oroetes sent him this message: "Oroetes addresses Polycrates as follows: I find that you aim at great things, but that you have not sufficient money for your purpose. Do then as I direct, and you will succeed yourself and will save me. King Cambyses aims at my death; of this I have clear intelligence. [4] Now if you will transport me and my money, you may take some yourself and let me keep the rest; thus you shall have wealth enough to rule all Hellas. If you mistrust what I tell you about the money, send someone who is most trusted by you and I will prove it to him." ¹²³.

Hearing this, Polycrates was pleased and willing; and since he had a great desire for money he first sent one of his townsmen, Maeandrius, son of Maeandrius, to have a look; this man was his scribe; it was he who not long afterwards dedicated in the Heraeum all the splendid furnishings of the men's apartment in Polycrates' house. [2] When Oroetes heard that an inspection was imminent, he filled eight chests with stones, leaving only a very shallow space at the top; then he laid gold on top of the stones, locked the chests, and kept them ready. Maeandrius came and saw, and brought word back to his master. 124.

Polycrates then prepared to visit Oroetes, despite the strong dissuasion of his diviners and friends, and a vision seen by his daughter in a dream; she dreamt that she saw her father in the air overhead being washed by Zeus and anointed by Helios; [2] after this vision she used all means to persuade him not to go on this journey to Oroetes; even as he went to his fifty-oared ship she prophesied evil for him. When Polycrates threatened her that if he came back safe, she would long remain unmarried, she answered with a prayer that his threat might be fulfilled: for she would rather, she said, long remain unmarried than lose her father. 125.

But Polycrates would listen to no advice. He sailed to meet Oroetes, with a great retinue of followers, among whom was Democedes, son of Calliphon, a man of Croton and the most skillful physician of his time. [2] But no sooner had Polycrates come to Magnesia than he was horribly murdered in a way unworthy of him and of his aims; for, except for the sovereigns of Syracuse, no sovereign of Greek race is fit to be compared with Polycrates for magnificence. [3] Having killed him in some way not fit to be told, Oroetes then crucified him; as for those who had accompanied him, he let the Samians go, telling them to thank him that they were free; those who were not Samians, or were servants of Polycrates' followers, he kept for slaves. [4] And Polycrates hanging in the air fulfilled his daughter's vision in every detail; for he was washed by Zeus when it rained, and he was anointed by Helios as he exuded sweat from his body. 126.

This was the end of Polycrates' string of successes [as Amasis

king of Egypt had forewarned him]. But not long after, atonement for Polycrates overtook Oroetes. After the death of Cambyses and the rule of the Magi, Oroetes stayed in Sardis, where he did not help the Persians in any way to regain the power taken from them by the Medes, [2] but, to the contrary, in this confusion killed two prominent Persians, Mitrobates, the governor from Dascyleium, who had taunted him about Polycrates, and Mitrobates' son Cranaspes; and on top of many other violent acts, he set an ambush down the road after a messenger from Darius came with a message which displeased him and killed that messenger on his homeward journey, and concealed the man's body and horse. 127.

So when Darius became king, he wanted to punish Oroetes for all his wrongdoing, and especially for killing Mitrobates and his son. But he thought it best not to send an army openly against the satrap, seeing that everything was still in confusion and he was still new to the royal power; moreover he heard that Oroetes was very powerful, having a guard of a thousand Persian spearmen and being governor of the Phrygian and Lydian and Ionian province. [2] He had recourse, then, to the following expedient: having summoned an assembly of the most prominent Persians, he addressed them as follows: "Persians, which of you will promise to do this for me, not with force and numbers, but by cunning? Where there is need for cunning, force has no business. [3] So then, which of you would either bring me Oroetes alive or kill him? For he has done the Persians no good, but much harm; he has destroyed two of us, Mitrobates and his son, and is killing my messengers that are sent to recall him, displaying an insolence that is not to be borne. So, then, before he does the Persians some still greater harm, he has to be punished by us with death." 128.

Darius asked this and thirty men promised, each wanting to do it himself. Darius told them not argue but draw lots; they did, and the lot fell to Bagaeus, son of Artontes. [2] Bagaeus, having drawn the lot, did as follows: he had many letters written concerning many things and put the seal of Darius on them, and then went with them to Sardis. [3] When he got there and came into Oroetes' presence, he took out each letter in turn and gave it to one of the royal scribes to read (all of the governors of the King have scribes); Bagaeus gave

the letters to test the spearmen, whether they would consent to revolt against Oroetes. [4] Seeing that they were greatly affected by the rolls and yet more by what was written in them, he gave another, in which were these words: "Persians! King Darius forbids you to be Oroetes' guard." Hearing this, they lowered their spears for him. [5] When Bagaeus saw that they obeyed the letter so far, he was encouraged and gave the last roll to the scribe, in which was written: "King Darius instructs the Persians in Sardis to kill Oroetes." Hearing this the spearmen drew their scimitars and killed him at once. Thus atonement for Polycrates the Samian overtook Oroetes the Persian. 129.

Oroetes' slaves and other possessions were brought to Susa. Not long after this, it happened that Darius twisted his foot in dismounting from his horse while hunting [2] so violently that the ball of the ankle joint was dislocated from its socket. Darius called in the best physicians of Egypt, whom he had until now kept near his person. But by violently twisting the foot they made the injury worse; [3] and for seven days and nights the king could not sleep because of the pain. On the eighth day, when he was doing poorly, someone who had heard in Sardis of the skill of Democedes of Croton told Darius of him; and he told them to bring him as quickly as possible. When they found him among the slaves of Oroetes, where he was forgotten, they brought him along, dragging his chains and dressed in rags. 130.

Darius asked him when he was brought in if he were trained in medicine. He refused to admit it, for he was afraid that if he revealed himself he would be cut off from Hellas for good. [2] It was clear to Darius, however, that he was trained in deceit,^{39*} and he ordered those who had brought him to bring along scourges and goads. Then he confessed, saying that his training was not exact, but that he had associated with a physician and had a passing acquaintance with medicine. [3] But when Darius turned the case over to him and Democedes applied Greek remedies and used gentleness instead of the Egyptians' violence, he enabled him to sleep and in a short time had him well, although Darius had had no hope of regaining the use of his foot. [4] After this, Darius rewarded him with a gift of two pairs of golden fetters. "Is it your purpose," Democedes asked, "to double

my pains for making you well?" Pleased by the retort, Darius sent him to his own wives. The eunuchs who conducted him told the women that this was the man who had given the king his life back. [5] Each of them took a bowl and dipped it in a chest full of gold, so richly rewarding Democedes that the servant accompanying him, whose name was Sciton, collected a very great sum of gold by picking up the staters that fell from the bowls. 131.

Now this is how Democedes had come from Croton to live with Polycrates: he was oppressed by a harsh-tempered father at Croton; since he could not stand him, he left him and went to Aegina. Within the first year after settling there, he excelled the rest of the physicians, although he had no equipment nor any medical implements. [2] In his second year the Aeginetans^{40*} paid him a talent to be their public physician; in the third year the Athenians hired him for a hundred minae, and Polycrates in the fourth year for two talents. Thus he came to Samos, and not least because of this man the physicians of Croton were well-respected [3] for at this time the best physicians in Greek countries were those of Croton, and next to them those of Cyrene. About the same time the Argives had the name of being the best musicians]. 132.

So now because he had healed Darius at Susa Democedes had a very grand house and ate at the king's table; he had everything, except permission to return to the Greeks. [2] When the Egyptian physicians who until now had attended the king were about to be impaled for being less skilful than a Greek, Democedes interceded with the king for them and saved them; and he saved an Elean seer, too, who had been a retainer of Polycrates' and was forgotten among the slaves. Democedes was a man of considerable influence with the King. 133.

A short time after this, something else occurred; there was a swelling on the breast of Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus and wife of Darius, which broke and spread further. As long as it was small, she hid it out of shame and told no one; but when it got bad, she sent for Democedes and showed it to him. [2] He said he would cure her, but made her swear that she would repay him by granting whatever he asked of her, and said that he would ask nothing shameful. 134.

And after he treated her and did cure her, Atossa addressed Darius

in their chamber as she had been instructed by Democedes: "O King, although you have so much power you are idle, acquiring no additional people or power for the Persians. [2] The right thing for a man who is both young and the master of great wealth is to be seen aggrandizing himself, so that the Persians know too that they are ruled by a man. On two counts it is in your interest to do this, both so that the Persians know that their leader is a man, and so that they be occupied by war and not have time to plot against you. [3] You should show some industry now, while you are still young: for sense grows with the growing body, but grows old too with the aging body and loses its edge for all purposes." [4] She said this as instructed, but he replied with this: "Woman, what you have said is exactly what I had in mind to do. For I have planned to make a bridge from this continent to the other continent and lead an army against the Scythians; and this will be done in a short time." [5] "Look," Atossa said, "let the Scythians go for the present; you shall have them whenever you like; I tell you, march against Hellas. I have heard of Laconian and Argive and Attic and Corinthian women, and would like to have them as servants. You have a man who is fitter than any other to instruct and guide you in everything concerning Hellas: I mean the physician who healed your foot." [6] Darius answered, "Woman, since you think that we should make an attempt on Greece first, it seems to me to be best that we first send Persian spies with the man whom you mention, who shall tell us everything that they learn and observe; and then when I am fully informed I shall rouse myself against them." 135.

He said this, and no sooner said than did it. For the next day at dawn he summoned fifteen prominent Persians, and instructed them to go with Democedes and sail along the coast of Hellas; telling them, too, by all means to bring the physician back and not let him escape. [2] Having given these instructions to them, he then sent for Democedes, and asked of him that when he had shown and made clear all of Greece to the Persians, he would come back; and he told him to take all his movable goods to give to his father and siblings, saying that he would give him many times as much in return and would send with him a ship with a cargo of all good things. [3] Darius, I think, made this promise without a treacherous intent, but

Democedes was afraid that Darius was testing him; therefore he was in no hurry to accept all that was offered, but answered that he would leave his own possessions where they were, so as to have them when he returned; the ship which Darius promised him to carry the gifts for his siblings, he said he would accept. Having given the same instructions to Democedes too, Darius sent them all to the coast. 136.

They came down to the city of Sidon in Phoenicia, and there chartered two triremes, as well as a great galley laden with all good things; and when everything was ready they set sail for Hellas, where they surveyed and mapped the coasts to which they came; until having viewed the greater and most famous parts they reached Tarentum in Italy. [2] There Aristophilides, king of the Tarentines, out of sympathy for Democedes, took the steering gear off the Median ships and put the Persians under a guard, calling them spies. While they were in this plight, Democedes made his way to Croton; and Aristophilides did not set the Persians free and give them back what he had taken from their ships until the physician was in his own country. 137.

The Persians sailed from Tarentum and pursued Democedes to Croton, where they found him in the marketplace and tried to seize him. [2] Some Crotoniats, who feared the Persian power, would have given him up; but others resisted and beat the Persians with their sticks. "Men of Croton, watch what you do," said the Persians; "you are harboring an escaped slave of the King's. [3] How do you think King Darius will like this insolence? What good will it do you if he gets away from us? What city will we attack first here? Which will we try to enslave first?" [4] But the men of Croton paid no attention to them; so the Persians lost Democedes and the galley with which they had come, and sailed back for Asia, making no attempt to visit and learn of the further parts of Hellas now that their guide was taken from them. [5] But Democedes gave them a message as they were setting sail; they should tell Darius, he said, that Democedes was engaged to the daughter of Milon. For Darius held the name of Milon the wrestler in great honor; and, to my thinking, Democedes sought this match and paid a great sum for it to show Darius that he was a man of influence in his own country as well as in Persia. 138.

The Persians then put out from Croton; but their ships were

wrecked on the coast of Iapygia, and they were made slaves in the country until Gillus, an exile from Tarentum, released and restored them to Darius, who was ready to give him whatever he wanted in return. [2] Gillus chose to be restored to Tarentum and told the story of his misfortune; but, so as not to be the occasion of agitating Greece, if on his account a great expedition sailed against Italy, he said that it was enough that the Cnidians alone be his escort; for he supposed that the Tarentines would be the readier to receive him back as the Cnidians were their friends. [3] Darius kept his word, and sent a messenger to the men of Cnidos, telling them to take Gillus back to Tarentum. They obeyed Darius; but they could not persuade the Tarentines, and were not able to apply force. [4] This is what happened, and these Persians were the first who came from Asia into Hellas, and they came to view the country for this reason. 139.

After this, King Darius conquered Samos, the greatest of all city states, Greek or barbarian, the reason for his conquest being this: when Cambyses, son of Cyrus, invaded Egypt, many Greeks came with the army, some to trade, as was natural, and some to see the country itself; among them was Syloson, son of Aeaces, who was Polycrates' brother and in exile from Samos. [2] This Syloson had a stroke of good luck. He was in the market at Memphis wearing a red cloak, when Darius, at that time one of Cambyses' guard and as yet a man of no great importance, saw him, and coveting the cloak came and tried to buy it. [3] When Syloson saw Darius' eagerness, by good luck he said, "I will not sell this for any money, but I give it to you free if you must have it so much." Extolling this, Darius accepted the garment. 140.

Syloson supposed that he had lost his cloak out of foolish good nature. But in time Cambyses died, the seven rebelled against the Magus, and Darius of the seven came to the throne; Syloson then learned that the successor to the royal power was the man to whom he had given the garment in Egypt; so he went up to Susa and sat in the king's antechamber, saying that he was one of Darius' benefactors. [2] When the doorkeeper brought word of this to the king, Darius asked "But to what Greek benefactor can I owe thanks? In the little time since I have been king hardly one of that nation has come to us, and I have, I may say, no use for any Greek.

Nevertheless bring him in, so that I may know what he means.” [3] The doorkeeper brought Syloson in and the interpreters asked him as he stood there who he was and what he had done to call himself the king’s benefactor. Then Syloson told the story of the cloak, and said that it was he who had given it. [4] “Most generous man,” said Darius, “it was you who gave me a present when I had as yet no power; and if it was a small one, I was none the less grateful then than I am now when I get a big one. In return, I give you gold and silver in abundance so you may never be sorry that you did Darius son of Hystaspes good.” [5] Syloson answered, “Do not give me gold, O king, or silver, but Samos, my country, which our slave has now that my brother Polycrates has been killed by Oroetes; give me this without killing or enslaving.” 141.

Having heard this, Darius sent an army and Otanes, one of the seven, to command it, instructing him to do whatever Syloson asked. So Otanes went down to the coast and got his army ready. 142.

Now Samos was ruled by Maeandrius, son of Maeandrius, who had authority delegated by Polycrates. He wanted to be the justest of men, but that was impossible. [2] For when he learned of Polycrates’ death, first he set up an altar to Zeus the Liberator and marked out around it that sacred enclosure which is still to be seen in the suburb of the city; when this had been done, he called an assembly of all the citizens, and addressed them thus: [3] “To me, as you know, have come Polycrates’ scepter and all of his power, and it is in my power now to rule you. But I, so far as it lies in me, shall not do myself what I blame in my neighbor. I always disliked it that Polycrates or any other man should lord it over men like himself. Polycrates has fulfilled his destiny, and inviting you to share his power I proclaim equality. [4] Only I claim for my own privilege that six talents of Polycrates’ wealth be set apart for my use, and that I and my descendants keep the priesthood of Zeus the Liberator, whose temple I have founded, and now I give you freedom.” [5] Such was Maeandrius’ promise to the Samians. But one of them arose and answered: “But you are not even fit to rule us, low-born and vermin, but you had better give an account of the monies that you have handled.” 143.

This was the speech of Telesarchus, a man of consequence among

the citizens. But Maeandrius, realizing that if he let go of the sovereignty someone else would make himself sovereign instead, resolved not to let it go. Withdrawing into the acropolis, he sent for the citizens individually as if he would give an account of the money; then he seized and bound them. [2] So they were imprisoned, and afterwards Maeandrius fell sick. His brother Lycaretus thought him likely to die, and, so that he might the more easily make himself master of Samos, he put all the prisoners to death. They had, it would seem, no desire to be free. 144.

So when the Persians brought Syloson back to Samos, no one raised a hand against them, but Maeandrius and those of his faction offered to evacuate the island under a flag of truce; Otanes agreed to this, and after the treaty was made, the Persians of highest rank sat down on seats facing the acropolis. 145.

Now Maeandrius the sovereign had a crazy brother named Charilaus, who lay bound in the dungeon for some offense; this man heard what was going on, and by peering through the dungeon window saw the Persians sitting there peaceably; [2] whereupon he cried with a loud voice that he wanted to talk to Maeandrius. His brother, hearing him, had Charilaus loosed and brought before him. No sooner had he been brought than he attempted with reviling and abuse to persuade Maeandrius to attack the Persians. "Although I am your brother, you coward," he said, "and did no wrong deserving of prison, you have bound and imprisoned me; but when you see the Persians throwing you out of house and home, you have no courage to avenge yourself, though you could so easily beat them? [3] If you are yourself afraid of them, give me your foreign guards, and I will punish them for coming here; as for you, I will give you safe conduct out of the island." 146.

This was what Charilaus said; and Maeandrius took his advice, to my thinking not because he was so foolish as to suppose that he would be strong enough to defeat the king, but because he did not want Syloson to recover Samos safe and sound with no trouble. [2] He wanted therefore by provoking the Persians to weaken Samos as much as he could before surrendering it, for he was well aware that if the Persians were hurt they would be furiously angry with the Samians. Besides, he knew that he could get himself safely off the

island whenever he liked, having built a secret passage leading from the acropolis to the sea. [3] Maeandrius then set sail from Samos; but Charilaus armed all the guards, opened the acropolis' gates, and attacked the Persians. These supposed that a full agreement had been made, and were taken unawares; the guard fell upon them and killed the Persians of highest rank, those who were carried in litters. [4] They were engaged in this when the rest of the Persian force came up in reinforcement, and, hard-pressed, the guards retreated into the acropolis. 147.

The Persian captain Otanes, seeing how big a loss the Persians had suffered, deliberately forgot the command given him at his departure by Darius not to kill or enslave any Samian but to deliver the island intact to Syloson; and he commanded his army to kill everyone they took, men and boys alike. [2] Then, while some of the Persians laid siege to the acropolis, the rest killed everyone they met, inside the temples and outside the temples alike. 148.

Maeandrius sailed to Lacedaemon, escaping from Samos; and after he arrived there and brought up the possessions with which he had left his country, it became his habit to make a display of silver and gold drinking cups; while his servants were cleaning these, he would converse with the king of Sparta, Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides, and would bring him to his house. As Cleomenes marvelled greatly at the cups whenever he saw them, Maeandrius would tell him to take as many as he liked. [2] Maeandrius made this offer two or three times; Cleomenes showed his great integrity in that he would not accept; but realizing that there were others in Lacedaemon from whom Maeandrius would get help by offering them the cups, he went to the ephors and told them it would be best for Sparta if this Samian stranger quit the country, lest he persuade Cleomenes himself or some other Spartan to do evil. The ephors listened to his advice and banished Maeandrius by proclamation. 149.

As for Samos, the Persians swept it clear and turned it over uninhabited to Syloson. But afterwards Otanes, the Persian general, helped to settle the land, prompted by a dream and a disease that he contracted in his genitals. 150.

While the fleet was away at Samos, the Babylonians revolted.^{41*} They had made very good preparation; for during the reign of the

Magus, and the rebellion of the seven, they had taken advantage of the time and the confusion to provision themselves against the siege; and (I cannot tell how) this went undetected. [2] At last they revolted openly and did this: — sending away all the mothers, each chose one woman, whomever he liked of his domestics, as a bread-maker; as for the rest, they gathered them together and strangled them so they would not consume their bread. 151.

When Darius heard of this, he collected all his forces and led them against Babylon, and he marched up to the town and laid siege to it; but the Babylonians thought nothing of the siege. They came up on to the ramparts of the wall and taunted Darius and his army with gesture and word, and one of them uttered this mot: [2] “Why loiter there, Persians, and not go away? You will take us when mules give birth.” One of the Babylonians said this, by no means expecting that a mule would give birth. 152.

A year and seven months passed, and Darius and his whole army were bitter because they could not take Babylon. Yet Darius had used every trick and every device against it. He tried the stratagem by which Cyrus took it, and every other stratagem and device, yet with no success; for the Babylonians kept a vigilant watch, and he could not take them. 153.

But in the twentieth month of the siege a marvellous thing befell Zopyrus, son of that Megabyzus who was one of the seven destroyers of the Magus: one of his food-carrying mules gave birth. Zopyrus would not believe the news; but when he saw the foal for himself, he told those who had seen it to tell no one; [2] then reflecting he recalled the Babylonian’s word at the beginning of the siege — that the city would be taken when mules gave birth — and having this utterance in mind he conceived that Babylon might be taken; for the hand of heaven, he supposed, was in the man’s word and the birth from his own mule. 154.

As soon as he thought that it was Babylon’s fate to fall, he came and inquired of Darius if taking Babylon were very important to him; and when he was assured that it was, he then cast about for a plan by which the city’s fall would be accomplished by him alone; for good service among the Persians is very much esteemed, and rewarded by high preferment. [2] He could think of no other way to bring the city

down than to mutilate himself and then desert to the Babylonians; so, making light of it, he mutilated himself beyond repair, and after cutting off his nose and ears and cropping his hair as a disfigurement and scourging himself, he came before Darius. ¹⁵⁵

The king reacted very violently to seeing a man so well-respected mutilated, and springing from the throne he uttered a cry and asked Zopyrus who it was who had mutilated him and why. [2] “There is no man,” he said, “except you, who has enough power to do this to me, and no one but I myself did this, O King, because I felt it terribly that Assyrians were laughing at Persians.” [3] Darius answered, “Unfeeling man, you give a pretty name to an ugly act if you say that it was on account of those besieged that you did for yourself past cure. Why, you poor fool, will the enemy surrender sooner because you mutilated yourself? How could you not have been out of your mind to disfigure yourself?” [4] “Had I told you,” said Zopyrus, “what I intended to do, you would not have let me; but now I have done it on my own. Now, then, if you do your part we shall take Babylon. I shall desert to the city as I am, and I shall say to them that I suffered this at your hands; and I think that I shall persuade them, and thus gain a command. [5] Now, on the tenth day after I enter the city, take a thousand men from the part of your army about which you will least care if it is lost, and post them before the gate called the gate of Semiramis; on the seventh day after that, post two thousand more before the gate called the gate of the Ninevites; and when twenty days are past after that seventh, lead out four thousand more and post them before the Chaldean gate, as they call it; allow neither these, nor the others that go before them, to carry any weapons except daggers; leave them these. [6] But immediately after the twentieth day command the rest of your army to assault the whole circuit of the walls, and post the Persians before the gate of Belus and the gate called Cissian. For I think that once I have done conspicuous things the Babylonians will give me, among other things, the keys of their gates; then it will depend on me and on the Persians to do what is necessary.” ¹⁵⁶

Having given these instructions, he went to the gates, turning and looking back as though he were in fact a deserter. When the watch posted on the towers saw him, they ran down, and opening half the

gate a little asked him who he was and why he came; he told them that he was Zopyrus and was deserting to them. [2] When they heard this, the gatekeepers brought him before the general assembly of the Babylonians, where he made a pitiful sight, saying that he had suffered at the hands of Darius what he had suffered at his own because he had advised the king to lead his army away, since they could find no way to take the city. [3] "Now," he said in his speech to them, "I come as a great boon to you, men of Babylon, and as a great bane to Darius and to his army and to the Persians; for he shall not get away with having mutilated me so; and I know all the issues of his plans." This was what he said. 157.

When the Babylonians saw the most well-respected man in Persia without his nose and ears and all lurid with blood from the scourging, they were quite convinced that he was telling them the truth and came as their ally, and were ready to give him all that he asked; and he asked for a command. [2] When he got this from them, he did exactly as he had arranged with Darius. On the tenth day he led out the Babylonian army, surrounded and slaughtered the thousand whom he had instructed Darius to put in the field first. [3] Seeing that he produced works equal to his words, the Babylonians were overjoyed and ready to serve him in every way. When the agreed number of days was past, he led out once more a chosen body of Babylonians, and slaughtered the two thousand men of Darius' army. [4] When the Babylonians saw this work too, the praise of Zopyrus was on everyone's lips. The agreed number of days once again passing, he led out his men to the place he had named, where he surrounded the four thousand and slaughtered them. And when he had done this, Zopyrus was the one man for Babylon: he was made the commander of their armies and guard of the walls. 158.

So when Darius assaulted the whole circuit of the walls, according to the agreed plan, then Zopyrus' treason was fully revealed. For while the townsmen were on the wall defending it against Darius' assault, he opened the gates called Cissian and Belian, and let the Persians inside the walls. [2] Those Babylonians who saw what he did fled to the temple of that Zeus whom they call Belus; those who had not seen it remained in position, until they too discovered how they had been betrayed. 159.

Thus Babylon was taken a second time, and when Darius was master of the Babylonians, he destroyed their walls and tore away all their gates, neither of which Cyrus had done at the first taking of Babylon; moreover he impaled about three thousand men that were prominent among them; as for the rest, he gave them back their city to live in. [2] Further, as the Babylonians, fearing for their food, had strangled their own women, as I described above, Darius provided wives to give them a posterity by appointing that each of the neighboring nations should send a certain number of women to Babylon; the sum of the women thus collected was fifty thousand: these were the mothers of those who now inhabit the city. 160.

There never was in Darius' judgment any Persian before or after who did better service than Zopyrus, except Cyrus, with whom no Persian could compare himself. Many times Darius is said to have declared that he would rather Zopyrus were free of disfigurement than have twenty Babylons on top of the one he had. [2] He honored him very much; every year he sent him such gifts as the Persians hold most precious, and let him govern Babylon all his life with no tribute to pay, giving him many other things besides. This Zopyrus was the father of Megabyzus, who was general of an army in Egypt against the Athenians and their allies; and Megabyzus' son was that Zopyrus who deserted from the Persians to Athens.

FOOTNOTES: BOOK III

1 The received date is 525 B.C.

2 Probably Gaza.

3 Hot winds and volcanic agency were attributed by Greek mythology to Typhon, cast down from heaven by Zeus and “buried” in hot or volcanic regions. Typhon came to be identified with the Egyptian god Set; and the legend grew that he was buried in the Serbonian marsh.

4 According to Movers, Orotalt is “the fire of God,” òrath êl, and Alilat the feminine of hêlêl, “morning star”; but a simpler interpretation is Alilat = the goddess.

5 In modern times there is sometimes a little rain at Thebes (Luxor); very little and very seldom.

6 The revolt of the Egyptians Inaros and Amyrtaeus against the Persian governor lasted from 460 to 455 B.C.

7 The blood was supposed to coagulate and choke the drinker. (How and Wells, ad loc.)

8 Carthaginians.

9 cp. beginning of Hdt. 3.23.

10 This story may be an indication of offerings made to the dead, or of a region of great fertility. In Homer the gods are fabled to feast with the Ethiopians.

11 i.e. grain produced by the manured soil.

12 Oasis means simply a planted place; Herodotus makes it a proper name. What he means here is the “Great oasis” of Khargeh, about seven days’ journey from Thebes, as he says.

13 cp. Hdt. 2.38.

14 Not our Red Sea (Ἀράβιος κόλπος) but the Persian Gulf, probably; but it is to be noted that Herodotus has no definite knowledge of a gulf between Persia and Arabia.

15 A standing body of seven; cp. Book of Esther, i. 14.

16 Epilepsy.

17 the Phoenician Πατάκος (as the Greeks called him) was the Ptah or Patah of Egypt whom the Greeks identified with Hephaestus; always in the form of a dwarf.

18 Apparently from Sanskrit kala=black.

19 νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων; quoted in Plato’s Gorgias from an otherwise unknown poem of Pindar.

20 Probably in 532 B.C.

21 It would have been enough (the Lacedaemonians meant) to say ἀλφίτων δέεται, without using the word θύλακος.

22 A part of the town of Sparta; Herodotus calls it by the Attic name of δῆμος; the Peloponnesian word would be κῶμα.

23 Not the first expedition, that is, made by any inhabitants of Laconia, Achaeans from that country

having taken part in the Trojan war.

24 *μυλοπάροχοι* is one of the Homeric epithets of ships.

25 Remains of this work show that the tunnel was only 1100 feet long.

26 The story dropped at Hdt. 3.38 is now taken up again.

27 The names in the Behistun inscription (the trilingual inscription set up by Darius at Behistun, after he had crushed the revolts in his empire) are: Vindapana, Utana, Gaubarwa, Vidarna, Bagabukhsa, Ardumanis; all but the last corresponding with Herodotus' list.

28 521 B.C.

29 On the following list see the introduction to this book.

30 The regular term for the peoples of individuals who were transplanted from the western into the eastern parts of the Persian empire; the *ἀνα-* implying removal from the sea to the highlands.

31 Probably the mountain called Barkal in Upper Nubia; this is called "sacred" in hieroglyphic inscriptions.

32 The choenix was a measure of about the capacity of a quart.

33 Not the bamboo, apparently, but the "kana," which sometimes grows to a height of 50 feet.

34 N.E. Afghanistan. Caspatyrus (or Caspapyrus) is said to be probably Cabul.

35 It is suggested that the "ants" may have been really marmots. But even this does not seem to make the story much more probable.

36 A kind of gum, producing an acrid smoke when burnt, and therefore used as a disinfectant.

37 All this description appears to be purely imaginative. But "the idea of the chapter" (say How and Wells) "is quite correct; the control of irrigation is in the East one of the prerogatives of government, and great sums are charged for the use of water."

38 See hdt. 3.39.

39 Or, that he knew how to practice his art?

40 The Aeginetan talent = about 82 Attic minae (60 of which composed the Attic talent).

41 According to the course of Herodotus' narrative, the revolt would seem to have taken place some considerable time after Darius' accession (531 B.C.). But the Behistun inscription apparently makes it one of the earliest events of his reign.

BOOK IV.

1. After taking Babylon, Darius himself marched against the Scythians. For since Asia was bursting with men and vast revenues were coming in, Darius desired to punish the Scythians for the wrong they had begun when they invaded Media first and defeated those who opposed them in battle. [2] For the Scythians, as I have said before, ruled upper Asia^{1*} for twenty-eight years; they invaded Asia in their pursuit of the Cimmerians, and ended the power of the Medes, who were the rulers of Asia before the Scythians came. [3] But when the Scythians had been away from their homes for twenty-eight years and returned to their country after so long an absence, as much trouble as their Median war awaited them. They found themselves opposed by a great force; for the Scythian women, when their husbands were away for so long, turned to their slaves. 2.

Now the Scythians blind all their slaves, because of the milk^{2*} they drink; and this is how they get it: taking tubes of bone very much like flutes, they insert these into the genitalia of the mares and blow into them, some blowing while others milk. According to them, their reason for doing this is that blowing makes the mare's veins swell and her udder drop. [2] When done milking, they pour the milk into deep wooden buckets, and make their slaves stand around the buckets and shake the milk; they draw off what stands on the surface and value this most; what lies at the bottom is less valued. This is why the Scythians blind all prisoners whom they take: for they do not cultivate the soil, but are nomads. 3.

So it came about that a younger generation grew up, born of these slaves and the women; and when the youths learned of their parentage, they came out to fight the Scythians returning from Media. [2] First they barred the way to their country by digging a wide trench from the Tauric mountains to the broadest part of the Maeetian lake;^{3*} and then, when the Scythians tried to force a passage, they camped opposite them and engaged them in battle. [3] There were many fights, and the Scythians could gain no advantage; at last one of them said, "Men of Scythia, look at what we are doing! We are fighting our own slaves; they kill us, and we grow fewer; we

kill them, and shall have fewer slaves. [4] Now, then, my opinion is that we should drop our spears and bows, and meet them with horsewhips in our hands. As long as they see us armed, they imagine that they are our equals and the sons of our equals; let them see us with whips and no weapons, and they will perceive that they are our slaves; and taking this to heart they will not face our attack.” 4.

The Scythians heard this and acted on it; and their enemies, stunned by what they saw, did not think of fighting, but fled. Thus, the Scythians ruled Asia and were driven out again by the Medes, and returned to their own country in such a way. Desiring to punish them for what they had done, Darius assembled an army against them. 5.

The Scythians say that their nation is the youngest in the world, and that it came into being in this way. A man whose name was Targitaüs appeared in this country, which was then desolate. They say that his parents were Zeus and a daughter of the Borysthenes river (I do not believe the story, but it is told).^{4*} [2] Such was Targitaüs’ lineage; and he had three sons: Lipoxaïs, Arpoxaïs, and Colaxaïs, youngest of the three. [3] In the time of their rule (the story goes) certain implements — namely, a plough, a yoke, a sword, and a flask, all of gold — fell down from the sky into Scythia. The eldest of them, seeing these, approached them meaning to take them; but the gold began to burn as he neared, and he stopped. [4] Then the second approached, and the gold did as before. When these two had been driven back by the burning gold, the youngest brother approached and the burning stopped, and he took the gold to his own house. In view of this, the elder brothers agreed to give all the royal power to the youngest. 6.

Lipoxaïs, it is said, was the father of the Scythian clan called Auchatae; Arpoxaïs, the second brother, of those called Katiari and Trasprians; the youngest, who was king, of those called Paralatae. [2] All these together bear the name of Skoloti, after their king; “Scythians” is the name given them by Greeks. This, then, is the Scythians’ account of their origin, 7.

and they say that neither more nor less than a thousand years in all passed from the time of their first king Targitaüs to the entry of Darius into their country. The kings guard this sacred gold very

closely, and every year offer solemn sacrifices of propitiation to it. [2] Whoever falls asleep at this festival in the open air, having the sacred gold with him, is said by the Scythians not to live out the year; for which reason^{5*} (they say) as much land as he can ride round in one day is given to him. Because of the great size of the country, the lordships that Colaxaïs established for his sons were three, one of which, where they keep the gold, was the greatest. [3] Above and north of the neighbors of their country no one (they say) can see or travel further, because of showers of feathers;^{6*} for earth and sky are full of feathers, and these hinder sight. 8.

This is what the Scythians say about themselves and the country north of them. But the story told by the Greeks who live in Pontus is as follows. Heracles, driving the cattle of Geryones, came to this land, which was then desolate, but is now inhabited by the Scythians. [2] Geryones lived west of the Pontus,^{7*} settled in the island called by the Greeks Erythea, on the shore of Ocean near Gadira, outside the pillars of Heracles. As for Ocean, the Greeks say that it flows around the whole world from where the sun rises, but they cannot prove that this is so. [3] Heracles came from there to the country now called Scythia, where, encountering wintry and frosty weather, he drew his lion's skin over him and fell asleep, and while he slept his mares, which were grazing yoked to the chariot, were spirited away by divine fortune. 9.

When Heracles awoke, he searched for them, visiting every part of the country, until at last he came to the land called the Woodland, and there he found in a cave a creature of double form that was half maiden and half serpent; above the buttocks she was a woman, below them a snake. [2] When he saw her he was astonished, and asked her if she had seen his mares straying; she said that she had them, and would not return them to him before he had intercourse with her; Heracles did, in hope of this reward. [3] But though he was anxious to take the horses and go, she delayed returning them, so that she might have Heracles with her for as long as possible; at last she gave them back, telling him, "These mares came, and I kept them safe here for you, and you have paid me for keeping them, for I have three sons by you. [4] Now tell me what I am to do when they are grown up: shall I keep them here (since I am queen of this country), or shall I send

them away to you?" Thus she inquired, and then (it is said) Heracles answered: [5] "When you see the boys are grown up, do as follows and you will do rightly: whichever of them you see bending this bow and wearing this belt so, make him an inhabitant of this land; but whoever falls short of these accomplishments that I require, send him away out of the country. Do so and you shall yourself have comfort, and my will shall be done." 10.

So he drew one of his bows (for until then Heracles always carried two), and showed her the belt, and gave her the bow and the belt, that had a golden vessel on the end of its clasp; and, having given them, he departed. But when the sons born to her were grown men, she gave them names, calling one of them Agathyrus and the next Gelonus and the youngest Scythes; furthermore, remembering the instructions, she did as she was told. [2] Two of her sons, Agathyrus and Gelonus, were cast out by their mother and left the country, unable to fulfill the requirements set; but Scythes, the youngest, fulfilled them and so stayed in the land. [3] From Scythes son of Heracles comes the whole line of the kings of Scythia; and it is because of the vessel that the Scythians carry vessels on their belts to this day. This alone his mother did for Scythes. This is what the Greek dwellers in Pontus say. 11.

There is yet another story, to which account I myself especially incline. It is to this effect. The nomadic Scythians inhabiting Asia, when hard pressed in war by the Massagetae, fled across the Araxes^{8*} river to the Cimmerian country (for the country which the Scythians now inhabit is said to have belonged to the Cimmerians before), [2] and the Cimmerians, at the advance of the Scythians, deliberated as men threatened by a great force should. Opinions were divided; both were strongly held, but that of the princes was the more honorable; for the people believed that their part was to withdraw and that there was no need to risk their lives for the dust of the earth; but the princes were for fighting to defend their country against the attackers. [3] Neither side could persuade the other, neither the people the princes nor the princes the people; the one party planned to depart without fighting and leave the country to their enemies, but the princes were determined to lie dead in their own country and not to flee with the people, for they considered how happy their situation

had been and what ills were likely to come upon them if they fled from their native land. [4] Having made up their minds, the princes separated into two equal bands and fought with each other until they were all killed by each other's hands; then the Cimmerian people buried them by the Tyras river, where their tombs are still to be seen, and having buried them left the land; and the Scythians came and took possession of the country left empty. 12.

And to this day there are Cimmerian walls in Scythia, and a Cimmerian ferry, and there is a country Cimmeria^{9*} and a strait named Cimmerian. [2] Furthermore, it is evident that the Cimmerians in their flight from the Scythians into Asia also made a colony on the peninsula where the Greek city of Sinope has since been founded; and it is clear that the Scythians pursued them and invaded Media, missing their way; [3] for the Cimmerians always fled along the coast, and the Scythians pursued with the Caucasus on their right until they came into the Median land, turning inland on their way. That is the other story current among Greeks and foreigners alike. 13.

There is also a story related in a poem by Aristeas son of Caüstrobius, a man of Proconnesus. This Aristeas, possessed by Phoebus, visited the Issedones; beyond these (he said) live the one-eyed Arimaspians, beyond whom are the griffins that guard gold, and beyond these again the Hyperboreans, whose territory reaches to the sea. [2] Except for the Hyperboreans, all these nations (and first the Arimaspians) are always at war with their neighbors; the Issedones were pushed from their lands by the Arimaspians, and the Scythians by the Issedones, and the Cimmerians, living by the southern sea, were hard pressed by the Scythians and left their country. Thus Aristeas' story does not agree with the Scythian account about this country. 14.

Where Aristeas who wrote this came from, I have already said; I will tell the story that I heard about him at Proconnesus and Cyzicus. It is said that this Aristeas, who was as well-born as any of his townsfolk, went into a fuller's shop at Proconnesus and there died; the owner shut his shop and went away to tell the dead man's relatives, [2] and the report of Aristeas' death being spread about in the city was disputed by a man of Cyzicus, who had come from the town of Artace,^{10*} and said that he had met Aristeas going toward

Cyzicus and spoken with him. While he argued vehemently, the relatives of the dead man came to the fuller's shop with all that was necessary for burial; [3] but when the place was opened, there was no Aristeas there, dead or alive. But in the seventh year after that, Aristeas appeared at Proconnesus and made that poem which the Greeks now call the *Arimaspea*, after which he vanished once again.
15.

Such is the tale told in these two towns. But this, I know, happened to the Metapontines in Italy, two hundred and forty years after the second disappearance of Aristeas, as reckoning made at Proconnesus and Metapontum shows me: [2] Aristeas, so the Metapontines say, appeared in their country and told them to set up an altar to Apollo, and set beside it a statue bearing the name of Aristeas the Proconnesian; for, he said, Apollo had come to their country alone of all Italian lands, and he — the man who was now Aristeas, but then when he followed the god had been a crow — had come with him. [3] After saying this, he vanished. The Metapontines, so they say, sent to Delphi and asked the god what the vision of the man could mean; and the Pythian priestess told them to obey the vision, saying that their fortune would be better. [4] They did as instructed. And now there stands beside the image of Apollo a statue bearing the name of Aristeas; a grove of bay-trees surrounds it; the image is set in the marketplace. Let it suffice that I have said this much about Aristeas. 16.

As for the land of which my history has begun to speak, no one exactly knows what lies north of it; for I can find out from no one who claims to know as an eyewitness. For even Aristeas, whom I recently mentioned — even he did not claim to have gone beyond the Issedones, even though a poet; but he spoke by hearsay of what lay north, saying that the Issedones had told him. [2] But all that we have been able to learn for certain by report of the farthest lands shall be told. 17.

North of the port of the Borysthenites,^{11*} which lies midway along the coast of Scythia, the first inhabitants are the Callippidae, who are Scythian Greeks; and beyond them another tribe called Alazones; these and the Callippidae, though in other ways they live like the Scythians, plant and eat grain, onions, garlic, lentils, and millet. [2]

Above the Alazones live Scythian farmers, who plant grain not to eat but to sell; north of these, the Neuri; north of the Neuri, the land is uninhabited so far as we know. 18.

These are the tribes by the Hypanis river,^{12*} west of the Borysthenes. But on the other side of the Borysthenes, the tribe nearest to the sea is the tribe of the Woodlands; and north of these live Scythian farmers, whom the Greek colonists on the Hypanis river (who call themselves Olbiopolitae) call Borystheneïtae. [2] These farming Scythians inhabit a land stretching east a three days' journey to a river called Panticapes,^{13*} and north as far as an eleven days' voyage up the Borysthenes; and north of these the land is desolate for a long way; [3] after the desolation is the country of the Man-eaters, who are a nation apart and by no means Scythian; and beyond them is true desolation, where no nation of men lives, as far as we know. 19.

But to the east of these farming Scythians, across the Panticapes river, you are in the land of nomadic Scythians, who plant nothing, nor plough; and all these lands except the Woodlands are bare of trees. These nomads inhabit a country to the east that stretches fourteen days' journey to the Gerrus river.^{14*} 20.

Across the Gerrus are those lands called Royal, where the best and most numerous of the Scythians are, who consider all other Scythians their slaves; their territory stretches south to the Tauric land, and east to the trench that was dug by the sons of the blind men, and to the port called The Cliffs^{15*} on the Maeetian lake; and part of it stretches to the Tanaïs river. [2] North of the Royal Scythians live the Blackcloaks, who are of another and not a Scythian stock; and beyond the Blackcloaks the land is all marshes and uninhabited by men, so far as we know. 21.

Across the Tanaïs it is no longer Scythia; the first of the districts belongs to the Sauromatae, whose country begins at the inner end of the Maeetian lake and stretches fifteen days' journey north, and is quite bare of both wild and cultivated trees. Above these in the second district, the Budini inhabit a country thickly overgrown with trees of all kinds. 22.

North of the Budini the land is uninhabited for seven days' journey; after this desolation, and somewhat more toward the east

wind, live the Thyssagetæ, a numerous and a separate nation, who live by hunting. [2] Adjoining these and in the same country live the people called Iyrkæ; these also live by hunting, in the way that I will describe. The hunter climbs a tree, and sits there concealed; for trees grow thickly all over the land; and each man has his horse at hand, trained to flatten on its belly for the sake of lowness, and his dog; and when he sees the quarry from the tree, he shoots with the bow and mounts his horse and pursues it, and the dog follows close behind. [3] Beyond these and somewhat to the east live Scythians again, who revolted from the Royal Scythians and came to this country. 23.

As for the countryside of these Scythians, all the land mentioned up to this point is level and its soil deep; but thereafter it is stony and rough. [2] After a long journey through this rough country, there are men inhabiting the foothills of high mountains, who are said to be bald from birth (male and female alike) and snub-nosed and with long beards; they speak their own language, and wear Scythian clothing, and their food comes from trees. [3] The tree by which they live is called "Pontic"; it is about the size of a fig-tree, and bears a fruit as big as a bean, with a stone in it. When this fruit is ripe, they strain it through cloth, and a thick black liquid comes from it, which they call "aschu";^{16*} they lick this up or drink it mixed with milk, and from the thickest lees of it they make cakes, and eat them. [4] They have few cattle, for the pasture in their land is not good. They each live under a tree, covering it in winter with a white felt cloth, but using no felt in summer. [5] These people are wronged by no man, for they are said to be sacred; nor have they any weapon of war. They judge the quarrels between their neighbors; furthermore, whatever banished man has taken refuge with them is wronged by no one. They are called Argippeans. 24.

Now as far as the land of these bald men, we have full knowledge of the country and the nations on the near side of them; for some of the Scythians make their way to them, from whom it is easy to get knowledge, and from some of the Greeks, too, from the Borysthenes port and the other ports of Pontus; such Scythians as visit them transact their business with seven interpreters and in seven languages. 25.

As far as these men this country is known, then, but what lies

north of the bald men no one can say with exact knowledge; for high and impassable mountains bar the way, and no one crosses them. These bald men say (although I do not believe them) that the mountains are inhabited by men with goats' feet, and that beyond these are men who sleep for six months of the twelve. This I cannot accept as true at all. [2] But the country east of the bald-heads is known for certain to be inhabited by the Issedones; however, of what lies north either of the bald-heads or the Issedones we have no knowledge, except what comes from the report of these latter. 26.

It is said to be the custom of the Issedones that, whenever a man's father dies, all the nearest of kin bring beasts of the flock and, having killed these and cut up the flesh, they also cut up the dead father of their host, and set out all the flesh mixed together for a feast. [2] As for his head, they strip it bare and clean and gild it, and keep it for a sacred relic, to which they offer solemn sacrifice yearly. Every son does this for his father, just like the Greeks in their festivals in honor of the dead. In other respects, these are said to be a law-abiding people, too, and the women to have equal power with the men. 27.

Of these too, then, we have knowledge; but as for what is north of them, it is from the Issedones that the tale comes of the one-eyed men and the griffins that guard gold; this is told by the Scythians, who have heard it from them; and we have taken it as true from the Scythians, and call these people by the Scythian name, Arimaspians; for in the Scythian tongue "arima" is one, and "spou" is the eye. 28.

All the aforesaid country is exceedingly cold: for eight months of every year there is unbearable frost, and during these you do not make mud by pouring out water but by lighting a fire; the sea freezes, as does all the Cimmerian Bosphorus; and the Scythians living on this side of the trench lead armies over the ice, and drive their wagons across to the land of the Sindi. [2] So it is winter for eight months, and cold in that country for the four that remain. Here, there is a different sort of winter than the winters in other lands: for in the season for rain scarcely any falls, but all summer it rains unceasingly; [3] and when there are thunderstorms in other lands, here there are none, but in summer there are plenty of them; if there is a thunderstorm in winter they are apt to wonder at it as at a portent. And so, too, if there is an earthquake summer or winter, it is

considered a portent in Scythia. [4] Horses have the endurance to bear the Scythian winter; mules and asses cannot bear it at all; and yet in other lands, while asses and mules can endure frost, horses that stand in it are frostbitten. 29.

And in my opinion it is for this reason that the hornless kind of cattle grow no horns in Scythia. A verse of Homer in the *Odyssey* attests to my opinion:

““Libya, the land where lambs are born with horns on their foreheads,”
“

Hom. Od. 4.85

in which it is correctly observed that in hot countries the horns grow quickly, whereas in very cold countries beasts hardly grow horns, or not at all. 30.

In Scythia, then, this happens because of the cold. But I think it strange (for it was always the way of my history to investigate excurses) that in the whole of Elis no mules can be conceived although the country is not cold, nor is there any evident cause. The Eleans themselves say that it is because of a curse that mules cannot be conceived among them; [2] but whenever the season is at hand for the mares to conceive, they drive them into the countries of their neighbors, and then send the asses after them, until the mares are pregnant, and then they drive them home again. 31.

But regarding the feathers of which the Scythians say that the air is full, so thickly that no one can see or traverse the land beyond, I have this opinion. North of that country snow falls continually, though less in summer than in winter, as is to be expected. [2] Whoever has seen snow falling thickly near him knows himself my meaning; for snow is like feathers; and because of the winter, which is as I have said, the regions to the north of this continent are uninhabited. I think therefore that in this story of feathers the Scythians and their neighbors only speak of snow figuratively. So, then, I have spoken of those parts that are said to be most distant. 32.

Concerning the Hyperborean people, neither the Scythians nor any other inhabitants of these lands tell us anything, except perhaps

the Issedones. And, I think, even they say nothing; for if they did, then the Scythians, too, would have told, just as they tell of the one-eyed men. But Hesiod speaks of Hyperboreans, and Homer too in his poem *The Heroes' Sons*,^{17*} if that is truly the work of Homer. 33.

But the Delians^{18*} say much more about them than any others do. They say that offerings wrapped in straw are brought from the Hyperboreans to Scythia; when these have passed Scythia, each nation in turn receives them from its neighbors until they are carried to the Adriatic sea, which is the most westerly limit of their journey; [2] from there, they are brought on to the south, the people of Dodona being the first Greeks to receive them. From Dodona they come down to the Melian gulf, and are carried across to Euboea, and one city sends them on to another until they come to Carystus; after this, Andros is left out of their journey, for Carystians carry them to Tenos, and Tenians to Delos. [3] Thus (they say) these offerings come to Delos. But on the first journey, the Hyperboreans sent two maidens bearing the offerings, to whom the Delians give the names Hyperoche and Laodice, and five men of their people with them as escort for safe conduct, those who are now called Perpherees^{19*} and greatly honored at Delos. [4] But when those whom they sent never returned, they took it amiss that they should be condemned always to be sending people and not getting them back, and so they carry the offerings, wrapped in straw, to their borders, and tell their neighbors to send them on from their own country to the next; [5] and the offerings, it is said, come by this conveyance to Delos. I can say of my own knowledge that there is a custom like these offerings; namely, that when the Thracian and Paeonian women sacrifice to the Royal Artemis, they have straw with them while they sacrifice. 34.

I know that they do this. The Delian girls and boys cut their hair in honor of these Hyperborean maidens, who died at Delos; the girls before their marriage cut off a tress and lay it on the tomb, wound around a spindle [2] (this tomb is at the foot of an olive-tree, on the left hand of the entrance of the temple of Artemis); the Delian boys twine some of their hair around a green stalk, and lay it on the tomb likewise. 35.

In this way, then, these maidens are honored by the inhabitants of Delos. These same Delians relate that two virgins, Arge and Opis,

came from the Hyperboreans by way of the aforesaid peoples to Delos earlier than Hyperoche and Laodice; [2] these latter came to bring to Eileithyia the tribute which they had agreed to pay for easing child-bearing; but Arge and Opis, they say, came with the gods themselves,^{20*} and received honors of their own from the Delians. [3] For the women collected gifts for them, calling upon their names in the hymn made for them by Olen of Lycia; it was from Delos that the islanders and Ionians learned to sing hymns to Opis and Arge, calling upon their names and collecting gifts (this Olen, after coming from Lycia, also made the other and ancient hymns that are sung at Delos). [4] Furthermore, they say that when the thighbones are burnt in sacrifice on the altar, the ashes are all cast on the burial-place of Opis and Arge, behind the temple of Artemis, looking east, nearest the refectory of the people of Ceos. 36.

I have said this much of the Hyperboreans, and let it suffice; for I do not tell the story of that Abaris, alleged to be a Hyperborean, who carried the arrow over the whole world, fasting all the while. But if there are men beyond the north wind, then there are others beyond the south. [2] And I laugh to see how many have before now drawn maps of the world, not one of them reasonably; for they draw the world as round as if fashioned by compasses, encircled by the Ocean river, and Asia and Europe of a like extent. For myself, I will in a few words indicate the extent of the two, and how each should be drawn. 37.

The land where the Persians live extends to the southern sea which is called Red; beyond these to the north are the Medes, and beyond the Medes the Saspirens, and beyond the Saspirens the Colchians, whose country extends to the northern sea^{21*} into which the Phasis river flows; so these four nations live between the one sea and the other. 38.

But west of this region two peninsulas stretch out from it into the sea, which I will now describe. [2] On the north side one of the peninsulas begins at the Phasis and stretches seaward along the Pontus and the Hellespont, as far as Sigeum in the Troad; on the south side, the same peninsula has a seacoast beginning at the Myriandric gulf that is near Phoenicia, and stretching seaward as far as the Triopian headland. On this peninsula live thirty nations. 39.

This is the first peninsula. But the second, beginning with Persia, stretches to the Red Sea, and is Persian land; and next, the neighboring land of Assyria; and after Assyria, Arabia; this peninsula ends (not truly but only by common consent) at the Arabian Gulf, to which Darius brought a canal from the Nile. [2] Now from the Persian country to Phoenicia there is a wide and vast tract of land; and from Phoenicia this peninsula runs beside our sea by way of the Syrian Palestine and Egypt, which is at the end of it; in this peninsula there are just three nations. 40.

So much for the parts of Asia west of the Persians. But what is beyond the Persians, and Medes, and Saspies, and Colchians, east and toward the rising sun, this is bounded on the one hand by the Red Sea, and to the north by the Caspian Sea and the Araxes river, which flows toward the sun's rising. [2] As far as India, Asia is an inhabited land; but thereafter, all to the east is desolation, nor can anyone say what kind of land is there. 41.

Such is Asia, and such its extent. But Libya is on this second peninsula; for Libya comes next after Egypt. The Egyptian part of this peninsula is narrow; for from our sea to the Red Sea it is a distance of a hundred and twenty-five miles; that is, a thousand stades; but after this narrow part, the peninsula which is called Libya is very broad. 42.

I wonder, then, at those who have mapped out and divided the world into Libya, Asia, and Europe; for the difference between them is great, seeing that in length Europe stretches along both the others together, and it appears to me to be wider beyond all comparison. [2] For Libya shows clearly that it is bounded by the sea, except where it borders on Asia. Necos king of Egypt first discovered this and made it known. When he had finished digging the canal which leads from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf, he sent Phoenicians in ships, instructing them to sail on their return voyage past the Pillars of Heracles until they came into the northern sea and so to Egypt. [3] So the Phoenicians set out from the Red Sea and sailed the southern sea; whenever autumn came they would put in and plant the land in whatever part of Libya they had reached, and there await the harvest; [4] then, having gathered the crop, they sailed on, so that after two years had passed, it was in the third that they rounded the pillars of

Heracles and came to Egypt. There they said (what some may believe, though I do not) that in sailing around Libya they had the sun on their right hand.^{22* 43.}

Thus was the first knowledge of Libya gained. The next story is that of the Carthaginians: for as for Sataspes son of Teaspes, an Achaemenid, he did not sail around Libya, although he was sent for that purpose; but he feared the length and loneliness of the voyage and so returned without accomplishing the task laid upon him by his mother. [2] For he had raped the virgin daughter of Zopyrus son of Megabyzus; and when on this charge he was to be impaled by King Xerxes, Sataspes' mother, who was Darius' sister, interceded for his life, saying that she would impose a heavier punishment on him than Xerxes; [3] for he would be compelled to sail around Libya, until he completed his voyage and came to the Arabian Gulf. Xerxes agreed to this, and Sataspes went to Egypt where he received a ship and a crew from the Egyptians, and sailed past the Pillars of Heracles. [4] Having sailed out beyond them, and rounded the Libyan promontory called Solois,^{23*} he sailed south; but when he had been many months sailing over the sea, and always more before him, he turned back and made sail for Egypt. [5] Coming to King Xerxes from there, he related in his narrative that, when he was farthest distant, he sailed by a country of little men, who wore palm-leaf clothing; these, whenever he and his men put in to land with their ship, left their towns and fled to the hills; he and his men did no harm when they landed, and took nothing from the people except cattle. [6] As to his not sailing completely around Libya, the reason (he said) was that the ship could move no farther, but was stopped. But Xerxes did not believe that Sataspes spoke the truth, and, as the task appointed was unfulfilled, he impaled him, punishing him on the charge first brought against him. [7] This Sataspes had a eunuch, who as soon as he heard of his master's death escaped to Samos, with a great hoard of wealth, of which a man of Samos got possession. I know the man's name but deliberately omit it. ^{44.}

But as to Asia, most of it was discovered by Darius. There is a river, Indus, second of all rivers in the production of crocodiles. Darius, desiring to know where this Indus empties into the sea, sent ships manned by Scylax, a man of Caryanda, and others whose word

he trusted; [2] these set out from the city of Caspatyrus and the Pactyic country, and sailed down the river toward the east and the sunrise until they came to the sea; and voyaging over the sea west, they came in the thirtieth month to that place from which the Egyptian king sent the above-mentioned Phoenicians to sail around Libya. [3] After this circumnavigation, Darius subjugated the Indians and made use of this sea. Thus it was discovered that Asia, except the parts toward the rising sun, was in other respects like Libya. 45.

But it is plain that none have obtained knowledge of Europe's eastern or northern regions, so as to be able say if it is bounded by seas; its length is known to be enough to stretch along both Asia and Libya. [2] I cannot guess for what reason the earth, which is one, has three names, all women's, and why the boundary lines set for it are the Egyptian Nile river and the Colchian Phasis river (though some say that the Maeetian Tanaïs river and the Cimmerian Ferries^{24*} are boundaries); and I cannot learn the names of those who divided the world, or where they got the names which they used. [3] For Libya is said by most Greeks to be named after a native woman of that name, and Asia after the wife of Prometheus;^{25*} yet the Lydians claim a share in the latter name, saying that Asia was not named after Prometheus' wife Asia, but after Asies, the son of Cotys, who was the son of Manes, and that from him the Asiad clan at Sardis also takes its name. [4] But as for Europe, no men have any knowledge whether it is bounded by seas or not, or where it got its name, nor is it clear who gave the name, unless we say that the land took its name from the Tyrian Europa, having been (it would seem) before then nameless like the rest. [5] But it is plain that this woman was of Asiatic birth, and never came to this land which the Greeks now call Europe, but only from Phoenicia to Crete and from Crete to Lycia. Thus much I have said of these matters, and let it suffice; we will use the names established by custom. 46.

Nowhere are men so ignorant as in the lands by the Euxine Pontus (excluding the Scythian nation) into which Darius led his army. For we cannot show that any nation within the region of the Pontus has any cleverness, nor do we know of (overlooking the Scythian nation and Anacharsis) any notable man born there. [2] But the Scythian race has made the cleverest discovery that we know in what is the most

important of all human affairs; I do not praise the Scythians in all respects, but in this, the most important: that they have contrived that no one who attacks them can escape, and no one can catch them if they do not want to be found. [3] For when men have no established cities or forts, but are all nomads and mounted archers, not living by tilling the soil but by raising cattle and carrying their dwellings on wagons, how can they not be invincible and unapproachable? 47.

They have made this discovery in a land that suits their purpose and has rivers that are their allies; for their country is flat and grassy and well-watered, and rivers run through it not very many fewer in number than the canals of Egypt. [2] As many of them as are famous and can be entered from the sea, I shall name. There is the Ister, which has five mouths, and the Tyras, and Hypanis, and Borysthenes, and Panticapes, and Hypacuris, and Gerrhus, and Tanaïs. Their courses are as I shall indicate. 48.

The Ister, the greatest of all rivers which we know, flows with the same volume in summer and winter; it is most westerly Scythian river of all, and the greatest because other rivers are its tributaries. [2] Those that make it great, five flowing through the Scythian country, are these: the river called by Scythians Porata and by Greeks Pyretus,^{26*} and besides this the Tiarantus, the Ararus, the Naparis, and the Ordessus. [3] The first-named of these rivers is a great stream flowing east and uniting its waters with the Ister; the second, the Tiarantus, is more westerly and smaller; the Ararus, Naparis, and Ordessus flow between these two and pour their waters into the Ister. 49.

These are the native-born Scythian rivers that help to swell it; but the Maris river, which commingles with the Ister, flows from the Agathyrsi. The Atlas, Auras, and Tibisis, three other great rivers that pour into it, flow north from the heights of Haemus.^{27*} The Athrys, the Noes, and the Artanes flow into the Ister from the country of the Crobyzi in Thrace; the Cius river, which cuts through the middle of Haemus, from the Paeonians and the mountain range of Rhodope. [2] The Angrus river flows north from Illyria into the Triballic plain and the Brongus river, and the Brongus into the Ister, which receives these two great rivers into itself. The Carpis and another river called Alpis also flow northward, from the country north of the Ombrici, to

flow into it; [3] for the Ister traverses the whole of Europe, rising among the Celts, who are the most westerly dwellers in Europe, except for the Cynetes, and flowing thus clean across Europe it issues forth along the borders of Scythia. 50.

With these rivers aforesaid, and many others, too, as its tributaries, the Ister becomes the greatest river of all, while river for river the Nile surpasses it in volume, since that owes its volume of water to no tributary river or spring. [2] But the Ister is always the same height in summer and winter, the reason for which, I think, is this. In winter it is of its customary size, or only a little greater than is natural to it, for in that country in winter there is very little rain, but snow everywhere. [3] In the summer, the abundant snow that has fallen in winter melts and pours from all sides into the Ister; so this snow-melt pours into the river and helps to swell it and much violent rain besides, as the summer is the season of rain. [4] And in proportion as the sun draws to itself more water in summer than in winter, the water that commingles with the Ister is many times more abundant in summer than it is in winter; these opposites keep the balance true, so that the volume of the river appears always the same. 51.

One of the rivers of the Scythians, then, is the Ister. The next is the Tyras;^{28*} this comes from the north, flowing at first out of a great lake, which is the boundary between the Scythian and the Neurian countries; at the mouth of the river there is a settlement of Greeks, who are called Tyritae. 52.

The third river is the Hypanis; this comes from Scythia, flowing out of a great lake, around which wild, white horses graze. This lake is truly called the mother of the Hypanis. [2] Here, then, the Hypanis rises; for five days' journey its waters are shallow and still sweet; after that for four days' journey seaward it is amazingly bitter, [3] for a spring runs into it so bitter that although its volume is small its admixture taints the Hypanis, one of the few great rivers of the world. This spring is on the border between the farming Scythians^{29*} and the Alazones; the name of it and of the place where it rises is in Scythian Exampaeus; in the Greek tongue, Sacred Ways. [4] The Tyras and the Hypanis draw near together in the Alazones' country; after that they flow apart, the intervening space growing wider. 53.

The fourth is the Borysthenes river. This is the next greatest after the Ister, and the most productive, in our judgment, not only of the Scythian but of all rivers, except the Egyptian Nile, with which no other river can be compared. [2] But of the rest, the Borysthenes is the most productive; it provides the finest and best-nurturing pasture lands for beasts, and the fish in it are beyond all in their excellence and abundance. Its water is most sweet to drink, flowing with a clear current, whereas the other rivers are turbid. There is excellent soil on its banks, and very rich grass where the land is not planted; [3] and self-formed crusts of salt abound at its mouth; it provides great spineless fish, called sturgeons, for salting, and many other wonderful things besides. [4] Its course is from the north, and it is known as far as the Gerrhan land; that is, for forty days' voyage; beyond that, no one can say through what nations it flows; but it is plain that it flows through desolate country to the land of the farming Scythians, who live beside it for a ten days' voyage. [5] This is the only river, besides the Nile, whose source I cannot identify; nor, I think, can any Greek. When the Borysthenes comes near the sea, the Hypanis mingles with it, running into the same marsh; [6] the land between these rivers, where the land projects like a ship's beak, is called Hippolaus' promontory; a temple of Demeter stands there. The settlement of the Borystheneitae is beyond the temple, on the Hypanis. 54.

This is the produce of these rivers, and after these there is a fifth river called Panticapas; this also flows from the north out of a lake, and the land between it and the Borysthenes is inhabited by the farming Scythians; it flows into the woodland country, after passing which it mingles with the Borysthenes. 55.

The sixth is the Hypacuris river,^{30*} which rises from a lake, and flowing through the midst of the nomadic Scythians flows out near the city of Carcine, bordering on its right the Woodland and the region called the Racecourse of Achilles. 56.

The seventh river, the Gerrhus, separates from the Borysthenes at about the place which is the end of our knowledge of that river; at this place it separates, and has the same name as the place itself, Gerrhus; then in its course to the sea it divides the country of the Nomads and the country of the Royal Scythians, and empties into the

Hypacuris. 57.

The eighth is the Tanaïs river;^{31*} in its upper course, this begins by flowing out of a great lake, and enters a yet greater lake called the Maeetian, which divides the Royal Scythians from the Sauromatae; another river, called Hyrgis,^{32*} is a tributary of this Tanaïs. 58.

These are the rivers of note with which the Scythians are provided. For rearing cattle, the grass growing in Scythia is the most productive of bile of all pastures which we know; that this is so can be judged by opening up the bodies of the cattle. 59.

The most important things are thus provided them. It remains now to show the customs which are established among them. The only gods whom they propitiate are these: Hestia in particular, and secondly Zeus and Earth, whom they believe to be the wife of Zeus; after these, Apollo, and the Heavenly Aphrodite, and Heracles, and Ares. All the Scythians worship these as gods; the Scythians called Royal sacrifice to Poseidon also. [2] In the Scythian tongue, Hestia is called Tabiti; Zeus (in my judgment most correctly so called) Papaeus;^{33*} Earth is Apia; Apollo Goetosyrus; the Heavenly Aphrodite Argimpasa; Poseidon Thagimasadas. It is their practice to make images and altars and shrines for Ares, but for no other god. 60.

In all their sacred rites they follow the same method of sacrifice; this is how it is offered. The victim stands with its forefeet shackled together; the sacrificer stands behind the beast, and throws it down by pulling the end of the rope; [2] as the victim falls, he invokes whatever god it is to whom he sacrifices. Then, throwing a noose around the beast's neck, he thrusts in a stick and twists it and so strangles the victim, lighting no fire nor offering the first-fruits, nor pouring any libation; and having strangled and skinned the beast, he sets about cooking it. 61.

Now as the Scythian land is quite bare of wood, this is how they contrive to cook the meat. When they have skinned the victims, they strip the meat from the bones and throw it into the cauldrons of the country, if they have them: these are most like Lesbian bowls, except that they are much bigger; they throw the meat into these, then, and cook it by lighting a fire beneath with the bones of the victims. But if they have no cauldron, then they put all the meat into the victims' stomachs, adding water, and make a fire of the bones beneath, [2]

which burn nicely; the stomachs easily hold the meat when it is stripped from the bones; thus a steer serves to cook itself, and every other victim does likewise. When the flesh is cooked, the sacrificer takes the first-fruits of the flesh and the entrails and casts them before him. They use all grazing animals for sacrifice, but mainly horses. 62.

This is their way of sacrificing to other gods and these are the beasts offered; but their sacrifices to Ares are of this sort. Every district in each of the governments has a structure sacred to Ares; namely, a pile of bundles of sticks three eighths of a mile wide and long, but of a lesser height, on the top of which there is a flattened four-sided surface; three of its sides are sheer, but the fourth can be ascended. [2] Every year a hundred and fifty wagon-loads of sticks are heaped upon this; for the storms of winter always make it sink down. On this sacred pile an ancient scimitar of iron is set for each people: their image of Ares. They bring yearly sacrifice of sheep and goats and horses to this scimitar, offering to these symbols even more than they do to the other gods. [3] Of enemies that they take alive, they sacrifice one man in every hundred, not as they sacrifice sheep and goats, but differently. They pour wine on the men's heads and cut their throats over a bowl; then they carry the blood up on to the pile of sticks and pour it on the scimitar. [4] They carry the blood up above, but down below by the sacred pile they cut off all the slain men's right arms and hands and throw these into the air, and depart when they have sacrificed the rest of the victims; the arm lies where it has fallen, and the body apart from it. 63.

These then are their established rites of sacrifice; but these Scythians make no offerings of swine; nor are they willing for the most part to rear them in their country. 64.

As to war, these are their customs. A Scythian drinks the blood of the first man whom he has taken down. He carries the heads of all whom he has slain in the battle to his king; for if he brings a head, he receives a share of the booty taken, but not otherwise. [2] He scalps the head by making a cut around it by the ears, then grasping the scalp and shaking the head off. Then he scrapes out the flesh with the rib of a steer, and kneads the skin with his hands, and having made it supple he keeps it for a hand towel, fastening it to the bridle of the

horse which he himself rides, and taking pride in it; for he who has most scalps for hand towels is judged the best man. [3] Many Scythians even make garments to wear out of these scalps, sewing them together like coats of skin. Many too take off the skin, nails and all, from their dead enemies' right hands, and make coverings for their quivers; the human skin was, as it turned out, thick and shining, the brightest and whitest skin of all, one might say. [4] Many flay the skin from the whole body, too, and carry it about on horseback stretched on a wooden frame. 65.

The heads themselves, not all of them but those of their bitterest enemies, they treat this way. Each saws off all the part beneath the eyebrows, and cleans the rest. If he is a poor man, then he covers the outside with a piece of raw hide, and so makes use of it; but if he is rich, he covers the head with the raw hide, and gilds the inside of it and uses it for a drinking-cup. [2] Such a cup a man also makes out of the head of his own kinsman with whom he has been feuding, and whom he has defeated in single combat before the king; and if guests whom he honors visit him he will serve them with these heads, and show how the dead were his kinsfolk who fought him and were beaten by him; this they call manly valor. 66.

Furthermore, once a year each governor of a province brews a bowl of wine in his own province, which those Scythians who have slain enemies drink; those who have not achieved this do not taste this wine but sit apart dishonored; and this they consider a very great disgrace; but as many as have slain not one but many enemies have two cups apiece and drink out of both. 67.

There are many diviners among the Scythians, who divine by means of many willow wands as I will show. They bring great bundles of wands, which they lay on the ground and unfasten, and utter their divinations as they lay the rods down one by one; and while still speaking, they gather up the rods once more and place them together again; [2] this manner of divination is hereditary among them. The Enarees, who are hermaphrodites, say that Aphrodite gave them the art of divination, which they practise by means of lime-tree bark. They cut this bark into three portions, and prophesy while they braid and unbraided these in their fingers. 68.

Whenever the king of the Scythians falls ill, he sends for the three

most reputable diviners, who prophesy in the aforesaid way; and they generally tell him that such and such a man (naming whoever it may be of the people) has sworn falsely by the king's hearth; [2] for when the Scythians will swear their mightiest oath, it is by the king's hearth that they are accustomed to swear. Immediately, the man whom they allege to have sworn falsely is seized and brought in, and when he comes the diviners accuse him, saying that their divination shows him to have sworn falsely by the king's hearth, and that this is the cause of the king's sickness; and the man vehemently denies that he has sworn falsely. [3] When he denies it, the king sends for twice as many diviners: and if they too, consulting their art, prove him guilty of perjury, then he is instantly beheaded, and his goods are divided among the first diviners; [4] but if the later diviners acquit him, then other diviners come, and yet again others. If the greater number of them acquit the man, it is decreed that the first diviners themselves be put to death. 69.

And this is how they die. Men yoke oxen to a wagon laden with sticks and tie the diviners up in these, fettering their legs and binding their hands behind them and gagging them; then they set fire to the sticks and drive the oxen away, stampeding them. [2] Often the oxen are burnt to death with the diviners, and often the yoke-pole of their wagon is burnt through and the oxen escape with a scorching. They burn their diviners for other reasons, too, in the way described, calling them false prophets. [3] When the king puts them to death, he does not leave the sons alive either, but kills all the males of the family; the females he does not harm. 70.

As for giving sworn pledges to those who are to receive them, this is the Scythian way: they take blood from the parties to the agreement by making a little cut in the body with an awl or a knife, and pour it mixed with wine into a big earthenware bowl, into which they then dip a scimitar and arrows and an axe and a javelin; and when this is done those swearing the agreement, and the most honorable of their followers, drink the blood after solemn curses. 71.

The burial-places of the kings are in the land of the Gerrhi, which is the end of the navigation of the Borysthenes. Whenever their king has died, the Scythians dig a great four-cornered pit in the ground there; when this is ready, they take up the dead man — his body

enclosed in wax, his belly cut open and cleaned and filled with cut marsh-plants and frankincense, and parsley and anise seed, and sewn up again — and transport him on a wagon to another tribe. [2] Then those who receive the dead man on his arrival do the same as do the Royal Scythians: that is, they cut off a part of their ears, shave their heads, make cuts around their arms, tear their foreheads and noses, and pierce their left hands with arrows. [3] From there, the escorts transport the king's body on the wagon to another of the tribes that they rule, and those to whom they have already come follow them; and having carried the dead man to all in turn, they are at the place of burial, in the country of the Gerrhi, the farthest distant tribe of all under their rule. [4] Then, having laid the body on a couch in the tomb, they plant spears on each side of the body and lay wooden planks across them, which they then roof over with braided osiers; in the open space which is left in the tomb they bury one of the king's concubines, his cupbearer, his cook, his groom, his squire, and his messenger, after strangling them, besides horses, and first-fruits of everything else, and golden cups; for the Scythians do not use silver or bronze. [5] Having done this, they all build a great barrow of earth, vying eagerly with one another to make this as great as possible. 72.

After a year has past, they next do as follows. They take the most trusted of the rest of the king's servants (and these are native-born Scythians, for only those whom he tells to do so serve the king, and none of the Scythians have servants bought by money) [2] and strangle fifty of these and fifty of their best horses and empty and clean the bellies of them all, fill them with chaff, and sew them up again. [3] Then they fasten half of a wheel to two posts, the hollow upward, and the other half to another pair of posts, until many posts thus prepared are planted in the ground, and, after driving thick stakes lengthways through the horses' bodies to their necks, they place the horses up on the wheels [4] so that the wheel in front supports the horse's forequarters and the wheel behind takes the weight of the belly by the hindquarters, and the forelegs and hindlegs hang free; and putting bridles and bits in the horses' mouths, they stretch the bridles to the front and fasten them with pegs. [5] Then they take each one of the fifty strangled young men and mount him on the horse; their way of doing it is to drive an upright stake through

each body passing up alongside the spine to the neck leaving enough of the stake projecting below to be fixed in a hole made in the other stake, which passes through the horse. So having set horsemen of this fashion around the tomb, they ride away. 73.

This is the way they bury their kings. All other Scythians, when they die, are laid in wagons and carried about among their friends by their nearest of kin; each receives them and entertains the retinue hospitably, setting before the dead man about as much of the fare as he serves to the rest. All but the kings are carried about like this for forty days and then buried. [2] After the burial the Scythians cleanse themselves as follows: they anoint and wash their heads and, for their bodies, set up three poles leaning together to a point and cover these over with wool mats; then, in the space so enclosed to the best of their ability, they make a pit in the center beneath the poles and the mats and throw red-hot stones into it. 74.

They have hemp growing in their country, very like flax, except that the hemp is much thicker and taller. This grows both of itself and also by their cultivation, and the Thracians even make garments of it which are very like linen; no one, unless he were an expert in hemp, could determine whether they were hempen or linen; whoever has never seen hemp before will think the garment linen. 75.

The Scythians then take the seed of this hemp and, crawling in under the mats, throw it on the red-hot stones, where it smoulders and sends forth such fumes that no Greek vapor-bath could surpass it. [2] The Scythians howl in their joy at the vapor-bath. This serves them instead of bathing, for they never wash their bodies with water. [3] But their women pound cypress and cedar and frankincense wood on a rough stone, adding water also, and with the thick stuff thus pounded they anoint their bodies and faces, as a result of which not only does a fragrant scent come from them, but when on the second day they take off the ointment, their skin becomes clear and shining. 76.

But as regards foreign customs, the Scythians (like others) very much shun practising those of any other country, and particularly of Hellas, as was proved in the case of Anacharsis and also of Scyles. [2] For when Anacharsis was coming back to the Scythian country after having seen much of the world in his travels and given many

examples of his wisdom, he sailed through the Hellespont and put in at Cyzicus; [3] where, finding the Cyzicenes celebrating the feast of the Mother of the Gods with great ceremony, he vowed to this same Mother that if he returned to his own country safe and sound he would sacrifice to her as he saw the Cyzicenes doing, and establish a nightly rite of worship. [4] So when he came to Scythia, he hid himself in the country called Woodland (which is beside the Race of Achilles, and is all overgrown with every kind of timber); hidden there, Anacharsis celebrated the goddess' ritual with exactness, carrying a small drum and hanging images about himself. [5] Then some Scythian saw him doing this and told the king, Saulius; who, coming to the place himself and seeing Anacharsis performing these rites, shot an arrow at him and killed him. And now the Scythians, if they are asked about Anacharsis, say they have no knowledge of him; this is because he left his country for Hellas and followed the customs of strangers. [6] But according to what I heard from Tymnes, the deputy for Ariapithes, Anacharsis was an uncle of Idanthysus king of Scythia, and he was the son of Gnurus, son of Lycus, son of Spargapithes. Now if Anacharsis was truly of this family, then let him know he was slain by his own brother; for Idanthysus was the son of Saulius, and it was Saulius who killed Anacharsis. 77.

It is true that I have heard another story told by the Peloponnesians; namely, that Anacharsis had been sent by the king of Scythia and had been a student of the ways of Hellas, and after his return told the king who sent him that all Greeks were keen for every kind of learning, except the Lacedaemonians; but that these were the only Greeks who spoke and listened with discretion. [2] But this is a tale pointlessly invented by the Greeks themselves; and be this as it may, the man was put to death as I have said. 78.

This, then, was how Anacharsis fared, owing to his foreign ways and consorting with Greeks; and a great many years afterward, Scyles, son of Ariapithes, suffered a like fate. Scyles was one of the sons born to Ariapithes, king of Scythia; but his mother was of Istria,^{34*} and not native-born; and she taught him to speak and read Greek. [2] As time passed, Ariapithes was treacherously killed by Spargapithes, king of the Agathyrsi, and Scyles inherited the kingship and his father's wife, a Scythian woman whose name was

Opoea, and she bore Scyles a son, Oricus. [3] So Scyles was king of Scythia; but he was in no way content with the Scythian way of life, and was much more inclined to Greek ways, from the upbringing that he had received. So this is what he would do: he would lead the Scythian army to the city of the Borysthenites (who say that they are Milesians), and when he arrived there would leave his army in the suburb of the city, [4] while he himself, entering within the walls and shutting the gates, would take off his Scythian apparel and put on Greek dress; and in it he would go among the townsfolk unattended by spearmen or any others (who would guard the gates, lest any Scythian see him wearing this apparel), and in every way follow the Greek manner of life, and worship the gods according to Greek usage. [5] When he had spent a month or more like this, he would put on Scythian dress and leave the city. He did this often; and he built a house in Borysthenes, and married a wife of the people of the country and brought her there. 79.

But when things had to turn out badly for him, they did so for this reason: he conceived a desire to be initiated into the rites of the Bacchic Dionysus; and when he was about to begin the sacred mysteries, he saw the greatest vision. [2] He had in the city of the Borysthenites a spacious house, grand and costly (the same house I just mentioned), all surrounded by sphinxes and griffins worked in white marble; this house was struck by a thunderbolt. And though the house burnt to the ground, Scyles none the less performed the rite to the end. [3] Now the Scythians reproach the Greeks for this Bacchic revelling, saying that it is not reasonable to set up a god who leads men to madness. [4] So when Scyles had been initiated into the Bacchic rite, some one of the Borysthenites scoffed at the Scythians: "You laugh at us, Scythians, because we play the Bacchant and the god possesses us; but now this deity has possessed your own king, so that he plays the Bacchant and is maddened by the god. If you will not believe me, follow me now and I will show him to you." [5] The leading men among the Scythians followed him, and the Borysthenite brought them up secretly onto a tower; from which, when Scyles passed by with his company of worshippers, they saw him playing the Bacchant; thinking it a great misfortune, they left the city and told the whole army what they had seen. 80.

After this Scyles rode off to his own place; but the Scythians rebelled against him, setting up his brother Octamasades, son of the daughter of Teres, for their king. [2] Scyles, learning what had happened concerning him and the reason why it had happened, fled into Thrace; and when Octamasades heard this he led his army there. But when he was beside the Ister, the Thracians barred his way; and when the armies were about to engage, Sitalces sent this message to Octamasades: [3] “Why should we try each other’s strength? You are my sister’s son, and you have my brother with you; give him back to me, and I will give up your Scyles to you; and let us not endanger our armies.” [4] Such was the offer Sitalces sent to him; for Sitalces’ brother had fled from him and was with Octamasades. The Scythian agreed to this, and took his brother Scyles, giving up his own uncle to Sitalces. [5] Sitalces then took his brother and carried him away, but Octamasades beheaded Scyles on the spot. This is how closely the Scythians guard their customs, and these are the penalties they inflict on those who add foreign customs to their own. 81.

How numerous the Scythians are, I was not able to learn exactly, and the accounts that I heard did not tally, some saying that they are very numerous, and some that they are few, so far as they are true Scythians. [2] But this much they let me see for myself: there is a region between the Borysthenes and Hypanis rivers, whose name is Exampaeus; this is the land that I mentioned when I said that there is a spring of salt water in it, whose water makes the Hypanis unfit to drink. [3] In this region is a bronze vessel, as much as six times greater than the cauldron dedicated by Pausanias son of Cleombrotus at the entrance of the Pontus.^{35*} [4] For anyone who has not yet seen the latter, I will make my meaning plain: the Scythian bronze vessel easily contains five thousand four hundred gallons, and it is of six fingers’ thickness. This vessel (so the people of the country said) was made out of arrowheads. [5] For their king, whose name was Ariantas, desiring to know the census of the Scythians, commanded every Scythian to bring him the point from an arrow, threatening death to all who did not. [6] So a vast number of arrow-heads was brought, and he decided to make and leave a memorial out of them; and he made of these this bronze vessel, and set it up in this country Exampaeus. This much I heard about the number of the Scythians. 82.

As for marvels, there are none in the land, except that it has by far the greatest and the most numerous rivers in the world; and over and above the rivers and the great extent of the plains there is one most marvellous thing for me to mention: they show a footprint of Heracles by the Tyras river stamped on rock, like the mark of a man's foot, but forty inches in length. Having described this, I will now return to the story which I began to tell.^{36*} 83.

While Darius was making preparations^{37*} against the Scythians, and sending messengers to direct some to furnish infantry and some to furnish ships, and others again to bridge the Thracian Bosphorus, Artabanus, son of Hystaspes and Darius' brother, by no means wanted him to make an expedition against the Scythians, telling him how hard that people were to deal with. [2] But when, for all his good advice, he could not deter the king, Artabanus ceased to advise, and Darius, all his preparations made, led his army from Susa. 84.

Then the Persian Oeobazus, who had three sons, all with the army, asked Darius that one be left behind. "You are my friend," said the king, "and your request is reasonable; I will leave all your sons." [2] Oeobazus was very happy, supposing his sons released from service; but Darius told those whose job it was to execute all of Oeobazus' sons. So their throats were cut, and they were left there. 85.

But Darius, when he came to that place in his march from Susa where the Bosphorus was bridged in the territory of Calchedon, went aboard ship and sailed to the Dark Rocks^{38*} (as they are called), which the Greeks say formerly moved; there, he sat on a headland and viewed the Pontus, a marvellous sight. [2] For it is the most wonderful sea of all. Its length is eleven thousand one hundred stades, and its breadth three thousand three hundred stades at the place where it is widest.^{39*} [3] The channel at the entrance of this sea is four stades across; the narrow neck of the channel, called Bosphorus, across which the bridge was thrown, is about one hundred and twenty stades long. The Bosphorus reaches as far as to the Propontis; [4] and the Propontis is five hundred stades wide and one thousand four hundred long; its outlet is the Hellespont, which is no wider than seven stades and four hundred long. The Hellespont empties into a gulf of the sea which we call Aegean. 86.

These measurements have been made in this way: a ship will

generally accomplish seventy thousand orguiae ^{40*} in a long day's voyage, and sixty thousand by night. [2] This being granted, seeing that from the Pontus' mouth to the Phasis (which is the greatest length of the sea) it is a voyage of nine days and eight nights, the length of it will be one million one hundred and ten thousand orguiai, which make eleven thousand stades. [3] From the Sindic region to Themiscura on the Thermodon river (the greatest width of the Pontus) it is a voyage of three days and two nights; that is, of three hundred and thirty thousand orguiai, or three thousand three hundred stades. [4] Thus have I measured the Pontus and the Bosphorus and Hellespont, and they are as I have said. Furthermore, a lake is seen issuing into the Pontus and not much smaller than the sea itself; it is called the Maeetian lake, and the mother of the Pontus. 87.

After having viewed the Pontus, Darius sailed back to the bridge, whose architect was Mandrocles of Samos; and when he had viewed the Bosphorus also, he set up two pillars of white marble by it, engraving on the one in Assyrian and on the other in Greek characters the names of all the nations that were in his army: all the nations subject to him. The full census of these, over and above the fleet, was seven hundred thousand men, including horsemen, and the number of ships assembled was six hundred. [2] These pillars were afterward carried by the Byzantines into their city and there used to build the altar of Orthosian^{41*} Artemis, except for one column covered with Assyrian writing that was left beside the temple of Dionysus at Byzantium. Now if my reckoning is correct, the place where king Darius bridged the Bosphorus was midway between Byzantium and the temple at the entrance of the sea. 88.

After this, being pleased with his bridge of boats, Darius made a gift of ten of everything^{42*} to Mandrocles the Samian, the architect of it; Mandrocles took the first-fruits of these and had a picture made with them, showing the whole bridge of the Bosphorus, and Darius sitting aloft on his throne and his army crossing; he set this up in the temple of Hera, with this inscription: [2] ““After bridging the Bosphorus that teems with fish, Mandrocles dedicated a memorial of the floating bridge to Hera, Having won a crown for himself, and fame for the Samians, Doing the will of King Darius.”

“ This memorialized the builder of the bridge. 89. Darius, after rewarding Mandrocles, crossed over to Europe; he had told the Ionians to sail into the Pontus as far as the Ister river, and when they got to the Ister, to wait there for him, bridging the river meanwhile; for the fleet was led by Ionians and Aeolians and men of the Hellespont. [2] So the fleet passed between the Dark Rocks and sailed straight for the Ister and, after a two days’ voyage up the river from the sea, set about bridging the narrow channel of the river where its various mouths separate. [3] But Darius, passing over the Bosphorus on the floating bridge of ships, journeyed through Thrace to the sources of the Tearus river, where he camped for three days. 90.

The Tearus is said by those living on it to be the best river of all for purposes of healing, especially for healing mange in men and horses. Its springs are thirty-eight in number, some cold and some hot, all flowing from the same rock. [2] There are two roads to the place, one from the town of Heraeum near Perinthus, one from Apollonia on the Euxine sea; each is a two days’ journey. This Tearus is a tributary of the Contadesdus river, and that of the Agrianes, and that of the Hebrus, which empties into the sea near the city of Aenus. 91.

Having come to this river and camped there, then, Darius was pleased with the sight of it, and set up yet another pillar there, cut with this inscription: [2] “From the headwaters of the river Tearus flows the best and finest water of all; and to them came, leading an army against the Scythians, the best and finest man of all, Darius son of Hystaspes, king of Persia and all the continent.” Such was the inscription. 92.

From there, Darius set out and came to another river called Artescus, which flows through the country of the Odrysae; and having reached this river, he pointed out a spot to the army, and told every man to lay one stone as he passed in this spot that he pointed out. After his army did this, he led it away, leaving behind there great piles of stones. 93.

But before he came to the Ister, he first took the Getae, who pretend to be immortal. The Thracians of Salmydessus and of the country above the towns of Apollonia and Mesambria, who are called Cyrmianae and Nipsaei, surrendered without a fight to Darius;

but the Getae resisted stubbornly, and were enslaved at once, the bravest and most just Thracians of all. 94.

Their belief in their immortality is as follows: they believe that they do not die, but that one who perishes goes to the deity Salmoxis, or Gebeleïzis, as some of them call him. [2] Once every five years they choose one of their people by lot and send him as a messenger to Salmoxis, with instructions to report their needs; and this is how they send him: three lances are held by designated men; others seize the messenger to Salmoxis by his hands and feet, and swing and toss him up on to the spear-points. [3] If he is killed by the toss, they believe that the god regards them with favor; but if he is not killed, they blame the messenger himself, considering him a bad man, and send another messenger in place of him. It is while the man still lives that they give him the message. [4] Furthermore, when there is thunder and lightning these same Thracians shoot arrows skyward as a threat to the god, believing in no other god but their own. 95.

I understand from the Greeks who live beside the Hellespont and Pontus, that this Salmoxis was a man who was once a slave in Samos, his master being Pythagoras son of Mnesarchus; [2] then, after being freed and gaining great wealth, he returned to his own country. Now the Thracians were a poor and backward people, but this Salmoxis knew Ionian ways and a more advanced way of life than the Thracian; for he had consorted with Greeks, and moreover with one of the greatest Greek teachers, Pythagoras; [3] therefore he made a hall, where he entertained and fed the leaders among his countrymen, and taught them that neither he nor his guests nor any of their descendants would ever die, but that they would go to a place where they would live forever and have all good things. [4] While he was doing as I have said and teaching this doctrine, he was meanwhile making an underground chamber. When this was finished, he vanished from the sight of the Thracians, and went down into the underground chamber, where he lived for three years, [5] while the Thracians wished him back and mourned him for dead; then in the fourth year he appeared to the Thracians, and thus they came to believe what Salmoxis had told them. Such is the Greek story about him. 96.

Now I neither disbelieve nor entirely believe the tale about

Salmoxis and his underground chamber; but I think that he lived many years before Pythagoras; [2] and as to whether there was a man called Salmoxis or this is some deity native to the Getae, let the question be dismissed. 97.

Such were the ways of the Getae, who were subdued by the Persians and followed their army. When Darius and the land army with him had come to the Ister, and all had crossed, he had the Ionians break the bridge and follow him in his march across the mainland, together with the men of the fleet. [2] So the Ionians were preparing to break the bridge and do Darius' bidding; but Cōes son of Erxander, the general of the Mytilenaeans, after first asking if Darius were willing to listen to advice from one who wanted to give it, said, [3] "Since, O King, you are about to march against a country where you will not find tilled lands or inhabited cities, let this bridge stay where it is, leaving those who made it to guard it. [4] Thus, if we find the Scythians and do what we want, we have a way of return; and even if we do not find them, at least our way back is safe; for my fear has never been that we shall be overcome by the Scythians in the field, but rather that we may not be able to find them, and so go astray to our harm. [5] Now it may perhaps be said that I say this for my own sake, because I want to remain behind; but it is not so; I only declare publicly the opinion that I think best for you, and I will follow you and do not want to be left here." [6] Darius was very pleased with this advice, and he answered Cōes thus: "My friend from Lesbos, do not fail to show yourself to me when I return to my house safe, so that I may make you a good return for your good advice." 98.

After saying this, he tied sixty knots in a thong, and summoning the Ionian sovereigns to an audience said to them: [2] "Gentlemen of Ionia, I take back the decision which I delivered before about the bridge; now, take this thong and do as follows. Begin to reckon from the day when you see me march away against the Scythians, and untie one knot each day: and if the days marked by the knots have all passed and I have not returned, embark for your own homes. [3] But until then, since the plan is changed, guard the bridge, making every effort to keep and watch it. You will please me very much if you do this." Having said this, Darius hastened to march further. 99.

Thrace runs farther out into the sea than Scythia; and Scythia begins where a bay is formed in its coast, and the mouth of the Ister, facing southeast, is in that country. [2] Now I am going to describe the coast of the true Scythia from the Ister, and give its measurements. The ancient Scythian land begins at the Ister and faces south and the south wind, as far as the city called Carcinitis. [3] Beyond this place, the country fronting the same sea is hilly and projects into the Pontus; it is inhabited by the Tauric nation as far as what is called the Rough Peninsula; and this ends in the eastern sea.^{43*} [4] For the sea to the south and the sea to the east are two of the four boundary lines of Scythia, just as seas are boundaries of Attica; and the Tauri inhabit a part of Scythia like Attica, as though some other people, not Attic, were to inhabit the heights of Sunium from Thoricus to the town of Anaphlystus, if Sunium jutted farther out into the sea. [5] I mean, so to speak, to compare small things with great. Such a land is the Tauric country. But those who have not sailed along that part of Attica may understand from this other analogy: it is as though in Calabria some other people, not Calabrian, were to live on the promontory within a line drawn from the harbor of Brundisium to Tarentum. I am speaking of these two countries, but there are many others of a similar kind that Tauris resembles.^{44*} 100.

Beyond the Tauric country the Scythians begin, living north of the Tauri and beside the eastern sea, west of the Cimmerian Bosphorus and the Maeetian lake, as far as the Tanaïs river, which empties into the end of that lake. [2] Now it has been seen that on its northern and inland side, running from the Ister, Scythia is bounded first by the Agathyrsi, next by the Neuri, next by the Man-eaters, and last by the Black-cloaks. 101.

Scythia, then, is a four-sided country, two of whose sides are coastline, the frontiers running inland and those that are by the sea making it a perfect square; [2] for it is a ten days' journey from the Ister to the Borysthenes, and the same from the Borysthenes to the Maeetian lake; and it is a twenty days' journey from the sea inland to the country of the Black-cloaks who live north of Scythia. [3] Now, as I reckon a day's journey at two hundred stades, the cross-measurement of Scythia would be a distance of five hundred miles, and the line drawn straight up inland the same. Such then is the

extent of this land. 102.

Convinced that they alone were not able to repel Darius' army in open warfare, the Scythians sent messengers to their neighbors, whose kings had already gathered and were deliberating on the presumption that a great army was marching against them. [2] The assembled kings were those of the Tauri, Agathyrsi, Neuri, Maneaters, Black-cloaks, Geloni, Budini, and Sauromatae. 103.

Among these, the Tauri have the following customs: all shipwrecked men, and any Greeks whom they capture in their sea-raids, they sacrifice to the Virgin goddess^{45*} as I will describe: after the first rites of sacrifice, they strike the victim on the head with a club; [2] according to some, they then place the head on a pole and throw the body off the cliff on which their temple stands; others agree as to the head, but say that the body is buried, not thrown off the cliff. The Tauri themselves say that this deity to whom they sacrifice is Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia. [3] As for enemies whom they defeat, each cuts his enemy's head off and carries it away to his house, where he places it on a tall pole and stands it high above the dwelling, above the smoke-vent for the most part. These heads, they say, are set up to guard the whole house. The Tauri live by plundering and war. 104.

The Agathyrsi are the most refined of men and especially given to wearing gold. Their intercourse with women is promiscuous, so that they may be consanguine with one another and, all being relations, not harbor jealousy or animosity toward one another. In the rest of their customs they are like the Thracians. 105.

The Neuri follow Scythian customs; but one generation before the advent of Darius' army, they happened to be driven from their country by snakes; for their land produced great numbers of these, and still more came down on them out of the desolation on the north, until at last the Neuri were so afflicted that they left their own country and lived among the Budini. It may be that these people are wizards; [2] for the Scythians, and the Greeks settled in Scythia, say that once a year every one of the Neuri becomes a wolf for a few days and changes back again to his former shape. Those who tell this tale do not convince me; but they tell it nonetheless, and swear to its truth. 106.

The Man-eaters are the most savage of all men in their way of life; they know no justice and obey no law. They are nomads, wearing a costume like the Scythian, but speaking a language of their own; of all these, they are the only people that eat men. 107.

The Black-cloaks all wear black clothing, from which they get their name; their customs are Scythian. 108.

The Budini are a great and populous nation; the eyes of them all are very bright, and they are ruddy. They have a city built of wood, called Gelonus. The wall of it is three and three quarters miles in length on each side of the city; this wall is high and all of wood; and their houses are wooden, and their temples; [2] for there are temples of Greek gods among them, furnished in Greek style with images and altars and shrines of wood; and they honor Dionysus every two years with festivals and revelry. For the Geloni are by their origin Greeks, who left their trading ports to settle among the Budini; and they speak a language half Greek and half Scythian. But the Budini do not speak the same language as the Geloni, nor is their manner of life the same. 109.

The Budini are indigenous; they are nomads, and the only people in these parts that eat fir-cones; the Geloni are farmers, eating grain and cultivating gardens; they are altogether unlike the Budini in form and in coloring. Yet the Greeks call the Budini too Geloni; but this is wrong. [2] Their whole country is thickly wooded with every kind of tree; in the depth of the forest there is a great, wide lake and a marsh surrounded by reeds; otter is trapped in it, and beaver, besides certain square-faced creatures whose skins are used to trim mantles, and their testicles are used by the people to heal sicknesses of the womb. 110.

About the Sauromatae, the story is as follows. When the Greeks were at war with the Amazons (whom the Scythians call Oiorpata, a name signifying in our tongue killers of men, for in Scythian a man is "oior" and to kill is "pata"), the story runs that after their victory on the Thermodon they sailed away carrying in three ships as many Amazons as they had been able to take alive; and out at sea the Amazons attacked the crews and killed them. [2] But they knew nothing about ships, or how to use rudder or sail or oar; and with the men dead, they were at the mercy of waves and winds, until they

came to the Cliffs by the Maeetian lake; this place is in the country of the free Scythians. The Amazons landed there, and set out on their journey to the inhabited country, and seizing the first troop of horses they met, they mounted them and raided the Scythian lands. 111.

The Scythians could not understand the business; for they did not recognize the women's speech or their dress or their nation, but wondered where they had come from, and imagined them to be men all of the same age; and they met the Amazons in battle. The result of the fight was that the Scythians got possession of the dead, and so came to learn that their foes were women. [2] Therefore, after deliberation they resolved by no means to slay them as before, but to send their youngest men to them, of a number corresponding (as they guessed) to the number of the women. They directed these youths to camp near the Amazons and to imitate all that they did; if the women pursued them, not to fight, but to flee; and when the pursuit stopped, to return and camp near them. This was the plan of the Scythians, for they desired that children be born of the women. The young men who were sent did as they were directed. 112.

When the Amazons perceived that the youths meant them no harm, they let them be; but every day the two camps drew nearer to each other. Now the young men, like the Amazons, had nothing but their arms and their horses, and lived as did the women, by hunting and plunder. 113.

At midday the Amazons would scatter and go apart from each other singly or in pairs, roaming apart for greater comfort. The Scythians noticed this and did likewise; and as the women wandered alone, a young man laid hold of one of them, and the woman did not resist but let him do his will; [2] and since they did not understand each other's speech and she could not speak to him, she signed with her hand that he should come the next day to the same place and bring another youth with him (showing by signs that there should be two), and she would bring another woman with her. [3] The youth went away and told his comrades; and the next day he came himself with another to the place, where he found the Amazon and another with her awaiting them. When the rest of the young men learned of this, they had intercourse with the rest of the Amazons. 114.

Presently they joined their camps and lived together, each man

having for his wife the woman with whom he had had intercourse at first. Now the men could not learn the women's language, but the women mastered the speech of the men; [2] and when they understood each other, the men said to the Amazons, "We have parents and possessions; therefore, let us no longer live as we do, but return to our people and be with them; and we will still have you, and no others, for our wives." To this the women replied: [3] "We could not live with your women; for we and they do not have the same customs. We shoot the bow and throw the javelin and ride, but have never learned women's work; and your women do none of the things of which we speak, but stay in their wagons and do women's work, and do not go out hunting or anywhere else. [4] So we could never agree with them. If you want to keep us for wives and to have the name of fair men, go to your parents and let them give you the allotted share of their possessions, and after that let us go and live by ourselves." The young men agreed and did this. 115.

So when they had been given the allotted share of possessions that fell to them, and returned to the Amazons, the women said to them: [2] "We are worried and frightened how we are to live in this country after depriving you of your fathers and doing a lot of harm to your land. [3] Since you propose to have us for wives, do this with us: come, let us leave this country and live across the Tanaïs river." 116.

To this too the youths agreed; and crossing the Tanaïs, they went a three days' journey east from the river, and a three days' journey north from lake Maeetis; and when they came to the region in which they now live, they settled there. [2] Ever since then the women of the Sauromatae have followed their ancient ways; they ride out hunting, with their men or without them; they go to war, and dress the same as the men. 117.

The language of the Sauromatae is Scythian, but not spoken in its ancient purity, since the Amazons never learned it correctly. In regard to marriage, it is the custom that no maiden weds until she has killed a man of the enemy; and some of them grow old and die unmarried, because they cannot fulfill the law. 118.

The kings of the aforesaid nations having gathered, then, the Scythian messengers came and laid everything before them, explaining how the Persian, now that the whole of the other continent

was subject to him, had crossed over to their continent by a bridge thrown across the neck of the Bosphorus, and how having crossed it and subjugated the Thracians he was now bridging the Ister, so as to make that whole region subject to him like the others. [2] “By no means stand aside and let us be destroyed,” they said; “rather, let us unite and oppose this invader. If you will not, then we shall either be driven out of our country or stay and make terms. [3] For what is to become of us if you will not help us? And afterward it will not be easy for you, either; for the Persian has come to attack you no less than us, and when he has subjugated us he will not be content to leave you alone. [4] We will give you a convincing proof of what we say: if indeed the Persian were marching against us alone, wanting vengeance for our former enslavement of his country, he ought to leave others alone and make straight for us, and would show everyone that Scythia and no other country was his goal. [5] But as it is, from the day he crossed over to this continent, he has been taming all that come in his way, and he holds in subjection not only the rest of Thrace, but also our neighbors the Getae.” 119.

After the Scythians had made this speech, the kings who had come from the nations deliberated, and their opinions were divided. The kings of the Geloni and the Budini and the Sauromatae were of one mind and promised to help the Scythians; but the kings of the Agathyrsi and Neuri and Maneaters and Black-cloaks and Tauri gave this answer to the messengers: [2] “Had it not been you who wronged the Persians first and began the war, what you now ask would seem to us right, and we would listen and act together with you. [3] But as it is, you invaded their land without us and ruled the Persians for as long as god granted; and the Persians, urged on by the same god, are only repaying you in kind. [4] But we did these men no wrong at that former time, nor do we intend now to wrong them first; but if the Persian comes against our land too and begins the wrong-doing, then we will not accept it, either; but until we see that, we shall keep to ourselves. For in our judgment the Persians have not come for us but for those who were the agents of wrong.” 120.

When this answer was brought back to the Scythians, they determined not to meet their enemy in the open field, since they could not get the allies that they sought, but rather to fall back

driving off their herds, choking the wells and springs on their way and destroying the grass from the earth; and they divided themselves into two companies. [2] It was their decision that to one of their divisions, which Scopasis ruled, the Sauromatae be added; if the Persian marched that way, this group was to retire before him and fall back toward the Tanaïs river, by the Maeetian lake, and if the Persian turned to go back, then they were to pursue and attack him. This was one of the divisions of the royal people, and it was appointed to follow this course; [3] their two other divisions, namely, the greater whose ruler was Idanthysus, and the third whose king was Taxakis, were to unite, and taking with them also the Geloni and Budini, to draw off like the others at the Persian approach, always keeping one day's march ahead of the enemy, avoiding a confrontation and doing what had been determined. [4] First, then, they were to retreat in a straight line toward the countries which refused their alliance, so as to involve these, too, in the war; for if they did not of their own accord support the war against the Persians, they must be involved against their will; and after that, the division was to turn back to its own country, and attack the enemy, if in deliberation they thought this best. 121.

Determined on this plan, the Scythians sent an advance guard of their best horsemen to meet Darius' army. As for the wagons in which their children and wives lived, all these they sent forward, with instructions to drive always northward; and they sent all their flocks with the wagons, keeping none back except what was required for their food. 122.

After this convoy was first sent on its way, the advance guard of the Scythians found the Persians about a three days' march distant from the Ister; and having found them they camped a day's march ahead of the enemy and set about scorching the earth of all living things. [2] When the Persians saw the Scythian cavalry appear, they marched on its track, the horsemen always withdrawing before them; and then, making for the one Scythian division, the Persians held on in pursuit toward the east and the Tanaïs river; [3] when the horsemen crossed this, the Persians crossed also, and pursued until they had marched through the land of the Sauromatae to the land of the Budini. 123.

As long as the Persians were traversing the Scythian and Sauromatic territory there was nothing for them to harm, as the land was dry and barren. But when they entered the country of the Budini, they found themselves before the wooden-walled town; the Budini had abandoned it and left nothing in it, and the Persians burnt the town. [2] Then going forward still on the horsemen's track, they passed through this country into desolation, which is inhabited by no one; it lies to the north of the Budini and its breadth is a seven days' march. [3] Beyond this desolation live the Thyssagetae; four great rivers flow from their country through the land of the Maeetians, and issue into the lake called the Maeetian; their names are Lycus, Oarus, Tanaïs, Syrgis. 124.

When Darius came into the desolate country, he halted in his pursuit and camped on the Oarus river, where he built eight great forts, the ruins of which were standing even in my lifetime, all at an equal distance of about seven miles from one another. [2] While he was occupied with these, the Scythians whom he was pursuing doubled north and turned back into Scythia. Then, when they had altogether vanished and were no longer within the Persians' sight, Darius left those forts only half finished, and he too doubled about and marched west, thinking that those Scythians were the whole army, and that they were fleeing toward the west. 125.

But when he came by forced marches into Scythia, he met the two divisions of the Scythians, and pursued them, who always kept a day's march away from him; [2] and because Darius would not stop pursuing them, the Scythians, according to the plan they had made, fell back before him to the countries of those who had refused their alliance, to the land of the Black-cloaks first. [3] The Scythians and Persians burst into their land, agitating them; and from there, the Scythians led the Persians into the country of the Man-eaters, agitating them too; from there, they drew off into the country of the Neuri and, agitating them also, fled to the Agathyrsi. [4] But the Agathyrsi, seeing their neighbors fleeing panic-stricken at the Scythians' approach, before the Scythians could break into their land sent a herald to forbid them to set foot across their borders, warning the Scythians that if they tried to break through they would have to fight with the Agathyrsi first. [5] With this warning, the Agathyrsi

mustered on their borders, intending to stop the invaders. When the Persians and the Scythians broke into their lands, the Blackcloaks and Man-eaters and Neuri put up no resistance, but forgot their threats and fled panic-stricken north into the desolate country. [6] But warned off by the Agathyrsi, the Scythians made no second attempt on that country, but led the Persians from the lands of the Neuri into Scythia. 126.

As this went on for a long time and did not stop, Darius sent a horseman to Idanthysus the Scythian king, with this message: “You crazy man, why do you always run, when you can do otherwise? If you believe yourself strong enough to withstand my power, stand and fight and stop running; but if you know you are the weaker, then stop running like this and come to terms with your master, bringing gifts of earth and water.” 127.

Idanthysus the Scythian king replied: “It is like this with me, Persian: I never ran from any man before out of fear, and I am not running from you now; I am not doing any differently now than I am used to doing in time of peace, too. [2] As to why I do not fight with you at once, I will tell you why. We Scythians have no towns or cultivated land, out of fear for which, that the one might be taken or the other wasted, we would engage you sooner in battle. But if all you want is to come to that quickly, we have the graves of our fathers. [3] Come on, find these and try to destroy them: you shall know then whether we will fight you for the graves or whether we will not fight. Until then, unless we have reason, we will not engage with you. [4] As to fighting, enough; as to masters, I acknowledge Zeus my forefather and Hestia queen of the Scythians only. As for you, instead of gifts of earth and water I shall send such as ought to come to you; and for your boast that you are my master, I say ‘Weep!’” Such is the proverbial “Scythian speech.” 128.

So the herald went to carry this message to Darius; but the Scythian kings were filled with anger when they heard the word “slavery”. [2] They then sent the division of the Scythians to which the Sauromatae were attached, and which was led by Scopasis, to speak with those Ionians guarding the bridge over the Ister; as for those of the Scythians who remained behind, it was decided that they should no longer decoy the Persians, but attack them whenever they

were foraging for provision. So they watched for the time when Darius' men were foraging, and did as they had planned. [3] The Scythian horse always routed the Persian horse, and when the Persian cavalry would fall back in flight on their infantry, the infantry would come up to their aid; and the Scythians, once they had driven in the horse, turned back for fear of the infantry. The Scythians attacked in this fashion by night as well as by day. 129.

Very strange to say, what aided the Persians and thwarted the Scythians in their attacks on Darius' army was the braying of the asses and the appearance of the mules. [2] For, as I have before indicated, Scythia produces no asses or mules; and there is not in most of Scythia an ass or a mule, because of the cold. Therefore the asses frightened the Scythian horses when they brayed loudly; [3] and often, when they were in the act of charging the Persians, the horses would shy in fear if they heard the asses bray or would stand still with ears erect, never having heard a noise like it or seen a like creature. 130.

The Persians thus gained very little in the war, for when the Scythians saw that the Persians were shaken, they formed a plan to have them remain longer in Scythia and, remaining, be distressed by lack of necessities: they would leave some of their flocks behind with the shepherds, moving away themselves to another place; and the Persians would come and take the sheep, and be encouraged by this achievement. 131.

After such a thing had happened several times, Darius was finally at a loss; and when they perceived this, the Scythian kings sent a herald to Darius with the gift of a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. [2] The Persians asked the bearer of these gifts what they meant; but he said that he had only been told to give the gifts and then leave at once; he told the Persians to figure out what the presents meant themselves, if they were smart enough. 132.

When they heard this, the Persians deliberated. Darius' judgment was that the Scythians were surrendering themselves and their earth and their water to him; for he reasoned that a mouse is a creature found in the earth and eating the same produce as men, and a frog is a creature of the water and a bird particularly like a horse; and the arrows signified that the Scythians surrendered their fighting power.

[2] This was the opinion declared by Darius; but the opinion of Gobryas, one of the seven who had slain the Magus, was contrary to it. He reasoned that the meaning of the gifts was, [3] “Unless you become birds, Persians, and fly up into the sky, or mice and hide in the earth, or frogs and leap into the lakes, you will be shot by these arrows and never return home.” 133.

The Persians reasoned thus about the gifts. But when the first division of the Scythians came to the bridge — the division that had first been appointed to stand on guard by the Maeetian lake and had now been sent to the Ister to speak with the Ionians — they said, [2] “Ionians, we have come to bring you freedom, if you will only listen to us. We understand that Darius has directed you to guard the bridge for sixty days only, and if he does not come within that time, then to go away to your homes. [3] Now then, do what will leave you guiltless in his eyes as in ours: stay here for the time appointed; and after that, leave.” So the Ionians promised to do this, and the Scythians made their way back with all haste. 134.

But after sending the gifts to Darius, the Scythians who had remained there came out with foot and horse and offered battle to the Persians. But when the Scythian ranks were set in order, a rabbit ran out between the armies; and every Scythian that saw it gave chase. So there was confusion and shouting among the Scythians; Darius asked about the clamor among the enemy; and when he heard that they were chasing a rabbit, he said to those with whom he was accustomed to speak, [2] “These men hold us in deep contempt; and I think now that Gobryas’ opinion of the Scythian gifts was true. Since, then, my own judgment agrees with his, we need to consider carefully how we shall return safely.” To this Gobryas said : “O King, I understood almost by reason alone how difficult it would be to deal with these Scythians; but when I came here, I understood even better, watching them toying with us. [3] Now then, my advice is that at nightfall we kindle our campfires in the usual way, deceive those in our army who are least fit to endure hardship, and tether all our asses here, and ourselves depart, before the Scythians can march straight to the Ister to break up the bridge, or the Ionians take some action by which we may well be ruined.” 135.

This was Gobryas’ advice, and at nightfall Darius followed it. He

left the men who were worn out, and those whose loss mattered least to him, there in the camp, and all the asses, too, tethered. [2] His reasons for leaving the asses, and the infirm among his soldiers, were the following: the asses, so that they would bray; the men, who were left because of their infirmity, he pretended were to guard the camp while he attacked the Scythians with the fit part of his army. [3] Giving this order to those who were left behind, and lighting campfires, Darius made all haste to reach the Ister. When the asses found themselves deserted by the multitude, they brayed the louder for it; and the Scythians heard them and assumed that the Persians were in the place. 136.

But when it was day, the men left behind perceived that Darius had betrayed them, and they held out their hands to the Scythians and explained the circumstances; they, when they heard this, assembled their power in haste, the two divisions of their horde and the one division that was with the Sauromatae and Budini and Geloni, and made straight for the Ister in pursuit of the Persians. [2] And as the Persian army was for the most part infantry and did not know the roads (which were not marked), while the Scythians were horsemen and knew the short cuts, they went wide of each other, and the Scythians reached the bridge long before the Persians. [3] There, perceiving that the Persians had not yet come, they said to the Ionians, who were in their ships, "Ionians, the days have exceeded the number, and you are wrong to be here still. [4] Since it was fear that kept you here, now break the bridge in haste and go, free and happy men, thanking the gods and the Scythians. The one that was your master we shall impress in such a way that he will never lead an army against anyone again." 137.

Then the Ionians held a council. Miltiades the Athenian, general and sovereign of the Chersonesites of the Hellespont, advised that they do as the Scythians said and set Ionia free. [2] But Histiaeus of Miletus advised the opposite. He said, "It is owing to Darius that each of us is sovereign of his city; if Darius' power is overthrown, we shall no longer be able to rule, I in Miletus or any of you elsewhere; for all the cities will choose democracy rather than despotism." [3] When Histiaeus explained this, all of them at once inclined to his view, although they had first sided with Miltiades. 138.

Those high in Darius' favor who gave their vote were Daphnis of Abydos, Hippoclus of Lampsacus, Herophantus of Parium, Metrodorus of Proconnesus, Aristagoras of Cyzicus, Ariston of Byzantium, [2] all from the Hellespont and sovereigns of cities there; and from Ionia, Strattis of Chios, Aiaces of Samos, Laodamas of Phocaea, and Histiaeus of Miletus who opposed the plan of Miltiades. As for the Aeolians, their only notable man present was Aristagoras of Cymae. 139.

When these accepted Histiaeus' view, they decided to act upon it in the following way: to break as much of the bridge on the Scythian side as a bowshot from there carried, so that they seem to be doing something when in fact they were doing nothing, and that the Scythians not try to force their way across the bridge over the Ister; and to say while they were breaking the portion of the bridge on the Scythian side, that they would do all that the Scythians desired. [2] This was the plan they adopted; and then Histiaeus answered for them all, and said, "You have come with good advice, Scythians, and your urgency is timely: you guide us well and we do you a convenient service; for, as you see, we are breaking the bridge, and will be diligent about it, as we want to be free. [3] But while we are breaking the bridge, this is your opportunity to go and find the Persians, and when you have found them, punish them as they deserve on our behalf and on your own." 140.

So the Scythians, trusting the Ionians' word once more, turned back to look for the Persians; but they missed the way by which their enemies returned. The Scythians themselves were to blame for this, because they had destroyed the horses' pasturage in that region and blocked the wells. [2] Had they not done, they could, if they had wished, easily have found the Persians. But as it was, that part of their plan which they had thought the best was the very cause of their going astray. [3] So the Scythians went searching for their enemies through the parts of their own country where there was forage for the horses and water, supposing that they, too, were heading for such places in their flight; but the Persians kept to their own former tracks, and so with much trouble they found the crossing. [4] But as they arrived at night and found the bridge broken, they were in great alarm lest the Ionians had abandoned them. 141.

There was an Egyptian with Darius whose voice was the loudest in the world; Darius had this man stand on the bank of the Ister and call to Histiaeus the Milesian. This the Egyptian did; Histiaeus heard and answered the first shout, and sent all the ships to ferry the army over, and repaired the bridge. 142.

Thus the Persians escaped. The Scythians sought the Persians, but missed them again. Their judgment of the Ionians is that if they are regarded as free men they are the basest and most craven in the world; but if they are reckoned as slaves, none love their masters more, or desire less to escape. Thus have the Scythians taunted the Ionians. 143.

Darius marched through Thrace to Sestos on the Chersonesus; from there, he crossed over with his ships to Asia, leaving Megabazus as his commander in Europe, a Persian whom he once honored by saying among the Persians what I note here: [2] Darius was about to eat pomegranates, and no sooner had he opened the first of them than his brother Artabanus asked him what he would like to have as many of as there were seeds in his pomegranate; then Darius said that he would rather have that many men like Megabazus than make all Hellas subject to him. [3] By speaking thus among Persians, the king honored Megabazus; and now he left him behind as his commander, at the head of eighty thousand of his army. 144.

This Megabazus is forever remembered by the people of the Hellespont for replying, [2] when he was told at Byzantium that the people of Calchedon had founded their town seventeen years before the Byzantines had founded theirs, that the Calchedonians must at that time have been blind, for had they not been, they would never have chosen the worse site for their city when they might have had the better. [3] This Megabazus, left now as commander in the country, subjugated all the people of the Hellespont who did not take the side of the Persians. 145.

At the same time that he was doing this, another great force was sent against Libya, for the reason that I shall give after I finish the story that I am going to tell now. [2] The descendants of the crew of the Argo were driven out by the Pelasgians who carried off the Athenian women from Brauron; after being driven out of Lemnos by them, they sailed away to Lacedaemon, and there camped on

Teügetum and kindled a fire. [3] Seeing it, the Lacedaemonians sent a messenger to inquire who they were and where they came from. They answered the messenger that they were Minyae, descendants of the heroes who had sailed in the Argo and put in at Lemnos and there begot their race. [4] Hearing the story of the lineage of the Minyae, the Lacedaemonians sent a second time and asked why they had come into Laconia and kindled a fire. They replied that, having been expelled by the Pelasgians, they had come to the land of their fathers, as was most just; and their wish was to live with their fathers' people, sharing in their rights and receiving allotted pieces of land. [5] The Lacedaemonians were happy to receive the Minyae^{46*} on the terms which their guests desired; the chief cause of their consenting was that the Tyndaridae^{47*} had been in the ship's company of the Argo; so they received the Minyae and gave them land and distributed them among their own tribes. The Minyae immediately married, and gave in marriage to others the women they had brought from Lemnos. 146.

But in no time these Minyae became imperious, demanding an equal right to the kingship, and doing other impious things; [2] hence the Lacedaemonians resolved to kill them, and they seized them and cast them into prison. (When the Lacedaemonians execute, they do it by night, never by day.) [3] Now when they were about to kill the prisoners, the wives of the Minyae, who were natives of the country, daughters of leading Spartans, asked permission to enter the prison and each converse with her husband; the Lacedaemonians granted this, not expecting that there would be any treachery from them. [4] But when the wives came into the prison, they gave their husbands all their own garments, and themselves put on the men's clothing; so the Minyae passed out in the guise of women dressed in women's clothing; and thus escaping, once more camped on Teügetum. 147.

Now, about this same time, Theras, a descendant of Polynices through Thersander, Tisamenus, and Autesion, was preparing to lead out colonists from Lacedaemon. [2] This Theras was of the line of Cadmus and was an uncle on their mother's side to Aristodemus' sons Eurysthenes and Procles; and while these boys were yet children he held the royal power of Sparta as regent; [3] but when his nephews grew up and became kings, then Theras could not endure to be a subject when he had had a taste of supreme power, and said he would no longer stay in Lacedaemon but would sail away to his family. [4] On the island now called Thera, but then Calliste, there were descendants of Membliarus the son of Poeciles, a Phoenician; for Cadmus son of Agenor had put in at the place now called Thera during his search for Europa; and having put in, either because the land pleased him, or because for some other reason he desired to do so, he left on this island his own relation Membliarus together with other Phoenicians. [5] These dwelt on the island of Calliste for eight generations before Theras came from Lacedaemon. 148.

It was these that Theras was preparing to join, taking with him a company of people from the tribes; his intention was to settle among the people of Calliste and not drive them out but claim them as in fact his own people. [2] So when the Minyae escaped from prison and camped on Teügetum, and the Lacedaemonians were planning to put them to death, Theras interceded for their lives, that there might be no killing, promising to lead them out of the country himself. [3] The Lacedaemonians consented to this, and Theras sailed with three thirty-oared ships to join the descendants of Membliarus, taking with him not all the Minyae but only a few; [4] for the greater part of them made their way to the lands of the Paroreatae and Caucones, and after having driven these out of their own country, they divided themselves into six companies and established the cities of Lepreum, Macistus, Phrixa, Pyrgus, Epium, and Nudium in the land they had won;^{48*} most of these were in my time taken and sacked by the Eleans. As for the island Calliste, it was called Thera after its colonist. 149.

But as Theras' son would not sail with him, his father said that he would leave him behind as a sheep among wolves; after which

saying the boy got the nickname of Oeolycus,^{49*} and it so happened that this became his customary name. He had a son, Aegeus, from whom the Aegidae, a great Spartan clan, take their name. [2] The men of this clan, finding that none of their children lived, set up a temple of the avenging spirits of Laius and Oedipus, by the instruction of an oracle,^{50*} after which their children lived. It fared thus, too, with the children of the Aegidae at Thera. 150.

So far in the story the Lacedaemonian and Theraean records agree; for the rest, we have only the word of the Theraeans. [2] Grinnus son of Aesanius, king of Thera, a descendant of this same Theras, came to Delphi bringing a hecatomb from his city; among others of his people, Battus son of Polymnestus came with him, a descendant of Euphemus of the Minyan clan. [3] When Grinnus king of Thera asked the oracle about other matters, the priestess' answer was that he should found a city in Libya. "Lord, I am too old and heavy to stir; command one of these younger men to do this," answered Grinnus, pointing to Battus as he spoke. [4] No more was said then. But when they departed, they neglected to obey the oracle, since they did not know where Libya was, and were afraid to send a colony out to an uncertain destination. 151.

For seven years after this there was no rain in Thera; all the trees in the island except one withered. The Theraeans inquired at Delphi again, and the priestess mentioned the colony they should send to Libya. [2] So, since there was no remedy for their ills, they sent messengers to Crete to find any Cretan or traveller there who had travelled to Libya. In their travels about the island, these came to the town of Itanus, where they met a murex fisherman named Corobius, who told them that he had once been driven off course by winds to Libya, to an island there called Platea.^{51*} [3] They hired this man to come with them to Thera; from there, just a few men were sent aboard ship to spy out the land first; guided by Corobius to the aforesaid island Platea, these left him there with provision for some months, and themselves sailed back with all speed to Thera to bring news of the island. 152.

But after they had been away for longer than the agreed time, and Corobius had no provisions left, a Samian ship sailing for Egypt, whose captain was Colaeus, was driven off her course to Platea,

where the Samians heard the whole story from Corobius and left him provisions for a year; [2] they then put out to sea from the island and would have sailed to Egypt, but an easterly wind drove them from their course, and did not abate until they had passed through the Pillars of Heracles and came providentially to Tartessus. [3] Now this was at that time an untapped^{52*} market; hence, the Samians, of all the Greeks whom we know with certainty, brought back from it the greatest profit on their wares except Sostratus of Aegina, son of Laodamas; no one could compete with him. [4] The Samians took six talents, a tenth of their profit, and made a bronze vessel with it, like an Argolic cauldron, with griffins' heads projecting from the rim all around; they set this up in their temple of Hera, supporting it with three colossal kneeling figures of bronze, each twelve feet high. [5] What the Samians had done was the beginning of a close friendship between them and the men of Cyrene and Thera. 153.

As for the Theraeans, when they came to Thera after leaving Corobius on the island, they brought word that they had established a settlement on an island off Libya. The Theraeans determined to send out men from their seven regions, taking by lot one of every pair of brothers, and making Battus leader and king of all. Then they manned two fifty-oared ships and sent them to Platea. 154.

This is what the Theraeans say; and now begins the part in which the Theraean and Cyrenaean stories agree, but not until now, for the Cyrenaean tell a wholly different story about Battus, which is this. There is a town in Crete called Oaxus, of which one Etearchus became ruler. He was a widower with a daughter whose name was Phronime, and he married a second wife. [2] When the second wife came into his house, she thought fit to be the proverbial stepmother to Phronime, ill-treating her and devising all sorts of evil against her; at last she accused the girl of lewdness, and persuaded her husband that the charge was true. So Etearchus was persuaded by his wife and contrived a great sin against his daughter. [3] There was at Oaxus a Theraean trader, one Themison; Etearchus made this man his guest and friend, and got him to swear that he would do him whatever service he desired; then he gave the man his own daughter, telling him to take her away and throw her into the sea. [4] But Themison was very angry at being thus tricked on his oath and renounced his

friendship with Etearchus; presently, he took the girl and sailed away, and so as to fulfill the oath that he had sworn to Etearchus, when he was on the high seas he bound her with ropes and let her down into the sea and drew her up again, and presently arrived at Thera. 155.

There Polymnestus, a notable Theraean, took Phronime and made her his concubine. In time, a son of weak and stammering speech was born to him, to whom he gave the name Battus,^{53*} as the Theraeans and Cyrenaeans say; but in my opinion the boy was given some other name, [2] and changed it to Battus on his coming to Libya, taking this new name because of the oracle given to him at Delphi and the honorable office which he received. For the Libyan word for king is "Battus," and this (I believe) is why the Pythian priestess called him so in her prophecy, using a Libyan name because she knew that he was to be king in Libya. [3] For when he grew to adulthood, he went to Delphi to inquire about his voice; and the priestess in answer gave him this: "'Battus, you have come for a voice; but Lord Phoebus Apollo Sends you to found a city in Libya, nurse of sheep," "just as if she addressed him using the Greek word for "king," "Basileus, you have come for a voice," et cetera. [4] But he answered: "Lord, I came to you to ask about my speech; but you talk of other matters, things impossible to do; you tell me to plant a colony in Libya; where shall I get the power or strength of hand for it?" Battus spoke thus, but as the god would not give him another oracle and kept answering as before, he departed while the priestess was still speaking, and went away to Thera. 156.

But afterward things turned out badly for Battus and the rest of the Theraeans; and when, ignorant of the cause of their misfortunes, they sent to Delphi to ask about their present ills, [2] the priestess declared that they would fare better if they helped Battus plant a colony at Cyrene in Libya. Then the Theraeans sent Battus with two fifty-oared ships; these sailed to Libya, but, not knowing what else to do, presently returned to Thera. [3] There, the Theraeans shot at them as they came to land and would not let the ship put in, telling them to sail back; which they did under constraint of necessity, and planted a colony on an island off the Libyan coast called (as I have said already) Platea. This island is said to be as big as the city of Cyrene

is now. 157.

Here they lived for two years; but as everything went wrong, the rest sailed to Delphi leaving one behind, and on their arrival questioned the oracle, and said that they were living in Libya, but that they were no better off for that. [2] Then the priestess gave them this reply: ““If you know Libya nurse of sheep better than I, Though I have been there and you have not, then I am very much astonished at your knowledge.”

“

Hearing this, Battus and his men sailed back again; for the god would not let them do anything short of colonizing Libya itself; [3] and having come to the island and taken aboard the one whom they had left there, they made a settlement at a place in Libya itself, opposite the island which was called Aziris. This is a place enclosed on both sides by the fairest of groves, with a river flowing along one side of it. 158.

Here they dwelt for six years; but in the seventh, the Libyans got them to leave the place, saying that they would lead them to a better; [2] and they brought the Greeks from Aziris and led them west, so calculating the hours of daylight that they led the Greeks past the fairest place in their country, called Irasa, at night, lest the Greeks see it in their journey. [3] Then they brought the Greeks to what is called the Fountain of Apollo, and said to them: “Here, Greeks, it is suitable for you to live; for here the sky is torn.”^{54*} 159.

Now in the time of Battus the founder of the colony, who ruled for forty years, and of his son Arcesilaus who ruled for sixteen, the inhabitants of Cyrene were no more in number than when they had first gone out to the colony. [2] But in the time of the third ruler, Battus, who was called the Fortunate, the Pythian priestess warned all Greeks by an oracle to cross the sea and live in Libya with the Cyrenaeans; for the Cyrenaeans invited them, promising a distribution of land; [3] and this was the oracle: ““Whoever goes to beloved Libya after

The fields are divided, I say shall be sorry afterward.”

“[4] So a great multitude gathered at Cyrene, and cut out great tracts of land from the territory of the neighboring Libyans. Robbed of their lands and treated violently by the Cyrenaeans, these then sent to

Egypt together with their king, whose name was Adicran, and put their affairs in the hands of Apries, the king of that country. [5] Apries mustered a great force of Egyptians and sent it against Cyrene; the Cyrenaeans marched out to Irasa and the Thestes spring, and there fought with the Egyptians and beat them; [6] for the Egyptians had as yet had no experience of Greeks, and despised their enemy; as a result of which, they were so utterly destroyed that few of them returned to Egypt. Because of this misfortune, and because they blamed him for it, the Egyptians revolted from Apries.^{55*} 160.

This Battus had a son Arcesilaus; on his first coming to reign, he quarrelled with his brothers, until they left him and went away to another place in Libya, where they founded a city for themselves, which was then and is now called Barce; and while they were founding it, they persuaded the Libyans to revolt from the Cyrenaeans. [2] Then Arcesilaus led an army into the country of the Libyans who had received his brothers and had also revolted; and they fled in fear of him to the eastern Libyans. [3] Arcesilaus pursued them until he came in his pursuit to Leucon in Libya, where the Libyans resolved to attack him; they engaged, and so wholly overcame the Cyrenaeans that seven thousand Cyrenaeen soldiers were killed there. [4] After this disaster, Arcesilaus, being worn down and having taken a drug, was strangled by his brother Learchus; Learchus was deftly killed by Arcesilaus' wife, Eryxo. 161.

Arcesilaus' kingship passed to his son Battus, who was lame and infirm in his feet. The Cyrenaeans, in view of the affliction that had overtaken them, sent to Delphi to ask what political arrangement would enable them to live best; [2] the priestess told them bring a mediator from Mantinea in Arcadia. When the Cyrenaeans sent their request, the Mantineans gave them their most valued citizen, whose name was Demonax. [3] When this man came to Cyrene and learned everything, he divided the people into three tribes;^{56*} of which the Theraeans and dispossessed Libyans were one, the Peloponnesians and Cretans the second, and all the islanders the third; furthermore, he set apart certain domains and priesthoods for their king Battus, but all the rest, which had belonged to the kings, were now to be held by the people in common. 162.

During the life of this Battus, these ordinances held good, but in

the time of his son Arcesilaus much contention arose about the king's rights. [2] Arcesilaus, son of the lame Battus and Pheretime, would not abide by the ordinances of Demonax, but demanded back the prerogatives of his forefathers, and made himself head of a faction; but he was defeated and banished to Samos, and his mother fled to Salamis in Cyprus. [3] Now Salamis at this time was ruled by Evelthon, who dedicated that marvellous censer at Delphi which stands in the treasury of the Corinthians. Pheretime came to him, asking him for an army to bring her and her son back to Cyrene; [4] Evelthon was willing to give her everything else, only not an army, and when she accepted what he gave her, she said that it was fine, but it would be better to give her an army as she asked. [5] This she said whatever the gift, until at last Evelthon sent her a golden spindle and distaff, and wool, and when Pheretime uttered the same words as before, he answered that these, and not armies, were gifts for women.

163.

Meanwhile Arcesilaus was in Samos, collecting all the men that he could and promising them a new division of land; and while a great army was thus gathering, he made a journey to Delphi, to ask the oracle about his return. [2] The priestess gave him this answer: ““For the lifetimes of four Battuses and four Arcesilauses, eight generations of men, Loxias grants to your house the kingship of Cyrene; more than this he advises you not even to try. [3] But you, return to your country and live there in peace. But if you find the oven full of amphora, do not bake the amphora, but let them go unscathed. And if you bake them in the oven, do not go into the tidal place; for if you do, then you shall be killed yourself, and also the bull that is fairest of the herd.”“ This was the oracle given by the priestess to Arcesilaus. 164.

But he returned to Cyrene with the men from Samos, and having made himself master of it he forgot the oracle, and demanded justice upon his enemies for his banishment. [2] Some of these left the country altogether; others, Arcesilaus seized and sent away to Cyprus to be killed there. These were carried off their course to Cnidus, where the Cnidians saved them and sent them to Thera. Others of the Cyrenaeans fled for refuge into a great tower that belonged to one Aglomachus, a private man, and Arcesilaus piled wood around it and

burnt them there. [3] Then, perceiving too late that this was the meaning of the Delphic oracle which forbade him to bake the amphora if he found them in the oven, he deliberately refrained from going into the city of the Cyrenaeans, fearing the death prophesied and supposing the tidal place to be Cyrene. [4] Now he had a wife who was a relation of his, a daughter of Alazir king of the Barcaeans, and Arcesilaus went to Alazir; but men of Barce and some of the exiles from Cyrene were aware of him and killed him as he walked in the town, and Alazir his father-in-law too. So Arcesilaus whether with or without meaning to missed the meaning of the oracle and fulfilled his destiny. 165.

While Arcesilaus was living at Barce, accomplishing his own destruction, his mother Pheretime held her son's prerogative at Cyrene, where she administered all his business and sat with others in council. [2] But when she learned of her son's death at Barce, she made her escape to Egypt, trusting to the good service which Arcesilaus had done Cambyses the son of Cyrus; for this was the Arcesilaus who gave Cyrene to Cambyses and agreed to pay tribute. [3] So, on her arrival in Egypt, Pheretime supplicated Aryandes, asking that he avenge her, on the plea that her son had been killed for allying himself with the Medes. 166.

This Aryandes had been appointed viceroy of Egypt by Cambyses; at a later day, he was put to death for making himself equal to Darius. For, learning and seeing that Darius desired to leave a memorial of himself such as no king ever had, Aryandes imitated him, until he got his reward; [2] for Darius had coined money out of gold refined to an extreme purity,^{57*} and Aryandes, then ruling Egypt, made a similar silver coinage; and now there is no silver money so pure as is the Aryandic. But when Darius heard that Aryandes was doing so, he put him to death, not on this charge but as a rebel. 167.

At this time, Aryandes took pity on Pheretime and gave her all the Egyptian land and sea forces, appointing Amasis, a Maraphian, general of the army, and Badres of the tribe of the Pasargadae, admiral of the fleet. [2] But before despatching the troops, Aryandes sent a herald to Barce to ask who it was who had killed Arcesilaus. The Barcaeans answered that it was the deed of the whole city, for

the many wrongs that Arcesilaus had done them; when he heard this, Aryandes sent his troops with Pheretime. [3] This was the pretext; but I myself think that the troops were sent to subjugate Libya. For the Libyan tribes are many and of different kinds, and though a few of them were the king's subjects, the greater part cared nothing for Darius. 168.

Now, concerning the lands inhabited by Libyans, the Adyrmachidae are the people that live nearest to Egypt; they follow Egyptian customs for the most part, but dress like other Libyans. Their women wear twisted bronze ornaments on both legs; their hair is long; each catches her own lice, then bites and throws them away. [2] They are the only Libyans that do this, and who show the king all virgins that are to be married; the king then takes the virginity of whichever of these pleases him. These Adyrmachidae extend from Egypt to the harbor called Plynus. 169.

Next to them are the Giligamae, who inhabit the country to the west as far as the island of Aphrodisias; in between lies the island of Platea, which the Cyrenaeans colonized, and on the mainland is the harbor called Menelaus, and the Aziris which was a settlement of the Cyrenaeans. Here the country of silphium begins, [2] which reaches from the island of Platea to the entrance of the Syrtis. This people is like the others in its customs. 170.

The next people west of the Giligamae are the Asbystae, who live inland of Cyrene, not coming down to the coast, for that is Cyrenaean territory. These drive four-horse chariots to a greater extent than any other Libyans; it is their practice to imitate most of the Cyrenaean customs. 171.

Next west of the Asbystae are the Auschisae, dwelling inland of Barce, and touching the coast at Euhesperidae. About the middle of the land of the Auschisae lives the little tribe of the Bacales, whose territory comes down to the sea at Tauchira, a town in the Barcaean country; their customs are the same as those of the dwellers inland of Cyrene. 172.

Next west of these Auschisae is the populous country of the Nasamones, who in summer leave their flocks by the sea and go up to the land called Augila to gather dates from the palm-trees that grow there in great abundance and all bear fruit. They hunt locusts,

which they dry in the sun, and after grinding sprinkle them into milk and drink it. [2] It is their custom for every man to have many wives; their intercourse with women is promiscuous, as among the Massagetae; a staff is placed before the dwelling, and then they have intercourse. When a man of the Nasamones weds, on the first night the bride must by custom lie with each of the whole company in turn; and each man after intercourse gives her whatever gift he has brought from his house. [3] As for their manner of swearing and divination, they lay their hands on the graves of the men reputed to have been the most just and good among them, and by these men they swear; their practice of divination is to go to the tombs of their ancestors, where after making prayers they lie down to sleep, and take for oracles whatever dreams come to them. [4] They give and receive pledges by each drinking from the hand of the other party; and if they have nothing liquid, they take the dust of the earth and lick it up. 173.

On the borders of the Nasamones is the country of the Psylli, who perished in this way: the force of the south wind dried up their water-tanks, and all their country, lying in the region of the Syrtis, was waterless. After deliberating together, they marched south (I tell the story as it is told by the Libyans), and when they came into the sandy desert, a strong south wind buried them. So they perished utterly, and the Nasamones have their country. 174.

Inland of these to the south, the Garamantes live in wild beast country. They shun the sight and fellowship of men, and have no weapons of war, nor know how to defend themselves. 175.

These live inland of the Nasamones; the neighboring seaboard to the west is the country of the Macae, who shave their hair to a crest, leaving that on the top of their heads to grow and shaving clean off what is on either side; in war they carry shields made of ostrich skins. [2] The Cinyps river empties into their sea through their country from a hill called the Hill of the Graces. This hill is thickly wooded, while the rest of Libya of which I have spoken is bare of trees; it is twenty-five miles from the sea. 176.

Next to these Macae are the Gindanes, where every woman wears many leather anklets, because (so it is said) she puts on an anklet for every man with whom she has had intercourse; and she who wears the most is reputed to be the best, because she has been loved by the

most men. 177.

There is a headland jutting out into the sea from the land of the Gindanes; on it live the Lotus Eaters, whose only fare is the lotus.^{58*} The lotus fruit is the size of a mastich-berry: it has a sweet taste like the fruit of a date-palm; the Lotus Eaters not only eat it, but make wine of it. 178.

Next to these along the coast are the Machlyes, who also use the lotus, but less than the aforesaid people. Their country reaches to a great river called the Triton,^{59*} which empties into the great Tritonian lake, in which is an island called Phla. It is said that the Lacedaemonians were told by an oracle to plant a settlement on this island. 179.

The following story is also told: it is said that Jason, when the Argo had been built at the foot of Pelion, put aboard besides a hecatomb a bronze tripod, and set out to sail around the Peloponnese, to go to Delphi. [2] But when he was off Malea, a north wind caught and carried him away to Libya; and before he saw land, he came into the shallows of the Tritonian lake. There, while he could find no way out yet, Triton (the story goes) appeared to him and told Jason to give him the tripod, promising to show the sailors the channel and send them on their way unharmed. [3] Jason did, and Triton then showed them the channel out of the shallows and set the tripod in his own temple; but first he prophesied over it, declaring the whole matter to Jason's comrades: namely, that should any descendant of the Argo's crew take away the tripod, then a hundred Greek cities would be founded on the shores of the Tritonian lake. Hearing this (it is said) the Libyan people of the country hid the tripod. 180.

Next to these Machlyes are the Auseans; these and the Machlyes, separated by the Triton, live on the shores of the Tritonian lake. The Machlyes wear their hair long behind, the Auseans in front. [2] They celebrate a yearly festival of Athena, where their maidens are separated into two bands and fight each other with stones and sticks, thus (they say) honoring in the way of their ancestors that native goddess whom we call Athena. Maidens who die of their wounds are called false virgins. [3] Before the girls are set fighting, the whole people choose the fairest maid, and arm her with a Corinthian helmet and Greek panoply, to be then mounted on a chariot and drawn all

along the lake shore. [4] With what armor they equipped their maidens before Greeks came to live near them, I cannot say; but I suppose the armor was Egyptian; for I maintain that the Greeks took their shield and helmet from Egypt. [5] As for Athena, they say that she was daughter of Poseidon and the Tritonian lake, and that, being for some reason angry at her father, she gave herself to Zeus, who made her his own daughter. Such is their tale. The intercourse of men and women there is promiscuous; they do not cohabit but have intercourse like cattle. [6] When a woman's child is well grown, the men assemble within three months and the child is adjudged to be that man's whom it is most like. 181.

I have now described all the nomadic Libyans who live on the coast. Farther inland than these is that Libyan country which is haunted by wild beasts, and beyond this wild beasts' haunt runs a ridge of sand that stretches from Thebes of Egypt to the Pillars of Heracles.^{60*} [2] At intervals of about ten days' journey along this ridge there are masses of great lumps of salt in hills; on the top of every hill, a fountain of cold sweet water shoots up from the midst of the salt; men live around it who are farthest away toward the desert and inland from the wild beasts' country. The first on the journey from Thebes, ten days distant from there, are the Ammonians, who follow the worship of the Zeus of Thebes; for, as I have said before, the image of Zeus at Thebes has the head of a ram. [3] They have another spring of water besides, which is warm at dawn, and colder at market-time, and very cold at noon; [4] and it is then that they water their gardens; as the day declines, the coldness abates, until at sunset the water grows warm. It becomes ever hotter and hotter until midnight, and then it boils and bubbles; after midnight it becomes ever cooler until dawn. This spring is called the Spring of the Sun. 182.

At a distance of ten days' journey again from the Ammonians along the sandy ridge, there is a hill of salt like that of the Ammonians, and springs of water, where men live; this place is called Augila; it is to this that the Nasamones come to gather palm-fruit. 183.

After ten days' journey again from Augila there is yet another hill of salt and springs of water and many fruit-bearing palms, as at the

other places; men live there called Garamantes, an exceedingly great nation, who sow in earth which they have laid on the salt. [2] The shortest way to the Lotus Eaters' country is from here, thirty days' journey distant. Among the Garamantes are the cattle that go backward as they graze, the reason being that their horns curve forward; [3] therefore, not being able to go forward, since the horns would stick in the ground, they walk backward grazing. Otherwise, they are like other cattle, except that their hide is thicker and harder to the touch. [4] These Garamantes go in their four-horse chariots chasing the cave-dwelling Ethiopians: for the Ethiopian cave-dwellers are swifter of foot than any men of whom tales are brought to us. They live on snakes and lizards and such-like creeping things. Their speech is like no other in the world: it is like the squeaking of bats. 184.

Another ten days' journey from the Garamantes there is again a salt hill and water, where men live called Atarantes. These are the only men whom we know who have no names; for the whole people are called Atarantes, but no man has a name of his own. [2] When the sun is high, they curse and very foully revile him, because his burning heat afflicts their people and their land. [3] After another ten days' journey there is again a hill of salt, and water, and men living there. Near to this salt is a mountain called Atlas, whose shape is slender and conical; and it is said to be so high that its heights cannot be seen, for clouds are always on them winter and summer. The people of the country call it the pillar of heaven. [4] These men get their name, which is Atlantes, from this mountain. It is said that they eat no living creature, and see no dreams in their sleep. 185.

I know and can tell the names of all the peoples that live on the ridge as far as the Atlantes, but no farther than that. But I know this, that the ridge reaches as far as the Pillars of Heracles and beyond them. [2] There is a mine of salt on it every ten days' journey, and men live there. Their houses are all built of blocks of the salt; for these are parts of Libya where no rain falls; for the walls, being of salt, could not stand firm if there were rain. [3] The salt there is both white and purple. Beyond this ridge, the southern and inland parts of Libya are desolate and waterless: there are no wild beasts, no rain, no forests; this region is wholly without moisture. 186.

Thus from Egypt to the Tritonian lake, the Libyans are nomads that eat meat and drink milk; for the same reason as the Egyptians too profess, they will not touch the flesh of cows; and they rear no swine. [2] The women of Cyrene, too, consider it wrong to eat cows' flesh, because of the Isis of Egypt; and they even honor her with fasts and festivals; and the Barcaean women refuse to eat swine too, as well as cows. 187.

Thus it is with this region. But west of the Tritonian lake the Libyans are not nomads; they do not follow the same customs, or treat their children as the nomads do. [2] For the practice of many Libyan nomads (I cannot say absolutely whether it is the practice of all) is to take their children when four years old, and to burn the veins of their scalps or sometimes of their temples with grease of sheep's wool, so that the children may never afterward be afflicted by phlegm draining from the head. [3] They say that this makes their children quite healthy. In fact, the Libyans are the healthiest of all men whom we know; whether it is because of this practice, I cannot say absolutely; but they certainly are healthy. When the children smart from the pain of the burning, the Libyans have found a remedy; they soothe them by applications of goats' urine. This is what the Libyans themselves say. 188.

The nomads' way of sacrificing is to cut a piece from the victim's ear for first-fruits and throw it over the house; then they wring the victim's neck. They sacrifice to no gods except the sun and moon; that is, this is the practice of the whole nation; but the dwellers by the Tritonian lake sacrifice to Athena chiefly, and next to Triton and Poseidon. 189.

It would seem that the robe and aegis of the images of Athena were copied by the Greeks from the Libyan women; for except that Libyan women dress in leather, and that the tassels of their goatskin cloaks are not snakes but thongs of hide, in everything else their equipment is the same. [2] And in fact, the very name betrays that the attire of the statues of Pallas has come from Libya; for Libyan women wear the hairless tasselled "aegea" over their dress, colored with madder, and the Greeks have changed the name of these aegeae into their "aegides."^{61*} [3] Furthermore, in my opinion the ceremonial chant^{62*} first originated in Libya: for the women of that country chant

very tunefully. And it is from the Libyans that the Greeks have learned to drive four-horse chariots. 190.

The dead are buried by the nomads in Greek fashion, except by the Nasamones. They bury their dead sitting, being careful to make the dying man sit when he releases his spirit, and not die lying supine. Their dwellings are constructed of asphodel stalks^{63*} twined about reeds; they can be carried here and there. Such are the Libyan customs. 191.

West of the Triton river and next to the Aseans begins the country of Libyans who cultivate the soil and possess houses; they are called Maxyes; they wear their hair long on the right side of their heads and shave the left, and they paint their bodies with vermilion. [2] These claim descent from the men who came from Troy. Their country, and the rest of the western part of Libya, is much fuller of wild beasts and more wooded than the country of the nomads. [3] For the eastern region of Libya, which the nomads inhabit, is low-lying and sandy as far as the Triton river; but the land west of this, where the farmers live, is exceedingly mountainous and wooded and full of wild beasts. [4] In that country are the huge snakes and the lions, and the elephants and bears and asps, the horned asses, the dog-headed and the headless men that have their eyes in their chests, as the Libyans say, and the wild men and women, besides many other creatures not fabulous. 192.

But in the nomads' country there are none of these; but there are others, white-rumped antelopes, gazelles, hartebeest, asses, not the horned asses, but those that are called "undrinking" (for indeed they never drink), the oryx, whose horns are made the horns of the lyre (this is a beast the size of a bull), [2] foxes, hyenas, porcupines, wild rams, the dictys, jackals, panthers, the borys,^{64*} land crocodiles sixty inches long, very like lizards, and ostriches and little one-horned serpents; all these beasts besides those that are elsewhere too, except deer and wild boar; of these two kinds there are none at all in Libya. [3] There are in this country three kinds of mice, the two-footed,^{65*} the "zegeries" (this is a Libyan word, meaning in our language "hills"), and the bristly-haired, as they are called. There are also weasels found in the silphium, very like to the weasels of Tartessus. So many are the wild creatures of the nomads' country, as far as by

our utmost enquiry we have been able to learn. 193.

Next to the Maxyes of Libya are the Zaukes, whose women drive their chariots to war. 194.

Next to these are the Gyzantes, where much honey is made by bees, and much more yet (so it is said) by craftsmen.^{66*} It is certain that they all paint themselves with vermilion and eat apes, with which their mountains swarm. 195.

Off their coast (the Carthaginians say) lies an island called Cyrauis, twenty-five miles long and narrow across, accessible from the mainland; it is full of olives and vines. [2] It is said that there is a lake on this island from which the maidens of the country draw gold-dust out of the mud on feathers smeared with pitch. I do not know whether this is true; I just write what is said. But all things are possible; for I myself saw pitch drawn from the water of a pool in Zacynthus. [3] The pools there are numerous; the greatest of them is seventy feet long and broad, and twelve feet deep. Into this they drop a pole with a myrtle branch fastened to its end, and bring up pitch on the myrtle, smelling like asphalt, and for the rest better than the pitch of Pieria. Then they pour it into a pit that they have dug near the pool; and when a fair amount is collected there, they fill their vessels from the pit. [4] Whatever falls into the pool is carried under the ground and appears again in the sea, which is about a half a mile distant from the pool. So, then, the story that comes from the island lying off the Libyan coast is like the truth, too. 196.

Another story is told by the Carthaginians. There is a place in Libya, they say, where men live beyond the Pillars of Heracles; they come here and unload their cargo; then, having laid it in order along the beach, they go aboard their ships and light a smoking fire. The people of the country see the smoke, and, coming to the sea, they lay down gold to pay for the cargo, and withdraw from the wares. [2] Then the Carthaginians disembark and examine the gold; if it seems to them a fair price for their cargo, they take it and go away; but if not, they go back aboard and wait, and the people come back and add more gold until the sailors are satisfied. [3] In this transaction, it is said, neither party defrauds the other: the Carthaginians do not touch the gold until it equals the value of their cargo, nor do the people touch the cargo until the sailors have taken the gold. 197.

These are all the Libyans whom we can name, and the majority of their kings cared nothing for the king of the Medes at the time of which I write, nor do they care for him now. [2] I have this much further to say of this country: four nations and no more, as far as we know, inhabit it, two of which are aboriginal and two not; the Libyans in the north and the Ethiopians in the south of Libya are aboriginal; the Phoenicians and Greeks are later settlers. 198.

In my opinion, there is in no part of Libya any great excellence for which it should be compared to Asia or Europe, except in the region which is called by the same name as its river, Cinyps. [2] But this region is a match for the most fertile farmland in the world, nor is it at all like to the rest of Libya. For the soil is black and well-watered by springs, and has no fear of drought, nor is it harmed by drinking excessive showers (there is rain in this part of Libya). Its yield of grain is of the same measure as in the land of Babylon. [3] The land inhabited by the Euhesperitae is also good; it yields at the most a hundredfold; but the land of the Cinyps region yields three hundredfold. 199.

The country of Cyrene, which is the highest part of the Libya that the nomads inhabit, has the marvellous advantage of three harvest seasons. The fruits of the earth are ripe for reaping and picking on the coast first; when these have been gathered, the middle region above the coast, which they call the Hills, is ripe for gathering; [2] and no sooner has this yield of the middle country been gathered than the highest-lying crops are mellow and ripe, so that the latest fruits of the earth are coming in when the earliest are already spent by way of food and drink. Thus the Cyrenaeans have a harvest lasting eight months. Enough of these matters, then. 200.

Now when the Persians that Aryandes sent from Egypt to avenge Pheretime came to Barce,^{67*} they laid siege to the city, demanding the surrender of those who were guilty of the murder of Arcesilaus: but the Barcaeans, whose whole people were accessory to the deed, would not yield. [2] The Persians besieged Barce for nine months, digging underground passages leading to the walls, and making violent assaults. As for the tunnels, a blacksmith discovered them by the means of a bronze shield, and this is how he found them: carrying the shield around the inner side of the walls, he struck it against the

ground of the city; [3] all the other places which he struck returned a dull sound; but where there were tunnels, the bronze of the shield rang clear. Here the Barcaeans made a counter-tunnel and killed those Persians who were digging underground. Thus the tunnels were discovered, and the assaults were repelled by the townsfolk. 201.

When much time had been spent and many on both sides (not less of the Persians than of their enemies) slain, Amasis the general of the foot soldiers devised a plot, knowing that Barce could not be taken by force but might be taken by guile: he dug by night a wide trench and laid frail planks across it, which he then covered over with a layer of earth level with the ground about it. [2] Then when day came, he invited the Barcaeans to confer with him, and they readily consented; at last all agreed to conditions of peace. This was done thus: standing on the hidden trench, they gave and accepted a sworn assurance that their treaty would hold good while the ground where they stood was unchanged; the Barcaeans promised to pay a due sum to the king, and the Persians to do the Barcaeans no harm. [3] When the sworn agreement was made, the townsfolk, trusting in it and opening all their gates, themselves came out of the city, and let all their enemies who so desired enter within the walls. But the Persians broke down the hidden bridge and ran into the city. They broke down the bridge that they had made, so that they might keep the oath which they had sworn to the Barcaeans: namely, that this treaty would hold good for as long as the ground remained as it was; but if they broke the bridge the treaty held good no longer. 202.

When they were delivered to her by the Persians, Pheretime took the most guilty of the Barcaeans and set them impaled around the top of the wall; the breasts of their women she cut off and planted around the wall in like manner. [2] As for the rest of the Barcaeans, she told the Persians to take them as their booty, except those who were of the house of Battus and not accessory to the murder: to these she turned over the city. 203.

The Persians thus enslaved the rest of the Barcaeans, and went home. When they appeared before the city of Cyrene, the Cyrenaeans let them pass through their city, so that a certain oracle might be fulfilled. [2] As the army was passing through, Badres the admiral of the fleet was for taking the city, but Amasis the general of the land

army would not consent, saying that he had been sent against Barce and no other Greek city; at last they passed through Cyrene and camped on the hill of Lycaean Zeus; there they regretted not having taken the city, and tried to enter it again, but the Cyrenaeans would not let them. Then, although no one attacked them, panic seized the Persians, and they fled to a place seven miles distant and camped there; and while they were there, a messenger from Aryandes came to the camp asking them to return. The Persians asked and received from the Cyrenaeans provisions for their march, after which they left to go to Egypt; [4] but then they fell into the hands of the Libyans, who killed the laggards and stragglers of the army for the sake of their garments and possessions; until at last they came to Egypt. 204.

This Persian force advanced as far as Euhesperidae in Libya and no farther. As for the Barcaeans whom they had taken for slaves, they carried them from Egypt into banishment and brought them to the king, and Darius gave them a town of Bactria to live in. They gave this town the name Barce, and it remained an inhabited place in Bactria until my own lifetime. 205.

But Pheretime did not end well, either. For as soon as she had revenged herself on the Barcaeans and returned to Egypt, she met an awful death. For while still alive she teemed with maggots: thus does over-brutal human revenge invite retribution from the gods. That of Pheretime, daughter of Battus, against the Barcaeans was revenge of this nature and this brutality.

FOOTNOTES: BOOK IV

1 That is, the eastern highlands of the Persian empire.

2 Herodotus means that the slaves are blinded to prevent them stealing the best of the milk. Probably the story of blind slaves arises from some Scythian name for slaves, misunderstood by the Greeks.

3 The Sea of Azov. It is not clear where the *τάφος* was. Some think that Herodotus may have had in his mind the so-called “Putrid Sea,” the narrow stretch of water between the Arabat isthmus and the Crimea. This at least corresponds with the “point of greatest breadth” of the Sea of Azov.

4 The Dnieper.

5 The “reason” is obscure; perhaps the gift of land is a compensation for his shortness of life.

6 See Hdt. 4.31 for Herodotus’ explanation.

7 Very far west, Gadira being identified with Cadiz.

8 Herodotus’ idea of the course of this river is uncertain; cp. Hdt. 1.202. He appears to extend the Araxes, which flowed from the west into the Caspian, into regions east of that sea.

9 The name survives in “Crimea.” The “Cimmerian ferry” is probably the narrow entrance of the Sea of Azov.

10 A Milesian colony, the port of Cyzicus.

11 Another Milesian colony, called by Greeks generally Olbia (the Fortunate) or Miletopolis; it was the most important Greek center north of the Euxine.

12 The Bug.

13 Not identified.

14 Not identified.

15 Apparently on the west coast of the Sea of Azov; cp. Hdt. 4.110.

16 The fruit of the “*Prunus Padus*” is said to be made by the Cossacks into a drink called “atschi.”

17 One of the “Cyclic” poems; a sequel to the “Thebais” (story of the seven against Thebes).

18 This Delian story about the Hyperboreans is additional evidence of the known fact that trade routes from the earliest times linked northern with southeastern Europe. Amber in particular was carried from the Baltic to the Aegean.

19 That is, probably, the Bearers.

20 Apollo and Artemis, probably.

21 Here, the Black Sea; in Hdt. 4.42, the “northern sea” is the Mediterranean.

22 The detail which Herodotus does not believe incidentally confirms the story; as the ship sailed west round the Cape of Good Hope, the sun of the southern hemisphere would be on its right. Most authorities now accept the story of the circumnavigation.

23 Probably Cape Cantin, in the latitude of Madeira.

24 cp. Hdt. 4.12.

25 The Fire-giver celebrated by Aeschylus and Shelley; Asia is one of the principal characters in Prometheus Unbound.

26 Probably the Pruth; the modern names of the other four rivers mentioned here are matters of conjecture.

27 The Balkan range. None of the rivers in this chapter can be certainly identified; the names Κάρις and Ἀλπίς must indicate tributaries descending from the Alps and Carpathians.

28 The Dniester.

29 See Hdt. 4.17.

30 Perhaps in the Molotschna region, considerably east of the Dnieper. The “city of Carcine” lay at the eastern end of the Scythian coast, close to the Tauric Chersonese (Crimea). The Racecourse of Achilles was a strip of land, now broken into islands, about 80 miles long, between the Crimea and the mouth of the Dnieper.

31 The Don.

32 Perhaps the “Syrgis” of Hdt. 4.123; it may be the modern Donetz.

33 As the “All-Father”; cp. such words as πάπας, παπίας, etc.

34 In what is now the Dobrudja.

35 Pausanias, the victor of Plataea, set up this cauldron in 477 B.C. to commemorate the taking of Byzantium.

36 In Hdt. 4.1.

37 The date of Darius’ expedition is uncertain. Grote thinks it probable that it took place before 514 B.C.

38 Rocks (the “Wandering” or “Clashing” Rocks of Greek legend) off the northern end of the Bosphorus.

39 Herodotus is wrong. The Black Sea is 720 miles long (about 6280 stades), and, at the point of Herodotus’ measurement, about 270 miles broad; its greatest breadth is 380 miles. His estimates for the Propontis and Hellespont are also in excess, though not by much; the Bosphorus is a little longer than he says, but its breadth is correctly given.

40 The Greek ὀργυία was the length of the outstretched arms, about six feet.

41 A deity worshipped especially at Sparta; the meaning of the epithet is uncertain.

42 Apparently a proverbial expression for great abundance; cp. a similar phrase in Hdt. 9.81.

43 Here = the Sea of Azov.

44 All this is no more than to say that the Tauri live on a promontory (the Tauric Chersonese), which is like the south-eastern promontory of Attica (Sunium) or the “heel” of Italy, i.e. the country east of a line drawn between the modern Brindisi and Taranto. The only difference is, says Herodotus, that the Tauri inhabit a part of Scythia yet are not Scythians, while the inhabitants of the Attic and Italian promontories are of the same stock as their neighbors.

45 A deity locally worshipped, identified by the Greeks with Artemis.

46 As descendants of the Argonauts, who were Minyae of Thessaly, living near the Pagasaeon gulf.

47 Castor and Polydeuces.

48 These six towns were in the western Peloponnese, in Triphylia, a district between Elis and Messenia.

49 Literally “sheep-wolf.”

50 Oedipus, son of Laius king of Thebes and his wife Iocasta, was exposed in infancy, but rescued and carried away to a far country. Returning in manhood, ignorant of his lineage, he killed his father and married his mother; after which the truth was revealed to him, too late. The story is first told by Homer, and is the subject of the Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles.

51 The island now called Bomba, east of Cyrene.

52 That is, as yet unvisited by Greeks. It was at or near the mouth of the Guadalquivir; cp. Hdt. 1.163.

53 That is, the Stammerer.

54 That is, there is abundance of rain.

55 In 570 B.C.; cp. Hdt. 2.161.

56 According to the principle of division customary in a Dorian city state.

57 The gold coins called δαρεικοί are said to contain only 3 percent of alloy.

58 The fruit of the Rhamnus Lotus, which grows in this part of Africa, is said to be eatable, but not so delicious as to justify its Homeric epithet “honey-sweet.”

59 The “Triton” legend may arise from the Argonauts’ finding a river which reminded them of their own river Triton in Boeotia, and at the same time identifying the local goddess (cp. Hdt. 4.180) with Athena, one of whose epithets was Τριτογένεια (whatever that means).

60 Herodotus’ description is true in so far as it points to the undoubted fact of a caravan route from Egypt to northwestern Africa; the starting-point of which, however, should be Memphis and not Thebes. But his distances between identifiable places are nearly always incorrect; the whole description will not bear criticism. The reader is referred to the editions of Rawlinson, Macan, and How and Wells for detailed discussion of difficulties.

61 The aegis is the conventional buckler of Pallas. Probably the conservatism of religious art retained for the warrior goddess the goatskin buckler which was one of the earliest forms of human armor.

62 The ὀλολυγή (says Dr. Macan) was proper to the worship of Athena; a cry of triumph or exultation, perhaps of Eastern origin and connected with the Semitic Hallelu (which survives in Hallelu-jah).

63 Asphodel is a long-stalked plant. The name has acquired picturesque associations; but Homer’s “asphodel meadow” is in the unhappy realm of the dead, and is intended clearly to indicate a place of rank weeds.

64 The dictys and borys are not identifiable. (But there is a small African deer called the Dik-dik).

65 Clearly, the jerboa.

66 cp. Hdt. 7.31, where men are said to make honey out of wheat and tamarisk.

67 The story broken off in Hdt. 4.167 is resumed.

BOOK V

1. Those Persians whom Darius had left in Europe under the command of Megabazus, finding the Perinthians unwilling to be Darius' subjects, subdued them before any others of the people of the Hellespont. These Perinthians had already been roughly handled by the Paeonians. [2] For the oracle of the god ordered the Paeonians from the Strymon to march against Perinthus, and if the Perinthians, who were encamped opposite them, should call to them, crying out their name, then to attack them. If, however, there were no such call, they were not to attack. The Paeonians acted accordingly. When the Perinthians set up camp in front of their city, the armies then challenged each other to a threefold duel, in which man was matched against man, horse against horse, and dog against dog. [3] The Perinthians were victorious in two of the combats and raised the cry of "Paeon" in their joy. The Paeonians reasoned that this was what the oracle had spoken of and must have said to each other, "This is surely the fulfillment of the prophecy; now it is time for us to act." Accordingly, the Paeonians set upon the Perinthians and won a great victory, leaving few of their enemies alive. 2.

This, then, is what the Perinthians had previously suffered at the hands of the Paeonians. Now they fought like brave men for their liberty, but Megabazus and the Persians overcame them by weight of numbers. [2] When Perinthus had been taken, Megabazus marched his army through Thrace, subduing to the king's will every city and every people of that region. For this, the conquest of Thrace, was the charge given him by Darius. 3.

The Thracians are the biggest nation in the world, next to the Indians. If they were under one ruler, or united, they would, in my judgment, be invincible and the strongest nation on earth. Since, however, there is no way or means to bring this about, they are weak. [2] The Thracians have many names, each tribe according to its region, but they are very similar in all their customs, save the Getae, the Trausi, and those who dwell above the Crestonaeans. 4.

As for the Getae, who claim to be immortal, I have already given an account of their practices.^{1*} The Trausi, who in all else conform to

the customs of other Thracians, do as I will show at the times of birth and death. [2] When a child is born, the kinsmen sit around it and lament all the ills that it must endure from its birth onward, recounting all the sorrows of men. The dead, however, they bury with celebration and gladness, asserting that he is rid of so many ills and has achieved a state of complete blessedness. 5.

Those who dwell above the Crestonaeans have yet other practices. Each man has many wives, and at his death there is both great rivalry among his wives and eager contention on their friends' part to prove which wife was best loved by her husband. She to whom the honor is adjudged is praised by men and women alike and then slain over the tomb by her nearest of kin. After the slaying she is buried with the husband. The rest of the wives are greatly displeased by this, believing themselves to be deeply dishonored. 6.

Among the rest of the Thracians, it is the custom to sell their children for export and to take no care of their maidens, allowing them to have intercourse with any man they wish. Their wives, however, they strictly guard, and buy them for a price from the parents. [2] To be tattooed is a sign of noble birth, while to bear no such marks is for the baser sort. The idler is most honored, the tiller of the soil most scorned; he is held in highest honor who lives by war and robbery. 7.

These are most notable of their usages. They worship no gods but Ares, Dionysus, and Artemis.^{2*} Their princes, however, unlike the rest of their countrymen, worship Hermes above all gods and swear only by him, claiming him for their ancestor. 8.

The wealthy have the following funeral practices. First they lay out the dead for three days, and after killing all kinds of victims and making lamentation, they feast. After that they do away with the body either by fire or else by burial in the earth, and when they have built a barrow, they initiate all kinds of contests, in which the greatest prizes are offered for the hardest type of single combat. Such are the Thracian funeral rites. 9.

As for the region which lies north of this country, none can tell with certainty what men dwell there, but what lies beyond the Ister is a desolate and infinitely large tract of land. I can learn of no men dwelling beyond the Ister save certain that are called Sigynnae and

wear Median dress. [2] Their horses are said to be covered all over with shaggy hair^{3*} five fingers' breadth long, and to be small, blunt-nosed, and unable to bear men on their backs, but very swift when yoked to chariots. It is for this reason that driving chariots is the usage of the country. These men's borders, it is said, reach almost as far as the Eneti on the Adriatic Sea. [3] They call themselves colonists from Media. How this has come about I myself cannot understand, but all is possible in the long passage of time. However that may be, we know that the Ligyes who dwell inland of Massalia use the word "sigynnae" for hucksters, and the Cyprians use it for spears. 10.

According to the Thracians, all the land beyond the Ister is full of bees, and that by reason of these none can travel there. This, to my mind, is not a credible tale, for those creatures are ill able to bear cold. It appears to me rather that it is by reason of the cold that the northern lands are not inhabited. Such, then, are the stories about this region. Whatever the truth may be, Megabazus made its coastal area subject to the Persians. 11.

As soon as Darius had crossed the Hellespont and come to Sardis,^{4*} he remembered the good service done him by Histiaeus of Miletus and the counsel of Coes the Mytilenaeon, and after sending for them to come to Sardis, he offered them a choice of whatever they wanted. [2] Histiaeus, seeing that he was tyrant of Miletus, desired no further sovereignty than that, but asked for Myrcinus^{5*} in the Edonian land so that he might build a city there. This, then, was Histiaeus' choice, but Coes, inasmuch as he was no tyrant but a plain citizen, asked that he might be made tyrant of Mytilene. 12.

When the wishes of each had been granted, they made their way to the places of their choice, but Darius, as it fell out, saw a sight which put it in his mind to bid Megabazus take the Paeonians and take them from their homes out of Europe into Asia. There were two Paeonians, Pigres and Mantyes, who themselves desired to be rulers of their countrymen. When Darius had crossed into Asia, they came to Sardis, bringing with them their sister, a tall and beautiful woman. [2] There, waiting till Darius should be sitting in state in the suburb of the Lydian city, they put on their sister the best adornment they had, and sent her to draw water, bearing a vessel on her head, leading a horse by the bridle and spinning flax at the same time. [3] Darius took

note of the woman as she passed by him, for what she did was not in the manner of the Persians or Lydians or any of the peoples of Asia. Having taken note of this, he sent some of his guards, bidding them watch what the woman would do with the horse. [4] They, accordingly, followed behind her, and she, coming to the river, watered the horse. When she had done this and had filled her vessel with water, she passed back again by the same way, bearing the water on her head, leading the horse on her arm, and plying her distaff. 13.

Marvelling at what he heard from his watchers and what he saw for himself, Darius bade the woman be brought before him. When she had been brought, her brothers, who watched all this from a place nearby, came too. Darius asked of what nation she was, and the young man told him that they were Paeonians and that she was their sister. [2] "But who," he answered, "are the Paeonians, and where do they dwell, and with what intent have you come to Sardis?" They told him, that they had come to be his men, that the towns of Paeonia lay on the Strymon, a river not far from the Hellespont, and that they were colonists from the Teucrians of Troy. [3] So they told him all this, and the king asked them if all the women of their country were so industrious. To this too they very readily answered (for it was for this very purpose that they had come), that it was indeed so. 14.

Then Darius wrote a letter to Megabazus, whom he had left as his general in Thrace, bidding him take the Paeonians from their houses, and bring them to him, men, women, and children. [2] Immediately a horseman sped with this message to the Hellespont, and upon crossing it, gave the letter to Megabazus, who, after reading it, took guides from Thrace and led his army to Paeonia. 15.

When the Paeonians learned that the Persians were coming against them, they gathered together and marched away to the sea, thinking that the Persians would attempt to attack them by that way. [2] So the Paeonians were ready to withstand the onset of Megabazus' army, but the Persians, learning that the Paeonians had gathered their forces and were guarding the coast route into their country, got guides and marched instead by the highland road. They accordingly took the Paeonians unaware and won entrance into their cities, which were left without men, and finding these empty at their attack, they easily gained them. [3] The Paeonians, learning that their towns had

been taken, straightway disbanded, each going his own way, and surrendered themselves to the Persians. Thus of the Paeonians the Siriopaeones and Paeoplae and all who lived as far as the Prasiad lake were taken away from their homes and led into Asia. 16.

But those near the Pangaeon^{6*} mountains and the country of the Doberes and the Agrianes and the Odomanti and the Prasiad lake itself were never subdued at all by Megabazus. He did in fact try to take the lake-dwellers^{7*} and did so in the following manner. There is set in the midst of the lake a platform made fast on tall piles, to which one bridge gives a narrow passage from the land. [2] In olden times all the people working together set the piles which support the platform there, but they later developed another method of setting them. The men bring the piles from a mountain called Orbelus,^{8*} and every man plants three for each of the three women that he weds. [3] Each man has both a hut on the platform and a trap-door in the platform leading down into the lake. They make a cord fast to the feet of their little children out of fear that they will fall into the water. [4] They give fish as fodder to their horses and beasts of burden, and there is such an abundance of fish that a man can open his trap-door, let down an empty basket by a line into the lake, and draw it up after a short time full of fish. There are two kinds of these, some called "paprakes," some "tilones." 17.

So those of the Paeonians who had been captured were taken into Asia. Then Megabazus, having made the Paeonians captive, sent as messengers into Macedonia^{9*} the seven Persians who (after himself) were the most honorable in his army. These were sent to Amyntas to demand earth and water for Darius the king. [2] Now there is a very straight way from the Prasiad lake to Macedonia. First there is near the lake that mine from which Alexander later drew a daily revenue of a talent of silver, and when a person has passed the mine, he need only cross the mountain called Dysorum^{10*} to be in Macedonia. 18.

The Persians who had been sent as envoys came to Amyntas and demanded earth and water for Darius the king. He readily gave to them what they asked and invited them to be his guests, preparing a dinner of great splendor and receiving them hospitably. [2] After dinner, the Persians said to Amyntas as they sat drinking together, "Macedonian, our host, it is our custom in Persia to bring in also the

concubines and wedded wives to sit by the men after the giving of any great banquet. We ask you, then, (since you have received us heartily, are entertaining us nobly and are giving Darius our king earth and water) to follow our custom.” [3] To this Amyntas replied, “We have no such custom, Persians. Among us, men and women sit apart, but since you are our masters and are making this request, it shall be as you desire.” With that, Amyntas sent for the women. Upon being called, the women entered and sat down in a row opposite the Persians. [4] Then the Persians, seeing beautiful women before them, spoke to Amyntas and said that there was no sense in what he had done. It would be better if the women had never come at all than that they should come and not sit beside the men, but sit opposite them to torment their eyes. [5] Amyntas, now feeling compelled to do so, bade the women sit beside them. When the women had done as they were bidden, the Persians, flushed as they were with excess of wine, at once laid hands on the women’s breasts, and one or another tried to kiss them. 19.

This Amyntas saw, but held his peace despite his anger because he greatly feared the Persians. Amyntas’ son Alexander, however, because of his youth and ignorance of ill deeds, could not bear it longer and said to Amyntas in great wrath, “My father, do as your age demands. Leave us and take your rest; do not continue drinking. I will stay here and give our guests all that is needful.” [2] At this Amyntas saw that Alexander had some wild deed in mind and said, “My son, you are angered, and if I guess your meaning correctly, you are sending me away so that you may do some violent deed. I for my part, for fear that you will bring about our undoing, entreat you not to act rashly against these men, but to bear patiently the sight of what they do. If you want me to leave, to that I consent.” 20.

When Amyntas made this request and had gone his way, Alexander said to the Persians, “Sirs, you have full freedom to deal with these women, and may have intercourse with all or any of them. [2] As to that, you may make your own decision, but now, since the hour of your rest is drawing near and I see that you are all completely drunk, allow these women to depart and wash, if this is your desire. When they have washed, wait for them to come to you again.” [3] When he had said this and the Persians had given their consent, he

sent the women out and away to their apartments. Alexander then took as many beardless men as there were women, dressed them in the women's clothes, and gave them daggers. These he brought in, and said to the Persians, [4] "I believe, men of Persia, that you have feasted to your hearts' content. All that we had and all besides that we could find to give you has been set before you, and now we make you a free gift of our best and most valued possession, our own mothers and sisters. Be aware that in so doing we are giving you all the honor that you deserve, and tell your king who sent you how his Greek viceroy of Macedonia has received you hospitably, providing food and bedfellows." [5] With that, Alexander seated each of his Macedonians next to a Persian, as though they were women, and when the Persians began to lay hands on them, they were killed by the Macedonians. 21.

This was the way in which they perished, they and all their retinue. Carriages too had come with them, and servants, and all the great train they had. The Macedonians made away with all that, as well as with all the envoys themselves. [2] No long time afterwards the Persians made a great search for these men, but Alexander had cunning enough to put an end to it by the gift of a great sum and his own sister Gygaea to Bubares, a Persian and the general of those who were looking for the slain men. It was in this way, then, that the death of these Persians was kept silent. 22.

Now that these descendants of Perdiccas are Greeks, as they themselves say, I myself chance to know and will prove it in the later part of my history. Furthermore, the Hellenodicae^{11*} who manage the contest at Olympia determined that it is so, [2] for when Alexander chose to contend and entered the lists for that purpose, the Greeks who were to run against him wanted to bar him from the race, saying that the contest should be for Greeks and not for foreigners. Alexander, however, proving himself to be an Argive, was judged to be a Greek. He accordingly competed in the furlong race and tied step for first place. This, then, is approximately what happened. 23.

Megabazus, bringing with him the Paeonians, came to the Hellespont, and after crossing it from there, he came to Sardis. Histiaeus the Milesian was by this time fortifying the place which he had asked of Darius as his reward for guarding the bridge, a place

called Myrcinus by the river Strymon. Megabazus discovered what he was doing, and upon his arrival at Sardis with the Paeonians, he said to Darius, [2] “ Sire, what is this that you have done? You have permitted a clever and cunning Greek to build a city in Thrace, where there are abundant forests for ship-building, much wood for oars, mines of silver, and many people both Greek and foreign dwelling around, who, when they have a champion to lead them, will carry out all his orders by day or by night. [3] Stop this man, then, from doing these things so that you will not be entangled in a war with your own subjects, but use gentle means to do so. When you have him in your grasp, see to it that he never returns to Hellas.” ²⁴

Megabazus easily persuaded Darius, who believed that his vision of the future was correct. Presently the king sent a message to Myrcinus which read as follows: “ Histiaeus, these are the words of Darius the king: my thoughts can show me no man who is more devoted to me and my affairs. Not words but deeds have proven this to me. [2] Now, therefore, let nothing prevent you from coming to me so that I may inform you of certain great purposes which I have in mind.” Trusting these words, and proud, moreover, that he would be the king’s counsellor, Histiaeus came to Sardis. [3] When he had come, Darius said to him, “Histiaeus, I will tell you the reason why I sent for you. As soon as I returned from Scythia and you were gone from my sight, there was nothing which I longed for so much as seeing you and speaking with you, for I knew that the most precious of all possessions is a wise and loyal friend. That you are such I can bear witness to as regards my affairs. [4] Now, since you have done well in coming here, I make you this proposal. Leave Miletus and your newly founded Thracian city and follow me to Susa, where you will have all that is mine, sharing my table and my counsels.” ²⁵

This, then, is what Darius said, and after appointing Artaphrenes, his father’s son, to be viceroy of Sardis, he rode away to Susa, taking Histiaeus with him. First, however, he made Otanes governor of the people on the coast. Otanes’ father Sisamnes had been one of the royal judges,^{12*} and Cambyses had cut his throat and flayed off all his skin because he had been bribed to give an unjust judgment. Then he cut leather strips of the skin which had been torn away and with these he covered the seat upon which Sisamenes had sat to give

judgment. [2] After doing this, Cambyses appointed the son of this slain and flayed Sisamnes to be judge in his place, admonishing him to keep in mind the nature of the throne on which he was sitting. 26.

This Otanes, then, who sat upon that seat, was now made successor to Megabazus in his governorship. He captured Byzantium, Calchedon, Antandrus in the Troad, and Lamponium, and with ships he had taken from the Lesbians, he took Lemnos and Imbros, both of which were still inhabited by Pelasgians. 27.

The Lemnians fought well and defended themselves, till at last they were brought to evil plight, and the Persians set as governor over those that were left of them Lycaretus the brother of Maeandrius who had been king of Samos. [2] This Lycaretus met his end while ruling in Lemnos because he tried to enslave and subdue all the people, accusing some of shunning service against the Scythians and others of plundering Darius' army on its way back from Scythia. 28.

All this Otanes achieved when he had been made governor. After only a short period of time without evils, trouble began once more to come on the Ionians, and this from Naxos and Miletus. Naxos surpassed all the other islands in prosperity, and at about the same time Miletus, at the height of her fortunes, was the glory of Ionia. Two generations before this, however, she had been very greatly troubled by factional strife, till the Parians, chosen out of all the Greeks by the Milesians for this purpose, made peace among them, 29.

The Parians reconciled them in the following manner. Their best men came to Miletus, and seeing the Milesian households sadly wasted, they said that they desired to go about the country. They then made their way through all the territory of Miletus, and whenever they found any well-tilled farm in the desolation of the land, they wrote down the name of the owner of that farm. [2] After travelling over the whole country and finding only a few such men, they assembled the people immediately upon their return to the city and appointed as rulers of the state those whose lands they had found well tilled. This they did in the belief that these men were likely to take as good care of public affairs as they had of their own, and they ordained that the rest of the Milesians who had been at feud should obey these men. 30.

It was in this way that the Parians made peace in Miletus, but now these cities began to bring trouble upon Ionia. Certain men of substance who had been banished by the common people, went in exile to Miletus. [2] Now it chanced that the deputy ruling Miletus was Aristagoras son of Molpagoras, son-in-law and cousin of that Histiaeus son of Lysagoras whom Darius kept with him at Susa. Histiaeus was tyrant of Miletus but was at Susa when the Naxians, who had been his guests and friends, arrived. [3] When the Naxians came to Miletus, they asked Aristagoras if he could give them enough power to return to their own country. Believing that he would become ruler of Naxos if they were restored to their city with his help and using as a pretext their friendship with Histiaeus, he made them this proposal: [4] "I myself do not have the authority to give you such power as will restore you against the will of the Naxians who hold your city, for I know that the Naxians have eight thousand men that bear shields, and many ships of war. Nevertheless, I will do everything I can to realize your request. [5] This is my plan. Artaphrenes is my friend, and he is not only Hystaspes' son and brother to Darius the king but also governor of all the coastal peoples of Asia. He accordingly has a great army and many ships at his disposal. This man, then, will, I think, do whatever we desire." [6] Hearing this, the Naxians left the matter for Aristagoras to deal with as best he could, asking him to promise gifts and the costs of the army, for which they themselves would pay since they had great hope that when they should appear off Naxos, the Naxians would obey all their commands. The rest of the islanders, they expected, would do likewise since none of these Cycladic islands was as yet subject to Darius. 31.

Aristagoras came to Sardis and told Artaphrenes that Naxos was indeed an island of no great size, but that it was otherwise a beautiful and noble island lying near Ionia. Furthermore it had a store of wealth and slaves. "Therefore send an army against that country," he said, "and bring back the men who have been banished from there. [2] If you so do, I have a great sum of money at your disposal, over and above the costs of the force, for it is only fair that we, who bring you, should furnish that. Furthermore, you will win new dominions for the king, Naxos itself and the islands which are its dependents,

Paros, Andros, and the rest of those that are called Cyclades. [3] Making these your starting point, you will easily attack Euboea, which is a great and a wealthy island, no smaller than Cyprus and very easy to take. A hundred ships suffice for the conquest of all these.” [4] “This plan which you set forth,” Artaphrenes answered, “is profitable for the king’s house, and all your advice is good except as regards the number of the ships. Not one hundred but two hundred ships will be ready for you when the spring comes. The king too, however, must himself consent to this.” 32.

When Aristagoras heard that, he went away to Miletus in great joy. Artaphrenes sent a messenger to Susa with the news of what Aristagoras said, and when Darius himself too had consented to the plan, he equipped two hundred triremes and a very great company of Persians and their allies in addition. For their general he appointed Megabates, a Persian of the Achaemenid family, cousin to himself and to Darius. This was he whose daughter (if indeed the tale is true) Pausanias the Lacedaemonian, son of Cleombrotus, at a later day betrothed to himself, since it was his wish to possess the sovereignty of Hellas. After appointing Megabates general, Artaphrenes sent his army away to Aristagoras. 33.

Then Megabates,^{13*} bringing Aristagoras from Miletus, the Ionian army, and the Naxians, pretended to be sailing to the Hellespont, but when he came to Chios, he put in with his ships at Caucasa^{14*} so that he might cross with a north wind to Naxos. [2] Since it was not fated that the Naxians were to be destroyed by this force, the following things took place. As Megabates was making his rounds among the ships’ watches, it chanced that there was no watch on the ship of Myndus. Megabates, very angry at this, ordered his guards to find the captain of this ship, whose name was Scylax, and thrust him partly through an oar-hole of the ship and bound him there so that his head was outside the ship and his body inside. [3] When Scylax had been bound, someone brought word to Aristagoras, that his Myndian friend was bound and being disgracefully treated by Megabates. Aristagoras then went and pleaded with the Persian for Scylax, but since he obtained nothing that he requested, he went and released the man himself. When Megabates learned this, he took it very badly and was angry at Aristagoras. [4] Aristagoras, however, said, “But you,

what have you to do with these matters? Did not Artaphrenes send you to obey me and to sail wherever I bid you? Why are you so meddlesome?" This response on the part of Aristagoras enraged Megabates, who, went night fell, sent men in a boat to Naxos to tell the Naxians of the trouble in store for them. 34.

Now the Naxians had no suspicion at all that it was they who were to be attacked by that force. However, when they learned the truth, they immediately brought inside their walls all that was in their fields, stored both meat and drink in case of a siege, and strengthened their walls. [2] The Naxians, then, made all preparations to face the onset of war. When their enemies had brought their ships over from Chios to Naxos, it was a fortified city that they attacked, and for four months they besieged it. [3] When the Persians had exhausted all the money with which they had come, and Aristagoras himself had spent much beside, they built a stronghold for the banished Naxians, and went off to the mainland in poor spirits since still more money was needed for the siege. 35.

Aristagoras had no way of fulfilling his promise to Artaphrenes, and he was hard-pressed by demands for the costs of the force. Furthermore he feared what might come of the failure of the army and Megabates' displeasure against him. It was likely, he thought, that his lordship of Miletus would be taken away from him. [2] With all these fears in his mind, he began to plan revolt, for it chanced that at that very time there came from Susa Histiaeus' messenger, the man with the marked head, signifying that Aristagoras should revolt from the king. [3] Since Histiaeus desired to give word to Aristagoras that he should revolt and had no other safe way of doing so because the roads were guarded, he shaved and branded the head of his most trustworthy slave. He waited till the hair had grown again, and as soon as it was grown, he sent the man to Miletus with no other message except that when he came to Miletus he must bid Aristagoras shave his hair and examine his head. The writing branded on it signified revolt, as I have already said. [4] This Histiaeus did because he greatly disliked his detention at Susa and fully expected to be sent away to the coast in the case that there should be a revolt. If, however, Miletus remained at peace, he calculated that he would never return there. 36.

With this intent, then, Histiaeus sent his messenger, and it chanced that all these things came upon Aristagoras at one and the same time. He accordingly took counsel with the members of his faction, stating his own opinion as well as the message which had come to him from Histiaeus. [2] All the rest spoke their minds to the same effect, favoring revolt, with the exception of Hecataeus the historian who, listing all the nations subject to Darius and all his power, advised them that they should not make war on the king of Persia. When, however, he failed to persuade them, he counselled them that their next best plan was to make themselves masters of the sea. [3] This, he said, could only be accomplished in one way (Miletus, he knew, was a city of no great wealth), namely if they took away from the temple at Branchidae^{15*} the treasure which Croesus the Lydian had dedicated there. With this at their disposal, he fully expected them to gain the mastery of the sea. They would then have the use of that treasure and their enemies would not be able to plunder it. [4] The treasure was very great, as I have shown in the beginning of my account. This plan was not approved, and they resolved that they would revolt. One out of their number was to sail to Myus, to the army which had left Naxos and was there, and attempt to seize the generals who were aboard the ships. 37.

Iatragoras, who had been sent for this very purpose, craftily seized Oliatus of Mylasa son of Ibanollis; Histiaeus of Termera son of Tymnes; Coes son of Erxandrus, to whom Darius gave Mytilene; Aristagoras of Cyme, son of Heraclides; and many others besides. Then Aristagoras revolted openly, devising all he could to harm Darius. [2] First he made pretence of giving up his tyranny and gave Miletus equality of government so that the Milesians might readily join in his revolt. Then he proceeded to do the same things in the rest of Ionia. Some of the tyrants he banished, and as for those tyrants whom he had taken out of the ships that sailed with him against Naxos, he handed them each over to their respective cities, which he wished to please. 38.

Coes, when the Mytilenaeans received him, was taken out and stoned, but the Cymaeans, as well as most of the others, let their own man go. [2] In this way, then, an end was made of tyrants in the cities. After doing away with the tyrants, Aristagoras of Miletus ordered all

the peoples to set up governors in each city. Then he went on an embassy in a trireme to Lacedaemon, for it was necessary for him to find some strong ally.^{16*} 39.

At Sparta, Anaxandrides the son of Leon, who had been king, was now no longer alive but was dead, and Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides held the royal power. This he had won not by manly merit but by right of birth. Anaxandrides had as his wife his own sister's daughter, and although he was content with her, no children were born to him. [2] Since this was the case, the Ephors called him to them and said, "Even if you have no interest in caring for yourself, we cannot allow the house of Eurysthenes to perish. Therefore send away the wife that you have, seeing that she bears you no children, and wed another. If you do this, you will please the Spartans." Anaxandrides, however, said in response that he would do neither of these things and that they were not giving him good advice in bidding him to get rid of his present wife, who was blameless, and to marry another. 40.

Then the Ephors and Elders took counsel, and placed this proposal before Anaxandrides: "Since, as we see, you cling to the wife that you have, carry out our command, and do not hold out against it, bearing in mind that the Spartans will certainly find some other way of dealing with you. [2] As for the wife that you have, we do not ask that you send her away. Keep providing her with all that you give her now and marry another woman in addition who can give you children." So they spoke, and Anaxandrides consented. Presently he had two wives and kept two households, a thing which is not at all customary at Sparta. 41.

After no long time the second wife gave birth to Cleomenes. She, then, gave the Spartans an heir to the royal power, and as luck would have it, the first wife, who had been barren before, conceived at that very time. [2] When the friends of the new wife learned that the other woman was pregnant, they began to make trouble for her. They said that she was making an empty boast, so that she might substitute a child. The Ephors were angry, and when her time drew near, they sat around to watch her in childbirth because of their skepticism. [3] She gave birth first to Dorieus, then straightway to Leonidas, and right after him to Cleombrotus. Some, however, say that Cleombrotus and

Leonidas were twins. As for the later wife, the mother of Cleomenes and the daughter of Prinetas son of Demarmenus, she bore no more children. 42.

Now Cleomenes, as the story goes, was not in his right mind and really quite mad, while Dorieus was first among all of his peers and fully believed that he would be made king for his manly worth. [2] Since he was of this opinion, Dorieus was very angry when at Anaxandrides' death the Lacedaemonians followed their custom and made Cleomenes king by right of age. Since he would not tolerate being made subject to Cleomenes, he asked the Spartans for a group of people whom he took away as colonists. He neither inquired of the oracle at Delphi in what land he should establish his settlement, nor did anything else that was customary but set sail in great anger for Libya, with men of Thera to guide him. [3] When he arrived there, he settled by the Cinyrs river in the fairest part of Libya, but in the third year he was driven out by the Macae, the Libyans and the Carchedonians and returned to the Peloponnesus. 43.

There Antichares, a man of Eleon,^{17*} advised him, on the basis of the oracles of Laius, to plant a colony at Heraclea in Sicily, for Heracles^{18*} himself, said Antichares, had won all the region of Eryx, which accordingly belonged to his descendants. When Dorieus heard that, he went away to Delphi to enquire of the oracle if he should seize the place to which he was preparing to go. The priestess responded that it should be so, and he took with him the company that he had led to Libya and went to Italy. 44.

Now at this time,^{19*} as the Sybarites say, they and their king Telys were making ready to march against Croton, and the men of Croton, who were very much afraid, entreated Dorieus to come to their aid. Their request was granted, and Dorieus marched with them to Sybaris helping them to take it. [2] This is the story which the Sybarites tell of Dorieus and his companions, but the Crotoniats say that they were aided by no stranger in their war with Sybaris with the exception of Callias, an Elean diviner of the Iamid clan. About him there was a story that he had fled to Croton from Telys, the tyrant of Sybaris, because as he was sacrificing for victory over Croton, he could obtain no favorable omens. 45.

This is their tale, and both cities have proof of the truth of what

they say. The Sybarites point to a precinct and a temple beside the dry bed of the Crathis, which, they say, Dorieus founded in honor of Athena of Crathis after he had helped to take their city. and find their strongest proof in his death. He perished through doing more than the oracle bade him, for if he had accomplished no more than that which he set out to do, he would have taken and held the Erycine region without bringing about the death of himself and his army. [2] The Crotoniats, on the other hand, show many plots of land which had been set apart for and given to Callias of Elis and on which Callias' posterity dwelt even to my time but show no gift to Dorieus and his descendants. They claim, however, that if Dorieus had aided them in their war with Sybaris, he would have received a reward many times greater than what was given to Callias. This, then is the evidence brought forward by each party, and each may side with that which seems to him to deserve more credence. 46.

Other Spartans too sailed with Dorieus to found his colony, namely, Thessalus, Paraebates, Celees, and Euryleon. When these men had come to Sicily with all their company, they were all overcome and slain in battle by the Phoenicians and Egestans, all, that is, except Euryleon, who was the only settler that survived this disaster. [2] He mustered the remnant of his army and took Minoa, the colony from Selinus, and aided in freeing the people of Selinus from their monarch Pithagoras. After deposing this man, he himself attempted to become tyrant of Selinus but was monarch there for only a little while since the people of the place rose against him and slew him at the altar of Zeus of the marketplace, to which he had fled for refuge. 47.

Philippus of Croton, son of Butacides, was among those who followed Dorieus and were slain with him. He had been betrothed to the daughter of Telys of Sybaris but was banished from Croton. Cheated out of his marriage, he sailed away to Cyrene, from where he set forth and followed Dorieus, bringing his own trireme and covering all expenses for his men. This Philippus was a victor at Olympia and the fairest Greek of his day. [2] For his physical beauty he received from the Egestans honors accorded to no one else. They built a hero's shrine by his grave and offer him sacrifices of propitiation. 48.

Such, then, was the manner of Dorieus' death. Had he endured Cleomenes' rule and stayed at Sparta he would have been king of Lacedaemon, for Cleomenes reigned no long time, and died leaving no son but one only daughter, whose name was Gorgo. 49.

It was in the reign of Cleomenes that Aristagoras the tyrant of Miletus came to Sparta. When he had an audience with the king, as the Lacedaemonians report, he brought with him a bronze tablet on which the map of all the earth was engraved, and all the sea and all the rivers. [2] Having been admitted to converse with Cleomenes, Aristagoras spoke thus to him: "Do not wonder, Cleomenes, that I have been so eager to come here, for our present situation is such that the sons of the Ionians are slaves and not free men, which is shameful and grievous particularly to ourselves but also, of all others, to you, inasmuch as you are the leaders of Hellas. [3] Now, therefore, we entreat you by the gods of Hellas to save your Ionian kinsmen from slavery. This is a thing which you can easily achieve, for the strangers are not valiant men while your valor in war is preeminent. As for their manner of fighting, they carry bows and short spears, and they go to battle with trousers on their legs and turbans on their heads. [4] Accordingly, they are easy to overcome. Furthermore, the inhabitants of that continent have more good things than all other men together, gold first but also silver, bronze, colored cloth, beasts of burden, and slaves. All this you can have to your heart's desire. [5] The lands in which they dwell lie next to each other, as I shall show: next to the Ionians are the Lydians, who inhabit a good land and have great store of silver." (This he said pointing to the map of the earth which he had brought engraved on the tablet.) "Next to the Lydians," said Aristagoras, "you see the Phrygians to the east, men that of all known to me are the richest in flocks and in the fruits of the earth. [6] Close by them are the Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians, and their neighbors are the Cilicians, whose land reaches to the sea over there, in which you see the island of Cyprus lying. The yearly tribute which they pay to the king is five hundred talents. Next to the Cilicians, are the Armenians, another people rich in flocks, and after the Armenians, the Matieni, whose country I show you. [7] Adjoining these you see the Cissian land, in which, on the Choaspes, lies that Susa where the great king lives and where the

storehouses of his wealth are located. Take that city, and you need not fear to challenge Zeus for riches. [8] You should suspend your war, then, for strips of land of no great worth — for that fight with with Messenians, who are matched in strength with you, and Arcadians and Argives, men who have nothing in the way of gold or silver (for which things many are spurred by zeal to fight and die). Yet when you can readily be masters of all Asia, will you refuse to attempt it?” [9] Thus spoke Aristagoras, and Cleomenes replied: “Milesian, my guest, wait till the third day for my answer.” 50.

At that time, then, they got so far. When, on the day appointed for the answer, they came to the place upon which they had agreed, Cleomenes asked Aristagoras how many days’ journey it was from the Ionian sea to the king. [2] Till now, Aristagoras had been cunning and fooled the Spartan well, but here he made a false step. If he desired to take the Spartans away into Asia he should never have told the truth, but he did tell it, and said that it was a three months’ journey inland. [3] At that, Cleomenes cut short Aristagoras’ account of the prospective journey. He then bade his Milesian guest depart from Sparta before sunset, for never, he said, would the Lacedaemonians listen to the plan, if Aristagoras desired to lead them a three months’ journey from the sea. 51.

Cleomenes went to his house after this exchange, but Aristagoras took a suppliant’s garb and followed him there. Upon entering, he used a suppliant’s right to beg Cleomenes to listen to him. He first asked Cleomenes to send away the child, his daughter Gorgo, who was standing by him. She was his only child, and was about eight or nine years of age. Cleomenes bade him say whatever he wanted and not let the child’s presence hinder him. [2] Then Aristagoras began to promise Cleomenes from ten talents upwards, if he would grant his request. When Cleomenes refused, Aristagoras offered him ever more and more. When he finally promised fifty talents the child cried out, “Father, the stranger will corrupt you, unless you leave him and go away.” [3] Cleomenes was pleased with the child’s counsel and went into another room while Aristagoras departed from Sparta, finding no further occasion for telling of the journey inland to the king’s palace. 52.

Now the nature of this road^{20*} is as I will show. All along it are the

king's road stations and very good resting places, and the whole of it passes through country that is inhabited and safe. Its course through Lydia and Phrygia is of the length of twenty stages, and ninety-four and a half parasangs. [2] Next after Phrygia it comes to the river Halys, where there is both a defile which must be passed before the river can be crossed and a great fortress to guard it. After the passage into Cappadocia, the road in that land as far as the borders of Cilicia is of twenty-eight stages and one hundred and four parasangs. On this frontier you must ride through two defiles and pass two fortresses. [3] Ride past these, and you will have a journey through Cilica of three stages and fifteen and a half parasangs. The boundary of Cilicia and Armenia is a navigable river, the name of which is the Euphrates. In Armenia there are fifteen resting-stages and fifty-six and a half parasangs. Here too there is a fortress. From Armenia the road enters the Matienian land, in which there are thirty-four stages and one hundred and thirty-seven parasangs. [4] Through this land flow four navigable rivers which must be passed by ferries, first the Tigris, then a second and a third of the same name, yet not the same stream nor flowing from the same source. The first-mentioned of them flows from the Armenians and the second from the Matieni. [5] The fourth river is called Gyndes, that Gyndes which Cyrus parted once into three hundred and sixty channels.^{21*} [6] When this country is passed, the road is in the Cissian land, where there are eleven stages and forty-two and a half parasangs, as far as yet another navigable river, the Choaspes, on the banks of which stands the city of Susa. 53.

Thus the sum total of stages is one hundred and eleven. So many resting-stages, then, are there in the journey up from Sardis to Susa. If I have accurately counted the parasangs of the royal road, and the parasang is of thirty furlongs' length, which assuredly it is, then between Sardis and the king's abode called Memnonian^{22*} there are thirteen thousand and five hundred furlongs, the number of parasangs being four hundred and fifty. If each day's journey is one hundred and fifty furlongs, then the sum of days spent is ninety, neither more nor less. 54.

Aristagoras of Miletus accordingly spoke the truth to Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian when he said that the journey inland was three months long. If anyone should desire a more exact measurement, I

will give him that too, for the journey from Ephesus to Sardis must be added to the rest. [2] So, then, from the Greek sea to Susa, which is the city called Memnonian, it is a journey of fourteen thousand and forty stages, for there are five hundred and forty furlongs from Ephesus to Sardis. The three months' journey is accordingly made longer by three days. 55.

When he was forced to leave Sparta, Aristagoras went to Athens, which had been freed from its ruling tyrants in the manner that I will show. First Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus and brother of the tyrant Hippias, had been slain by Aristogiton and Harmodius, men of Gephyraean descent. This was in fact an evil of which he had received a premonition in a dream. After this the Athenians were subject for four years to a tyranny not less but even more absolute than before. 56.

Now this was the vision which Hipparchus saw in a dream: in the night before the Panathenaea he thought that a tall and handsome man stood over him uttering these riddling verses: "O lion, endure the unendurable with a lion's heart.

No man on earth does wrong without paying the penalty.

" [2]

As soon as it was day, he imparted this to the interpreters of dreams, and presently putting the vision from his mind, he led the procession in which he met his death.^{23*} 57.

Now the Gephyraean clan, of which the slayers of Hipparchus were members, claim to have come at first from Eretria, but my own enquiry shows that they were among the Phoenicians^{24*} who came with Cadmus to the country now called Boeotia. In that country the lands of Tanagra were allotted to them, and this is where they settled.

[2] The Cadmeans had first been expelled from there by the Argives,^{25*} and these Gephyraeans were forced to go to Athens after being expelled in turn by the Boeotians. The Athenians received them as citizens of their own on set terms, debarring them from many practices not deserving of mention here. 58.

These Phoenicians who came with Cadmus and of whom the Gephyraeans were a part brought with them to Hellas, among many other kinds of learning, the alphabet, which had been unknown before this, I think, to the Greeks. As time went on the sound and the

form of the letters were changed. [2] At this time the Greeks who were settled around them were for the most part Ionians, and after being taught the letters by the Phoenicians, they used them with a few changes of form. In so doing, they gave to these characters the name of Phoenician, as was quite fair seeing that the Phoenicians had brought them into Greece.^{26*} [3] The Ionians have also from ancient times called sheets of papyrus skins, since they formerly used the skins of sheep and goats due to the lack of papyrus. Even to this day there are many foreigners who write on such skins. 59.

I have myself seen Cadmean writing in the temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes of Boeotia engraved on certain tripods and for the most part looking like Ionian letters. On one of the tripods there is this inscription: “Amphitryon dedicated me from the spoils of^{27*} Teleboae.
“

This would date from about the time of Laius the son of Labdacus, grandson of Polydorus and great-grandson of Cadmus. 60.

A second tripod says, in hexameter verse: “Scaeus the boxer,
victorious in the contest,
Gave me to Apollo, the archer god, a lovely offering.
“

Scaeus the son of Hippocoon, if he is indeed the dedicator and not another of the same name, would have lived at the time of Oedipus son of Laius. 61.

The third tripod says, in hexameter verse again: “Laodamas, while he reigned, dedicated this cauldron
To Apollo, the sure of aim, as a lovely offering.
“ [2]

During the rule of this Laodamas son of Eteocles, the Cadmeans were expelled by the Argives and went away to the Encheleis. The Gephyraeans were left behind but were later compelled by the Boeotians to withdraw to Athens. They have certain set forms of worship at Athens in which the rest of the Athenians take no part,

particularly the rites and mysteries of Achaean Demeter. 62.

I have told both of the vision of Hipparchus' dream and of the first origin of the Gephyreans, to whom the slayers of Hipparchus belonged. Now I must go further and return to the story which I began to tell, namely how the Athenians were freed from their tyrants. [2] Hippias, their tyrant, was growing ever more bitter in enmity against the Athenians because of Hipparchus' death, and the Alcmeonidae, a family of Athenian stock banished by the sons of Pisistratus, attempted with the rest of the exiled Athenians to make their way back by force and free Athens. They were not successful in their return and suffered instead a great reverse. After fortifying Lipsydrum north of Paeonia, they, in their desire to use all devices against the sons of Pisistratus, hired themselves to the Amphictyons for the building of the temple at Delphi which exists now but was not there yet then. [3] Since they were wealthy and like their fathers men of reputation, they made the temple more beautiful than the model showed. In particular, whereas they had agreed to build the temple of tufa, they made its front of Parian marble. 63.

These men, as the Athenians say, established themselves at Delphi and bribed the Pythian priestess to bid any Spartans who should come to inquire of her on a private or a public account to set Athens free. [2] Then the Lacedaemonians, when the same command was ever revealed to them, sent Anchimolius the son of Aster, a citizen of repute, to drive out the sons of Pisistratus with an army despite the fact that the Pisistratidae were their close friends, for the god's will weighed with them more than the will of man. [3] They sent these men by sea on shipboard. Anchimolius put in at Phalerum and disembarked his army there. The sons of Pisistratus, however, had received word of the plan already, and sent to ask help from the Thessalians with whom they had an alliance. The Thessalians, at their entreaty, joined together and sent their own king, Cineas of Conium, with a thousand horsemen. When the Pisistratidae got these allies, they devised the following plan. [4] First they laid waste the plain of Phalerum so that all that land could be ridden over and then launched their cavalry against the enemy's army. Then the horsemen charged and slew Anchimolius and many more of the Lacedaemonians, and drove those that survived to their ships.

Accordingly, the first Lacedaemonian army drew off, and Anchimolius' tomb is at Alopecae in Attica, near to the Heracleum in Cynosarges.^{28*} 64.

After this the Lacedaemonians sent out a greater army to attack Athens, appointing as its general their king Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides. This army they sent not by sea but by land. [2] When they broke into Attica, the Thessalian horsemen were the first to meet them. They were routed after only a short time, and more than forty men were slain. Those who were left alive made off for Thessaly by the nearest way they could. Then Cleomenes, when he and the Athenians who desired freedom came into the city, drove the tyrants' family within the Pelasgic wall^{29*} and besieged them there. 65.

The Lacedaemonians would never have taken the Pisistratid stronghold. First of all they had no intention to blockade it, and secondly the Pisistratidae were well furnished with food and drink. The Lacedaemonians would only have besieged the place for a few days and then returned to Sparta. As it was, however, there was a turn of fortune which harmed the one party and helped the other, for the sons of the Pisistratid family were taken as they were being secretly carried out of the country. [2] When this happened, all their plans were confounded, and they agreed to depart from Attica within five days on the terms prescribed to them by the Athenians in return for the recovery of their children. [3] Afterwards they departed to Sigeum on the Scamander. They had ruled the Athenians for thirty-six years^{30*} and were in lineage of the house of Pylos and Neleus, born of the same ancestors as the families of Codrus and Melanthus, who had formerly come from foreign parts to be kings of Athens. [4] It was for this reason that Hippocrates gave his son the name Pisistratus as a remembrance, calling him after Pisistratus the son of Nestor. [5] This is the way, then, that the Athenians got rid of their tyrants. As regards all the noteworthy things which they did or endured after they were freed and before Ionia revolted from Darius and Aristagoras of Miletus came to Athens to ask help of its people, of these I will first give an account. 66.

Athens, which had been great before, now grew even greater when her tyrants had been removed. The two principal holders of

power were Cleisthenes an Alcmaeonid, who was reputed to have bribed the Pythian priestess, and Isagoras son of Tisandrus, a man of a notable house but his lineage I cannot say. His kinsfolk, at any rate, sacrifice to Zeus of Caria. [2] These men with their factions fell to contending for power, Cleisthenes was getting the worst of it in this dispute and took the commons into his party.^{31*} Presently he divided the Athenians into ten tribes instead of four as formerly. He called none after the names of the sons of Ion — Geleon, Aegicores, Argades, and Hoples — but invented for them names taken from other heroes, all native to the country except Aias. Him he added despite the fact that he was a stranger because he was a neighbor and an ally. 67.

In doing this, to my thinking, this Cleisthenes was imitating his own mother's father, Cleisthenes the tyrant of Sicyon,^{32*} for Cleisthenes, after going to war with the Argives, made an end of minstrels' contests at Sicyon by reason of the Homeric poems, in which it is the Argives and Argos which are primarily the theme of the songs. Furthermore, he conceived the desire to cast out from the land Adrastus son of Talaus, the hero whose shrine stood then as now in the very marketplace of Sicyon because he was an Argive. [2] He went then to Delphi, and asked the oracle if he should cast Adrastus out, but the priestess said in response: "Adrastus is king of Sicyon, and you but a stone thrower." When the god would not permit him to do as he wished in this matter, he returned home and attempted to devise some plan which might rid him of Adrastus. When he thought he had found one, he sent to Boeotian Thebes saying that he would gladly bring Melanippus son of Astacus into his country, and the Thebans handed him over. [3] When Cleisthenes had brought him in, he consecrated a sanctuary for him in the government house itself, where he was established in the greatest possible security. Now the reason why Cleisthenes brought in Melanippus, a thing which I must relate, was that Melanippus was Adrastus' deadliest enemy, for Adrastus had slain his brother Mecisteus and his son-in-law Tydeus. [4] Having then designated the precinct for him, Cleisthenes took away all Adrastus' sacrifices and festivals and gave them to Melanippus. The Sicyonians had been accustomed to pay very great honor to Adrastus because the country had once belonged to Polybus,

his maternal grandfather, who died without an heir and bequeathed the kingship to him. [5] Besides other honors paid to Adrastus by the Sicyonians, they celebrated his lamentable fate with tragic choruses in honor not of Dionysus but of Adrastus. Cleisthenes, however, gave the choruses back to Dionysus and the rest of the worship to Melanippus. 68.

This, then, is what he did regarding Adrastus, but as for the tribes of the Dorians, he changed their names so that these tribes should not be shared by Sicyonians and Argives. In this especially he made a laughing-stock of the Sicyonians, for he gave the tribes names derived from the words ‘donkey’ and ‘pig’ changing only the endings. The name of his own tribe, however, he did not change in this way, but rather gave it a name indicating his own rule, calling it Archelaoi, rulers of the people. The rest were Swinites, Assites and Porkites. [2] These were the names of the tribes which the Sicyonians used under Cleisthenes’ rule and for sixty years more after his death. Afterwards, however, they took counsel together and both changed the names of three to Hylleis, Pamphyli, and Dymanatae, and added a fourth which they called Aegialeis after Aegialeus son of Adrastus. 69.

This is what the Sicyonian Cleisthenes had done, and the Athenian Cleisthenes, following the lead of his grandfather and namesake, decided out of contempt, I imagine, for the Ionians, that his tribes should not be the same as theirs. [2] When he had drawn into his own party the Athenian people, which was then debarred from all rights, he gave the tribes new names and increased their number, making ten tribe-wardens in place of four, and assigning ten districts to each tribe. When he had won over the people, he was stronger by far than the rival faction. 70.

Isagoras, who was on the losing side, devised a counter-plot, and invited the aid of Cleomenes, who had been his friend since the besieging of the Pisistratidae. It was even said of Cleomenes that he regularly went to see Isagoras’ wife. [2] Then Cleomenes first sent a herald to Athens demanding the banishment of Cleisthenes and many other Athenians with him, the Accursed, as he called them. This he said in his message by Isagoras’ instruction, for the Alcmeonidae and their faction were held to be guilty of that bloody deed while

Isagoras and his friends had no part in it. 71.

How the Accursed at Athens had received their name, I will now relate. There was an Athenian named Cylon, who had been a winner at Olympia. This man put on the air of one who aimed at tyranny, and gathering a company of men of like age, he attempted to seize the citadel. When he could not win it, he took sanctuary by the goddess' statue. [2] He and his men were then removed from their position by the presidents of the naval boards,^{33*} the rulers of Athens at that time. Although they were subject to any penalty save death, they were slain, and their death was attributed to the Alcmaeonidae. All this took place before the time of Pisistratus.^{34*} 72.

When Cleomenes had sent for and demanded the banishment of Cleisthenes and the Accursed, Cleisthenes himself secretly departed. Afterwards, however, Cleomenes appeared in Athens with no great force. Upon his arrival, he, in order to take away the curse, banished seven hundred Athenian families named for him by Isagoras. Having so done he next attempted to dissolve the Council,^{35*} entrusting the offices of government to Isagoras' faction. [2] The Council, however, resisted him, whereupon Cleomenes and Isagoras and his partisans seized the acropolis. The rest of the Athenians united and besieged them for two days. On the third day as many of them as were Lacedaemonians left the country under truce. [3] The prophetic voice that Cleomenes heard accordingly had its fulfillment, for when he went up to the acropolis with the intention of taking possession of it, he approached the shrine of the goddess to address himself to her. The priestess rose up from her seat, and before he had passed through the door-way, she said, "Go back, Lacedaemonian stranger, and do not enter the holy place since it is not lawful that Dorians should pass in here. "My lady," he answered, "I am not a Dorian, but an Achaean." [4] So without taking heed of the omen, he tried to do as he pleased and was, as I have said, then again cast out together with his Lacedaemonians. As for the rest, the Athenians imprisoned them under sentence of death. Among the prisoners was Timesitheus the Delphian, whose achievements of strength and courage were quite formidable. 73.

These men, then, were bound and put to death. After that, the Athenians sent to bring back Cleisthenes and the seven hundred

households banished by Cleomenes. Then, desiring to make an alliance with the Persians, they despatched envoys to Sardis, for they knew that they had provoked the Lacedaemonians and Cleomenes to war. [2] When the envoys came to Sardis and spoke as they had been bidden, Artaphrenes son of Hystaspes, viceroy of Sardis, asked them, “What men are you and where do you live, who desire alliance with the Persians?” When he had received the information he wanted from the envoys, he gave them an answer the substance of which was that if the Athenians gave king Darius earth and water, then he would make an alliance with them, but if not, his command was that they should depart. [3] The envoys consulted together, and in their desire to make the alliance, they consented to give what was asked. They then returned to their own country and were there greatly blamed for what they had done. 74.

Cleomenes, however, fully aware that the Athenians had done him wrong in word and deed, mustered an army from the whole of the Peloponnesus. He did not declare the purpose for which he mustered it, namely to avenge himself on the Athenian people and set up Isagoras, who had come with him out of the acropolis, as tyrant. [2] Cleomenes broke in as far as Eleusis with a great host, and the Boeotians, by a concerted plan, took Oenoe and Hysiae, districts on the borders of Attica, while the Chalcidians attacked on another side and raided lands in Attica. The Athenians, who were now caught in a ring of foes, decided to oppose the Spartans at Eleusis and to deal with the Boeotians and Chalcidians later. 75.

When the armies were about to join battle, the Corinthians, coming to the conclusion that they were acting wrongly, changed their minds and departed. Later Demaratus son of Ariston, the other king of Sparta, did likewise, despite the fact that he had come with Cleomenes from Lacedaemon in joint command of the army and had not till now been at variance with him. [2] As a result of this dissension, a law was made at Sparta that when an army was despatched, both kings would not be permitted to go with it. Until that time they had both gone together, but now one of the kings was released from service and one of the sons of Tyndarus too could be left at home. Before that time, both of these also were asked to give aid and went with the army. [3] So now at Eleusis, when the rest of the

allies saw that the Lacedaemonian kings were not of one mind and that the Corinthians had left their host, they too went off. 76.

This was the fourth time that Dorians had come into Attica. They had come twice as invaders in war and twice as helpers of the Athenian people. The first time was when they planted a settlement at Megara^{36*} (this expedition may rightly be said to have been in the reign of Codrus), the second and third when they set out from Sparta to drive out the sons of Pisistratus, and the fourth was now, when Cleomenes broke in as far as Eleusis with his following of Peloponnesians. This was accordingly the fourth Dorian invasion of Athens. 77.

When this force then had been ingloriously scattered, the Athenians first marched against the Chalcidians to punish them. The Boeotians came to the Euripus to help the Chalcidians and as soon as the Athenians saw these allies, they resolved to attack the Boeotians before the Chalcidians. [2] When they met the Boeotians in battle, they won a great victory, slaying very many and taking seven hundred of them prisoner. On that same day the Athenians crossed to Euboea where they met the Chalcidians too in battle, and after overcoming them as well, they left four thousand tenant farmers^{37*} on the lands of the horse-breeders. [3] Horse-breeders was the name given to the men of substance among the Chalcidians. They fettered as many of these as they took alive and kept them imprisoned with the captive Boeotians. In time, however, they set them free, each for an assessed ransom of two minae. The fetters in which the prisoners had been bound they hung up in the acropolis, where they could still be seen in my time hanging from walls which the Persians' fire had charred, opposite the temple which faces west. [4] Moreover, they made a dedication of a tenth part of the ransom, and this money was used for the making of a four-horse chariot which stands on the left hand of the entrance into the outer porch of the acropolis and^{38*} bears this inscription: "Athens with Chalcis and Boeotia fought, Bound them in chains and brought their pride to naught. Prison was grief, and ransom cost them dear- One tenth to Pallas raised this chariot here.

" 78.

So the Athenians grew in power and proved, not in one respect

only but in all, that equality is a good thing. Evidence for this is the fact that while they were under tyrannical rulers, the Athenians were no better in war than any of their neighbors, yet once they got rid of their tyrants, they were by far the best of all. This, then, shows that while they were oppressed, they were, as men working for a master, cowardly, but when they were freed, each one was eager to achieve for himself. ⁷⁹.

This, then, is the course of action which the Athenians took, and the Thebans, desiring vengeance on Athens, afterwards appealed to Delphi for advice. The Pythian priestess said that the Thebans themselves would not be able to obtain the vengeance they wanted and that they should lay the matter before the “many-voiced” and entreat their “nearest.” ^[2] Upon the return of the envoys, an assembly was called and the oracle put before it. When the Thebans heard that they must entreat their “nearest,” they said, “If this is so, our nearest neighbors are the men of Tanagra and Coronea and Thespieae. These are always our comrades in battle and zealously wage our wars. What need, then, is there to entreat them? Perhaps this is the meaning of the oracle.” ⁸⁰.

They reasoned in this way, till at last one understood, and said: “I think that I perceive what the oracle is trying to tell us. Thebe and Aegina, it is said, were daughters of Asopus and sisters. The god’s answer is, I think, that we should ask the Aeginetans to be our avengers.” ^[2] Seeing that there seemed to be no better opinion before them than this, they sent straightaway to entreat the Aeginetans and invite their aid, since this was the oracle’s bidding, and the Aeginetans were their nearest. These replied to their demand that they were sending the Sons of Aeacus in aid. ⁸¹.

The Thebans took the field on the strength of their alliance with that family but were soundly beaten by the Athenians. Thereupon they sent a second message to Aegina, giving back the sons of Aeacus and asking for some men instead. ^[2] The Aeginetans, who were enjoying great prosperity and remembered their old feud with Athens, accordingly made war on the Athenians at the entreaty of the Thebans without sending a herald. ^[3] While the Athenians were busy with the Boeotians, they descended on Attica in ships of war, and ravaged Phaleron and many other seaboard townships. By so doing

they dealt the Athenians a very shrewd blow. 82.

This was the beginning of the Aeginetans' long-standing debt of enmity against the Athenians. The Epidaurians' land bore no produce. For this reason they inquired at Delphi concerning this calamity, and the priestess bade them set up images of Damia and Auxesia,^{39*} saying that if they so did their luck would be better. The Epidaurians then asked in addition whether they should make the images of bronze or of stone, and the priestess bade them do neither, but make them of the wood of the cultivated olive. [2] So the men of Epidaurus asked the Athenians to permit them to cut down some olive trees, supposing the olives there to be the holiest. Indeed it is said that at that time there were no olives anywhere save at Athens. [3] The Athenians consented to give the trees, if the Epidaurians would pay yearly sacred dues to Athena, the city's goddess, and to Erechtheus. The Epidaurians agreed to this condition, and their request was granted. When they set up images made of these olive trees, their land brought forth fruit, and they fulfilled their agreement with the Athenians. 83.

Now at this time, as before it, the Aeginetans were in all matters still subject to the Epidaurians and even crossed to Epidaurus for the hearing of their own private lawsuits. From this time, however, they began to build ships, and stubbornly revolted from the Epidaurians. [2] In the course of this struggle, they did the Epidaurians much damage and stole their images of Damia and Auxesia. These they took away and set them up in the middle of their own country at a place called Oea, about twenty furlongs distant from their city. [3] Having set them up in this place they sought their favor with sacrifices and female choruses in the satirical and abusive mode. Ten men were appointed providers of a chorus for each of the deities, and the choruses aimed their raillery not at any men but at the women of the country. The Epidaurians too had the same rites, and they have certain secret rites as well. 84.

When these images were stolen, the Epidaurians ceased from fulfilling their agreement with the Athenians. Then the Athenians sent an angry message to the Epidaurians who pleaded in turn that they were doing no wrong. "For as long," they said, "as we had the images in our country, we fulfilled our agreement. Now that we are

deprived of them, it is not just that we should still be paying. Ask your dues of the men of Aegina, who have the images.” [2] The Athenians therefore sent to Aegina and demanded that the images be restored, but the Aeginetans answered that they had nothing to do with the Athenians. 85.

The Athenians report that after making this demand, they despatched one trireme with certain of their citizens who, coming in the name of the whole people to Aegina, attempted to tear the images, as being made of Attic wood, from their bases so that they might carry them away. [2] When they could not obtain possession of them in this manner, they tied cords around the images with which they could be dragged. While they were attempting to drag them off, they were overtaken both by a thunderstorm and an earthquake. This drove the trireme’s crew to such utter madness that they began to slay each other as if they were enemies. At last only one of all was left, who returned by himself to Phalerum. 86.

This is the Athenian version of the matter, but the Aeginetans say that the Athenians came not in one ship only, for they could easily have kept off a single ship, or several, for that matter, even if they had no navy themselves. The truth was, they said, that the Athenians descended upon their coasts with many ships and that they yielded to them without making a fight of it at sea. [2] They are not able to determine clearly whether it was because they admitted to being weaker at sea-fighting that they yielded, or because they were planning what they then actually did. [3] When, as the Aeginetans say, no man came out to fight with them, the Athenians disembarked from their ships and turned their attention to the images. Unable to drag them from the bases, they fastened cords on them and dragged them until they both — this I cannot believe, but another might — fell on their knees. Both have remained in this position ever since. [4] This is what the Athenians did, but the Aeginetans say that they discovered that the Athenians were about to make war upon them and therefore assured themselves of help from the Argives. So when the Athenians disembarked on the land of Aegina, the Argives came to aid the Aeginetans, crossing over from Epidaurus to the island secretly. They then fell upon the Athenians unaware and cut them off from their ships. It was at this moment that the thunderstorm and

earthquake came upon them ⁸⁷.

This, then, is the story told by the Argives and Aeginetans, and the Athenians too acknowledge that only one man of their number returned safely to Attica. [2] The Argives, however, say that he escaped after they had destroyed the rest of the Athenian force, while the Athenians claim that the whole thing was to be attributed to divine power. This one man did not survive but perished in the following manner. It would seem that he made his way to Athens and told of the mishap. When the wives of the men who had gone to attack Aegina heard this, they were very angry that he alone should be safe. They gathered round him and stabbed him with the brooch-pins of their garments, each asking him where her husband was. [3] This is how this man met his end, and the Athenians found the action of their women to be more dreadful than their own misfortune. They could find, it is said, no other way to punish the women than changing their dress to the Ionian fashion. Until then the Athenian women had worn Dorian dress, which is very like the Corinthian. It was changed, therefore, to the linen tunic, so that they might have no brooch-pins to use. ⁸⁸.

The truth of the matter, however, is that this form of dress is not in its origin Ionian, but Carian, for in ancient times all women in Greece wore the costume now known as Dorian. [2] As for the Argives and Aeginetans, this was the reason of their passing a law in both their countries that brooch-pins should be made half as long as they used to be and that brooches should be the principal things offered by women in the shrines of these two goddesses. Furthermore, nothing else Attic should be brought to the temple, not even pottery, and from that time on only drinking vessels made in the country should be used. ⁸⁹.

Ever since that day even to my time the women of Argos and Aegina wore brooch-pins longer than before, by reason of the feud with the Athenians. The enmity of the Athenians against the Aeginetans began as I have told, and now at the Thebans' call the Aeginetans came readily to the aid of the Boeotians, remembering the matter of the images. [2] While the Aeginetans were laying waste to the seaboard of Attica, the Athenians were setting out to march against them, but an oracle from Delphi came to them bidding them

to restrain themselves for thirty years after the wrongdoing of the Aeginetans, and in the thirty-first to mark out a precinct for Aeacus and begin the war with Aegina. In this way their purpose would prosper. If, however, they sent an army against their enemies straightaway, they would indeed subdue them in the end but would in the meantime both suffer and do many things. [3] When the Athenians heard this reported to them, they marked out for Aeacus that precinct which is now set in their marketplace, but they could not stomach the order that they must hold their hand for thirty years, seeing that the Aeginetans had dealt them a foul blow. 90.

As they were making ready for vengeance, a matter which took its rise in Lacedaemon hindered them, for when the Lacedaemonians learned of the plot of the Alcmaeonids with the Pythian priestess^{40*} and of her plot against themselves and the Pisistratidae, they were very angry for two reasons, namely that they had driven their own guests and friends from the country they dwelt in, and that the Athenians showed them no gratitude for their doing so. [2] Furthermore, they were spurred on by the oracles^{41*} which foretold that many deeds of enmity would be perpetrated against them by the Athenians. Previously they had had no knowledge of these oracles but now Cleomenes brought them to Sparta, and the Lacedaemonians learned their contents. It was from the Athenian acropolis that Cleomenes took the oracles, which had been in the possession of the Pisistratidae earlier. When they were exiled, they left them in the temple from where they were retrieved by Cleomenes. 91.

Now the Lacedaemonians, when they regained the oracles and saw the Athenians increasing in power and in no way inclined to obey them, realized that if the Athenians remained free, they would be equal in power with themselves, but that if they were held down under tyranny, they would be weak and ready to serve a master. Perceiving all this, they sent to bring Pisistratus' son Hippias from Sigeum on the Hellespont, the Pisistratidae's place of refuge. [2] When Hippias arrived, the Spartans sent for envoys from the rest of their allies and spoke to them as follows: "Sirs, our allies, we do acknowledge that we have acted wrongly, for, led astray by lying divinations, we drove from their native land men who were our close friends and promised to make Athens subject to us. Then we handed

that city over to a thankless people which had no sooner lifted up its head in the freedom which we gave it, than it insolently cast out us and our king. Now it has bred such a spirit of pride and is growing so much in power, that its neighbors in Boeotia and Chalcis have really noticed it, and others too will soon recognize their error. [3] Since we erred in doing what we did, we will now attempt with your aid to avenge ourselves on them. It is on this account and no other that we have sent for Hippias, whom you see, and have brought you from your cities, namely that uniting our counsels and our power, we may bring him to Athens and restore that which we took away.” 92.

These were the words of the Lacedaemonians, but their words were ill-received by the greater part of their allies. The rest then keeping silence, Socles, a Corinthian, said, 92A. “In truth heaven will be beneath the earth and the earth aloft above the heaven, and men will dwell in the sea and fishes where men dwelt before, now that you, Lacedaemonians, are destroying the rule of equals and making ready to bring back tyranny into the cities, tyranny, a thing more unrighteous and bloodthirsty than anything else on this earth. [2] If indeed it seems to you to be a good thing that the cities be ruled by tyrants, set up a tyrant among yourselves first and then seek to set up such for the rest. As it is, however, you, who have never made trial of tyrants and take the greatest precautions that none will arise at Sparta, deal wrongfully with your allies. If you had such experience of that thing as we have, you would be more prudent advisers concerning it than you are now.” 92B. The Corinthian state was ordered in such manner as I will show.

There was an oligarchy, and this group of men, called the Bacchiadae, held sway in the city, marrying and giving in marriage among themselves. Now Amphion, one of these men, had a crippled daughter, whose name was Labda.^{42*} Since none of the Bacchiadae would marry her, she was wedded to Eetion son of Echecrates, of the township of Petra, a Lapith by lineage and of the posterity of Caeneus. [2] When no sons were born to him by this wife or any other, he set out to Delphi to enquire concerning the matter of acquiring offspring. As soon as he entered, the Pythian priestess spoke these verses to him: “Eetion, worthy of honor, no man honors you.

Labda is with child, and her child will be a millstone
Which will fall upon the rulers and will bring justice to Corinth.
“ [3] This oracle which was given to Eetion was in some way made
known to the Bacchiadae. The earlier oracle sent to Corinth had not
been understood by them, despite the fact that its meaning was the
same as the meaning of the oracle of Eetion, and it read as follows:
“An eagle in the rocks has conceived, and will bring forth a lion,
Strong and fierce. The knees of many will it loose.
This consider well, Corinthians,
You who dwell by lovely Pirene and the overhanging heights of
Corinth.
“ 92C.

This earlier prophecy had been unintelligible to the Bacchiadae,
but as soon as they heard the one which was given to Eetion, they
understood it at once, recognizing its similarity with the oracle of
Eetion. Now understanding both oracles, they kept quiet but resolved
to do away with the offspring of Eetion. Then, as soon as his wife
had given birth, they sent ten men of their clan to the township where
Eetion dwelt to kill the child. [2] These men came to Petra and
passing into Eetion’s courtyard, asked for the child. Labda, knowing
nothing of the purpose of their coming and thinking that they wished
to see the baby out of affection for its father, brought it and placed it
into the hands of one of them. Now they had planned on their way
that the first of them who received the child should dash it to the
ground. [3] When, however, Labda brought and handed over the child,
by divine chance it smiled at the man who took it. This he saw, and
compassion prevented him from killing it. Filled with pity, he handed
it to a second, and this man again to a third. In fact it passed from
hand to hand to each of the ten, for none would make an end of it. [4]
They then gave the child back to its mother, and after going out, they
stood before the door reproaching and upbraiding one another, but
chiefly him who had first received it since he had not acted in
accordance with their agreement. Finally they resolved to go in again
and all have a hand in the killing. 92D. Fate, however, had decreed
that Eetion’s offspring should be the source of ills for Corinth, for
Labda, standing close to this door, heard all this. Fearing that they
would change their minds and that they would take and actually kill

the child, she took it away and hid it where she thought it would be hardest to find, in a chest, for she knew that if they returned and set about searching they would seek in every place — which in fact they did. [2] They came and searched, but when they did not find it, they resolved to go off and say to those who had sent them that they had carried out their orders. They then went away and said this. 92E.

Eetion's son, however, grew up, and because of his escape from that danger, he was called Cypselus, after the chest. When he had reached manhood and was seeking a divination, an oracle of double meaning was given him at Delphi. Putting faith in this, he made an attempt on Corinth and won it. [2] The oracle was as follows: "That man is

fortunate who steps into my house,

Cypselus, son of Eetion, the king of noble Corinth,

He himself and his children, but not the sons of his sons.

“

Such was the oracle. Cypselus, however, when he had gained the tyranny, conducted himself in this way: many of the Corinthians he drove into exile, many he deprived of their wealth, and by far the most he had killed. 92F. After a reign of thirty years,^{43*} he died in the height of prosperity, and was succeeded by his son Periander. Now Periander was to begin with milder than his father, but after he had held converse by messenger with Thrasybulus the tyrant of Miletus, he became much more bloodthirsty than Cypselus. [2] He had sent a herald to Thrasybulus and inquired in what way he would best and most safely govern his city. Thrasybulus led the man who had come from Periander outside the town, and entered into a sown field. As he walked through the corn, continually asking why the messenger had come to him from Corinth, he kept cutting off all the tallest ears of wheat which he could see, and throwing them away, until he had destroyed the best and richest part of the crop. [3] Then, after passing through the place and speaking no word of counsel, he sent the herald away. When the herald returned to Corinth, Periander desired to hear what counsel he brought, but the man said that Thrasybulus had given him none. The herald added that it was a strange man to whom he had been sent, a madman and a destroyer of his own possessions, telling Periander what he had seen Thrasybulus do. 92G. Periander, however, understood what had been done, and perceived

that Thrasybulus had counselled him to slay those of his townsmen who were outstanding in influence or ability; with that he began to deal with his citizens in an evil manner. Whatever act of slaughter or banishment Cypselus had left undone, that Periander brought to accomplishment. In a single day he stripped all the women of Corinth naked, because of his own wife Melissa.^{44*} [2] Periander had sent messengers to the Oracle of the Dead on the river Acheron in Thesprotia to enquire concerning a deposit that a friend had left, but Melissa, in an apparition, said that she would tell him nothing, nor reveal where the deposit lay, for she was cold and naked. The garments, she said, with which Periander had buried with her had never been burnt, and were of no use to her. Then, as evidence for her husband that she spoke the truth, she added that Periander had put his loaves into a cold oven. [3] When this message was brought back to Periander (for he had had intercourse with the dead body of Melissa and knew her token for true), immediately after the message he made a proclamation that all the Corinthian women should come out into the temple of Hera. They then came out as to a festival, wearing their most beautiful garments, and Periander set his guards there and stripped them all alike, ladies and serving-women, and heaped all the clothes in a pit, where, as he prayed to Melissa, he burnt them. [4] When he had done this and sent a second message, the ghost of Melissa told him where the deposit of the friend had been laid. "This, then, Lacedaimonians, is the nature of tyranny, and such are its deeds. [5] We Corinthians marvelled greatly when we saw that you were sending for Hippias, and now we marvel yet more at your words to us. We entreat you earnestly in the name of the gods of Hellas not to establish tyranny in the cities, but if you do not cease from so doing and unrighteously attempt to bring Hippias back, be assured that you are proceeding without the Corinthians' consent." ⁹³

These were the words of Socles, the envoy from Corinth, and Hippias answered, calling the same gods as Socles had invoked to witness, that the Corinthians would be the first to wish the Pisistratidae back, when the time appointed should come for them to be vexed by the Athenians. [2] Hippias made this answer, inasmuch as he had more exact knowledge of the oracles than any man, but the rest of the allies, who had till now kept silence, spoke out when they

heard the free speech of Socles and sided with the opinion of the Corinthians, entreating the Lacedaemonians not to harm a Greek city.
94.

His plan, then, came to nothing, and Hippias was forced to depart. Amyntas king of the Macedonians offered him Anthemus, and the Thessalians Iolcus, but he would have neither. He withdrew to Sigeum, which Pisistratus had taken at the spear's point from the Mytilenaeans and where he then established as tyrant Hegesistratus, his own bastard son by an Argive woman. Hegesistratus, however, could not keep what Pisistratus had given him without fighting, [2] for there was constant war over a long period of time^{45*} between the Athenians at Sigeum and the Mytilenaeans at Achilleum. The Mytilenaeans were demanding the place back, and the Athenians, bringing proof to show that the Aeolians had no more part or lot in the land of Ilium than they themselves and all the other Greeks who had aided Menelaus to avenge the rape of Helen, would not consent.
95.

Among the various incidents of this war, one in particular is worth mention; In the course of a battle in which the Athenians had the upper hand, Alcaeus the poet took to flight and escaped, but his armor was taken by the Athenians and hung up in the temple of Athena at Sigeum. [2] Alcaeus wrote a poem about this and sent it to Mytilene. In it he relates his own misfortune to his friend Melanippus. As for the Mytilenaeans and Athenians, however, peace was made between them by Periander son of Cypselus, to whose arbitration they committed the matter, and the terms of peace were that each party should keep what it had. 96.

It was in this way, then, that Sigeum came to be under Athenian rule, but Hippias, having come from Lacedaemon into Asia, left no stone unturned, maligning the Athenians to Artaphrenes, and doing all he could to bring Athens into subjection to himself and Darius. [2] While Hippias was engaged in these activities, the Athenians heard of it and sent messengers to Sardis, warning the Persians not to believe banished Athenians. Artaphrenes, however, bade them receive Hippias back, if they wanted to be safe. When his words were brought back to the Athenians, they would not consent to them, and since they would not consent, it was resolved that they should be

openly at war with Persia. 97.

It was when the Athenians had made their decision and were already on bad terms with Persia, that Aristagoras the Milesian, driven from Sparta by Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian, came to Athens, since that city was more powerful than any of the rest. Coming before the people, Aristagoras spoke to the same effect as at Sparta, of the good things of Asia, and how the Persians carried neither shield nor spear in war and could easily be overcome. [2] This he said adding that the Milesians were settlers from Athens, whom it was only right to save seeing that they themselves were a very powerful people. There was nothing which he did not promise in the earnestness of his entreaty, till at last he prevailed upon them. It seems, then, that it is easier to deceive many than one, for he could not deceive Cleomenes of Lacedaemon, one single man, but thirty thousand^{46*} Athenians he could. [3] The Athenians, now persuaded, voted to send twenty ships to aid the Ionians, appointing for their admiral Melanthius, a citizen of Athens who had an unblemished reputation. These ships were the beginning of troubles for both Greeks and foreigners. 98.

Aristagoras sailed before the rest, and when he came to Miletus, he devised a plan from which no advantage was to accrue to the Ionians (nor indeed was that the purpose of his plan, but rather to vex king Darius). He sent a man into Phrygia, to the Paeonians who had been led captive from the Strymon by Megabazus, and now dwelt in a Phrygian territory and village by themselves. When the man came to the Paeonians, he spoke as follows: [2] "Men of Paeonia, I have been sent by Aristagoras, tyrant of Miletus, to show you the way to deliverance, if you are disposed to obey. All Ionia is now in revolt against the king, and it is possible for you to win your own way back safely to your own land, but afterwards we will take care of you." [3] The Paeonians were very glad when they heard that, and although some of them remained where they were for fear of danger, the rest took their children and women and fled to the sea. After arriving there, the Paeonians crossed over to Chios. [4] They were already in Chios, when a great host of Persian horsemen came after them in pursuit. Unable to overtake them, the Persians sent to Chios, commanding the Paeonians to go back. The Paeonians would not

consent to this, but were brought from Chios by the Chians to Lesbos and carried by the Lesbians to Doriscus, from where they made their way by land to Paeonia. 99.

The Athenians came with their twenty ships as well as five triremes of the Eretrians who came to the war to please not the Athenians but the Milesians themselves, thereby repaying their debt (for the Milesians had once been the allies of the Eretrians in the war against Chalcis, when the Samians came to aid the Chalcidians against the Eretrians and Milesians). When these, then, and the rest of the allies had arrived, Aristagoras planned a march against Sardis. [2] He himself did not go with the army but remained at Miletus, and appointed others to be generals of the Milesians, namely his own brother Charopinus and another citizen named Hermophantus. 100.

When the Ionians had come to Ephesus with this force, they left their ships at Coresus^{47*} in the Ephesian territory and marched inland with a great host, taking Ephesians to guide them on their way. They made their way along the river Caicus, and after crossing the Tmolus, they came to Sardis and captured it without any resistance. They took all of it except the citadel, which was held by Artaphrenes himself with a great force of men. 101.

They were prevented from plundering the city by the fact that most of the houses in Sardis were made of reeds, and those made of brick had roofs of reeds. Accordingly, when one of these was set on fire by a soldier, the flames spread from house to house all over the whole city. [2] While the city was burning, the Lydians and all the Persians who were in the citadel, being hemmed in on every side since the fire was consuming the outer parts and having no exit from the city, came thronging into the marketplace and to the river Pactolus, which flows through the marketplace carrying down gold dust from Tmolus and issues into the river Hermus, which in turn issues into the sea. They assembled in the marketplace by this Pactolus and were forced to defend themselves there. [3] When the Ionians saw some of their enemies defending themselves and a great multitude of others approaching, they were afraid and withdrew to the mountain called Tmolus, from where they departed to their ships at nightfall. 102.

In the fire at Sardis,^{48*} a temple of Cybebe,^{49*} the goddess of that

country, was burnt, and the Persians afterwards made this their pretext for burning the temples of Hellas. At this time, the Persians of the provinces this side^{50*} of the Halys, on hearing of these matters, gathered together and came to aid the Lydians. [2] It chanced that they found the Ionians no longer at Sardis, but following on their tracks, they caught them at Ephesus. There the Ionians stood arrayed to meet them, but were utterly routed in the battle. [3] The Persians put to the sword many men of renown including Eualcides the general of the Eretrians who had won crowns as victor in the games and been greatly praised by Simonides of Ceos. Those of the Ionians who escaped from the battle fled, each to his city. 103.

This, then is how they fared in their fighting. Presently, however, the Athenians wholly separated themselves from the Ionians and refused to aid them, although Aristagoras sent messages of earnest entreaty. Despite the fact that they had been deprived of their Athenian allies, the Ionians fervently continued their war against the king (for they remained committed by what they had done to Darius). [2] They sailed to the Hellespont and made Byzantium and all the other cities of that region subject to themselves. Then sailing out from the Hellespont they gained to their cause the greater part of Caria, for even Caunus, which till then had not wanted to be their ally, now joined itself to them after the burning of Sardis. 104.

The Cyprians did likewise of their own free will, all save the people of Amathus, for these too revolted from the Medes in such manner as I will show. There was a certain Onesilus, a younger brother of Gorgus king of the Salaminians,^{51*} son of Chersis, whose father was Siromus, and grandson of Euelthon. [2] This man had often before advised Gorgus to revolt from Darius, and now when he heard that the Ionians too had revolted, he was insistent in striving to move him. When, however, he could not persuade Gorgus, he and his faction waited till his brother had gone out of the city of Salamis, and shut him out of the gates. [3] Gorgus, after having lost his city, took refuge with the Medes, and Onesilus, now king of Salamis, persuaded all Cyprus to revolt with him, all save the Amathusians, who would not consent. He accordingly stationed his forces in front of their city and besieged it. 105.

Onesilus, then, besieged Amathus. When it was reported to Darius

that Sardis had been taken and burnt by the Athenians and Ionians and that Aristagoras the Milesian had been leader of the conspiracy for the making of this plan, he at first, it is said, took no account of the Ionians since he was sure that they would not go unpunished for their rebellion. Darius did, however, ask who the Athenians were, and after receiving the answer, he called for his bow. This he took and, placing an arrow on it, and shot it into the sky, praying as he sent it aloft, [2] “O Zeus, grant me vengeance on the Athenians.” Then he ordered one of his servants to say to him three times whenever dinner was set before him, “Master, remember the Athenians.” 106.

After giving this order, he called before him Histiaeus the Milesian, whom Darius had kept with him for a long time now, and said, “I hear, Histiaeus, that the viceregent whom you put in charge of Miletus has done me wrong. He has brought men from the mainland overseas, and persuaded certain Ionians — who shall yet pay me the penalty for their deeds — to follow them and has robbed me of Sardis. [2] Now then, I ask you, do you think that this state of affairs is good? How did such things come to pass without any advice from your side? See to it that you do not have cause to blame yourself hereafter.” [3] To this Histiaeus answered: “My lord, what is this you say — that I and none other should devise a plan as a result of which any harm, great or small, was likely to come to you? What desire or feeling of deprivation would prompt me to do such a thing? All that you have is mine, and I am regarded worthy of hearing all your deliberations. [4] If my vicegerent is indeed doing what you say, be assured that he has acted of his own accord. For myself, I cannot even go so far as to believe the report that the Milesians and my vicegerent are doing you some dreadful wrong. If, however, it is true that they are engaged in such activities and what you, O king, have heard has a basis in fact, then you can see how unwisely you acted when you forced me to leave the coast. [5] It would seem, then, that as soon as I was out of sight, the Ionians did exactly what their hearts had long been set on. If I had been in Ionia no city would have stirred. Now send me off to Ionia right away, so that I may restore that country to peace and deliver into your hands that vicegerent of Miletus who has devised all this. [6] Then, when I have done this to your satisfaction, I swear by the gods of your royal house^{52*} that I

will not take off the tunic I am wearing on my arrival in Ionia until I have made Sardo,^{53*} the largest of the islands, tributary to you.”^{107.}

With these words Histiaeus successfully deceived Darius who gave his consent and let him go, charging Histiaeus to appear before him at Susa when he had achieved what he promised.^{108.}

Now while the message concerning Sardis was making its way to the king, and Darius, having done as I said with his bow, held converse with Histiaeus and permitted him to go to the sea, the following events took place. When Onesilus of Salamis was besieging the Amathusians, news was brought him that Artybius, a Persian, was thought to be coming to Cyprus with a great Persian host. [2] Upon hearing this, Onesilus sent heralds all through Ionia to summon the people, and the Ionians, after no long deliberation, came with a great force. So the Ionians were in Cyprus when the Persians, crossing from Cilicia, marched to Salamis by land, and the Phoenicians were sailing around the headland which is called the keys of Cyprus.^{54*}^{109.}

In this turn of affairs, the tyrants of Cyprus called together the generals of the Ionians, and said to them: “Ionians, we Cyprians offer you the choice of engaging either the Persians or the Phoenicians. [2] If you want to draw up your army on land and try your strength against the Persians, then it is time for you to disembark and array yourselves on land and for us to embark in your ships to contend with the Phoenicians. If, however, you desire rather to engage the Phoenicians, do so, but whichever you choose, see to it that Ionia and Cyprus become free.” [3] To this the Ionians answered, “We were sent by the common voice of Ionia to guard the seas, not to deliver our ships to men of Cyprus and encounter the Persians on land. We will attempt then to bear ourselves bravely in the task which was given us. It is for you to prove yourselves valiant men, remembering what you suffered when you were enslaved by the Medians.”^{110.}

This was the Ionians’ response, and when the Persian army afterwards arrived on the plain of Salamis, the Cyprian kings ordered their battle line. They drew up the best of the Salaminians and Solians against the Persians, leaving the remaining Cyprians to face the rest of the enemy’s army. Onesilus placed himself opposite Artybius, the Persian general.^{111.}

Now the horse which Artybius rode was trained to fight with infantrymen by rearing up. Hearing this, Onesilus said to his attendant, a Carian of great renown in war and a valiant man , [2] “I learn that Artybius’ horse rears up and kicks and bites to death whomever he encounters. In light of this decide and tell me straightway which you will watch and strike down, Artybius himself or his horse.” [3] To this his henchman answered, “My King, ready am I to do either or both, whatever you desire. Nevertheless, I will tell you what I think is in your best interest. [4] To my mind, a king and general should be met in battle by a king and general (For if you lay low a man who is a general, you have achieved a great feat. Failing that, if he lays you low, as I pray he may not, it is but half the misfortune to be slain by a noble enemy). For us servants it is fitting that we fight with servants like ourselves and with that horse. Do not fear his tricks, for I promise that he will never again do battle with any man.” 112.

This, then, was his response, and immediately afterwards war broke out on land and sea. The Ionians in their ships, displaying surpassing excellence that day, overcame the Phoenicians, and it was the Samnians who were most brave. On land, when the armies met, they charged and fought. [2] As for the two generals, Artybius rode against Onesilus who as he had agreed with his attendant, dealt Artybius a blow as he bore down upon him. When the horse struck his hooves on Onesilus’ shield, the Carian shore away the horse’s legs with a stroke of his curved sword. 113.

It was in this way that Artybius the Persian general, together with his horse, fell. While the rest were still fighting, Stesenor the ruler of Curium, allegedly an Argive settlement, played the traitor with great company of men under him. The war-chariots of the Salaminians immediately followed their lead, and the Persians accordingly gained the upper hand over the Cyprians. [2] So the army was routed, and many were slain, among them Onesilus, son of Chersis, who had contrived the Cyprian revolt, as well as the king of the Solians, Aristocyprus son of Philocyprus, that Philocyprus whom Solon of Athens, when he came to Cyprus, extolled in a poem above all other tyrants. 114.

As for Onesilus, the Amathusians cut off his head and brought it

to Amathus, where they hung it above their gates, because he had besieged their city. When this head became hollow, a swarm of bees entered it and filled it with their honeycomb. [2] In consequence of this the Amathusians, who had inquired concerning the matter, received an oracle which stated that they should take the head down and bury it, and offer yearly sacrifice to Onesilus as to a hero. If they did this, things would go better for them. 115.

This the Amathusians did, and have done to this day. When, however, the Ionians engaged in the sea-battle off Cyprus learned that Onesilus' cause was lost and that the cities of Cyprus, with the exception of Salamis which the Salaminians had handed over to their former king Gorgus, were besieged, they sailed off to Ionia without delay. [2] Soli was the Cyprian city which withstood siege longest; the Persians took it in the fifth month by digging a mine under its walls. 116.

So the Cyprians, after winning freedom for a year, were enslaved once more.^{55*} Daurises, Hymaees, and Otanes, all of them Persian generals and married to daughters of Darius, pursued those Ionians who had marched to Sardis, and drove them to their ships. After this victory they divided the cities among themselves and sacked them. 117.

Daurises made for the cities of the Hellespont and took Dardanus, Abydus, Percote, Lampsacus, and Paesus, each in a single day. Then as he marched from Paesus against Parius, news came to him that the Carians had made common cause with the Ionians and revolted from the Persians. For this reason he turned aside from the Hellespont and marched his army to Caria. 118.

It so happened that news of this was brought to the Carians before Daurises' coming, and when the Carians heard, they mustered at the place called the White Pillars by the river Marsyas^{56*} which flows from the region of Idria and issues into the Maeander. [2] When they had gathered together, many plans were laid before them, the best of which, in my judgment, was that of Pixodarus of Cindya, the son of Mausolus and husband of the daughter of Syennesis, king of Cilicia. He proposed that the Carians should cross the Maeander and fight with the river at their back, so that being unable to flee and compelled to stand their ground they might prove themselves even

braver than nature made them. [3] This opinion, however, did not prevail, and it was decided instead that the Persians and not the Cilicians should have the Maeander at their back, the intent being that if the Persians were overcome in the battle and put to flight, they would not escape but be hurled into the river. 119.

Presently, when the Persians had come and had crossed the Maeander, they and the Carians joined battle by the river Marsyas. The Carians fought obstinately and for a long time, but at the last they were overcome by the odds. Of the Persians, as many as two thousand men fell, and of the Carians ten thousand. [2] Those of them who escaped were driven into the precinct of Zeus of Armies at Labraunda,^{57*} a large and a holy grove of plane-trees. (The Carians are the only people whom we know who offer sacrifices to Zeus by this name.) When they had been driven there, they deliberated how best to save themselves, whether it would be better for them to surrender to the Persians or to depart from Asia. 120.

While they took counsel, the Milesians and their allies came to their aid, whereupon the Carians put aside their former plans, and prepared to wage a new war over again. They met the Persian attack and suffered a heavier defeat in the battle than the first; many of their whole army fell, but the Milesians were hardest stricken. 121.

The Carians, however, rallied and fought again after this disaster, for learning that the Persians had set forth to march against their cities, they beset the road with an ambush at Pedasus. The Persians fell into this by night and perished, they and their generals, Daurises and Amorges and Sisimaces. With these fell also Myrsus, son of Gyges. The leader of this ambush was Heraclides of Mylasas, son of Ibanollis. 122.

This, then, is how these Persians perished. Hymaees, who had been one of those who went in pursuit of the Ionians who marched on Sardis, now turned towards the Propontis, and there took Cius in Mysia. [2] When he had taken this place and heard that Daurises had left the Hellespont and was marching towards Caria, he left the Propontis and led his army to the Hellespont, making himself master of all the Aeolians who dwell in the territory of Ilium, and of the Gergithae, a remnant of the ancient Trojans. While he was conquering these nations, however, Hymaees himself died of a

sickness in the Troad. 123.

This is how he met his end, and Artaphrenes, viceroy of Sardis, and Otanes, the third general, were appointed to lead the army against Ionia and the Aeolian territory on its borders. They took Clazomenae in Ionia, and Cyme in Aeolia. 124.

Aristagoras the Milesian, as he clearly demonstrated, was a man of little courage, for after he had disturbed Ionia and thrown all into utter confusion, he, perceiving what he had done, began to deliberate flight. Moreover, it seemed to him to be impossible to overcome Darius. [2] While the cities were being taken, he accordingly called his fellow-rebels together and took counsel with them, saying that it was best for them to have some place of refuge in case they should be thrown out of Miletus. He also asked them whether he should lead them from there to a settlement in Sardo, or Myrcinus in Edonia, which Histiaeus had received as a gift from Darius and fortified. 125.

Hecataeus the historian, son of Hegesander, was of the opinion that they should set forth to neither of these places, but that Aristagoras should build a fortress in the island of Leros and reside there, if he were driven from Miletus. Afterwards, with this as a base, he could return to Miletus. 126.

Such was the advice of Hecataeus, but Aristagoras himself thought it best to depart for Myrcinus. He accordingly entrusted Miletus to Pythagoras, a citizen of repute, and himself sailed to Thrace with any that would follow him and then took possession of the place to which he had come. [2] After this he was put to the sword by the Thracians, he and his army, as he was besieging a town, even though the Thracians were ready to depart from it under treaty.

FOOTNOTES: BOOK V

1 Hdt. 4.94

2 Herodotus as usual identifies foreign with Greek deities: v. How and Wells ad loc.

3 Strabo says much the same of the Sigynni, according to him a Caucasian tribe.

4 Cp. Hdt. 4.143.

5 A district rich in timber and precious metals; cp. Hdt. 5.23.

6 East of the Strymon.

7 Dwellings of a similar kind have been found in North Italy, Ireland, and other parts of Western Europe.

8 Between the Strymon and the Nestus.

9 i.e. the country as extended by Alexander I east of the Axios to the Strymon.

10 Apparently not far from the lower Strymon.

11 Elean citizens, usually ten, who presided at the Olympic games.

12 Cp. Hdt. 3.31.

13 Megabates' expedition was in 499.

14 Evidently a harbor on the S.W. coast of Chios.

15 Cp. Hdt. 1.46.

16 Aristagoras went to Lacedaemon in 499.

17 In Boeotia, near Tanagra.

18 The reference appears to be to a cult of the Phoenician Melkart (identified with Heracles) on Mt. Eryx.

19 About 510.

20 "The royal road from Sardis to Susa is far older than the Persian empire," say How and Wells. Evidence points to the existence of a Hittite capital in Cappadocia, to connect which with Sardis on the one hand and Assyria on the other was the purpose of the road.

21 Cp. Hdt. 1.189.

22 Memnon was the legendary king of the "eastern Ethiopians," or Assyrians. When tradition began to place the Homeric Ethiopians in Libya, Memnon, the Ethiop king, came to be associated with Thebes in Egypt.

23 Hipparchus was killed in 513.

24 Gephyra (=bridge or dam) was another name for Tanagra; perhaps Herodotus' theory of an oriental origin is based on the fact that there was a place called Gephyrae in Syria.

25 This happened sixty years after the fall of Troy, according to Thucydides.

26 Whether Herodotus' theory of derivation be right or not, there is certainly a similarity in the form and order of early Greek and Phoenician letters.

27 This is reading ἐλών, Meineke's change for the MSS ἑών.

28 The sites of Alopecae and Cynosarges are doubtful; recent research places them (but with no certainty) south of the Ilissus towards Phalerum. See How and Wells ad loc.

29 An ancient fortification on the N.W. slope of the Acropolis.

30 From 545 to 509.

31 For a comprehension of the reform briefly recorded by Herodotus, readers are referred to Grote, ch. xxxi.

32 Cleisthenes ruled at Sicyon from 600 to 570.

33 "The naucraries were local districts whose presidents were responsible for levying money and contingents for the army and ships for the fleet" (How and Wells). But the statement that they "ruled Athens" appears to be inaccurate.

34 The probable date is between 620 and 600.

35 Herodotus probably means the new Council of 500, fifty from each tribe.

36 There is a clear tradition that this happened soon after the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese.

37 Settlers among whom the confiscated land, divided into equal lots, was distributed.

38 Probably in the open space in front of the old Propylon; there would not have been room for this monument in the new Propylaea, finished in 432 B.C.

39 The name Damia is probably connected with δᾶ (=γῆ), Earth; Auxesia clearly with αὐξάνω. They were goddesses of increase and fertility.

40 Cp. Hdt. 5.63.

41 The Pisistratid family appears to have had a special knowledge of current oracles: cp. Hdt. 5.93, and Hdt. 7.6.

42 Because (according to the Etymologicum Magnum) the "outward distortion of the feet" resembled the letter Λ.

43 655 to 625.

44 Killed by her husband, perhaps accidentally; cp. Hdt. 3.50.

45 Herodotus, whose sixth-century chronology is often inaccurate, appears to be wrong in assigning this war to the period of Pisistratus; its date cannot be later than 600.

46 But even in the palmiest days of Athens the number of voters did not exceed 20,000.

47 A hill (or a part of the town of Ephesus built thereon) south of the Cayster.

48 In 498.

49 Or Cybele, the great goddess of the Phrygians and Lydians.

50 Lit. "within"; that is, from the Greek point of view, and so west of the Halys.

51 Of Salamis in Cyprus.

52 Cp. Hdt. 3.65. In the inscription at Persepolis Darius invokes Ormazd and the "gods of his race."

53 Sardinia

54 “The promontory (Cap St. Andre) at the end of the long tongue of land now ‘the Carpass’” (How and Wells).

55 In 497.

56 Modern Tshina; not to be confused with the better known Marsyas in Phrygia, also a tributary of the Maeander.

57 Site of the cult of a war-god, whose emblem was the λάβρυξ or battle-axe.

BOOK VI.

1. This was the end of Aristagoras, after he had brought about the Ionian revolt. Histiaeus, the tyrant of Miletus, arrived in Sardis after he was let go by Darius. When he came there from Susa, Artaphrenes, the governor of Sardis, asked him for what reason he supposed the Ionians had rebelled; Histiaeus said that he did not know and marvelled at what had happened, pretending to have no knowledge of the present troubles. [2] But Artaphrenes saw that he dissembled and, knowing the exact story of the revolt, said: "I will tell you, Histiaeus, the truth of this business: it was you who stitched this shoe, and Aristagoras who put it on." 2.

Thus spoke Artaphrenes regarding the revolt. Histiaeus was frightened by Artaphrenes' understanding of the matter and fled the next night to the sea, for he had deceived Darius by promising to subdue Sardo, the greatest of the islands, while secretly intending to make himself leader of the Ionians in their war against Darius. [2] Crossing over to Chios, he was taken and bound by the Chians, because they judged him to have been sent by Darius to make trouble for them. But when they learned the whole story of his hostility to the king, they set him free. 3.

Then Histiaeus was asked by the Ionians why he had so zealously ordered Aristagoras to revolt from the king and done the Ionians such great harm. He did not at all reveal the true reason to them, telling them instead that king Darius had planned to remove the Phoenicians and settle them in Ionia, and the Ionians in Phoenicia; for this reason, he said, he had sent the order. The king had made no such plan, but Histiaeus wanted to frighten the Ionians. 4.

Then Histiaeus, using Hermippus, a man of Atarneus, as messenger, sent letters to the Persians at Sardis, because they had previously talked with him about revolt. But Hermippus did not give the letters to the men to whom he was sent, and went and delivered them to Artaphrenes instead. [2] Artaphrenes, learning all that was afoot, bade Hermippus carry Histiaeus' letters to those for whom he was bringing them, and give him those which the Persians sent in answer to Histiaeus. Thus these men became known, and then

Artaphrenes put many Persians to death. 5.

So troubles arose in Sardis. Since he failed in this hope, the Chians brought Histiaeus back to Miletus at his own request. But the Milesians were glad enough to be rid of Aristagoras himself, and they had no wish to receive another tyrant into their country now that they had tasted freedom. [2] When Histiaeus tried to force his way into Miletus by night, he was wounded in the thigh by a Milesian. Since he was thrust out from his own city, he went back to Chios; when he could not persuade the Chians to give him ships, he then crossed over to Mytilene and persuaded the Lesbians to give him ships. [3] They manned eight triremes, and sailed with Histiaeus to Byzantium; there they encamped, and seized all the ships that were sailing out of the Euxine, except when the crews consented to serve Histiaeus. 6.

Such were the doings of Histiaeus and the Mytilenaeans. Against Miletus itself a great fleet and army were expected, for the Persian generals had joined their power together and made one army, which they led against Miletus, taking less account of the other fortresses. Of the fleet, the Phoenicians were the most eager to fight, and there came with them to the war the newly subdued Cyprians, and the Cilicians and Egyptians. 7.

These were coming to attack Miletus and the rest of Ionia. When the Ionians learned of it, they sent deputies to take counsel for them in the Panionium.^{1*} When they came to that place and consulted, they resolved not to collect a land army to meet the Persians, but to leave the Milesians to defend their walls themselves, and to man their fleet to the last ship and gather as quickly as possible at Lade to fight for Miletus at sea. This Lade is a small island lying off the city of Miletus. 8.

The Ionians then came there with their ships manned, and with them the Aeolians who dwell in Lesbos. This was their order of battle: The Milesians themselves had the eastern wing, bringing eighty ships; next to them were the Prieneans with twelve ships, and the Myesians with three; next to the Myesians were the Teians with seventeen ships; next to these the Chians with a hundred; near these in the line were the Erythraeans, bringing eight ships, and the Phocaeans with three, and next to these the Lesbians with seventy;

last of all in the line were the Samians, holding the western wing with sixty ships. [2] The total number of all these together was three hundred and fifty-three triremes. 9.

These were the Ionian ships; the ships of the foreigners were six hundred. When these, too, reached the Milesian shore, and all their land power was present, the Persian generals, learning the number of the Ionian ships, feared they would be too weak to overcome the Greeks. If they did not have mastery of the sea, they would not be able to take Miletus, and would be in danger of some evil treatment by Darius. [2] With this in mind, they gathered the tyrants of the Ionians who had been deposed from their governments by Aristagoras of Miletus and had fled to the Medes, and who now were with the army that was led against Miletus. They gathered as many of these men as were with them and said to them: [3] "Men of Ionia, let each one of you now show that he has done good service to the king's house; let each one of you try to separate your own countrymen from the rest of the allied power. Set this promise before them: they will suffer no harm for their rebellion, neither their temples nor their houses will be burnt, nor will they in any way be treated more violently than before. [4] But if they will not do so and are set on fighting, then utter a threat that will restrain them: if they are defeated in battle, they will be enslaved; we will make eunuchs of their boys, and carry their maidens captive to Bactra, and hand over their land to others." 10.

So they spoke; the Ionian tyrants sent their messages by night, each to his own countrymen. But the Ionians to whom these messages came were stubborn and would have no part of the treachery, each thinking that the Persians made this offer to them alone. This happened immediately after the Persians arrived at Miletus. 11.

Then the Ionians who had gathered at Lade held assemblies; among those whom I suppose to have addressed them was Dionysius, the Phocaeen general, who spoke thus: [2] "Our affairs, men of Ionia, stand on the edge of a razor, whether to be free men or slaves, and runaway slaves at that. If you now consent to endure hardships, you will have toil for the present time, but it will be in your power to overcome your enemies and gain freedom; but if you

will be weak and disorderly, I see nothing that can save you from paying the penalty to the king for your rebellion. [4] Believe me and entrust yourselves to me; I promise you that (if the gods deal fairly with us) either our enemies shall not meet us in battle, or if they do they shall be utterly vanquished.”¹²

When the Ionians heard this, they put themselves in Dionysius’ hands. He then each day put out to sea with ships in column, using the rowers to pierce each other’s line of ships,^{2*} and arming the fighting men on board; for the rest of the day he kept the fleet at anchor; all day he made the Ionians work. [2] For seven days they obeyed him and did his bidding; but on the next day, untried as they were in such labor and worn out by hard work and by the sun, the Ionians began to say each to other: [3] “Against what god have we sinned that we have to fulfill this task? We have lost our minds and launched out into folly, committing ourselves into the hands of this Phocaean braggart, who brings but three ships; and having got us he afflicts us with afflictions incurable. Many of us have fallen sick already, and many are likely to suffer the same thing; instead of these ills, it would be better for us to suffer anything, and endure this coming slavery, whatever it will be, rather than be oppressed by that which is now upon us. Come, let us obey him no longer!” [4] So they spoke, and from then on no man would obey. As if they were an army, they raised tents on the island where they stayed in the shade, and they were unwilling to embark upon their ships or to continue their exercises. ¹³.

When the generals of the Samians learned what the Ionians were doing, they recalled that message which Aeaces son of Syloson had already sent them at the Persians’ bidding, entreating them to desert the Ionian alliance; seeing great disorder on the Ionian side, they consented to the message; moreover, it seemed impossible to them to overcome the king’s power, and they were well assured that if they overcame Darius’ present fleet, another one five times as large would come. [2] Therefore, as soon as they saw the Ionians refusing to be useful, they took up that for a pretext, considering it advantageous to save their own temples and houses. This Aeaces, from whom they received the message, was the son of Syloson son of Aeaces, and had been tyrant of Samos until he was deposed from his rule by

Aristagoras of Miletus, just like the other Ionian tyrants. 14.

Now when the Phoenician fleet came sailing against them, the Ionians put out to sea against them with their ships in column. When they drew near and met each other in battle, which of the Ionians were brave men or cowards then in that sea-fight I cannot exactly say; for they all blame each other. [2] The Samians are said, according to their agreement with Aeaces, to have raised their sails and gone off to Samos, leaving their post, all except eleven ships. [3] The captains of these stood their ground and fought, disobeying their admirals. For this deed the Samian people granted that their names and patronymics should be engraved on a pillar as brave men; this pillar now stands in their market-place. But the Lesbians, seeing their neighbors fleeing, did the same as the Samians; and most of the Ionians did likewise. 15.

The most roughly handled of those that stood their ground in the sea-fight were the Chians, since they refused to be cowards and achieved deeds of renown. They brought a hundred ships to the fleet, as was mentioned above, and on each ship were forty picked men of their citizens. [2] Seeing themselves betrayed by the greater part of their allies, they did not think it right to act like the worst among them; with only a few allies to aid them they fought on and broke the enemy's line, until they had taken many ships but lost most of their own. 16.

The Chians escaped to their own country with their remaining ships, but the crews of the Chian ships that were damaged and disabled were pursued and took refuge in Mykale. There the men beached and left their ships, and made their way across the mainland. [2] But when the Chians entered the lands of Ephesus on their march, they came by night while the women were celebrating the Thesmophoria; then the Ephesians, never having heard the story of the Chians and seeing an army invading their country, were fully persuaded that these were robbers come after their women; so they mustered all their force and killed the Chians. 17.

So these men met with such a fate. As for Dionysius the Phocaean, when he saw that the Ionian cause was lost, he sailed away with the three enemy ships that he had captured; but not to Phocaea, now that he knew well that it would be enslaved with the

rest of Ionia; he right away sailed straight to Phoenicia instead, sunk some merchant ships, took a lot of money, and sailed to Sicily; from this base he set himself up as a pirate, robbing Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, but no Greeks. 18.

When the Persians had conquered the Ionians by sea, they laid siege to Miletus by sea and land, mining the walls and using every device against it, until they utterly captured it in the sixth year after the revolt of Aristagoras.^{3*} They enslaved the city, and thus the calamity agreed with the oracle concerning Miletus. 19.

When the Argives inquired at Delphi about the safety of their city, a common response was given, one part regarding the Argives themselves, but there was an additional response for the Milesians. [2] I will mention the part concerning the Argives when I come to that part of my history; this was the prophecy given to the Milesians in their absence: “Then, Miletus, contriver of evil deeds, For many will you become a banquet and glorious gifts; Your wives will wash the feet of many long-haired men; Other ministers will tend my Didyma^{4*} shrine!

“ [3] All this now came upon the Milesians, since most of their men were slain by the Persians, who wore long hair, and their women and children were accounted as slaves, and the temple at Didyma with its shrine and place of divination was plundered and burnt. Of the wealth that was in this temple I have often spoken elsewhere in my history. 20.

After that, the captive Milesians were brought to Susa. King Darius did them no further harm, settling them by the sea called Red, in the city of Ampe, by which the river Tigris flows as it issues into the sea. Of the Milesian land the Persians themselves held what was nearest to the city, and the plain, giving the hill country into the possession of Carians from Pedasa. 21.

Now when the Milesians suffered all this at the hands of the Persians, the Sybarites (who had lost their city and dwelt in Laus and Scidrus) did not give them equal return for what they had done. When Sybaris was taken by the Crotoniates, all the people of Miletus, young and old, shaved their heads and made great public lamentation; no cities which we know were ever so closely joined in friendship as these. [2] The Athenians acted very differently. The

Athenians made clear their deep grief for the taking of Miletus in many ways, but especially in this: when Phrynichus wrote a play entitled “The Fall of Miletus” and produced it, the whole theater fell to weeping; they fined Phrynichus a thousand drachmas for bringing to mind a calamity that affected them so personally, and forbade the performance of that play forever. 22.

Miletus then was left empty of Milesians. The men of property among the Samians were displeased by the dealings of their generals with the Medes, so after the sea-fight they took counsel immediately and resolved that before Aeaces the tyrant came to their country they would sail to a colony, rather than remain and be slaves of the Medes and Aeaces. [2] The people of Zancle^{5*} in Sicily about this time sent messengers to Ionia inviting the Ionians to the Fair Coast, desiring there to found an Ionian city. This Fair Coast, as it is called, is in Sicily, in that part which looks towards Tyrrhenia. At this invitation, the Samians alone of the Ionians, with those Milesians who had escaped, set forth. 23.

In their journey a thing happened to them such as I will show. As they voyaged to Sicily, the Samians came to the country of the Epizephyrian^{6*} Locrians at a time when the people of Zancle and their king (whose name was Scythes) were besieging a Sicilian town desiring to take it. [2] Learning this, Anaxilaus the tyrant of Rhegium, being then in a feud with the Zancleaeans, joined forces with the Samians and persuaded them to leave off their voyage to the Fair Coast and seize Zancle while it was deserted by its men. [3] The Samians consented and seized Zancle; when they learned that their city was taken, the Zancleaeans came to deliver it, calling to their aid Hippocrates the tyrant of Gela, who was their ally. [4] But Hippocrates, when he came bringing his army to aid them, put Scythes the monarch of Zancle and his brother Pythogenes in chains for losing the city, and sent them away to the city of Inyx. He betrayed the rest of the Zancleaeans to the Samians, with whom he had made an agreement and exchanged oaths. [5] The price which the Samians agreed to give him was that Hippocrates should take for his share half of the movable goods and slaves in the city, and all that was in the country. [6] Most of the Zancleaeans were kept in chains as slaves by Hippocrates himself; he gave three hundred chief men to

the Samians to be put to death, but the Samians did not do so. 24.

Scythes the monarch of Zancle escaped from Inyx to Himera, and from there he came to Asia and went up country to king Darius. Darius considered him the most honest man of all who had come up to him from Hellas; [2] for he returned by the king's permission to Sicily and from Sicily back again to Darius, until in old age he ended his life in Persia in great wealth. Without trouble the Samians planted themselves in that most excellent city of Zancle, after they had escaped from the Medes. 25.

After the fight at sea for Miletus, the Phoenicians at the Persians' bidding brought Aeaces son of Syloson back to Samos, for the high worth of his service to them and for his great achievements. Because of the desertion of their ships in the sea-fight, the Samians were the only rebel people whose city and temples were not burnt. [2] After Miletus was captured, the Persians at once gained possession of Caria. Some of the towns submitted voluntarily; others were brought over by force. 26.

All this happened so. Histiaeus the Milesian was at Byzantium, seizing the Ionian merchant ships as they sailed out of the Euxine, when he had news of the business of Miletus. Leaving all matters concerning the Hellespont in charge of Bisaltes of Abydos, son of Apolophanes, he himself sailed with the Lesbians to Chios and, when the Chian guardships would not receive him, fought in the Hollows of Chios (as they are called). [2] Many of their crews he killed; the rest of the people of the country, since they were crippled by the sea-fight, were mastered by Histiaeus with his Lesbians, setting out from Polichne in Chios. 27.

It is common for some sign to be given when great ills threaten cities or nations; for before all this plain signs had been sent to the Chians. [2] Of a band of a hundred youths whom they had sent to Delphi only two returned, ninety-eight being caught and carried off by pestilence; moreover, at about this same time, a little before the sea-fight, the roof fell in on boys learning their letters: of one hundred and twenty of them one alone escaped. [3] These signs a god showed to them; then the sea-fight broke upon them and beat the city to its knees; on top of the sea-fight came Histiaeus and the Lesbians. Since the Chians were in such a bad state, he easily subdued them. 28.

Then Histiaeus brought a great force of Ionians and Aeolians against Thasos. While he was besieging Thasos a message came that the Phoenicians were putting out to sea from Miletus to attack the rest of Ionia. When he learned this, he left Thasos unsacked, and hastened instead with all his army to Lesbos. [2] From there, since his army suffered from hunger, he crossed over to reap from Atarneus the corn there and the Mysian corn of the Caicus plain. Now it chanced that in that region was Harpagus, a Persian, with no small force under him; when Histiaeus landed, Harpagus met him in battle and took Histiaeus himself alive and killed most of his army. 29.

Histiaeus was taken prisoner in this way: the Greeks fought with the Persians at Malene in the country of Atarneus; the armies fought for a long time, until the Persian cavalry charged and fell upon the Greeks. So this was the accomplishment of the cavalry; when the Greeks were routed, Histiaeus, supposing that the king would not put him to death for his present transgression, did what showed that he loved his life too well. [2] He was overtaken in his flight by a Persian, and when he was caught and about to be stabbed, he cried out in the Persian language and revealed himself to be Histiaeus the Milesian. 30.

Now if he had been taken prisoner and brought to king Darius, he would have suffered no harm (to my thinking) and the king would have forgiven his guilt; but as it was, when Histiaeus was brought to Sardis, both because of what he had done, and for fear that he might escape and again win power at the court, Artaphrenes, governor of Sardis, and Harpagus, who had captured him, impaled his body on the spot, and sent his head embalmed to king Darius at Susa. [2] When Darius learned of this, he blamed those who had done it because they had not brought Histiaeus before him alive, and he commanded that the head should be washed and buried with due ceremony, as of a man who had done great good to Darius himself and to Persia. 31.

Thus it fared with Histiaeus. The Persian fleet wintered at Miletus, and putting out to sea in the next year easily subdued the islands that lie off the mainland, Chios and Lesbos and Tenedos. Whenever they took an island, the foreigners would (net) the people. [2] This is the manner of their doing it: the men link hands and make a line reaching from the northern sea to the southern, and then

advance over the whole island hunting the people down. They also captured the Ionian cities of the mainland in the same way, but not by netting the people; for that was not possible. 32.

Then the Persian generals were not false to the threats they had made against the Ionians when they were encamped opposite them. When they had gained mastery over the cities, they chose out the most handsome boys and castrated them, making them eunuchs instead of men, and they carried the fairest maidens away to the king; they did all this, and they burnt the cities with their temples. Thus three times had the Ionians been enslaved, first by the Lydians and now twice in a row by the Persians. 33.

Then the fleet departed from Ionia and captured everything which lies to the left of one sailing up the Hellespont; the right side had been subdued by the Persians themselves from the mainland. These are the regions of Europe that belong to the Hellespont: the Chersonese, in which there are many cities; Perinthus, and the forts that lie towards Thrace, and Selymbria and Byzantium. [2] The Byzantines and the Calchedonians beyond them did not even wait for the attack of the Phoenicians, but left their own land and fled away into the Euxine, and there settled in the city of Mesambria. The Phoenicians burnt the aforementioned places and turned against Proconnesus and Artace; after giving these also to the flames they sailed back to the Chersonese to finish off the remaining cities, as many as they had not destroyed at their former landing. [3] But they did not sail against Cyzicus at all; the Cyzicenes had already made themselves the king's subjects before the Phoenician expedition, by an agreement with the governor at Dascyleum, Oebares son of Megabazus. 34.

The Phoenicians subdued all the cities in the Chersonese except Cardia. Miltiades son of Cimon son of Stesagoras was tyrant there. Miltiades son of Cypselus had gained the rule earlier in the following manner: the Thracian Dolonci held possession of this Chersonese. They were crushed in war by the Apsinthians, so they sent their kings to Delphi to inquire about the war. [2] The Pythia answered that they should bring to their land as founder the first man who offered them hospitality after they left the sacred precinct. But as the Dolonci passed through Phocis and Boeotia, going along the Sacred Way,^{7*} no

one invited them, so they turned toward Athens. 35.

At that time in Athens, Pisistratus held all power, but Miltiades son of Cypselus also had great influence. His household was rich enough to maintain a four-horse chariot, and he traced his earliest descent to Aeacus and Aegina, though his later ancestry was Athenian. Philaeus son of Ajax was the first of that house to be an Athenian. [2] Miltiades was sitting on his porch when he saw the Dolonci go by with their foreign clothing and spears, so he called out to them, and when they came over, he invited them in for lodging and hospitality. They accepted, and after he entertained them, they revealed the whole story of the oracle to him and asked him to obey the god. [3] He was persuaded as soon as he heard their speech, for he was tired of Pisistratus' rule and wanted to be away from it. He immediately set out for Delphi to ask the oracle if he should do what the Dolonci asked of him. 36.

The Pythia also bade him do so. Then Miltiades son of Cypselus, previously an Olympic victor in the four-horse chariot, recruited any Athenian who wanted to take part in the expedition, sailed off with the Dolonci, and took possession of their land. Those who brought him appointed him tyrant. [2] His first act was to wall off the isthmus of the Chersonese from the city of Cardia across to Pactye,^{8*} so that the Apsinthians would not be able to harm them by invading their land. The isthmus is thirty-six stadia across, and to the south of the isthmus the Chersonese is four hundred and twenty stadia in length. 37.

After Miltiades had pushed away the Apsinthians by walling off the neck of the Chersonese, he made war first on the people of Lampsacus, but the Lampsacenes laid an ambush and took him prisoner. However, Miltiades stood high in the opinion of Croesus the Lydian, and when Croesus heard what had happened, he sent to the Lampsacenes and commanded them to release Miltiades. If they did not do so, he threatened to cut them down like a pine tree. [2] The Lampsacenes went astray in their counsels as to what the utterance meant which Croesus had threatened them with, saying he would devastate them like a pine tree, until at last one of the elders understood and said what it was: the pine is the only tree that once cut down never sends out any shoots; it is utterly destroyed. So out of

fear of Croesus the Lampsacenes released Miltiades and let him go.
38.

So he escaped by the intervention of Croesus, but he later died childless and left his rule and possessions to Stesagoras, the son of his half-brother Cimon. Since his death, the people of the Chersonese offer sacrifices to him as their founder in the customary manner, instituting a contest of horse races and gymnastics. No one from Lampsacus is allowed to compete. [2] But in the war against the Lampsacenes Stesagoras too met his end and died childless; he was struck on the head with an axe in the town-hall by a man who pretended to be a deserter but in truth was an enemy and a man of violence. 39.

Stesagoras met his end in this way. The sons of Pisistratus sent Miltiades, son of Cimon and brother of the dead Stesagoras, in a trireme to the Chersonese to take control of the country; they had already treated him well at Athens, feigning that they had not been accessory to the death of Cimon his father, which I will relate in another place. [2] Reaching the Chersonese, Miltiades kept himself within his house, professing thus to honor the memory of his brother Stesagoras. When the people of the Chersonese learned this, their ruling men gathered together from all the cities on every side, and came together in a group to show fellow-feeling with his mourning; but he put them in bonds. So Miltiades made himself master of the Chersonese; there he maintained a guard of five hundred men, and married Hegesipyle the daughter of Olorus, king of Thrace. 40.

But not long after this Miltiades son of Cimon had come to the Chersonese, greater difficulties than the present afflictions overtook him. He had been driven from the country three years before this^{9*} by the Scythians. The nomadic Scythians, provoked by Darius, gathered themselves together and rode as far as the Chersonese. [2] Miltiades did not await their attack and fled from the Chersonese, until the Scythians departed and the Dolonci brought him back again. All this had happened three years before the matters that now engaged him.
41.

But now, learning that the Phoenicians were in Tenedos, he sailed away to Athens with five triremes loaded with the possessions that he had nearby. He set out from Cardia and crossed the Black Bay, and as

he was sailing along the Chersonese the Phoenicians fell upon him with their ships. [2] Miltiades himself escaped with four of his ships to Imbros, but the fifth was pursued and overtaken by the Phoenicians. It happened that the captain of this ship was Metiochus, the eldest son of Miltiades by another wife, not the daughter of Olorus the Thracian. [3] The Phoenicians took this man captive with his ship; and when they heard that he was Miltiades' son, they brought him up to the king, thinking that this would be a very favorable service, because Miltiades had declared his opinion among the Ionians that they should obey the Scythians in their demand to break the bridge of boats and sail away to their homes. [4] But when the Phoenicians brought Miltiades' son Metiochus before him, Darius did him no harm but much good, giving him a house and possessions and a Persian wife, who bore him children who were reckoned as Persians. Miltiades made his way from Imbros to Athens. 42.

In this year^{10*} the Persians caused no further trouble for the Ionians, and at this same time certain things happened which greatly benefited the Ionians. Artaphrenes governor of Sardis summoned ambassadors from the cities and compelled the Ionians to make agreements among themselves that they would abide by the law and not rob and plunder each other. [2] He compelled them to do this, and he measured their lands by parasangs, which is the Persian name for a distance of thirty stadia, and ordered that each people should according to this measurement pay a tribute which has remained fixed as assessed by Artaphrenes ever since that time up to this day; the sum appointed was about the same as that which they had rendered before. This then kept them peaceable. 43.

But at the beginning of spring^{11*} the other generals were deposed by the king from their offices, and Mardonius son of Gobryas, a man young in years and recently married to Darius' daughter Artozostre, came down to the coast at the head of a very great army and fleet. [2] When Mardonius reached Cilicia at the head of this army, he himself embarked on shipboard and sailed with the rest of his ships, while other captains led the land army to the Hellespont. [3] When Mardonius arrived in Ionia in his voyage along the coast of Asia, he did a thing which I here set down for the wonder of those Greeks who will not believe Otanes to have declared his opinion among the

Seven that democracy was best for Persia:^{12*} Mardonius deposed all the Ionian tyrants and set up democracies in their cities. [4] He did this and hurried to the Hellespont. When a great multitude of ships and a great army were assembled, the Persians crossed the Hellespont on shipboard and marched through Europe, with Eretria and Athens as their goal. 44.

This was the stated end of their expedition, but they intended to subdue as many of the Greek cities as they could. Their fleet subdued the Thasians, who did not so much as lift up their hands against it; their land army added the Macedonians to the slaves that they had already, for all the nations nearer to them than Macedonia had been made subject to the Persians before this. [2] Crossing over from Thasos they travelled near the land as far as Acanthus, and putting out from there they tried to round Athos. But a great and irresistible north wind fell upon them as they sailed past and dealt very roughly with them, driving many of their ships upon Athos. [3] It is said that about three hundred ships were lost, and more than twenty thousand men. Since the coasts of Athos abound in wild beasts, some men were carried off by beasts and so perished; others were dashed against the rocks; those who could not swim perished because of that, and still others by the cold. 45.

Thus it fared with the fleet; as for Mardonius and his land army, while they were encamped in Macedonia, the Brygi of Thrace attacked them by night and killed many of them, wounding Mardonius himself. But not even these could escape being enslaved by the Persians; Mardonius did not depart from those lands before he had subjugated them. [2] After conquering them, he led his army away homewards, since the Brygi had dealt a heavy blow to his army and Athos an even heavier blow to his fleet. This expedition after an inglorious adventure returned back to Asia. 46.

In the next year after this,^{13*} Darius first sent a message bidding the Thasians, who were falsely reported by their neighbors to be planning rebellion, to destroy their walls and bring their ships to Abdera. [2] Since they had been besieged by Histiaeus of Miletus and had great revenues, the Thasians had used their wealth to build ships of war and surround themselves with stronger walls. [3] Their revenue came from the mainland and from the mines. About eighty talents on

average came in from the gold-mines of the “Dug Forest”,^{14*} and less from the mines of Thasos itself, yet so much that the Thasians, paying no tax on their crops, drew a yearly revenue from the mainland and the mines of two hundred talents on average, and three hundred when the revenue was greatest. 47.

I myself have seen these mines; by far the most marvellous were those that were found by the Phoenicians who with Thasos colonized this island, which is now called after that Phoenician Thasos. [2] These Phoenician mines are between the place called Aenyra and Coenyra in Thasos, opposite Samothrace; they are in a great hill that has been dug up in the searching. So much for that. The Thasians at the king’s command destroyed their walls and brought all their ships to Abdera. 48.

Then Darius attempted to learn whether the Greeks intended to wage war against him or to surrender themselves. He sent heralds this way and that throughout Hellas, bidding them demand a gift of earth and water for the king. [2] He despatched some to Hellas, and he sent others to his own tributary cities of the coast, commanding that ships of war and transports for horses be built. 49.

So the cities set about these preparations. The heralds who went to Hellas received what the king’s proclamation demanded from many of those dwelling on the mainland and from all the islanders to whom they came with the demand. Among the islanders who gave earth and water to Darius were the Aeginetans. [3] The Athenians immediately came down upon them for doing this, for they supposed the Aeginetans to have given the gift out of enmity for Athens, so they might join with the Persians in attacking the Athenians. Gladly laying hold of this pretext, they went to Sparta and there accused the Aeginetans of acting to betray Hellas. 50.

Regarding this accusation, Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides, king of Sparta, crossed over to Aegina intending to arrest the most culpable of its people. [2] But when he attempted to make the arrests, the Aeginetans opposed him, especially Crius son of Polycritus, who told him he would not take away any Aeginetan with impunity, for he had no authority from the Spartans for what he was doing; instead he had been bribed by the Athenians; otherwise he would have come to make the arrests with the other king. He said this because of a letter

from Demaratus. [3] Driven from Aegina, Cleomenes asked Crius his name; and when Crius told him what it was, Cleomenes said to him, "Now is the time to put bronze on your horns, Mr. Ram,^{15*} for great calamity will confront you." 51.

All this time Demaratus son of Ariston remained at Sparta and spread evil reports of Cleomenes. This Demaratus was also king of Sparta, but of the inferior house; not indeed inferior in any other regard (for they have a common ancestor), but the house of Eurysthenes has in some sort the greater honor by right of primogeniture.^{16*} 52.

The Lacedaemonians say (but no poet agrees) that it was Aristodemus son of Aristomachus son of Cleodaeus son of Hyllus, and not his sons, who led them to that land which they now possess. [2] After no long time Aristodemus' wife, whose name was Argeia, bore him offspring; they say she was daughter of Autesion son of Tisamenus son of Thersander son of Polynices; she bore him twins; Aristodemus lived to see the children, then died of a sickness. [3] The Lacedaemonians of that day planned to follow their custom and make the eldest of the children king. But the children were identical in all respects, so the Lacedaemonians did not know which to choose; when they could not judge between them, or perhaps even before this, they asked the mother. [4] She said she knew no better than the Lacedaemonians which was the elder; she knew perfectly well, but she said this because she desired that by some means both might be made kings. The Lacedaemonians were at a loss, so they sent to Delphi to inquire how they should deal with the matter. [5] The priestess bade them make both children kings but give greater honor to the elder. When the priestess gave this response, the Lacedaemonians knew no better than before how to discover the elder child, and a man of Messenia, whose name was Panites, gave them advice: [6] he advised them to watch the mother and see which of the children she washed and fed before the other; if she was seen to do this always in the same order, they would then have all that they sought and desired to discover; but if she changed her practice haphazardly, then it would be manifest to the Lacedaemonians that she know no more than they did, and they must have recourse to some other means. [7] Then the Spartans did as the Messenian

advised; as they watched the mother of Aristodemus' children, they found her always preferring the elder when she fed and washed them, since she did not know why she was being watched. So they took the child that was preferred by its mother and brought it up at public expense as the first-born; and they called it Eurysthenes, and the other Procles. [8] They say that when these two brothers grew to manhood, they feuded with each other as long as they lived, and their descendants continued to do likewise. 53.

The Lacedaemonians are the only Greeks who tell this story. But in what I write I follow the Greek report, and hold that the Greeks correctly recount these kings of the Dorians as far back as Perseus son of Danae — they make no mention of the god^{17*} — and prove these kings to be Greek; for by that time they had come to be classified as Greeks. [2] I said as far back as Perseus, and I took the matter no further than that, because no one is named as the mortal father of Perseus, as Amphitryon is named father of Heracles. So I used correct reasoning when I said that the Greek record is correct as far back as Perseus; farther back than that, if the king's ancestors in each generation, from Danae daughter of Acrisius upward, be reckoned, then the leaders of the Dorians will be shown to be true-born Egyptians. 54.

Thus have I traced their lineage according to the Greek story; but the Persian tale is that Perseus himself was an Assyrian, and became a Greek, which his forebears had not been; the Persians say that the ancestors of Acrisius^{18*} had no bond of kinship with Perseus, and they indeed were, as the Greeks say, Egyptians. 55.

Enough of these matters. Why and for what achievements these men, being Egyptian, won the kingship of the Dorians has been told by others, so I will let it go, and will make mention of matters which others have not touched. 56.

These privileges the Spartans have given to their kings: two priesthoods, of Zeus called Lacedaemon^{19*} and of Zeus of Heaven; they wage war against whatever land they wish, and no Spartan can hinder them in this on peril of being put under a curse; when the armies go forth the kings go out first and return last; one hundred chosen men guard them in their campaigns; they sacrifice as many sheep and goats as they wish at the start of their expeditions, and take

the hides and backs of all sacrificed beasts. 57.

Such are their rights in war; in peace the powers given them are as follows: at all public sacrifices the kings first sit down to the banquet and are first served, each of them receiving a portion double of what is given to the rest of the company; they make the first libations, and the hides of the sacrificed beasts are theirs. [2] At each new moon and each seventh day of the first part of the month, a full-grown victim for Apollo's temple, a bushel of barley-meal, and a Laconian quart^{20*} of wine are given to each from the public store, and chief seats are set apart for them at the games. [3] It is their right to appoint whatever citizens they wish to be protectors of foreigners;^{21*} and they each choose two Pythians. (The Pythians are the ambassadors to Delphi and eat with the kings at the public expense.) If the kings do not come to the public dinner, two choenixes of barley-meal and half a pint of wine are sent to their houses, but when they come, they receive a double share of everything; and the same honor shall be theirs when they are invited by private citizens to dinner. [4] They keep all oracles that are given, though the Pythians also know them. The kings alone judge cases concerning the rightful possessor of an unwedded heiress, if her father has not betrothed her, and cases concerning public roads. [5] If a man desires to adopt a son, it is done in the presence of the kings. They sit with the twenty-eight elders in council; if they do not come, the elders most closely related to them hold the king's privilege, giving two votes over and above the third which is their own.^{22*} 58.

The kings are granted these rights from the Spartan commonwealth while they live; when they die, their rights are as follows: Horsemen proclaim their death in all parts of Laconia, and in the city women go about beating on cauldrons. When this happens, two free persons from each house, a man and a woman, are required to wear mourning, or incur heavy penalties if they fail to do so. [2] The Lacedaemonians have the same custom at the deaths of their kings as the foreigners in Asia; most foreigners use the same custom at their kings' deaths. When a king of the Lacedaemonians dies, a fixed number of their subject neighbors must come to the funeral from all Lacedaemon, besides the Spartans. [6] When these and the helots and the Spartans themselves have assembled in one place to

the number of many thousands, together with the women, they zealously beat their foreheads and make long and loud lamentation, calling that king that is most recently dead the best of all their kings. Whenever a king dies in war, they make an image of him and carry it out on a well-spread bier. For ten days after the burial there are no assemblies or elections, and they mourn during these days. 59.

The Lacedaemonians also resemble the Persians in this: when one king is dead and another takes his office, this successor releases from debt any Spartan who owes a debt to the king or to the commonwealth. Among the Persians the king at the beginning of his reign forgives all cities their arrears of tribute. 60.

The Lacedaemonians resemble the Egyptians in that their heralds and flute-players and cooks inherit the craft from their fathers, a flute-player's son being a flute-player, and a cook's son a cook, and a herald's son a herald; no others usurp their places, making themselves heralds by loudness of voice; they ply their craft by right of birth. Such is the way of these matters. 61.

While Cleomenes was in Aegina working for the common good of Hellas, Demaratus slandered him, not out of care for the Aeginetans, but out of jealousy and envy. Once Cleomenes returned home from Aegina, he planned to remove Demaratus from his kingship, using the following affair as a pretext against him: Ariston, king of Sparta, had married twice but had no children. [2] He did not admit that he himself was responsible, so he married a third time. This is how it came about: he had among the Spartans a friend to whom he was especially attached. This man's wife was by far the most beautiful woman in Sparta, but she who was now most beautiful had once been the ugliest. [3] Her nurse considered her inferior looks and how she was of wealthy people yet unattractive, and, seeing how the parents felt her appearance to be a great misfortune, she contrived to carry the child every day to the sacred precinct of Helen, which is in the place called Therapne,^{23*} beyond the sacred precinct of Phoebus. Every time the nurse carried the child there, she set her beside the image and beseeched the goddess to release the child from her ugliness. [4] Once as she was leaving the sacred precinct, it is said that a woman appeared to her and asked her what she was carrying in her arms. The nurse said she was carrying a

child and the woman bade her show it to her, but she refused, saying that the parents had forbidden her to show it to anyone. But the woman strongly bade her show it to her, [5] and when the nurse saw how important it was to her, she showed her the child. The woman stroked the child's head and said that she would be the most beautiful woman in all Sparta. From that day her looks changed, and when she reached the time for marriage, Agetus son of Alcidas married her. This man was Ariston's friend. 62.

So love for this woman pricked Ariston, and he contrived as follows: He promised to give to his comrade any one thing out of all he owned, whatever Agetus might choose, and he bade his comrade make him the same promise. Agetus had no fear about his wife, seeing that Ariston was already married, so he agreed and they took oaths on these terms. [2] Ariston gave Agetus whatever it was that he chose out of all his treasures, and then, seeking equal recompense from him, tried to take the wife of his comrade. Agetus said that he had agreed to anything but that, but he was forced by his oath and by the deceitful trick to let his wife be taken. 63.

In this way Ariston married his third wife, after divorcing the second one. But his new wife gave birth to Demaratus too soon, before ten lunar months had passed. [2] When one of his servants announced to him as he sat in council with the ephors that he had a son, Ariston, knowing the time of the marriage, counted up the months on his fingers and swore on oath, "It's not mine." The ephors heard this but did not make anything of it. When the boy grew up, Ariston regretted having said that, for he firmly believed Demaratus to be his own son. [3] He named him Demaratus because before his birth all the Spartan populace had prayed that Ariston, the man most highly esteemed out of all the kings of Sparta, might have a son. Thus he was named Demaratus, which means "answer to the people's prayer." 64.

Time passed and Ariston died, so Demaratus held the kingship. But it seems that these matters had to become known and cause Demaratus to lose his kingship. He had already fallen out with Cleomenes when he had brought the army back from Eleusis, and now they were even more at odds when Cleomenes crossed over after the Aeginetans who were Medizing. 65.

Cleomenes wanted revenge, so he made a deal with Leotychides son of Menares son of Agis, of the same family as Demaratus. The deal was that Leotychides would go with Cleomenes against the Aeginetans if he became king. [2] Leotychides had already become strongly hostile to Demaratus for the following reason: Leotychides was betrothed to Percalus, daughter of Demarmenus, but Demaratus plotted and robbed him of his marriage, stealing Percalus and marrying her first. [3] From this affair Leotychides was hostile toward Demaratus, so at Cleomenes' instigation he took an oath against him, saying that he was not king of the Spartans by right, since he was not Ariston's son. After making this oath, he prosecuted him, recalling that utterance which Ariston had made when the servant told him he had a son, and he counted up the months and swore that it was not his. [4] Taking his stand on this remark, Leotychides declared that Demaratus was not Ariston's son and that he was not rightly king of Sparta, bringing as witnesses the ephors who had been sitting beside Ariston and heard him say this. 66.

Disputes arose over it, so the Spartans resolved to ask the oracle at Delphi if Demaratus was the son of Ariston. [2] At Cleomenes' instigation this was revealed to the Pythia. He had won over a man of great influence among the Delphians, Cobon son of Aristophantus, and Cobon persuaded the priestess, Periallus, to say what Cleomenes wanted her to. [3] When the ambassadors asked if Demaratus was the son of Ariston, the Pythia gave judgment that he was not. All this came to light later; Cobon was exiled from Delphi, and Periallus was deposed from her position. 67.

So it was concerning Demaratus' loss of the kingship, and from Sparta he went into exile among the Medes because of the following reproach: after he was deposed from the kingship, he was elected to office. [2] When it was the time of the Gymnopaidia,^{24*} Leotychides, now king in his place, saw him in the audience and, as a joke and an insult, sent a messenger to him to ask what it was like to hold office after being king. [3] He was grieved by the question and said that he had experience of both, while Leotychides did not, and that this question would be the beginning for Sparta of either immense evil or immense good fortune. He said this, covered his head, left the theater, and went home, where he immediately made preparations

and sacrificed an ox to Zeus. Then he summoned his mother. 68.

When she came in, he put some of the entrails in her hands and entreated her, saying, "Mother, appealing to Zeus of the household and to all the other gods, I beseech you to tell me the truth. Who is my father? Tell me truly. [2] Leotyichides said in the disputes that you were already pregnant by your former husband when you came to Ariston. Others say more foolishly that you approached to one of the servants, the ass-keeper, and that I am his son. [3] I adjure you by the gods to speak what is true. If you have done anything of what they say, you are not the only one; you are in company with many women. There is much talk at Sparta that Ariston did not have child-bearing seed in him, or his former wives would have given him children." 69.

Thus he spoke. His mother answered, "My son, since you adjure me by entreaties to speak the truth, I will speak out to you all that is true. On the third night after Ariston brought me to his house, a phantom resembling him came to me. It came and lay with me and then put on me the garlands which it had. [2] It went away, and when Ariston came in later and saw me with the garlands, he asked who gave them to me. I said he did, but he denied it. I swore an oath that just a little while before he had come in and lain with me and given me the garlands, and I said it was not good of him to deny it. [3] When he saw me swearing, he perceived that this was some divine affair. For the garlands had clearly come from the hero's precinct which is established at the courtyard doors, which they call the precinct of Astrabacus, and the seers responded that this was the same hero who had come to me. Thus, my son, you have all you want to know. [4] Either you are from this hero and Astrabacus the hero is your father, or Ariston is, for I conceived you that night. As for how your enemies chiefly attack you, saying that Ariston himself, when your birth was announced, denied in front of a large audience that you were his because the ten months had not yet been completed, he spoke an idle word, out of ignorance of such things. [5] Some women give birth after nine months or seven months; not all complete the ten months. I gave birth to you, my son, after seven months. A little later Ariston himself recognized that he had blurted out that speech because of foolishness. Do not believe other stories about your manner of birth. You have heard the whole truth. May the

wife of Leutychides himself, and the wives of the others who say these things, give birth to children fathered by ass-keepers.” 70.

Thus his mother spoke. After learning what he desired, Demaratus took provisions and travelled to Elis, pretending that he was going to Delphi to inquire of the oracle. But the Lacedaemonians suspected that he planned to escape and went in pursuit. [2] Demaratus somehow went across to Zacynthus from Elis before them; the Lacedaemonians crossed over after him and laid hands on him, carrying off his servants. But the Zacynthians refused to give him up, and later he crossed from there to Asia and went to king Darius, who received him in grand style and gave him lands and cities. [3] So Demaratus reached Asia through such chances, a man who had gained much renown in Lacedaemon by his many achievements and his wisdom, and by conferring on the state the victory in a chariot-race he had won at Olympia; he was the only king of Sparta who did this. 71.

Leutychides son of Menares succeeded to the kingship after Demaratus was deposed. A son was born to him, Zeuxidemus, called by some of the Spartans Cyniscus. This Zeuxidemus never became king of Sparta, for he died before Leutychides, leaving his son Archidemus. [2] After the loss of Zeuxidemus, Leutychides married a second wife, Eurydame, sister of Menius and daughter of Diactorides; by her he had no male offspring, but a daughter, Lampito, to whom Archidemus son of Zeuxidemus was married by Leutychides. 72.

But Leutychides also did not come to old age in Sparta; he was punished for his dealings with Demaratus as I will show. He led a Lacedaemonian army to Thessaly,^{25*} and when he could have subdued all the country he took a great bribe. [2] After being caught in the act of hoarding a sleeve full of silver there in the camp, he was brought before a court and banished from Sparta, and his house was destroyed. He went into exile at Tegea and died in that country. 73.

This happened long afterwards. When Cleomenes' dealings with Demaratus came off successfully, he immediately took Leutychides with him and went to punish the Aeginetans, with whom he was terribly angry because of their insulting behavior. [2] When the Aeginetans saw that both kings had come after them, they now

deemed it best to offer no further resistance; the kings chose ten men of Aegina who were most honored for wealth and lineage, among them Crius son of Polycritus and Casambus son of Aristocrates, the two most powerful men in Aegina; they carried them to Attica and gave them into the keeping of the Athenians, the bitterest foes of the Aeginetans. 74.

Later Cleomenes' treacherous plot against Demaratus became known; he was seized with fear of the Spartans and secretly fled to Thessaly. From there he came to Arcadia and stirred up disorder, uniting the Arcadians against Sparta; among his methods of binding them by oath to follow him wherever he led was his zeal to bring the chief men of Arcadia to the city of Nonacris and make them swear by the water of the Styx.^{26*} [2] Near this city is said to be the Arcadian water of the Styx, and this is its nature: it is a stream of small appearance, dropping from a cliff into a pool; a wall of stones runs round the pool. Nonacris, where this spring rises, is a city of Arcadia near Pheneus. 75.

When the Lacedaemonians learned that Cleomenes was doing this, they took fright and brought him back to Sparta to rule on the same terms as before. Cleomenes had already been not entirely in his right mind, and on his return from exile a mad sickness fell upon him: any Spartan that he happened to meet he would hit in the face with his staff. [2] For doing this, and because he was out of his mind, his relatives bound him in the stocks. When he was in the stocks and saw that his guard was left alone, he demanded a dagger; the guard at first refused to give it, but Cleomenes threatened what he would do to him when he was freed, until the guard, who was a helot, was frightened by the threats and gave him the dagger. [3] Cleomenes took the weapon and set about slashing himself from his shins upwards; from the shin to the thigh he cut his flesh lengthways, then from the thigh to the hip and the sides, until he reached the belly, and cut it into strips; thus he died, as most of the Greeks say, because he persuaded the Pythian priestess to tell the tale of Demaratus. The Athenians alone say it was because he invaded Eleusis and laid waste the precinct of the gods. The Argives say it was because when Argives had taken refuge after the battle in their temple of Argus^{27*} he brought them out and cut them down, then paid no heed to the

sacred grove and set it on fire. 76.

As Cleomenes was seeking divination at Delphi, the oracle responded that he would take Argos. When he came with Spartans to the river Erasinus, which is said to flow from the Stympthalian^{28*} lake (this lake issues into a cleft out of sight and reappears at Argos, and from that place onwards the stream is called by the Argives Erasinus) — when Cleomenes came to this river he offered sacrifices to it. [2] The omens were in no way favorable for his crossing, so he said that he honored the Erasinus for not betraying its countrymen, but even so the Argives would not go unscathed. Then he withdrew and led his army seaward to Thyrea, where he sacrificed a bull to the sea and carried his men on shipboard to the region of Tiryns and to Nauplia. 77.

The Argives heard of this and came to the coast to do battle with him. When they had come near Tiryns and were at the place called Hesipeia, they encamped opposite the Lacedaemonians, leaving only a little space between the armies. There the Argives had no fear of fair fighting, but rather of being captured by a trick. [2] This was the affair referred to by that oracle which the Pythian priestess gave to the Argives and Milesians in common, which ran thus: “When the female defeats the male^{29*}

And drives him away, winning glory in Argos,

She will make many Argive women tear their cheeks.

As someday one of men to come will say:

The dread thrice-coiled serpent died tamed by the spear.

“[3] All these things coming together spread fear among the Argives.

Therefore they resolved to defend themselves by making use of the enemies’ herald, and they performed their resolve in this way:

whenever the Spartan herald signalled anything to the

Lacedaemonians, the Argives did the same thing. 78.

When Cleomenes saw that the Argives did whatever was signalled by his herald, he commanded that when the herald cried the signal for breakfast, they should then put on their armor and attack the Argives. [2] The Lacedaemonians performed this command, and when they assaulted the Argives they caught them at breakfast in obedience to the herald’s signal; they killed many of them, and far more fled for refuge into the grove of Argus, which the

Lacedaemonians encamped around and guarded. 79.

Then Cleomenes' plan was this: He had with him some deserters from whom he learned the names, then he sent a herald calling by name the Argives that were shut up in the sacred precinct and inviting them to come out, saying that he had their ransom. (Among the Peloponnesians there is a fixed ransom of two minae to be paid for every prisoner.) So Cleomenes invited about fifty Argives to come out one after another and murdered them. [2] Somehow the rest of the men in the temple precinct did not know this was happening, for the grove was thick and those inside could not see how those outside were faring, until one of them climbed a tree and saw what was being done. Thereafter they would not come out at the herald's call. 80.

Then Cleomenes bade all the helots pile wood about the grove; they obeyed, and he burnt the grove. When the fire was now burning, he asked of one of the deserters to what god the grove belonged; the man said it was of Argos. When he heard that, he groaned aloud, "Apollo, god of oracles, you have gravely deceived me by saying that I would take Argos; this, I guess, is the fulfillment of that prophecy." 81.

Then Cleomenes sent most of his army back to Sparta, while he himself took a thousand of the best warriors and went to the temple of Hera^{30*} to sacrifice. When he wished to sacrifice at the altar the priest forbade him, saying that it was not holy for a stranger to sacrifice there. Cleomenes ordered the helots to carry the priest away from the altar and whip him, and he performed the sacrifice. After doing this, he returned to Sparta. 82.

But after his return his enemies brought him before the ephors, saying that he had been bribed not to take Argos when he might have easily taken it. Cleomenes alleged (whether falsely or truly, I cannot rightly say; but this he alleged in his speech) that he had supposed the god's oracle to be fulfilled by his taking of the temple of Argus; therefore he had thought it best not to make any attempt on the city before he had learned from the sacrifices whether the god would deliver it to him or withstand him; [2] when he was taking omens in Hera's temple a flame of fire had shone forth from the breast of the image, and so he learned the truth of the matter, that he would not

take Argos. If the flame had come out of the head of the image, he would have taken the city from head to foot utterly; but its coming from the breast signified that he had done as much as the god willed to happen. This plea of his seemed to the Spartans to be credible and reasonable, and he far outdistanced the pursuit of his accusers. 83.

But Argos was so wholly deprived of men that their slaves took possession of all affairs, ruling and governing until the sons of the slain men grew up. Then they recovered Argos for themselves and cast out the slaves; when they were driven out, the slaves took possession of Tiryns by force. [2] For a while they were at peace with each other; but then there came to the slaves a prophet, Cleander, a man of Phigalea in Arcadia by birth; he persuaded the slaves to attack their masters. From that time there was a long-lasting war between them, until with difficulty the Argives got the upper hand.^{31*} 84.

The Argives say this was the reason Cleomenes went mad and met an evil end; the Spartans themselves say that Cleomenes' madness arose from no divine agent, but that by consorting with Scythians he became a drinker of strong wine, and the madness came from this. [2] The nomadic Scythians, after Darius had invaded their land, were eager for revenge, so they sent to Sparta and made an alliance. They agreed that the Scythians would attempt to invade Media by way of the river Phasis, and they urged the Spartans to set out and march inland from Ephesus and meet the Scythians. [3] They say that when the Scythians had come for this purpose, Cleomenes kept rather close company with them, and by consorting with them more than was fitting he learned from them to drink strong wine. The Spartans consider him to have gone mad from this. Ever since, as they themselves say, whenever they desire a strong drink they call for "a Scythian cup." Such is the Spartan story of Cleomenes; but to my thinking it was for what he did to Demaratus that he was punished thus. 85.

When the Aeginetans heard that Cleomenes was dead, they sent messengers to Sparta to cry out against Leutychides concerning the hostages that were held at Athens. The Lacedaemonians then assembled a court and gave judgment that Leutychides had done violence to the Aeginetans; and they condemned him to be given up

and carried to Aegina in requital for the men that were held at Athens. [2] But when the Aeginetans were about to carry Leutychides away, a man of repute at Sparta, Theasides son of Leoprepes, said to them, “Men of Aegina, what are you planning to do? To have the king of the Spartans given up to you by the citizens and carry him away? If the Spartans have now so judged in their anger, see that they do not bring utter destruction upon your country if you do this.” [3] The Aeginetans heard this and refrained from carrying the king away, and made an agreement that Leutychides should go with them to Athens and restore the men to the Aeginetans. 86.

When Leutychides came to Athens and demanded back the hostages, the Athenians were unwilling to give them back and made excuses, saying that two kings had given them the trust and they deemed it wrong to restore it to one without the other. 86A. When the Athenians refused to give them back, Leutychides said to them: “Men of Athens, do whichever thing you desire. If you give them back, you do righteously; if you do not give them back, you do the opposite. But I want to tell you the story of what happened at Sparta in the matter of a trust. [2] We Spartans say that three generations ago there was at Lacedaemon one Glaucus, the son of Epicydes. We say that this man added to his other excellences a reputation for justice above all men who at that time dwelt in Lacedaemon. [3] But we say that at the fitting time this befell him: There came to Sparta a certain man of Miletus, who desired to have a talk with Glaucus and made him this offer: ‘I am a Milesian, and I have come to have the benefit of your justice, Glaucus. [4] Since there is much talk about your justice throughout all the rest of Hellas, and even in Ionia, I considered the fact that Ionia is always in danger while the Peloponnese is securely established, and nowhere in Ionia are the same men seen continuing in possession of wealth. [5] Considering and taking counsel concerning these matters, I resolved to turn half of my property into silver and deposit it with you, being well assured that it will lie safe for me in your keeping. Accept the money for me, and take and keep these tokens; restore the money to whoever comes with the same tokens and demands it back.’ 86B. Thus spoke the stranger who had come from Miletus, and Glaucus received the trust according to the agreement. After a long time had passed, the sons of

the man who had deposited the money came to Sparta; they spoke with Glaucus, showing him the tokens and demanding the money back. [2] But Glaucus put them off and answered in turn: 'I do not remember the matter, and nothing of what you say carries my mind back. Let me think; I wish to do all that is just. If I took the money, I will duly restore it; if I never took it at all, I will deal with you according to the customs of the Greeks. I will put off making my decision for you until the fourth month from this day.' 86C. So the Milesians went away in sorrow, as men robbed of their possessions; but Glaucus journeyed to Delphi to question the oracle. When he asked the oracle whether he should seize the money under oath, the Pythian priestess threatened him in these verses: [2] "Glaucus son of Epicydes, it is more profitable now

To prevail by your oath and seize the money.

Swear, for death awaits even the man who swears true.

But Oath has a son, nameless; he is without hands

Or feet, but he pursues swiftly, until he catches

And destroys all the family and the entire house.

The line of a man who swears true is better later on.

"When Glaucus heard this, he entreated the god to pardon him for what he had said. The priestess answered that to tempt the god and to do the deed had the same effect. 86D. So Glaucus summoned the Milesian strangers and gave them back their money. But hear now, Athenians, why I began to tell you this story: there is today no descendant of Glaucus, nor any household that bears Glaucus' name; he has been utterly rooted out of Sparta. So good is it not even to think anything concerning a trust except giving it back on demand!"

87.

Thus spoke Leutychides; but even so the Athenians would not listen to him, and he departed. The Aeginetans, before paying the penalty for the violence they had done to the Athenians to please the Thebans, acted as follows: blaming the Athenians and deeming themselves wronged, they prepared to take vengeance on the Athenians, who were now celebrating a quinquennial festival at Sunium. The Aeginetans set an ambush and captured the sacred ship, with many leading Athenians on board, and put in prison the men they seized. 88.

Suffering this from the Aeginetans, the Athenians no longer put off devising all mischief against Aegina. There was a notable man in Aegina, Nicodromus son of Cnoethus by name, who held a grudge against the Aeginetans for his former banishment from the island. When he learned that the Athenians were now set upon harming the Aeginetans, he agreed to betray Aegina to the Athenians, naming the day when he would make the attempt and when they must come to aid him. 89.

Later Nicodromus, according to his agreement with the Athenians, took possession of the Old City, as it was called; but the Athenians were not there at the right time, for they did not have ships worthy to fight the Aeginetans. While they were asking the Corinthians to lend them ships, the affair was ruined. The Corinthians at that time were their close friends, so they consented to the Athenians' plea and gave them twenty ships, at a price of five drachmas apiece; by their law they could not make a free gift of them. Taking these ships and their own, the Athenians manned seventy in all and sailed for Aegina, but they came a day later than the time agreed. 90.

When the Athenians did not show up at the right time, Nicodromus took ship and escaped from Aegina. Other Aeginetans followed him, and the Athenians gave them Sunium to dwell in; setting out from there they harried the Aeginetans of the island. 91.

But this happened later.^{32*} The rich men of Aegina gained mastery over the people, who had risen against them with Nicodromus, then made them captive and led them out to be killed. Because of this a curse fell upon them, which despite all their efforts they could not get rid of by sacrifice, and they were driven out of their island before the goddess would be merciful to them. [2] They had taken seven hundred of the people alive; as they led these out for slaughter one of them escaped from his bonds and fled to the temple gate of Demeter the Lawgiver, where he laid hold of the door-handles and clung to them. They could not tear him away by force, so they cut off his hands and carried him off, and those hands were left clinging fast to the door-handles. 92.

Thus the Aeginetans dealt with each other. When the Athenians came, they fought them at sea with seventy ships; the Aeginetans

were defeated in the sea-fight and asked for help from the Argives, as they had done before. But this time the Argives would not aid them, holding a grudge because ships of Aegina had been taken by force by Cleomenes and put in on the Argolid coast, where their crews landed with the Lacedaemonians; men from ships of Sicyon also took part in the same invasion. [2] The Argives laid on them the payment of a fine of a thousand talents, five hundred each. The Sicyonians confessed that they had done wrong and agreed to go free with a payment of a hundred talents, but the Aeginetans made no such confession and remained stubborn. For this cause the Argive state sent no one to aid them at their request, but about a thousand came voluntarily, led by a captain whose name was Eurybates, a man who practiced the pentathlon.^{33*} [3] Most of these never returned, meeting their death at the hands of the Athenians in Aegina; Eurybates himself, their captain, fought in single combat and thus killed three men, but was slain by the fourth, Sophanes the son of Deceles. 93.

The Aeginetan ships found the Athenians in disarray and attacked and overcame them, taking four Athenian ships and their crews. 94.

Thus Athens and Aegina grappled together in war. The Persian was going about his own business, for his servant was constantly reminding him to remember the Athenians,^{34*} and the Pisistratidae were at his elbow maligning the Athenians; moreover, Darius desired to take this pretext for subduing all the men of Hellas who had not given him earth and water. [2] He dismissed from command Mardonius, who had fared so badly on his expedition, and appointed other generals to lead his armies against Athens and Eretria, Datis, a Mede by birth, and his own nephew Artaphrenes son of Artaphrenes; the order he gave them at their departure was to enslave Athens and Eretria and bring the slaves into his presence. 95.

When these appointed generals on their way from the king reached the Aleian plain in Cilicia, bringing with them a great and well-furnished army, they camped there and were overtaken by all the fleet that was assigned to each; there also arrived the transports for horses, which in the previous year Darius had bidden his tributary subjects to make ready. [2] Having loaded the horses into these, and embarked the land army in the ships, they sailed to Ionia with six hundred triremes. From there they held their course not by the

mainland and straight towards the Hellespont and Thrace, but setting forth from Samos they sailed by the Icarian sea and from island to island; this, to my thinking, was because they feared above all the voyage around Athos, seeing that in the previous year they had come to great disaster by holding their course that way; moreover, Naxos was still unconquered and constrained them. 96.

When they approached Naxos from the Icarian sea and came to land (for it was Naxos which the Persians intended to attack first), the Naxians, remembering what had happened before,^{35*} fled away to the mountains instead of waiting for them. The Persians enslaved all of them that they caught, and burnt their temples and their city. After doing this, they set sail for the other islands. 97.

While they did this, the Delians also left Delos and fled away to Tenos. As his expedition was sailing landwards, Datis went on ahead and bade his fleet anchor not off Delos, but across the water off Rhenea. Learning where the Delians were, he sent a herald to them with this proclamation: [2] "Holy men, why have you fled away, and so misjudged my intent? It is my own desire, and the king's command to me, to do no harm to the land where the two gods^{36*} were born, neither to the land itself nor to its inhabitants. So return now to your homes and dwell on your island." He made this proclamation to the Delians, and then piled up three hundred talents of frankincense on the altar and burnt it. 98.

After doing this, Datis sailed with his army against Eretria first, taking with him Ionians and Aeolians; and after he had put out from there, Delos was shaken by an earthquake, the first and last, as the Delians say, before my time. This portent was sent by heaven, as I suppose, to be an omen of the ills that were coming on the world. [2] For in three generations, that is, in the time of Darius son of Hystaspes and Xerxes son of Darius and Artaxerxes son of Xerxes,^{37*} more ills happened to Hellas than in twenty generations before Darius; some coming from the Persians, some from the wars for preeminence among the chief of the nations themselves. [3] Thus it was no marvel that there should be an earthquake in Delos when there had been none before. Also there was an oracle concerning Delos, where it was written: "I will shake Delos, though unshaken before.

“ In the Greek language these names have the following meanings: Darius is the Doer, Xerxes the Warrior, Artaxerxes the Great Warrior. The Greeks would rightly call the kings thus in their language. 99.

Launching out to sea from Delos, the foreigners put in at the islands and gathered an army from there, taking the sons of the islanders for hostages. [2] When in their voyage about the islands they put in at Carystos, the Carystians gave them no hostages and refused to join them against neighboring cities, meaning Eretria and Athens; the Persians besieged them and laid waste their land, until the Carystians too came over to their side. 100.

When the Eretrians learned that the Persian expedition was sailing to attack them, they asked for help from the Athenians. The Athenians did not refuse the aid, but gave them for defenders the four thousand tenant farmers who held the land of the Chalcidian horsebreeders.^{38*} But it seems that all the plans of the Eretrians were unsound; they sent to the Athenians for aid, but their counsels were divided. [2] Some of them planned to leave the city and make for the heights of Euboea; others plotted treason in hope of winning advantages from the Persians. [3] When Aeschines son of Nothion, a leading man in Eretria, learned of both designs, he told the Athenians who had come how matters stood, and asked them to depart to their own country so they would not perish like the rest. The Athenians followed Aeschines' advice. 101.

So they saved themselves by crossing over to Oropus; the Persians sailed holding their course for Temenos and Choereae and Aegilea, all in Eretrian territory. Landing at these places, they immediately unloaded their horses and made preparation to attack their enemies. [2] The Eretrians had no intention of coming out and fighting; all their care was to guard their walls if they could, since it was the prevailing counsel not to leave the city. The walls were strongly attacked, and for six days many fell on both sides; but on the seventh two Eretrians of repute, Euphorbus son of Alcimachus and Philagrus son of Cineas, betrayed the city to the Persians. [3] They entered the city and plundered and burnt the temples, in revenge for the temples that were burnt at Sardis; moreover, they enslaved the townspeople, according to Darius' command. 102.

After subduing Eretria, the Persians waited a few days and then

sailed away to the land of Attica, pressing ahead in expectation of doing to the Athenians exactly what they had done to the Eretrians. Marathon^{39*} was the place in Attica most suitable for riding horses and closest to Eretria, so Hippias son of Pisistratus led them there. 103.

When the Athenians learned this, they too marched out to Marathon, with ten generals leading them. The tenth was Miltiades, and it had befallen his father Cimon son of Stesagoras to be banished from Athens by Pisistratus son of Hippocrates. [2] While in exile he happened to take the Olympic prize in the four-horse chariot, and by taking this victory he won the same prize as his half-brother Miltiades. At the next Olympic games he won with the same horses but permitted Pisistratus to be proclaimed victor, and by resigning the victory to him he came back from exile to his own property under truce. [3] After taking yet another Olympic prize with the same horses, he happened to be murdered by Pisistratus' sons, since Pisistratus was no longer living. They murdered him by placing men in ambush at night near the town-hall. Cimon was buried in front of the city, across the road called "Through the Hollow", and buried opposite him are the mares who won the three Olympic prizes. [4] The mares of Evagoras the Laconian did the same as these, but none others. Stesagoras, the elder of Cimon's sons, was then being brought up with his uncle Miltiades in the Chersonese. The younger was with Cimon at Athens, and he took the name Miltiades from Miltiades the founder of the Chersonese. 104.

It was this Miltiades who was now the Athenian general, after coming from the Chersonese and escaping a two-fold death. The Phoenicians pursued him as far as Imbros, considering it of great importance to catch him and bring him to the king. [2] He escaped from them, but when he reached his own country and thought he was safe, then his enemies met him. They brought him to court and prosecuted him for tyranny in the Chersonese, but he was acquitted and appointed Athenian general, chosen by the people. 105.

While still in the city, the generals first sent to Sparta the herald Philippides, an Athenian and a long-distance runner who made that his calling. As Philippides himself said when he brought the message to the Athenians, when he was in the Parthenian mountain above Tegea he encountered Pan. [2] Pan called out Philippides' name and

bade him ask the Athenians why they paid him no attention, though he was of goodwill to the Athenians, had often been of service to them, and would be in the future. [3] The Athenians believed that these things were true, and when they became prosperous they established a sacred precinct of Pan beneath the Acropolis. Ever since that message they propitiate him with annual sacrifices and a torch-race. 106.

This Philippides was in Sparta on the day after leaving the city of Athens,^{40*} that time when he was sent by the generals and said that Pan had appeared to him. He came to the magistrates and said, [2] “Lacedaemonians, the Athenians ask you to come to their aid and not allow the most ancient city among the Hellenes to fall into slavery at the hands of the foreigners. Even now Eretria has been enslaved, and Hellas has become weaker by an important city.” [3] He told them what he had been ordered to say, and they resolved to send help to the Athenians, but they could not do this immediately, for they were unwilling to break the law. It was the ninth day of the rising month, and they said that on the ninth they could not go out to war until the moon’s circle was full.^{41*} 107.

So they waited for the full moon, while the foreigners were guided to Marathon by Hippias son of Pisistratus. The previous night Hippias had a dream in which he slept with his mother. [2] He supposed from the dream that he would return from exile to Athens, recover his rule, and end his days an old man in his own country. Thus he reckoned from the dream. Then as guide he unloaded the slaves from Eretria onto the island of the Styrians called Aegilia, and brought to anchor the ships that had put ashore at Marathon, then marshalled the foreigners who had disembarked onto land. [3] As he was tending to this, he happened to sneeze and cough more violently than usual. Since he was an elderly man, most of his teeth were loose, and he lost one of them by the force of his cough. It fell into the sand and he expended much effort in looking for it, but the tooth could not be found. [4] He groaned aloud and said to those standing by him: “This land is not ours and we will not be able to subdue it. My tooth holds whatever share of it was mine.” 108.

Hippias supposed that the dream had in this way come true. As the Athenians were marshalled in the precinct of Heracles, the

Plataeans came to help them in full force. The Plataeans had put themselves under the protection of the Athenians,^{42*} and the Athenians had undergone many labors on their behalf. This is how they did it: [2] when the Plataeans were pressed by the Thebans, they first tried to put themselves under the protection of Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides and the Lacedaemonians, who happened to be there. But they did not accept them, saying, “We live too far away, and our help would be cold comfort to you. You could be enslaved many times over before any of us heard about it. [3] We advise you to put yourselves under the protection of the Athenians, since they are your neighbors and not bad men at giving help.” The Lacedaemonians gave this advice not so much out of goodwill toward the Plataeans as wishing to cause trouble for the Athenians with the Boeotians. [4] So the Lacedaemonians gave this advice to the Plataeans, who did not disobey it. When the Athenians were making sacrifices to the twelve gods,^{43*} they sat at the altar as suppliants and put themselves under protection. When the Thebans heard this, they marched against the Plataeans, but the Athenians came to their aid. [5] As they were about to join battle, the Corinthians, who happened to be there, prevented them and brought about a reconciliation. Since both sides desired them to arbitrate, they fixed the boundaries of the country on condition that the Thebans leave alone those Boeotians who were unwilling to be enrolled as Boeotian. After rendering this decision, the Corinthians departed. The Boeotians attacked the Athenians as they were leaving but were defeated in battle. [6] The Athenians went beyond the boundaries the Corinthians had made for the Plataeans, fixing the Asopus river as the boundary for the Thebans in the direction of Plataea and Hysiae. So the Plataeans had put themselves under the protection of the Athenians in the aforesaid manner, and now came to help at Marathon. 109.

The Athenian generals were of divided opinion, some advocating not fighting because they were too few to attack the army of the Medes; others, including Miltiades, advocating fighting. [2] Thus they were at odds, and the inferior plan prevailed. An eleventh man had a vote, chosen by lot to be polemarch^{44*} of Athens, and by ancient custom the Athenians had made his vote of equal weight with the generals. Callimachus of Aphidnae was polemarch at this time.

Miltiades approached him and said, [3] “Callimachus, it is now in your hands to enslave Athens or make her free, and thereby leave behind for all posterity a memorial such as not even Harmodius and Aristogeiton left. Now the Athenians have come to their greatest danger since they first came into being, and, if we surrender, it is clear what we will suffer when handed over to Hippias. But if the city prevails, it will take first place among Hellenic cities. [4] I will tell you how this can happen, and how the deciding voice on these matters has devolved upon you. The ten generals are of divided opinion, some urging to attack, others urging not to. [5] If we do not attack now, I expect that great strife will fall upon and shake the spirit of the Athenians, leading them to medize. But if we attack now, before anything unsound corrupts the Athenians, we can win the battle, if the gods are fair. [6] All this concerns and depends on you in this way: if you vote with me, your country will be free and your city the first in Hellas. But if you side with those eager to avoid battle, you will have the opposite to all the good things I enumerated.”¹¹⁰

By saying this Miltiades won over Callimachus. The polemarch’s vote was counted in, and the decision to attack was resolved upon. Thereafter the generals who had voted to fight turned the presidency over to Miltiades as each one’s day came in turn.^{45*} He accepted the office but did not make an attack until it was his own day to preside.¹¹¹

When the presidency came round to him, he arrayed the Athenians for battle, with the polemarch Callimachus commanding the right wing, since it was then the Athenian custom for the polemarch to hold the right wing. He led, and the other tribes were numbered out in succession next to each other.^{46*} The Plataeans were marshalled last, holding the left wing. [2] Ever since that battle, when the Athenians are conducting sacrifices at the festivals every fourth year,^{47*} the Athenian herald prays for good things for the Athenians and Plataeans together. [3] As the Athenians were marshalled at Marathon, it happened that their line of battle was as long as the line of the Medes. The center, where the line was weakest, was only a few ranks deep, but each wing was strong in numbers.¹¹²

When they had been set in order and the sacrifices were favorable, the Athenians were sent forth and charged the foreigners at a run.

The space between the armies was no less than eight stadia. [2] The Persians saw them running to attack and prepared to receive them, thinking the Athenians absolutely crazy, since they saw how few of them there were and that they ran up so fast without either cavalry or archers. [3] So the foreigners imagined, but when the Athenians all together fell upon the foreigners they fought in a way worthy of record. These are the first Hellenes whom we know of to use running against the enemy. They are also the first to endure looking at Median dress and men wearing it, for up until then just hearing the name of the Medes caused the Hellenes to panic. 113.

They fought a long time at Marathon. In the center of the line the foreigners prevailed, where the Persians and Sacae were arrayed. The foreigners prevailed there and broke through in pursuit inland, but on each wing the Athenians and Plataeans prevailed. [2] In victory they let the routed foreigners flee, and brought the wings together to fight those who had broken through the center. The Athenians prevailed, then followed the fleeing Persians and struck them down. When they reached the sea they demanded fire and laid hold of the Persian ships. 114.

In this labor Callimachus the polemarch was slain, a brave man, and of the generals Stesilaus son of Thrasylaus died. Cynegirus^{48*} son of Euphorion fell there, his hand cut off with an ax as he grabbed a ship's figurehead. Many other famous Athenians also fell there. 115.

In this way the Athenians overpowered seven ships. The foreigners pushed off with the rest, picked up the Eretrian slaves from the island where they had left them, and sailed around Sunium hoping to reach the city before the Athenians. There was an accusation at Athens that they devised this by a plan of the Alcmaeonidae, who were said to have arranged to hold up a shield as a signal once the Persians were in their ships. 116.

They sailed around Sunium, but the Athenians marched back to defend the city as fast as their feet could carry them and got there ahead of the foreigners. Coming from the sacred precinct of Heracles in Marathon, they pitched camp in the sacred precinct of Heracles in Cynosarges. The foreigners lay at anchor off Phalerum, the Athenian naval port at that time. After riding anchor there, they sailed their ships back to Asia. 117.

In the battle at Marathon about six thousand four hundred men of the foreigners were killed, and one hundred and ninety-two Athenians; that many fell on each side. [2] The following marvel happened there: an Athenian, Epizelus son of Couphagoras, was fighting as a brave man in the battle when he was deprived of his sight, though struck or hit nowhere on his body, and from that time on he spent the rest of his life in blindness. [3] I have heard that he tells this story about his misfortune: he saw opposing him a tall armed man, whose beard overshadowed his shield, but the phantom passed him by and killed the man next to him. I learned by inquiry that this is the story Epizelus tells. 118.

Datis journeyed with his army to Asia, and when he arrived at Myconos he saw a vision in his sleep. What that vision was is not told, but as soon as day broke Datis made a search of his ships. He found in a Phoenician ship a gilded image of Apollo, and asked where this plunder had been taken. Learning from what temple it had come, he sailed in his own ship to Delos. [2] The Delians had now returned to their island, and Datis set the image in the temple, instructing the Delians to carry it away to Theban Delium, on the coast opposite Chalcis. [3] Datis gave this order and sailed away, but the Delians never carried that statue away; twenty years later the Thebans brought it to Delium by command of an oracle. 119.

When Datis and Artaphrenes reached Asia in their voyage, they carried the enslaved Eretrians inland to Susa. [2] Before the Eretrians were taken captive, king Darius had been terribly angry with them for doing him unprovoked wrong; but when he saw them brought before him and subject to him, he did them no harm, but settled them in a domain of his own called Ardericca in the Cissian land; this place is two hundred and ten stadia distant from Susa, and forty from the well that is of three kinds. [3] Asphalt and salt and oil are drawn from it in the following way: a windlass is used in the drawing, with half a skin tied to it in place of a bucket; this is dipped into the well and then poured into a tank; then what is drawn is poured into another tank and goes three ways: the asphalt and the salt congeal immediately; the oil,^{49*} which the Persians call rhadinace, is dark and evil-smelling. [4] There king Darius settled the Eretrians, and they dwelt in that place until my time, keeping their ancient language.

Such was the fate of the Eretrians. 120.

After the full moon two thousand Lacedaemonians came to Athens, making such great haste to reach it that they were in Attica on the third day after leaving Sparta. Although they came too late for the battle, they desired to see the Medes, so they went to Marathon and saw them. Then they departed again, praising the Athenians and their achievement. 121.

It is a wonder to me, and I do not believe the story, that the Alcmeonidae would ever have agreed to hold up a shield as a sign for the Persians out of a desire to make Athens subject to foreigners and to Hippias; for it is plain to see that they were tyrant-haters as much as Callias (son of Phaenippus and father of Hipponicus), or even more so. [2] Callias was the only Athenian who dared to buy Pisistratus' possessions when they were put up for sale by the state after Pisistratus' banishment from Athens; and he devised other acts of bitter hatred against him. 122.

^{50*} [This Callias is worthy of all men's remembrance for many reasons: first, because he so excellently freed his country, as I have said; second, for what he did at Olympia, where he won a horserace, and was second in a four-horse chariot, after already winning a Pythian prize, and was the cynosure of all Hellas for the lavishness of his spending; [2] and third, for his behavior regarding his three daughters. When they were of marriageable age, he gave them a most splendid gift and one very pleasant to them, promising that each would wed that man whom she chose for herself from all the Athenians.] 123.

The Alcmeonidae were tyrant-haters as much as Callias, or not less so. Therefore I find it a strange and unbelievable accusation that they of all men should have held up a shield; at all times they shunned tyrants, and it was by their contrivance that the sons of Pisistratus were deposed from their tyranny. [2] Thus in my judgment it was they who freed Athens much more than did Harmodius and Aristogeiton. These only enraged the remaining sons of Pisistratus by killing Hipparchus, and did nothing to end the tyranny of the rest of them; but the Alcmeonidae plainly liberated their country, if they truly were the ones who persuaded the Pythian priestess to signify to the Lacedaemonians that they should free Athens, as I have

previously shown. 124.

Perhaps out of some grudge against the Athenian people they betrayed their country. But there were no others at Athens more esteemed or more honored than they; [2] therefore plain reason forbids believing that they of all men could have held up the shield for any such cause. A shield was held up; this cannot be denied, for it happened; but who did it I do not know, and I can say no further. 125.

The Alcmeonidae had been men of renown at Athens even in the old days, and from the time of Alcmeon^{51*} and then Megacles their renown increased. [2] When the Lydians from Sardis came from Croesus to the Delphic oracle, Alcmeon son of Megacles worked with them and zealously aided them; when Croesus heard from the Lydians who visited the oracle of Alcmeon's benefits to him, he summoned Alcmeon to Sardis, and there made him a gift of as much gold as he could carry away at one time on his person. [3] Considering the nature of the gift, Alcmeon planned and employed this device: he donned a wide tunic, leaving a deep fold in it, and put on the most spacious boots that he could find, then went into the treasury to which they led him. [4] Falling upon a heap of gold-dust, first he packed next to his legs as much gold as his boots would contain; then he filled all the fold of his tunic with gold and strewed the dust among the hair of his head, and took more of it into his mouth; when he came out of the treasury, hardly dragging the weight of his boots, he was like anything rather than a human being, with his mouth crammed full and all his body swollen. [5] Croesus burst out laughing at the sight and gave him all the gold he already had and that much more again. Thus the family grew very rich; Alcmeon came to keep four-horse chariots and won with them at Olympia. 126.

In the next generation Cleisthenes^{52*} the tyrant of Sicyon raised that house still higher, so that it grew much more famous in Hellas than it had formerly been. Cleisthenes son of Aristonymus son of Myron son of Andreas had one daughter, whose name was Agariste. He desired to wed her to the best man he could find in Hellas. [2] It was the time of the Olympian games, and when he was victor there with a four-horse chariot, Cleisthenes made a proclamation that whichever Greek thought himself worthy to be his son-in-law should come on the sixtieth day from then or earlier to Sicyon, and

Cleisthenes would make good his promise of marriage in a year from that sixtieth day. [3] Then all the Greeks who were proud of themselves and their country came as suitors, and to that end Cleisthenes had them compete in running and wrestling contests. 127.

From Italy came Smindyrides of Sybaris, son of Hippocrates, the most luxurious liver of his day (and Sybaris was then at the height of its prosperity), and Damasus of Siris, son of that Amyris who was called the Wise. [2] These came from Italy; from the Ionian Gulf, Amphimnestus son of Epistrophus, an Epidamnian; he was from the Ionian Gulf. From Aetolia came Males, the brother of that Titormus who surpassed all the Greeks in strength, and fled from the sight of men to the farthest parts of the Aetolian land. [3] From the Peloponnese came Leocedes, son of Phidon the tyrant of Argos, that Phidon who made weights and measures for the Peloponnesians^{53*} and acted more arrogantly than any other Greek; he drove out the Elean contest-directors and held the contests at Olympia himself. This man's son now came, and Amiantus, an Arcadian from Trapezus, son of Lycurgus; and an Azenian from the town of Paeus, Laphanes, son of that Euphorion who, as the Arcadian tale relates, gave lodging to the Dioscuri, and ever since kept open house for all men; and Onomastus from Elis, son of Agaeus. [4] These came from the Peloponnese itself; from Athens Megacles, son of that Alcmeon who visited Croesus, and also Hippocleides son of Tisandrus, who surpassed the Athenians in wealth and looks. From Eretria, which at that time was prosperous, came Lysanias; he was the only man from Euboea. From Thessaly came a Scopad, Diactorides of Crannon; and from the Molossians, Alcon. 128.

These were the suitors. When they arrived on the appointed day, Cleisthenes first inquired the country and lineage of each; then he kept them with him for a year, testing their manliness and temper and upbringing and manner of life; this he did by consorting with them alone and in company, putting the younger of them to contests of strength, but especially watching their demeanor at the common meal; for as long as he kept them with him, he did everything for them and entertained them with magnificence. [2] The suitors that most pleased him were the ones who had come from Athens, and of these Hippocleides son of Tisandrus was judged foremost, both for

his manliness and because in ancestry he was related to the Cypselids of Corinth. 129.

When the appointed day came for the marriage feast and for Cleisthenes' declaration of whom he had chosen out of them all, Cleisthenes sacrificed a hundred oxen and gave a feast to the suitors and to the whole of Sicyon. [2] After dinner the suitors vied with each other in music and in anecdotes for all to hear. As they sat late drinking, Hippocleides, now far outdoing the rest, ordered the flute-player to play him a dance-tune; the flute-player obeyed and he began to dance. I suppose he pleased himself with his dancing, but Cleisthenes saw the whole business with much disfavor. [3] Hippocleides then stopped for a while and ordered a table to be brought in; when the table arrived, he danced Laconian figures on it first, and then Attic; last of all he rested his head on the table and made gestures with his legs in the air. [4] Now Cleisthenes at the first and the second bout of dancing could no more bear to think of Hippocleides as his son-in-law, because of his dancing and his shamelessness, but he had held himself in check, not wanting to explode at Hippocleides; but when he saw him making gestures with his legs, he could no longer keep silence and said, "son of Tisandrus, you have danced away your marriage." Hippocleides said in answer, "It does not matter to Hippocleides!" Since then this is proverbial. 130.

Then Cleisthenes bade them all be silent and spoke to the company at large: "Suitors for my daughter's hand, I thank you one and all; if it were possible I would grant each of you his wish, neither choosing out one to set him above another nor disparaging the rest. [2] But since I have but one maiden to plan for and so cannot please all of you, to those of you whose suit is rejected I make a gift of a talent of silver to each, for his desire to take a wife from my house and for his sojourn away from his home; and to Megacles son of Alcmeon do I betroth my daughter Agariste, by the laws of the Athenians." Megacles accepted the betrothal, and Cleisthenes brought the marriage to pass. 131.

Such is the tale of the choice among the suitors; and thus the fame of the Alcmeonidae resounded throughout Hellas. From this marriage was born that Cleisthenes, named after his mother's father from Sicyon, who gave the Athenians their tribes and their democracy; [2]

he and Hippocrates were born to Megacles; Hippocrates was father of another Megacles and another Agariste, called after Agariste who was Cleisthenes' daughter. She was married to Xanthippus son of Arophron, and when she was pregnant she saw in her sleep a vision in which she thought she gave birth to a lion. In a few days she bore Xanthippus a son, Pericles. 132.

After the Persian disaster at Marathon, the reputation of Miltiades, already great at Athens, very much increased. He asked the Athenians for seventy ships, an army, and money, not revealing against what country he would lead them, but saying that he would make them rich if they followed him; he would bring them to a country from which they could easily carry away an abundance of gold; so he said when he asked for the ships. The Athenians were induced by these promises and granted his request. 133.

Miltiades took his army and sailed for Paros, on the pretext that the Parians had brought this on themselves by first sending triremes with the Persian fleet to Marathon. Such was the pretext of his argument, but he had a grudge against the Parians because Lysagoras son of Tisias, a man of Parian descent, had slandered him to Hydarnes the Persian. [2] When he reached his voyage's destination, Miltiades with his army drove the Parians inside their walls and besieged them; he sent in a herald and demanded a hundred talents, saying that if they did not give it to him, his army would not return home before it had stormed their city. [3] The Parians had no intention of giving Miltiades any money at all, and they contrived how to defend their city. They did this by building their wall at night to double its former height where it was most assailable, and also by other devices. 134.

All the Greeks tell the same story up to this point; after this the Parians themselves say that the following happened: as Miltiades was in a quandary, a captive woman named Timo, Parian by birth and an under-priestess of the goddesses of the dead, came to talk with him. [2] Coming before Miltiades, she advised him, if taking Paros was very important to him, to do whatever she suggested. Then, following her advice, he passed through to the hill in front of the city and jumped over the fence of the precinct of Demeter the Lawgiver, since he was unable to open the door. After leaping over, he went to

the shrine, whether to move something that should not be moved, or with some other intention. When he was right at the doors, he was immediately seized with panic and hurried back by the same route; leaping down from the wall he twisted his thigh, but some say he hit his knee. 135.

So Miltiades sailed back home in a sorry condition, neither bringing money for the Athenians nor having won Paros; he had besieged the town for twenty-six days and ravaged the island. [2] The Parians learned that Timo the under-priestess of the goddesses had been Miltiades' guide and desired to punish her for this. Since they now had respite from the siege, they sent messengers to Delphi to ask if they should put the under-priestess to death for guiding their enemies to the capture of her native country, and for revealing to Miltiades the rites that no male should know. [3] But the Pythian priestess forbade them, saying that Timo was not responsible: Miltiades was doomed to make a bad end, and an apparition had led him in these evils. 136.

Such was the priestess' reply to the Parians. The Athenians had much to say about Miltiades on his return from Paros, especially Xanthippus son of Ariphron, who prosecuted Miltiades before the people for deceiving the Athenians and called for the death penalty. [2] Miltiades was present but could not speak in his own defense, since his thigh was festering; he was laid before the court on a couch, and his friends spoke for him, often mentioning the fight at Marathon and the conquest of Lemnos: how Miltiades had punished the Pelasgians and taken Lemnos, delivering it to the Athenians. [3] The people took his side as far as not condemning him to death, but they fined him fifty talents for his wrongdoing. Miltiades later died of gangrene and rot in his thigh, and the fifty talents were paid by his son Cimon. 137.

Miltiades son of Cimon took possession of Lemnos in this way: When the Pelasgians^{54*} were driven out of Attica by the Athenians, whether justly or unjustly I cannot say, beyond what is told; namely, that Hecataeus the son of Hegesandrus declares in his history that the act was unjust; [2] for when the Athenians saw the land under Hymettus, formerly theirs, which they had given to the Pelasgians as a dwelling-place in reward for the wall that had once been built

around the acropolis — when the Athenians saw how well this place was tilled which previously had been bad and worthless, they were envious and coveted the land, and so drove the Pelasgians out on this and no other pretext. But the Athenians themselves say that their reason for expelling the Pelasgians was just. [3] The Pelasgians set out from their settlement at the foot of Hymettus and wronged the Athenians in this way: Neither the Athenians nor any other Hellenes had servants yet at that time, and their sons and daughters used to go to the Nine Wells^{55*} for water; and whenever they came, the Pelasgians maltreated them out of mere arrogance and pride. And this was not enough for them; finally they were caught in the act of planning to attack Athens. [4] The Athenians were much better men than the Pelasgians, since when they could have killed them, caught plotting as they were, they would not so do, but ordered them out of the country. The Pelasgians departed and took possession of Lemnos, besides other places. This is the Athenian story; the other is told by Hecataeus. 138.

These Pelasgians dwelt at that time in Lemnos and desired vengeance on the Athenians. Since they well knew the time of the Athenian festivals, they acquired fifty-oared ships and set an ambush for the Athenian women celebrating the festival of Artemis at Brauron. They seized many of the women, then sailed away with them and brought them to Lemnos to be their concubines. [2] These women bore more and more children, and they taught their sons the speech of Attica and Athenian manners. These boys would not mix with the sons of the Pelasgian women; if one of them was beaten by one of the others, they would all run to his aid and help each other; these boys even claimed to rule the others, and were much stronger. [3] When the Pelasgians perceived this, they took counsel together; it troubled them much in their deliberations to think what the boys would do when they grew to manhood, if they were resolved to help each other against the sons of the lawful wives and attempted to rule them already. [4] Thereupon the Pelasgians resolved to kill the sons of the Attic women; they did this, and then killed the boys' mothers also. From this deed and the earlier one which was done by the women when they killed their own husbands who were Thoas' companions, a "Lemnian crime" has been a proverb in Hellas for any

deed of cruelty. 139.

But when the Pelasgians had murdered their own sons and women, their land brought forth no fruit, nor did their wives and their flocks and herds bear offspring as before. Crushed by hunger and childlessness, they sent to Delphi to ask for some release from their present ills. [2] The Pythian priestess ordered them to pay the Athenians whatever penalty the Athenians themselves judged. The Pelasgians went to Athens and offered to pay the penalty for all their wrongdoing. [3] The Athenians set in their town-hall a couch adorned as finely as possible, and placed beside it a table covered with all manner of good things, then ordered the Pelasgians to deliver their land to them in the same condition. [4] The Pelasgians answered, "We will deliver it when a ship with a north wind accomplishes the voyage from your country to ours in one day"; they supposed that this was impossible, since Attica is far to the south of Lemnos. 140.

At the time that was all. But a great many years later, when the Chersonese on the Hellespont was made subject to Athens, Miltiades son of Cimon accomplished the voyage from Elaeus on the Chersonese to Lemnos with the Etesian^{56*} winds then constantly blowing; he proclaimed that the Pelasgians must leave their island, reminding them of the oracle which the Pelasgians thought would never be fulfilled. [2] The Hephaestians obeyed, but the Myrinaeans would not agree that the Chersonese was Attica and were besieged, until they too submitted. Thus did Miltiades and the Athenians take possession of Lemnos.

FOOTNOTES: BOOK VI

1 Cp. Hdt. 1.148.

2 This manoeuvre consisted in forcing a way through the enemy's line and attacking the broadside or stern of his ships.

3 In 494.

4 Didyma (oftener called Branchidae), was near Miletus; the temple was of Apollo Διδυμέως. Cp. Hdt. 1.46.

5 Zancle is the later Messene, modern Messina.

6 "The epithet distinguishes the Italiot colony from the Locrians of the mother country" (How and Wells).

7 "The Sacred Way seems to have led E. by Daulis, Panopeus, and Chaeronea, then S.E. by Coronea, Haliartus, and Thebes, then S. over Cithaeron to Eleusis, whence it was continued to Athens by the best-known ὁδὸς ἱερὰ." (How and Wells.)

8 Across the isthmus of the peninsula of Gallipoli, near Bulair; a distance of about four and a half miles.

9 In 493. τρίτῳ μὲν γάρ, κ.τ.λ. explains how it was that Miltiades had been till now absent from the Chersonese.

10 493.

11 492.

12 Hdt. 3.80

13 491.

14 On the Thracian coast, opposite Thasos.

15 Κρίός = ram.

16 "The most probable origin of this anomaly" (the dual kingship) "is the fusion of two distinct communities whose chiefs shared the throne." How and Wells, p. 82.

17 i.e. Zeus; Perseus being by one legend son of Zeus and Danae.

18 But in Hdt. 7.150 the Persian story is, that Perseus was son of Danae daughter of Acrisius. Evidently the Perseus legends are manifold and inconsistent.

19 Here, as often the cult of an "Olympian" deity is identified with an earlier local worship; cp. Zeus Amphiaras, Zeus Agamemnon.

20 The content of a "Laconian τετάρτη" is uncertain; for the date, see How and Wells ad loc.

21 Usually, the πρόξενος is a citizen who out of friendship for a particular state undertakes the protection of its nationals in his city; e.g. Miltiades at Athens is the πρόξενος of Sparta. But here he is apparently an official appointed to watch over the interests of all foreign residents.

22 "Herodotus, though the expression is obscure, probably means not that each king had two votes, but that two votes were given for the two absent kings, and that the vote of the relative who acted as proxy

for both was the third.” How and Wells, p. 87.

23 S.E. of Sparta; the legendary burial-place of Menelaus and Helen. The foundations of a temple are still visible.

24 A midsummer festival, celebrated at Sparta by bands of naked boys and men.

25 The date is uncertain; about 475 or 470, probably.

26 The “water of Styx” is a mountain torrent flowing through a desolate ravine on the N. face of Chelmos.

27 Cp. Hdt. 6.80.

28 The Stymphalian lake, near the base of Cyllene, discharges itself into a cavern at the foot of a cliff; the river which reappears near Argos (the Erasinus) has been generally identified with this stream.

29 This would be fulfilled by a victory of the female Σπάρτη over the male Ἄργος.

30 About four miles N.E. of Argos.

31 About 468, apparently.

32 That is, it was done between 490 and 480.

33 The ‘Pentathlon’ consisted of jumping, discus-throwing, spear-throwing, running, and wrestling.

34 Cp. Hdt. 5.105.

35 This probably refers to the Persian treatment of rebels, described in Hdt. 6.31 and 32.

36 Apollo and Artemis.

37 522-424.

38 Cp. Hdt. 5.77.

39 For a detailed discussion of various questions connected with the battle of Marathon, readers are referred to How and Wells, Appendix XVIII.

40 According to Isocrates the distance traversed was 150 miles.

41 This statement probably applies only to the month Carneius (Attic Metageitnion), when the Carneia was celebrated at Sparta in honor of Apollo, from the 7th to the 15th of the month.

42 In 519, according to Thucydides (Thuc. 3.68); Grote gives a later date.

43 The twelve gods were Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Demeter, Apollo, Artemis, Hephaestus, Athena, Ares, Aphrodite, Hermes, Hestia. The βωμὸς was a central altar in the agora, from which distances were reckoned.

44 One of the nine archons, all chosen by lot.

45 Each general seems to have been head commander in turn.

46 There was a fixed official order; but Plutarch’s account of the battle places certain tribes according to a different system. Perhaps the battle-order was determined by lot.

47 e.g. the great Panathenaea, and the festival of Poseidon.

48 Brother of the poet Aeschylus.

49 Petroleum.

50 This chapter is generally held to be an interpolation; it is only found in one (not the best) class of the

MSS., and contains un-Herodotean words and phrases.

51 Alcmeon ‘flourished’ about 590; Croesus’ reign was 560-546; it was Megacles son of Alcmeon, and not Alcmeon himself, who was Croesus’ contemporary.

52 Cleisthenes of Sicyon was contemporary with Alcmeon.

53 P. introduced the “Aeginetan” system of weights and measures. For the chronological difficulty connected with this mention of him, see the commentators.

54 The Pelasgians were driven into Attica by the Boeotian immigration, about sixty years after the Trojan war according to legend.

55 S.E. of Athens, near the Ilissus.

56 North-east winds, blowing in July, August, and September.

BOOK VII.

1. When the message concerning the fight at Marathon came to Darius son of Hystaspes, already greatly angry against the Athenians for their attack upon Sardis, he was now much more angry and eager to send an expedition against Hellas. [2] Immediately he sent messengers to all the cities and commanded them to equip an army, instructing each to provide many more ships and horses and provisions and transport vessels than they had before. Asia was in commotion with these messages for three years,^{1*} as the best men were enrolled for service against Hellas and made preparations. [3] In the fourth year the Egyptians, whom Cambyses had enslaved, revolted from the Persians; thereupon Darius was even more eager to send expeditions against both. 2.

But while Darius was making preparations against Egypt and Athens, a great quarrel arose among his sons concerning the chief power in the land. They held that before his army marched he must declare an heir to the kingship according to Persian law. [2] Three sons had been born to Darius before he became king by his first wife, the daughter of Gobryas, and four more after he became king by Atossa daughter of Cyrus. Artobazanes was the oldest of the earlier sons, Xerxes of the later; [3] and as sons of different mothers they were rivals. Artobazanes pleaded that he was the oldest of all Darius' offspring and that it was everywhere customary that the eldest should rule; Xerxes argued that he was the son of Cyrus' daughter Atossa and that it was Cyrus who had won the Persians their freedom. 3.

While Darius delayed making his decision, it chanced that at this time Demaratus son of Ariston had come up to Susa, in voluntary exile from Lacedaemonia after he had lost the kingship of Sparta. [2] Learning of the contention between the sons of Darius, this man, as the story goes, came and advised Xerxes to add this to what he said: that he had been born when Darius was already king and ruler of Persia, but Artobazanes when Darius was yet a subject; [3] therefore it was neither reasonable nor just that anyone should have the royal privilege before him. At Sparta too (advised Demaratus) it was customary that if sons were born before their father became king, and

another son born later when the father was king, the succession to the kingship belongs to the later-born. [4] Xerxes followed Demaratus advice, and Darius judged his plea to be just and declared him king. But to my thinking Xerxes would have been made king even without this advice, for Atossa held complete sway. 4.

After declaring Xerxes king, Darius was intent on his expedition. But in the year after this and the revolt of Egypt, death came upon him in the midst of his preparations, after a reign of six and thirty years^{2*} in all, and it was not granted to him to punish either the revolted Egyptians or the Athenians. 5.

After Darius' death, the royal power descended to his son Xerxes. Now Xerxes was at first by no means eager to march against Hellas; it was against Egypt that he mustered his army. But Mardonius son of Gobryas, Xerxes cousin and the son of Darius' sister, was with the king and had more influence with him than any Persian. He argued as follows: "Master, it is not fitting that the Athenians should go unpunished for their deeds, after all the evil they have done to the Persians. [2] For now you should do what you have in hand; then, when you have tamed the insolence of Egypt, lead your armies against Athens, so that you may have fair fame among men, and others may beware of invading your realm in the future." [3] This argument was for vengeance,^{3*} but he kept adding that Europe was an extremely beautiful land, one that bore all kinds of orchard trees, a land of highest excellence, worthy of no mortal master but the king. 6.

He said this because he desired adventures and wanted to be governor of Hellas. Finally he worked on Xerxes and persuaded him to do this, and other things happened that helped him to persuade Xerxes. [2] Messengers came from Thessaly from the Aleuadae (who were princes of Thessaly) and invited the king into Hellas with all earnestness; the Pisistratidae who had come up to Susa used the same pleas as the Aleuadae, offering Xerxes even more than they did. [3] They had come up to Sardis with Onomacritus, an Athenian diviner^{4*} who had set in order the oracles of Musaeus. They had reconciled their previous hostility with him; Onomacritus had been banished from Athens by Pisistratus' son Hipparchus, when he was caught by Lasus^{5*} of Hermione in the act of interpolating into the writings of Musaeus an oracle showing that the islands off Lemnos would

disappear into the sea. [4] Because of this Hipparchus banished him, though they had previously been close friends. Now he had arrived at Susa with the Pisistratidae, and whenever he came into the king's presence they used lofty words concerning him and he recited from his oracles; all that portended disaster to the Persian he left unspoken, choosing and reciting such prophecies as were most favorable, telling how the Hellespont must be bridged by a man of Persia and describing the expedition. [5] So he brought his oracles to bear, while the Pisistratidae and Aleuadae gave their opinions. 7.

After being persuaded to send an expedition against Hellas, Xerxes first marched against the rebels in the year after Darius' death. He subdued them and laid Egypt under a much harder slavery than in the time of Darius, and he handed it over to Achaemenes, his own brother and Darius' son. While governing Egypt, this Achaemenes was at a later time⁶ slain by a Libyan, Inaros son of Psammetichus. 8.

After the conquest of Egypt, intending now to take in hand the expedition against Athens, Xerxes held a special assembly of the noblest among the Persians, so he could learn their opinions and declare his will before them all. When they were assembled, Xerxes spoke to them as follows: 8A. "Men of Persia, I am not bringing in and establishing a new custom, but following one that I have inherited. As I learn from our elders, we have never yet remained at peace ever since Cyrus deposed Astyages and we won this sovereignty from the Medes. It is the will of heaven; and we ourselves win advantage by our many enterprises. No one needs to tell you, who already know them well, which nations Cyrus and Cambyses and Darius my father subdued and added to our realm. [2] Ever since I came to this throne, I have considered how I might not fall short of my predecessors in this honor, and not add less power to the Persians; and my considerations persuade me that we may win not only renown, but a land neither less nor worse, and more fertile, than that which we now possess; and we would also gain vengeance and requital. For this cause I have now summoned you together, that I may impart to you what I intend to do. 8B. It is my intent to bridge the Hellespont and lead my army through Europe to Hellas, so I may punish the Athenians for what they have done to the Persians and to my father. [2] You saw that Darius my father was set on making an

expedition against these men. But he is dead, and it was not granted him to punish them. On his behalf and that of all the Persians, I will never rest until I have taken Athens and burnt it, for the unprovoked wrong that its people did to my father and me. [3] First they came to Sardis with our slave Aristagoras the Milesian and burnt the groves and the temples; next, how they dealt with us when we landed on their shores, when Datis and Artaphrenes were our generals, I suppose you all know. 8C. For these reasons I am resolved to send an army against them; and I reckon that we will find the following benefits among them: if we subdue those men, and their neighbors who dwell in the land of Pelops the Phrygian, we will make the borders of Persian territory and of the firmament of heaven be the same. [2] No land that the sun beholds will border ours, but I will make all into one country, when I have passed over the whole of Europe. [3] I learn that this is the situation: no city of men or any human nation which is able to meet us in battle will be left, if those of whom I speak are taken out of our way. Thus the guilty and the innocent will alike bear the yoke of slavery. 8D. This is how you would best please me: when I declare the time for your coming, every one of you must eagerly appear; and whoever comes with his army best equipped will receive from me such gifts as are reckoned most precious among us. [2] Thus it must be done; but so that I not seem to you to have my own way, I lay the matter before you all, and bid whoever wishes to declare his opinion.” So spoke Xerxes and ceased. 9.

After him Mardonius said: “Master, you surpass not only all Persians that have been but also all that shall be; besides having dealt excellently and truly with all other matters, you will not suffer the Ionians^{7*} who dwell in Europe to laugh at us, which they have no right to do. [2] It would be strange indeed if we who have subdued and made slaves of Sacae and Indians and Ethiopians and Assyrians and many other great nations, for no wrong done to the Persians but of mere desire to add to our power, will not take vengeance on the Greeks for unprovoked wrongs. 9A. What have we to fear from them? Have they a massive population or abundance of wealth? Their manner of fighting we know, and we know how weak their power is; we have conquered and hold their sons, those who dwell in

our land and are called Ionians and Aeolians and Dorians. [2] I myself have made trial of these men, when by your father's command I marched against them. I marched as far as Macedonia and almost to Athens itself, yet none came out to meet me in battle. 9B. Yet the Greeks are accustomed to wage wars, as I learn, and they do it most senselessly in their wrongheadedness and folly. When they have declared war against each other, they come down to the fairest and most level ground that they can find and fight there, so that the victors come off with great harm; of the vanquished I say not so much as a word, for they are utterly destroyed. [2] Since they speak the same language, they should end their disputes by means of heralds or messengers, or by any way rather than fighting; if they must make war upon each other, they should each discover where they are in the strongest position and make the attempt there. The Greek custom, then, is not good; and when I marched as far as the land of Macedonia, it had not come into their minds to fight. 9C. But against you, O king, who shall make war? You will bring the multitudes of Asia, and all your ships. I think there is not so much boldness in Hellas as that; but if time should show me wrong in my judgment, and those men prove foolhardy enough to do battle with us, they would be taught that we are the greatest warriors on earth. Let us leave nothing untried; for nothing happens by itself, and all men's gains are the fruit of adventure." 10.

Thus Mardonius smoothed Xerxes' resolution and stopped. The rest of the Persians held their peace, not daring to utter any opinion contrary to what had been put forward; then Artabanus son of Hystaspes, the king's uncle, spoke. Relying on his position, he said, 10A. "O king, if opposite opinions are not uttered, it is impossible for someone to choose the better; the one which has been spoken must be followed. If they are spoken, the better can be found; just as the purity of gold cannot be determined by itself, but when gold is compared with gold by rubbing,^{8*} we then determine the better. [2] Now I advised Darius, your father and my brother, not to lead his army against the Scythians, who have no cities anywhere to dwell in. But he hoped to subdue the nomadic Scythians and would not obey me; he went on the expedition and returned after losing many gallant men from his army. [3] You, O king, are proposing to lead your armies

against far better men than the Scythians — men who are said to be excellent warriors by sea and land. It is right that I should show you what danger there is in this. 10B. You say that you will bridge the Hellespont and march your army through Europe to Hellas. Now suppose you happen to be defeated either by land or by sea, or even both; the men are said to be valiant, and we may well guess that it is so, since the Athenians alone destroyed the great army that followed Datis and Artaphrenes to Attica. [2] Suppose they do not succeed in both ways; but if they attack with their ships and prevail in a sea-fight, and then sail to the Hellespont and destroy your bridge, that, O king, is the hour of peril. 10C. It is from no wisdom of my own that I thus conjecture; it is because I know what disaster once almost overtook us, when your father, making a highway over the Thracian Bosphorus and bridging the river Ister, crossed over to attack the Scythians. At that time the Scythians used every means of entreating the Ionians, who had been charged to guard the bridges of the Ister, to destroy the way of passage.^{9*} [2] If Histiaeus the tyrant of Miletus had consented to the opinion of the other tyrants instead of opposing it, the power of Persia would have perished. Yet it is dreadful even in the telling, that one man should hold in his hand all the king's fortunes. 10D. So do not plan to run the risk of any such danger when there is no need for it. Listen to me instead: for now dismiss this assembly; consider the matter by yourself and, whenever you so please, declare what seems best to you. [2] A well-laid plan is always to my mind most profitable; even if it is thwarted later, the plan was no less good, and it is only chance that has baffled the design; but if fortune favor one who has planned poorly, then he has gotten only a prize of chance, and his plan was no less bad. 10E. You see how the god smites with his thunderbolt creatures of greatness and does not suffer them to display their pride, while little ones do not move him to anger; and you see how it is always on the tallest buildings and trees that his bolts fall; for the god loves to bring low all things of surpassing greatness. Thus a large army is destroyed by a smaller, when the jealous god sends panic or the thunderbolt among them, and they perish unworthily; for the god suffers pride in none but himself. 10F. Now haste is always the parent of failure, and great damages are likely to arise; but in waiting there is good, and in time

this becomes clear, even though it does not seem so in the present. 10G. This, O king, is my advice to you. But you, Mardonius son of Gobryas, cease your foolish words about the Greeks, for they do not deserve to be maligned. By slandering the Greeks you incite the king to send this expedition; that is the end to which you press with all eagerness. Let it not be so. [2] Slander is a terrible business; there are two in it who do wrong and one who suffers wrong. The slanderer wrongs another by accusing an absent man, and the other does wrong in that he is persuaded before he has learned the whole truth; the absent man does not hear what is said of him and suffers wrong in the matter, being maligned by the one and condemned by the other. 10H. If an army must by all means be sent against these Greeks, hear me now: let the king himself remain in the Persian land, and let us two stake our children's lives upon it; you lead out the army, choosing whatever men you wish and taking as great an army as you desire. [2] If the king's fortunes fare as you say, let my sons be slain, and myself with them; but if it turns out as I foretell, let your sons be so treated, and you likewise, if you return. [3] But if you are unwilling to submit to this and will at all hazards lead your army overseas to Hellas, then I think that those left behind in this place will hear that Mardonius has done great harm to Persia, and has been torn apart by dogs and birds in the land of Athens or of Lacedaemon, if not even before that on the way there; and that you have learned what kind of men you persuade the king to attack." 11.

Thus spoke Artabanus. Xerxes answered angrily, "Artabanus, you are my father's brother; that will save you from receiving the fitting reward of foolish words. But for your cowardly lack of spirit I lay upon you this disgrace, that you will not go with me and my army against Hellas, but will stay here with the women; I myself will accomplish all that I have said, with no help from you. [2] May I not be the son of Darius son of Hystaspes son of Arsames son of Ariaramnes son of Teispes son of Cyrus son of Cambyses son of Teispes son of Achaemenes,^{10*} if I do not have vengeance on the Athenians; I well know that if we remain at peace they will not; they will assuredly invade our country, if we may infer from what they have done already, for they burnt Sardis and marched into Asia. [3] It is not possible for either of us to turn back: to do or to suffer is our

task, so that what is ours be under the Greeks, or what is theirs under the Persians; there is no middle way in our quarrel. [4] Honor then demands that we avenge ourselves for what has been done to us; thus will I learn what is this evil that will befall me when I march against these Greeks — men that even Pelops the Phrygian, the slave of my forefathers, did so utterly subdue that to this day they and their country are called by the name of their conqueror.”¹²

The discussion went that far; then night came, and Xerxes was pricked by the advice of Artabanus. Thinking it over at night, he saw clearly that to send an army against Hellas was not his affair. He made this second resolve and fell asleep; then (so the Persians say) in the night he saw this vision: It seemed to Xerxes that a tall and handsome man stood over him and said, [2] “Are you then changing your mind, Persian, and will not lead the expedition against Hellas, although you have proclaimed the mustering of the army? It is not good for you to change your mind, and there will be no one here to pardon you for it; let your course be along the path you resolved upon yesterday.”¹³

So the vision spoke, and seemed to Xerxes to vanish away. When day dawned, the king took no account of this dream, and he assembled the Persians whom he had before gathered together and addressed them thus: [2] “Persians, forgive me for turning and twisting in my purpose; I am not yet come to the fullness of my wisdom, and I am never free from people who exhort me to do as I said. It is true that when I heard Artabanus’ opinion my youthful spirit immediately boiled up, and I burst out with an unseemly and wrongful answer to one older than myself; but now I see my fault and will follow his judgment. [3] Be at peace, since I have changed my mind about marching against Hellas.”¹⁴

When the Persians heard that, they rejoiced and made obeisance to him. But when night came on, the same vision stood again over Xerxes as he slept, and said, “Son of Darius, have you then plainly renounced your army’s march among the Persians, and made my words of no account, as though you had not heard them? Know for certain that, if you do not lead out your army immediately, this will be the outcome of it: as you became great and mighty in a short time, so in a moment will you be brought low again.”¹⁵

Greatly frightened by the vision, Xerxes leapt up from his bed, and sent a messenger to summon Artabanus. When he came, Xerxes said, “Artabanus, for a moment I was of unsound mind, and I answered your good advice with foolish words; but after no long time I repented, and saw that it was right for me to follow your advice. [2] Yet, though I desire to, I cannot do it; ever since I turned back and repented, a vision keeps coming to haunt my sight, and it will not allow me to do as you advise; just now it has threatened me and gone. [3] Now if a god is sending the vision, and it is his full pleasure that there this expedition against Hellas take place, that same dream will hover about you and give you the same command it gives me. I believe that this is most likely to happen, if you take all my apparel and sit wearing it upon my throne, and then lie down to sleep in my bed.” 16.

Xerxes said this, but Artabanus would not obey the first command, thinking it was not right for him to sit on the royal throne; at last he was compelled and did as he was bid, saying first: 16A. “O king, I judge it of equal worth whether a man is wise or is willing to obey good advice; to both of these you have attained, but the company of bad men trips you up; just as they say that sea, of all things the most serviceable to men, is hindered from following its nature by the blasts of winds that fall upon it. [2] It was not that I heard harsh words from you that stung me so much as that, when two opinions were laid before the Persians, one tending to the increase of pride, the other to its abatement, showing how evil a thing it is to teach the heart continual desire of more than it has, of these two opinions you preferred that one which was more fraught with danger to yourself and to the Persians. 16B. Now when you have turned to the better opinion, you say that, while intending to abandon the expedition against the Greeks, you are haunted by a dream sent by some god, which forbids you to disband the expedition. [2] But this is none of heaven’s working, my son. The roving dreams that visit men are of such nature as I shall teach you, since I am many years older than you. Those visions that rove about us in dreams are for the most part the thoughts of the day; and in these recent days we have been very busy with this expedition. 16C. But if this is not as I determine and it has something divine to it, then you have spoken the

conclusion of the matter; let it appear to me just as it has to you, and utter its command. If it really wishes to appear, it should do so to me no more by virtue of my wearing your dress instead of mine, and my sleeping in your bed rather than in my own. [2] Whatever it is that appears to you in your sleep, surely it has not come to such folly as to infer from your dress that I am you when it sees me. We now must learn if it will take no account of me and not deign to appear and haunt me, whether I am wearing your robes or my own, but will come to you; if it comes continually, I myself would say that it is something divine. [3] If you are determined that this must be done and there is no averting it, and I must lie down to sleep in your bed, so be it; this duty I will fulfill, and let the vision appear also to me. But until then I will keep my present opinion.” 17.

So spoke Artabanus and did as he was bid, hoping to prove Xerxes’ words vain; he put on Xerxes’ robes and sat on the king’s throne. Then while he slept there came to him in his sleep the same dream that had haunted Xerxes; it stood over him and spoke thus: [2] “Are you the one who dissuades Xerxes from marching against Hellas, because you care for him? Neither in the future nor now will you escape with impunity for striving to turn aside what must be. To Xerxes himself it has been declared what will befall him if he disobeys.” 18.

With this threat (so it seemed to Artabanus) the vision was about to burn his eyes with hot irons. He leapt up with a loud cry, then sat by Xerxes and told him the whole story of what he had seen in his dream, and next he said: [2] “O King, since I have seen, as much as a man may, how the greater has often been brought low by the lesser, I forbade you to always give rein to your youthful spirit, knowing how evil a thing it is to have many desires, and remembering the end of Cyrus’ expedition against the Massagetae and of Cambyses’ against the Ethiopians, and I myself marched with Darius against the Scythians. [3] Knowing this, I judged that you had only to remain in peace for all men to deem you fortunate. But since there is some divine motivation, and it seems that the gods mark Hellas for destruction, I myself change and correct my judgment. Now declare the gods’ message to the Persians, and bid them obey your first command for all due preparation. Do this, so that nothing on your

part be lacking to the fulfillment of the gods' commission." [4] After this was said, they were incited by the vision, and when daylight came Xerxes imparted all this to the Persians. Artabanus now openly encouraged that course which he alone had before openly discouraged. 19.

Xerxes was now intent on the expedition and then saw a third vision in his sleep, which the Magi interpreted to refer to the whole earth and to signify that all men should be his slaves. This was the vision: Xerxes thought that he was crowned with an olive bough, of which the shoots spread over the whole earth, and then the crown vanished from off his head where it was set. [3] The Magi interpreted it in this way, and immediately every single man of the Persians who had been assembled rode away to his own province and there used all zeal to fulfill the king's command, each desiring to receive the promised gifts. Thus it was that Xerxes mustered his army, searching out every part of the continent. 20.

For full four years^{11*} after the conquest of Egypt he was equipping his force and preparing all that was needed for it; before the fifth year was completed, he set forth on his march with the might of a great multitude. [2] This was by far the greatest of all expeditions that we know of. The one that Darius led against the Scythians is nothing compared to it; neither is the Scythian expedition when they burst into Media^{12*} in pursuit of the Cimmerians and subdued and ruled almost all the upper lands of Asia (it was for this that Darius afterwards attempted to punish them). According to the reports, the expedition led by the sons of Atreus against Troy is also nothing by comparison; neither is the one of the Mysians and Teucrians which before the Trojan war crossed the Bosphorus into Europe,^{13*} subdued all the Thracians, and came down to the Ionian sea, marching southward as far as the river Peneus. 21.

All these expeditions and whatever others have happened in addition could not together be compared with this single one. For what nation did Xerxes not lead from Asia against Hellas? What water did not fail when being drunk up, except only the greatest rivers? [2] Some people supplied him with ships, some were enrolled in his infantry, some were assigned the provision of horsemen, others of horse-bearing transports to follow the army, and others again of

warships for the bridges, or of food and ships. 22.

Since those who had earlier attempted to sail around Athos had suffered shipwreck, for about three years preparations had been underway there. Triremes were anchored off Elaeus in the Chersonese; with these for their headquarters, all sorts of men in the army were compelled by whippings to dig a canal, coming by turns to the work; the inhabitants about Athos also dug. [2] Bubares son of Megabazus and Artachaeus son of Artaeus, both Persians, were the overseers of the workmen. Athos is a great and famous mountain, running out into the sea and inhabited by men. At the mountain's landward end it is in the form of a peninsula, and there is an isthmus about twelve stadia wide; here is a place of level ground or little hills, from the sea by Acanthus to the sea opposite Torone. [3] On this isthmus which is at the end of Athos, there stands a Greek town, Sane; there are others situated seaward of Sane and landward of Athos, and the Persian now intended to make them into island and not mainland towns; they are Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoum, Thyssus, and Cleonae. 23.

These are the towns situated on Athos. The foreigners dug as follows,^{14*} dividing up the ground by nation: they made a straight line near the town of Sane; when the channel had been dug to some depth, some men stood at the bottom of it and dug, others took the dirt as it was dug out and delivered it to yet others that stood higher on stages, and they again to others as they received it, until they came to those that were highest; these carried it out and threw it away. [2] For all except the Phoenicians, the steep sides of the canal caved in, doubling their labor; since they made the span the same breadth at its mouth and at the bottom, this was bound to happen. [3] But the Phoenicians showed the same skill in this as in all else they do; taking in hand the portion that fell to them, they dug by making the topmost span of the canal as wide again as the canal was to be, and narrowed it as they worked lower, until at the bottom their work was of the same span as that of the others. [4] There is a meadow there, where they made a place for buying and marketing; much ground grain frequently came to them from Asia. 24.

As far as I can judge by conjecture, Xerxes gave the command for this digging out of pride, wishing to display his power and leave a

memorial; with no trouble they could have drawn their ships across the isthmus, yet he ordered them to dig a canal from sea to sea, wide enough to float two triremes rowed abreast. The same men who were assigned the digging were also assigned to join the banks of the river Strymon by a bridge. 25.

Thus Xerxes did this. He assigned the Phoenicians and Egyptians to make ropes of papyrus and white flax for the bridges,^{15*} and to store provisions for his army, so that neither the army nor the beasts of burden would starve on the march to Hellas. [2] After making inquiry, he ordered them to store it in the most fitting places, carrying it to the various places from all parts of Asia in cargo ships and transports. They brought most of it to the White Headland (as it is called) in Thrace; some were dispatched to Tyrodiza in the Perinthian country or to Doriscus, others to Eion on the Strymon or to Macedonia. 26.

While these worked at their appointed task, all the land force had been mustered and was marching with Xerxes to Sardis, setting forth from Critalla in Cappadocia, which was the place appointed for gathering all the army that was to march with Xerxes himself by land. [2] Now which of his governors received the promised gifts from the king for bringing the best-equipped army, I cannot say; I do not even know if the matter was ever determined. [3] When they had crossed the river Halys and entered Phrygia, they marched through that country to Celaenae,^{16*} where rises the source of the river Maeander and of another river no smaller, which is called Cataractes; it rises right in the market-place of Celaenae and issues into the Maeander. The skin of Marsyas the Silenus also hangs there; the Phrygian story tells that it was flayed off him and hung up by Apollo.^{17*} 27.

In this city Pythius son of Atys, a Lydian, sat awaiting them; he entertained Xerxes himself and all the king's army with the greatest hospitality, and declared himself willing to provide money for the war. [2] When Pythius offered the money, Xerxes asked the Persians present who this Pythius was and how much wealth he possessed in making the offer. They said, "O king, this is the one who gave your father Darius the gift of a golden plane-tree and vine; he is now the richest man we know of after you." 28.

Xerxes marvelled at this last saying and next himself asked Pythius how much wealth he had. "O king," said Pythius, "I will not conceal the quantity of my property from you, nor pretend that I do not know; I know and will tell you the exact truth. [2] As soon as I learned that you were coming down to the Greek sea, I wanted to give you money for the war, so I inquired into the matter, and my reckoning showed me that I had two thousand talents of silver, and four million Daric staters of gold,^{18*} lacking seven thousand. [3] All this I freely give to you; for myself, I have a sufficient livelihood from my slaves and my farms." ^{29.}

Thus he spoke. Xerxes was pleased with what he said and replied: "My Lydian friend, since I came out of Persia I have so far met with no man who was willing to give hospitality to my army, nor who came into my presence unsummoned and offered to furnish money for the war, besides you. [2] But you have entertained my army nobly and offer me great sums. In return for this I give you these privileges: I make you my friend, and out of my own wealth I give you the seven thousand staters which will complete your total of four million, so that your four million not lack the seven thousand and the even number be reached by my completing it. [3] Remain in possession of what you now possess, and be mindful to be always such as you are; neither for the present nor in time will you regret what you now do." ^{30.}

Xerxes said this and made good his words, then journeyed ever onward. Passing by the Phrygian town called Anaua, and the lake from which salt is obtained, he came to Colossae, a great city in Phrygia; there the river Lycus plunges into a cleft in the earth and disappears,^{19*} until it reappears about five stadia away; this river issues into the Maeander. [2] From Colossae the army held its course for the borders of Phrygia and Lydia, and came to the city of Cydrara, where there stands a pillar set up by Croesus which marks the boundary with an inscription. ^{31.}

Passing from Phrygia into Lydia, he came to the place where the roads part; the road on the left leads to Caria, the one on the right to Sardis; on the latter the traveller must cross the river Maeander and pass by the city of Callatebus, where craftsmen make honey out of wheat and tamarisks. Xerxes went by this road and found a plane-

tree, which he adorned with gold because of its beauty, and he assigned one of his immortals to guard it. On the next day he reached the city of the Lydians. 32.

After he arrived in Sardis, he first sent heralds to Hellas to demand earth and water and to command the preparation of meals for the king. He sent demands for earth everywhere except to Athens and Lacedaemon. The reason for his sending for earth and water the second time was this: he fully believed that whoever had not previously given it to Darius' messengers would now be compelled to give by fear; so he sent out of desire to know this for certain. 33.

After this he prepared to march to Abydos; meanwhile his men were bridging the Hellespont from Asia to Europe. On the Chersonese, which is on the Hellespont, between the city of Sestus and Madytus there is a broad headland^{20*} running out into the sea opposite Abydos. It was here that not long afterwards the Athenians, when Xanthippus son of Ariphron was their general, took Artayctes, a Persian and the governor of Sestus, and crucified him alive; he had been in the habit of bringing women right into the temple of Protesilaus at Elaeus and doing impious deeds there. 34.

The men who had been given this assignment made bridges starting from Abydos across to that headland; the Phoenicians one of flaxen cables, and the Egyptians a papyrus one. From Abydos to the opposite shore it is a distance of seven stadia.^{21*} But no sooner had the strait been bridged than a great storm swept down, breaking and scattering everything. 35.

When Xerxes heard of this, he was very angry and commanded that the Hellespont be whipped with three hundred lashes, and a pair of fetters be thrown into the sea. I have even heard that he sent branders with them to brand the Hellespont. [2] He commanded them while they whipped to utter words outlandish and presumptuous, "Bitter water, our master thus punishes you, because you did him wrong though he had done you none. Xerxes the king will pass over you, whether you want it or not; in accordance with justice no one offers you sacrifice, for you are a turbid and briny river." [3] He commanded that the sea receive these punishments and that the overseers of the bridge over the Hellespont be beheaded. 36.

So this was done by those who were appointed to the thankless

honor, and new engineers set about making the bridges. They made the bridges as follows: in order to lighten the strain of the cables, they placed fifty-oared ships and triremes alongside each other, three hundred and sixty to bear the bridge nearest the Euxine sea, and three hundred and fourteen to bear the other; all lay obliquely to the line of the Pontus and parallel with the current of the Hellespont.^{22*} [2] After putting the ships together they let down very great anchors, both from the end of the ships on the Pontus side to hold fast against the winds blowing from within that sea, and from the other end, towards the west and the Aegean, to hold against the west and south winds. They left a narrow opening to sail through in the line of fifty-oared ships and triremes, that so whoever wanted to could sail by small craft to the Pontus or out of it. [3] After doing this, they stretched the cables from the land, twisting them taut with wooden windlasses; they did not as before keep the two kinds apart, but assigned for each bridge two cables of flax and four of papyrus. [4] All these had the same thickness and fine appearance, but the flaxen were heavier in proportion, for a cubit of them weighed a talent.^{23*} [5] When the strait was thus bridged, they sawed logs of wood to a length equal to the breadth of the floating supports,^{24*} and laid them in order on the taut cables; after placing them together they then made them fast. After doing this, they carried brushwood onto the bridge; when this was all laid in order they heaped earth on it and stamped it down; then they made a fence on either side, so that the beasts of burden and horses not be frightened by the sight of the sea below them. 37.

When the bridges and the work at Athos were ready, and both the dikes at the canal's entrances, built to prevent the surf from silting up the entrances of the dug passage, and the canal itself were reported to be now completely finished, the army then wintered. At the beginning of spring^{25*} the army made ready and set forth from Sardis to march to Abydos. [2] As it was setting out, the sun left his place in the heaven and was invisible, although the sky was without clouds and very clear, and the day turned into night. When Xerxes saw and took note of that, he was concerned and asked the Magi what the vision might signify. [4] They declared to him that the god was showing the Greeks the abandonment of their cities; for the sun (they said) was the prophet of the Greeks, as the moon was their own.

Xerxes rejoiced exceedingly to hear that and continued on his march.
38.

As Xerxes led his army away, Pythius the Lydian, frightened by the heavenly vision and encouraged by the gifts that he had received, came to Xerxes and said, "Master, I have a favor to ask that I desire of you, easy for you to grant and precious for me to receive." [2] Xerxes supposed that Pythius would demand anything rather than what he did ask and answered that he would grant the request, bidding him declare what he desired. When Pythius heard this, he took courage and said: "Master, I have five sons, and all of them are constrained to march with you against Hellas. [3] I pray you, O king, take pity on me in my advanced age, and release one of my sons, the eldest, from service, so that he may take care of me and of my possessions; take the four others with you, and may you return back with all your plans accomplished." 39.

Xerxes became very angry and thus replied: "Villain, you see me marching against Hellas myself, and taking with me my sons and brothers and relations and friends; do you, my slave, who should have followed me with all your household and your very wife, speak to me of your son? Be well assured of this, that a man's spirit dwells in his ears; when it hears good words it fills the whole body with delight, but when it hears the opposite it swells with anger. [2] When you did me good service and promised more, you will never boast that you outdid your king in the matter of benefits; and now that you have turned aside to the way of shamelessness, you will receive a lesser requital than you merit. You and four of your sons are saved by your hospitality; but you shall be punished by the life of that one you most desire to keep." [3] With that reply, he immediately ordered those who were assigned to do these things to find the eldest of Pythius sons and cut him in half, then to set one half of his body on the right side of the road and the other on the left, so that the army would pass between them. 40.

This they did, and the army passed between. First went the baggage train and the beasts of burden, and after them a mixed army of all sorts of nations, not according to their divisions but all mingled together; when more than half had passed there was a space left, and these did not come near the king. [2] After that, first came a thousand

horsemen, chosen out of all Persians; next, a thousand spearmen, picked men like the others, carrying their spears reversed; and after them ten horses of the breed called Nesaeon, equipped most splendidly. [3] The horses are called Nesaeon because there is in Media a wide plain of that name, where the great horses are bred. [4] Behind these ten horses was the place of the sacred chariot of Zeus,^{26*} drawn by eight white horses, with the charioteer following the horses on foot and holding the reins; for no mortal man may mount into that seat. After these came Xerxes himself in a chariot drawn by Nesaeon horses; beside him was his charioteer, whose name was Patiramphes, the son of Otanes, a Persian. 41.

In this way Xerxes rode out from Sardis; but whenever the thought took him he would alight from the chariot into a carriage. Behind him came a thousand spearmen of the best and noblest blood of Persia, carrying their spears in the customary manner; after them a thousand picked Persian horsemen, and after the horse ten thousand that were foot soldiers, chosen out of the rest of the Persians. [3] One thousand of these had golden pomegranates on their spear-shafts instead of a spike, and surrounded the rest; the nine thousand who were inside them had silver pomegranates. Those who held their spears reversed also carried golden pomegranates, and those following nearest to Xerxes had apples of gold. After the ten thousand came ten thousand Persian horsemen in array. After these there was a space of two stadia, and then the rest of the multitude followed all mixed together. 42.

From Lydia the army took its course to the river Caicus and the land of Mysia; leaving the Caicus, they went through Atarneus to the city of Carene, keeping the mountain of Cane^{27*} on the left. From there they journeyed over the plain of Thebe, passing the city of Adramytteum and the Pelasgian city of Antandrus. [2] Then they came into the territory of Ilium, with Ida on their left. When they had halted for the night at the foot of Ida, a storm of thunder and lightning fell upon them, killing a great crowd of them there. 43.

When the army had come to the river Scamander, which was the first river after the beginning of their march from Sardis that fell short of their needs and was not sufficient for the army and the cattle to drink — arriving at this river, Xerxes ascended to the citadel of

Priam, having a desire to see it. [2] After he saw it and asked about everything there, he sacrificed a thousand cattle to Athena of Ilium, and the Magi offered libations to the heroes. After they did this, a panic fell upon the camp in the night. When it was day they journeyed on from there, keeping on their left the cities of Rhoetium and Ophryneum and Dardanus, which borders Abydos,^{28*} and on their right the Teucrian Gergithae. 44.

When they were at Abydos, Xerxes wanted to see the whole of his army. A lofty seat of white stone had been set up for him on a hill^{29*} there for this very purpose, built by the people of Abydos at the king's command. There he sat and looked down on the seashore, viewing his army and his fleet; as he viewed them he desired to see the ships contend in a race. They did so, and the Phoenicians of Sidon won; Xerxes was pleased with the race and with his expedition. 45.

When he saw the whole Hellespont covered with ships, and all the shores and plains of Abydos full of men, Xerxes first declared himself blessed, and then wept. 46.

His uncle Artabanus perceived this, he who in the beginning had spoken his mind freely and advised Xerxes not to march against Hellas. Marking how Xerxes wept, he questioned him and said, "O king, what a distance there is between what you are doing now and a little while ago! After declaring yourself blessed you weep." [2] Xerxes said, "I was moved to compassion when I considered the shortness of all human life, since of all this multitude of men not one will be alive a hundred years from now." [3] Artabanus answered, "In one life we have deeper sorrows to bear than that. Short as our lives are, there is no human being either here or elsewhere so fortunate that it will not occur to him, often and not just once, to wish himself dead rather than alive. Misfortunes fall upon us and sicknesses trouble us, so that they make life, though short, seem long. [4] Life is so miserable a thing that death has become the most desirable refuge for humans; the god is found to be envious in this, giving us only a taste of the sweetness of living." 47.

Xerxes answered and said, "Artabanus, human life is such as you define it to be. Let us speak no more of that, nor remember evils in our present prosperous estate. But tell me this: if you had not seen

the vision in your dream so clearly, would you still have held your former opinion and advised me not to march against Hellas, or would you have changed your mind? Come, tell me this truly.” [2] Artabanus answered and said, “O king, may the vision that appeared in my dream bring such an end as we both desire! But I am even now full of fear and beside myself for many reasons, especially when I see that the two greatest things in the world are your greatest enemies.”⁴⁸

Xerxes made this response: “Are you possessed? What are these two things that you say are my greatest enemies? Is there some fault with the numbers of my land army? Does it seem that the Greek army will be many times greater than ours? Or do you think that our navy will fall short of theirs? Or that the fault is in both? If our power seems to you to lack anything in this regard, it would be best to muster another army as quickly as possible.”⁴⁹

Artabanus answered and said, “O king, there is no fault that any man of sound judgment could find either with this army or with the number of your ships; and if you gather more, those two things I speak of become even much more your enemies. These two are the land and the sea. [2] The sea has nowhere any harbor, as I conjecture, that will be able to receive this navy and save your ships if a storm arise. Yet there has to be not just one such harbor, but many of them all along the land you are sailing by. [3] Since there are no harbors able to receive you, understand that men are the subjects and not the rulers of their accidents. I have spoken of one of the two, and now I will tell you of the other. [4] The land is your enemy in this way: if nothing is going to stand in your way and hinder you, the land becomes more your enemy the further you advance, constantly unaware of what lies beyond; no man is ever satisfied with success. [5] So I say that if no one opposes you, the increase of your territory and the time passed in getting it will breed famine. The best man is one who is timid while making plans because he takes into account all that may happen to him, but is bold in action.”⁵⁰

Xerxes answered, “Artabanus, you define these matters reasonably. But do not fear everything, nor take account of all alike; If you wanted to take everything equally into account on every occasion that happens, you would never do anything; it is better to do

everything boldly and suffer half of what you dread than to fear all chances and so never suffer anything. [2] But if you quarrel with whatever is said yet cannot put forth a secure position, you must be proved as wrong on your part as he who holds the contrary opinion. In this both are alike: how can someone who is only human know where there is security? I think it is impossible. Those who have the will to act most often win the rewards, not those who hesitate and take account of all chances. [3] You see what power Persia has attained. Now if those kings who came before me had held such opinions as yours, or if they had not held them but had had advisers like you, you would never have seen our fortunes at their present height; but as it is those kings ran the risks and advanced them to this height. [4] Great successes are not won except by great risks. So we will do as they did; we are travelling in the fairest season of the year, and we will return home the conquerors of all Europe without suffering famine or any other harm anywhere. First, we carry ample provisions with us on our march; second, we will have the food of those whose land and nation we invade; for we are marching against men who are tillers of the soil, not nomads.”⁵¹

Then said Artabanus: “O king, I see that you will not allow us to fear any danger. But take from me this advice, as there is need for much speaking when our affairs are so great. [2] Cyrus son of Cambyses subdued and made tributary to Persia all Ionians except only the Athenians. I advise you by no means to lead these Ionians against the land of their fathers, since even without their aid we are well able to overcome our enemies. If they come with our army, they must either behave very unjustly by enslaving their mother city, or very justly by aiding it to be free. [3] If they deal very unjustly they bring us no great advantage, but by dealing very justly they may well do great harm to your army. Take to heart the truth of that ancient saying, that the end of every matter is not revealed at its beginning.”⁵²

Xerxes answered, “Artabanus, in all your pronouncements you are most mistaken when you fear that the Ionians might change sides; we have the surest guarantee for them, and you and all who marched with Darius against the Scythians can bear witness. They had the power to destroy or to save the whole Persian army, and they gave

proof of their justice and faithfulness, with no evil intent. [2] Moreover, since they have left their children and wives and possessions in our country, we need not consider it even possible that they will make any violent change. So be rid of that fear; keep a stout heart and guard my household and tyranny; to you alone I entrust the symbols of my kingship.” 53.

Xerxes spoke thus and sent Artabanus away to Susa. He next sent for the most notable among the Persians, and when they were present he said, “Persians, I have assembled you to make this demand, that you bear yourselves bravely and never sully the great and glorious former achievements of the Persians. Let us each and all be zealous, for the good that we seek is common to all. [2] For these reasons I bid you set your hands to the war strenuously; I know that we march against valiant men, and if we overcome them it is certain that no other human army will ever withstand us. Let us now cross over, after praying to the gods who hold Persia for their allotted realm.” 54.

All that day they made preparations for the crossing. On the next they waited until they could see the sun rise, burning all kinds of incense on the bridges and strewing the road with myrtle boughs. [2] At sunrise Xerxes poured a libation from a golden phial into the sea, praying to the sun that no accident might befall him which would keep him from subduing Europe before he reached its farthest borders. After the prayer, he cast the phial into the Hellespont, and along with it a golden bowl, and a Persian sword which they call “acinaces.”^{30*} [3] As for these, I cannot rightly determine whether he cast them into the sea for offerings to the sun, or repented having whipped the Hellespont and gave gifts to the sea as atonement. 55.

When they had done this they crossed over, the foot and horse all by the bridge nearest to the Pontus, the beasts of burden and the service train by the bridge towards the Aegean. [2] The ten thousand Persians, all wearing garlands, led the way, and after them came the mixed army of diverse nations. All that day these crossed; on the next, first crossed the horsemen and the ones who carried their spears reversed; these also wore garlands. [3] After them came the sacred horses and the sacred chariot, then Xerxes himself and the spearmen and the thousand horse, and after them the rest of the army. Meanwhile the ships put out and crossed to the opposite shore. But I

have also heard that the king crossed last of all. 56.

When Xerxes had passed over to Europe, he viewed his army crossing under the lash. Seven days and seven nights it was in crossing, with no pause. [2] It is said that when Xerxes had now crossed the Hellespont, a man of the Hellespont cried, "O Zeus, why have you taken the likeness of a Persian man and changed your name to Xerxes, leading the whole world with you to remove Hellas from its place? You could have done that without these means." 57.

When all had passed over and were ready for the road, a great portent appeared among them. Xerxes took no account of it, although it was easy to interpret: a mare gave birth to a hare. The meaning of it was easy to guess: Xerxes was to march his army to Hellas with great pomp and pride, but to come back to the same place fleeing for his life. [2] There was another portent that was shown to him at Sardis: a mule gave birth to a mule that had double genitals, both male and female, the male above the other. But he took no account of either sign and journeyed onward; the land army was with him. 58.

His navy sailed out of the Hellespont and travelled along the land, going across from the land army. [2] The ships sailed westwards, laying their course for the headland of Sarpedon, where Xerxes had ordered them to go and wait for him; the army of the mainland travelled towards the east^{31*} and the sunrise through the Chersonese, with the tomb of Athamas' daughter Helle on its right and the town of Cardia on its left, marching through the middle of a city called Agora. [3] From there they rounded the head of the Black Bay (as it is called) and crossed the Black River, which could not hold its own then against the army, but gave out — crossing this river, which gives its name to the bay, they went westwards, past the Aeolian city of Aenus and the marsh of Stentor, until they came to Doriscus. 59.

The territory of Doriscus is in Thrace, a wide plain by the sea, and through it flows a great river, the Hebrus; here had been built that royal fortress which is called Doriscus, and a Persian guard had been posted there by Darius ever since the time of his march against Scythia. [2] It seemed to Xerxes to be a fit place for him to arrange and number his army, and he did so. All the ships had now arrived at Doriscus, and the captains at Xerxes' command brought them to the beach near Doriscus, where stands the Samothracian city of Sane,

and Zone; at the end is Serreum, a well-known headland. This country was in former days possessed by the Cicones. [3] To this beach they brought in their ships and hauled them up for rest. Meanwhile Xerxes made a reckoning of his forces at Doriscus. 60.

I cannot give the exact number that each part contributed to the total, for there is no one who tells us that; but the total of the whole land army was shown to be one million and seven hundred thousand. [2] They were counted in this way: ten thousand men were collected in one place, and when they were packed together as closely as could be a line was drawn around them; when this was drawn, the ten thousand were sent away and a wall of stones was built on the line reaching up to a man's navel; [3] when this was done, others were brought into the walled space, until in this way all were numbered. When they had been numbered, they were marshalled by nations. 61.

The men who served in the army were the following: the Persians were equipped in this way: they wore on their heads loose caps called tiaras, and on their bodies embroidered sleeved tunics, with scales of iron like the scales of fish in appearance, and trousers on their legs; for shields they had wicker bucklers, with quivers hanging beneath them; they carried short spears, long bows, and reed arrows, and daggers that hung from the girdle by the right thigh. [2] Their commander was Otanes, son of Amestris and father of Xerxes' wife. They were formerly called by the Greeks Cephenees, but by themselves and their neighbors Artaei. [3] When Perseus son of Danae and Zeus had come to Cepheus son of Belus and married his daughter Andromeda, a son was born to him whom he called Perses, and he left him there; for Cepheus had no male offspring; it was from this Perses that the Persians took their name.^{32*} 62.

The Medes in the army were equipped like the Persians; indeed, that fashion of armor is Median, not Persian. Their commander was Tigranes, an Achaemenid. The Medes were formerly called by everyone Arians,^{33*} but when the Colchian woman Medea came from Athens to the Arians they changed their name, like the Persians. This is the Medes' own account of themselves. [2] The Cissians in the army were equipped like the Persians, but they wore turbans instead of caps. Their commander was Anaphes son of Otanes. The Hyrcanians^{34*} were armed like the Persians; their leader was

Megapanus, who was afterwards the governor of Babylon. 63.

The Assyrians in the army wore on their heads helmets of twisted bronze made in an outlandish fashion not easy to describe. They carried shields and spears and daggers of Egyptian fashion, and also wooden clubs studded with iron, and they wore linen breastplates. They are called by the Greeks Syrians, but the foreigners called them Assyrians. With them were the Chaldeans. Their commander was Otaspes son of Artachaees. 64.

The Bactrians in the army wore a headgear very similar to the Median, carrying their native reed bows and short spears. [2] The Sacae, who are Scythians, had on their heads tall caps, erect and stiff and tapering to a point; they wore trousers, and carried their native bows, and daggers, and also axes which they call “sagaris.” These were Amyrgian Scythians, but were called Sacae; that is the Persian name for all Scythians. The commander of the Bactrians and Sacae was Hystaspes, son of Darius and Cyrus’ daughter Atossa. 65.

The Indians wore garments of tree-wool,^{35*} and carried reed bows and iron-tipped reed arrows. Such was their equipment; they were appointed to march under the command of Pharnazathres son of Artabates. 66.

The Arians were equipped with Median bows, but in all else like the Bactrians; their commander was Sisamnes son of Hydarnes. The Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gandarians, and Dadicae in the army had the same equipment as the Bactrians. [2] The Parthians and Chorasmians had for their commander Artabazus son of Pharnaces, the Sogdians Azanes son of Artaeus, the Gandarians and Dadicae Artyphius son of Artabanus. 67.

The Caspians in the army wore cloaks and carried their native reed bows and short swords. Such was their equipment; their leader was Ariomardus, brother of Artyphius. The Sarangae were conspicuous in their dyed garments and knee-high boots, carrying bows and Median spears. Their commander was Pherendates son of Megabazus. [3] The Pactyes wore cloaks and carried their native bows and daggers; their commander was Artayntes son of Ithamitres. 68.

The Utians and Mycians and Paricanians were equipped like the Pactyes; the Utians and Mycians had for their commander Arsamenes son of Darius, the Paricanians Siromitres son of

Oeobazus. 69.

The Arabians wore mantles girded up, and carried at their right side long bows curving backwards.^{36*} The Ethiopians were wrapped in skins of leopards and lions, and carried bows made of palmwood strips, no less than four cubits long, and short arrows pointed not with iron but with a sharpened stone that they use to carve seals; furthermore, they had spears pointed with a gazelle's horn sharpened like a lance, and also studded clubs. [2] When they went into battle they painted half their bodies with gypsum and the other half with vermilion. The Arabians and the Ethiopians who dwell above Egypt had as commander Arsames, the son of Darius and Artystone daughter of Cyrus, whom Darius loved best of his wives; he had an image made of her of hammered gold. 70.

The Ethiopians above Egypt and the Arabians had Arsames for commander, while the Ethiopians of the east^{37*} (for there were two kinds of them in the army) served with the Indians; they were not different in appearance from the others, only in speech and hair: the Ethiopians from the east are straight-haired, but the ones from Libya have the woolliest hair of all men. [2] These Ethiopians of Asia were for the most part armed like the Indians; but they wore on their heads the skins of horses' foreheads, stripped from the head with ears and mane; the mane served them for a crest, and they wore the horses' ears stiff and upright; for shields they had bucklers of the skin of cranes. 71.

The Libyans came in leather garments, using javelins of burnt wood. Their commander was Massages son of Oarizus. 72.

The Paphlagonians in the army had woven helmets on their heads, and small shields and short spears, and also javelins and daggers; they wore their native shoes that reach midway to the knee. The Ligyes and Matieni and Mariandyni and Syrians were equipped like the Paphlagonians. These Syrians are called by the Persians Cappadocians. [2] Dotus son of Megasidrus was commander of the Paphlagonians and Matieni, Gobryas son of Darius and Artystone of the Mariandyni and Ligyes and Syrians. 73.

The Phrygian equipment was very similar to the Paphlagonian, with only a small difference. As the Macedonians say, these Phrygians were called Briges as long as they dwelt in Europe, where

they were neighbors of the Macedonians; but when they changed their home to Asia, they changed their name also and were called Phrygians.^{38*} The Armenians, who are settlers from Phrygia, were armed like the Phrygians. Both these together had as their commander Artochmes, who had married a daughter of Darius. 74.

The Lydian armor was most similar to the Greek. The Lydians were formerly called Meiones, until they changed their name and were called after Lydus son of Atys. The Mysians wore on their heads their native helmets, carrying small shields and javelins of burnt wood. [2] They are settlers from Lydia, and are called Olympieni after the mountain Olympus. The commander of the Lydians and Mysians was that Artaphrenes son of Artaphrenes, who attacked Marathon with Datis. 75.

The Thracians in the army wore fox-skin caps on their heads, and tunics on their bodies; over these they wore embroidered mantles; they had shoes of fawnskin on their feet and legs; they also had javelins and little shields and daggers. [2] They took the name of Bithynians after they crossed over to Asia; before that they were called (as they themselves say) Strymonians, since they lived by the Strymon; they say that they were driven from their homes by Teucrians and Mysians. The commander of the Thracians of Asia was Bassaces son of Artabanus. 76.

The <Pisidians> had little shields of raw oxhide; each man carried two wolf-hunters' spears; they wore helmets of bronze, and on these helmets were the ears and horns of oxen wrought in bronze, and also crests; their legs were wrapped around with strips of purple rags. Among these men is a place of divination sacred to Ares. 77.

The Cabelees,^{39*} who are Meiones and are called Lasonii, had the same equipment as the Cilicians; when I come in my narrative to the place of the Cilicians, I will then declare what it was. The Milyae had short spears and garments fastened by brooches; some of them carried Lycian bows and wore caps of skin on their heads. The commander of all these was Badres son of Hystanes. 78.

The Moschi wore wooden helmets on their heads, and carried shields and small spears with long points. The Tibareni and Macrones and Mossynoeci in the army were equipped like the Moschi. The commanders who marshalled them were, for the Moschi

and Tibareni, Ariomardus son of Darius and Parmys, the daughter of Cyrus' son Smerdis; for the Macrones and Mossynoeci, Artayctes son of Cherasmis, who was governor of Sestus on the Hellespont. 79.

The Mares wore on their heads their native woven helmets, and carried javelins and small hide shields. The Colchians had wooden helmets and small shields of raw oxhide and short spears, and also swords. The commander of the Mares and Colchians was Pharandates son of Teaspis. The Alarodians and Saspis in the army were armed like the Colchians; Masistius son of Siromitres was their commander. 80.

The island tribes that came from the Red Sea, and from the islands where the king settles those who are called Exiles, wore dress and armor very similar to the Median. The commander of these islanders was Mardontes son of Bagaesus, who in the next year^{40*} was general at Mykale and died in the battle. 81.

These are the nations that marched by the mainland and had their places in the infantry. The commanders of this army were those whom I have mentioned, and they were the ones who marshalled and numbered them and appointed captains of thousands and ten thousands; the captains of ten thousands appointed the captains of hundreds and of tens. There were others who were leaders of companies and nations.^{41*} 82.

These were the commanders, as I have said; the generals of these and of the whole infantry were Mardonius son of Gobryas, Tritantæchmes son of that Artabanus who delivered the opinion that there should be no expedition against Hellas, Smerdomenes son of Otanes (these two latter were sons of Darius' brothers, and thus they were Xerxes' cousins), Masistes son of Darius and Atossa, Gergis son of Ariazus, and Megabyzus son of Zopyrus. 83.

These were the generals of the whole infantry, except the Ten Thousand. Hydarnes son of Hydarnes was general of these picked ten thousand Persians, who were called Immortals for this reason: when any one of them was forced to fall out of the number by death or sickness, another was chosen so that they were never more or fewer than ten thousand. [3] The Persians showed the richest adornment of all, and they were the best men in the army. Their equipment was such as I have said; beyond this they stood out by the abundance of

gold that they had. They also brought carriages bearing concubines and many well-equipped servants; camels and beasts of burden carried food for them, apart from the rest of the army. 84.

There are horsemen in these nations, but not all of them furnished cavalry. Only the following did so: the Persians, equipped like their infantry, except that some of them wore headgear of hammered bronze and iron. 85.

There are also certain nomads called Sagartian; they are Persian in speech, and the fashion of their equipment is somewhat between the Persian and the Pactyan; they furnished eight thousand horsemen. It is their custom to carry no armor of bronze or iron, except only daggers, and to use ropes of twisted leather.^{42*} [2] They go to battle relying on these. This is the manner of fighting of these men: when they are at close quarters with their enemy, they throw their ropes, which have a noose at the end; whatever he catches, horse or man, each man drags to himself, and the enemy is entangled in the coils and slain. Such is their manner of fighting; they were marshalled with the Persians. 86.

The Median cavalry were equipped like their infantry, and the Cissians similarly. The Indians were armed in the same manner as their infantry; they rode swift horses and drove chariots drawn by horses and wild asses. The Bactrians were equipped as were their foot, and the Caspians in the same manner. [2] The Libyans, too, were armed like the men of their infantry, and all of them also drove chariots. In the same manner the Caspians and Paricanians were armed as the men of their infantry. The Arabians had the same equipment as the men of their infantry, and all of them rode on camels no less swift than horses. 87.

These nations alone were on horseback; the number of the horsemen was shown to be eighty thousand, besides the camels and the chariots. All the rest of the horsemen were ranked with their companies, but the Arabians were posted last. Since horses cannot endure camels, their place was in the rear, so that the horses would not be frightened. 88.

The captains of cavalry were Harmamithres and Tithaeus, sons of Datis; the third who was captain with them, Pharnuches, had been left behind sick at Sardis. As they set forth from Sardis, an

unwelcome mishap befell him: a dog ran under the feet of the horse he was riding, and the horse was taken by surprise and frightened, so it reared up and threw Pharnuches; after his fall he vomited blood and began to waste away. [2] The horse was immediately dealt with according to Pharnuces' command; his servants led it away to the place where it had thrown their master, and cut off its legs at the knee. Thus it was that Pharnuches lost his command. 89.

The number of the triremes was twelve hundred and seven, and they were furnished by the following: the Phoenicians with the Syrians of Palestine furnished three hundred; for their equipment, they had on their heads helmets very close to the Greek in style; they wore linen breastplates, and carried shields without rims, and javelins. [2] These Phoenicians formerly dwelt, as they themselves say, by the Red Sea; they crossed from there and now inhabit the seacoast of Syria. This part of Syria as far as Egypt is all called Palestine. [3] The Egyptians furnished two hundred ships. They wore woven helmets and carried hollow shields with broad rims, and spears for sea-warfare, and great battle-axes. Most of them wore cuirasses and carried long swords. 90.

Such was their armor. The Cyprians furnished a hundred and fifty ships; for their equipment, their princes wore turbans wrapped around their heads, and the people wore tunics, but in all else they were like the Greeks. These are their tribes:^{43*} some are from Salamis and Athens, some from Arcadia, some from Cythnus, some from Phoenice, and some from Ethiopia, as the Cyprians themselves say. 91.

The Cilicians furnished a hundred ships. They also wore on their heads their native helmets, carried bucklers of raw oxhide for shields, and were clad in woollen tunics; each had two javelins and a sword very close in style to the knives of Egypt. These Cilicians were formerly called Hypachaei, and took their name from Cilix son of Agenor, a Phoenician.^{44*} The Pamphylians furnished a hundred ships: they were armed like the Greeks. These Pamphylians are descended from the Trojans of the diaspora who followed Amphilochous and Calchas. 92.

The Lycians furnished fifty ships; they wore cuirasses and greaves, and carried cornel-wood bows and unfeathered arrows and

javelins; goat-skins hung from their shoulders, and they wore on their heads caps crowned with feathers; they also had daggers and scimitars. The Lycians are from Crete and were once called Termilae; they took their name from Lycus son of Pandion, an Athenian. 93.

The Dorians of Asia furnished thirty ships; their armor was Greek; they are of Peloponnesian descent. The Carians furnished seventy ships; they had scimitars and daggers, but the rest of their equipment was Greek. I have said in the beginning of my history^{45*} what they were formerly called. 94.

The Ionians furnished a hundred ships; their equipment was like the Greek. These Ionians, as long as they were in the Peloponnese, dwelt in what is now called Achaia, and before Danaus and Xuthus came to the Peloponnese, as the Greeks say, they were called Aegialian Pelasgians.^{46*} They were named Ionians after Ion the son of Xuthus. 95.

The islanders provided seventeen ships and were armed like Greeks; they were also of Pelasgian stock, which was later called Ionian for the same reason as were the Ionians of the twelve cities,^{47*} who came from Athens. The Aeolians furnished sixty ships and were equipped like Greeks; formerly they were called Pelasgian, as the Greek story goes. [2] Of the people of the Hellespont, the people of Abydos had been charged by the king to remain at home and guard the bridges; the rest of the people from Pontus who came with the army furnished a hundred ships and were equipped like Greeks. They were settlers from the Ionians and Dorians. 96.

Persians and Medes and Sacae served as soldiers on all the ships. The most seaworthy ships were furnished by the Phoenicians, and among them by the Sidonians. All of these, as with those who were marshalled in the infantry, each had their native leaders, whose names I do not record, since it is not necessary for the purpose of my history. [2] The leaders of each nation are not worthy of mention, and every city of each nation had a leader of its own. These came not as generals but as slaves, like the rest of the expedition; I have already said who were the generals of supreme authority and the Persian commanders of each nation. 97.

The admirals of the navy were Ariabignes son of Darius, Prexaspes son of Aspathines, Megabazus son of Megabates, and

Achaemenes son of Darius. Ariabignes, son of Darius and Gobryas' daughter, was admiral of the Ionian and Carian fleet; the admiral of the Egyptians was Achaemenes, full brother of Xerxes; and the two others were admirals of the rest. The ships of thirty and of fifty oars, the light galleys, and the great transports for horses came to a total of three thousand all together. 98.

After the admirals, the most famous of those on board were these: from Sidon, Tetramnestus son of Anysus; from Tyre, Matten son of Siromus; from Aradus, Merbalus son of Agbalus; from Cilicia, Syennesis son of Oromedon; from Lycia, Cyberniscus son of Sicas; from Cyprus, Gorgus son of Chersis and Timonax son of Timagoras; and from Caria, Histiaeus son of Tymnes, Pigres son of Hysseldomus, and Damasithymus son of Candaules. 99.

I see no need to mention any of the other captains except Artemisia. I find it a great marvel that a woman went on the expedition against Hellas: after her husband died, she took over his tyranny, though she had a young son, and followed the army from youthful spirits and manliness, under no compulsion. [2] Artemisia was her name, and she was the daughter of Lygdamis; on her fathers' side she was of Halicarnassian lineage, and on her mothers' Cretan. She was the leader of the men of Halicarnassus and Cos and Nisyrus and Calyndnos, and provided five ships. [3] Her ships were reputed to be the best in the whole fleet after the ships of Sidon, and she gave the king the best advice of all his allies. The cities that I said she was the leader of are all of Dorian stock, as I can show, since the Halicarnassians are from Troezen, and the rest are from Epidaurus. 100.

Here ends what I have said of the fleet. When his army had been numbered and marshalled, Xerxes desired to ride through and view it. Then he did this; as he rode in a chariot past the men of each nation, he questioned them while his scribes wrote it all down, until he had gone from one end to the other of the cavalry and infantry. [2] After he had done this, the ships were drawn down and launched into the sea. Xerxes alighted from his chariot into a Sidonian ship and sat under a golden canopy while he was carried past the prows of the ships, questioning the men in the same way as the army and having the answers written down. [3] The captains put out and anchored in

line four hundred feet from the shore, with their prows turned landward and the marines armed for war; Xerxes viewed them by passing between the prows and the land. 101.

After he passed by all his fleet and disembarked from the ship, he sent for Demaratus^{48*} son of Ariston, who was on the expedition with him against Hellas. He summoned him and said, "Demaratus, it is now my pleasure to ask you what I wish to know. You are a Greek, and, as I am told both by you and by the other Greeks whom I have talked to, a man from neither the least nor the weakest of Greek cities. [2] So tell me: will the Greeks offer battle and oppose me? I think that even if all the Greeks and all the men of the western lands were assembled together, they are not powerful enough to withstand my attack, unless they are united. [3] Still I want to hear from you what you say of them." To this question Demaratus answered, "O king, should I speak the truth or try to please you?" Xerxes bade him speak the truth and said that it would be no more unpleasant for him than before. 102.

Demaratus heard this and said, "O King, since you bid me by all means to speak the whole truth, and to say what you will not later prove to be false, in Hellas poverty is always endemic, but courage is acquired as the fruit of wisdom and strong law; by use of this courage Hellas defends herself from poverty and tyranny. [2] Now I praise all the Greeks who dwell in those Dorian lands, yet I am not going to speak these words about all of them, but only about the Lacedaemonians. First, they will never accept conditions from you that bring slavery upon Hellas; and second, they will meet you in battle even if all the other Greeks are on your side. [3] Do not ask me how many these men are who can do this; they will fight with you whether they have an army of a thousand men, or more than that, or less." 103.

When he heard this, Xerxes smiled and said, "What a strange thing to say, Demaratus, that a thousand men would fight with so great an army! Come now, tell me this: you say that you were king of these men. Are you willing right now to fight with ten men? Yet if your state is entirely as you define it,^{49*} you as their king should by right encounter twice as many according to your laws. [2] If each of them is a match for ten men of my army, then it is plain to me that

you must be a match for twenty; in this way you would prove that what you say is true. But if you Greeks who so exalt yourselves are just like you and the others who come to speak with me, and are also the same size, then beware lest the words you have spoken be only idle boasting. [3] Let us look at it with all reasonableness: how could a thousand, or ten thousand, or even fifty thousand men, if they are all equally free and not under the rule of one man, withstand so great an army as mine? If you Greeks are five thousand, we still would be more than a thousand to one. [4] If they were under the rule of one man according to our custom, they might out of fear of him become better than they naturally are, and under compulsion of the lash they might go against greater numbers of inferior men; but if they are allowed to go free they would do neither. I myself think that even if they were equal in numbers it would be hard for the Greeks to fight just against the Persians. [5] What you are talking about is found among us alone, and even then it is not common but rare; there are some among my Persian spearmen who will gladly fight with three Greeks at once. You have no knowledge of this and are spouting a lot of nonsense.” 104.

To this Demaratus answered, “O king I knew from the first that the truth would be unwelcome to you. But since you compelled me to speak as truly as I could, I have told you how it stands with the Spartans. [2] You yourself best know what love I bear them: they have robbed me of my office and the privileges of my house, and made me a cityless exile; your father received me and gave me a house and the means to live on. It is not reasonable for a sensible man to reject goodwill when it appears; rather he will hold it in great affection. [3] I myself do not promise that I can fight with ten men or with two, and I would not even willingly fight with one; yet if it were necessary, or if some great contest spurred me, I would most gladly fight with one of those men who claim to be each a match for three Greeks. [4] So is it with the Lacedaemonians; fighting singly they are as brave as any man living, and together they are the best warriors on earth. They are free, yet not wholly free: law is their master, whom they fear much more than your men fear you. [5] They do whatever it bids; and its bidding is always the same, that they must never flee from the battle before any multitude of men, but must abide at their post and there

conquer or die. If I seem to you to speak foolishness when I say this, then let me hereafter hold my peace; it is under constraint that I have now spoken. But may your wish be fulfilled, King.” 105.

Thus Demaratus answered. Xerxes made a joke of the matter and showed no anger, but sent him away kindly. After he had conversed with Demaratus, and appointed Mascames son of Megadostes governor of this Doriscus, deposing the governor Darius had appointed, Xerxes marched his army through Thrace towards Hellas. 106.

Xerxes left behind this Mascames, who so conducted himself that to him alone Xerxes always sent gifts, as being the most valiant of all the governors that he or Darius appointed; he sent these gifts every year, and so did Artaxerxes son of Xerxes to Mascames’ descendants. Before this march, governors had been appointed everywhere in Thrace and on the Hellespont. [2] All of these in Thrace and the Hellespont, except the governor of Doriscus, were after this expedition captured by the Greeks; but no one could ever drive out Mascames in Doriscus, though many tried. For this reason gifts are sent by the successive kings of Persia. 107.

The only one of those who were driven out by the Greeks whom king Xerxes considered a valiant man was Boges, from whom they took Eion. He never ceased praising this man, and gave very great honor to his sons who were left alive in Persia; indeed Boges proved himself worthy of all praise. When he was besieged by the Athenians under Cimon son of Miltiades, he could have departed under treaty from Eion and returned to Asia, but he refused, lest the king think that he had saved his life out of cowardice; instead he resisted to the last. [2] When there was no food left within his walls, he piled up a great pyre and slew his children and wife and concubines and servants and cast them into the fire; after that, he took all the gold and silver from the city and scattered it from the walls into the Strymon; after he had done this, he cast himself into the fire. Thus he is justly praised by the Persians to this day. 108.

From Doriscus Xerxes went on his way towards Hellas, compelling all that he met to go with his army. As I have shown earlier, all the country as far as Thessaly had been enslaved and was tributary to the king, by the conquests of Megabazus and Mardonius

after him. [2] On his road from Doriscus he first passed the Samothracian fortresses;^{50*} of these, the city built farthest to the west is called Mesambria. Next to it is the Thasian city of Stryme; between them runs the river Lisus, which now could not furnish water enough for Xerxes' army, but was exhausted. [3] All this region was once called Gallaic, but it is now called Briantic; however, by rights it also belongs to the Ciconians. 109.

After he had crossed the dried-up bed of the river Lisus, he passed by the Greek cities of Maronea, Dicaea, and Abdera. He passed by these, and along certain well-known lakes near them: the Ismarid lake that lies between Maronea and Stryme, and near Dicaea the Bistonian lake, into which the rivers Travus and Compsantus discharge. Near Abdera Xerxes passed no well-known lake, but crossed the river Nestus where it flows into the sea. [2] From these regions he passed by the cities of the mainland, one of which has near it a lake of about thirty stadia in circuit, full of fish and very salty; this was drained dry by watering the beasts of burden alone. This city is called Pistyrus. 110.

Xerxes marched past these Greek cities of the coast, keeping them on his left. The Thracian tribes through whose lands he journeyed were the Paeti, Cicones, Bistones, Sapaiei, Dersaei, Edoni, and Satrae.^{51*} Of these, the ones who dwelt by the sea followed his army on shipboard; the ones living inland, whose names I have recorded, were forced to join with his land army, all of them except the Satrae. 111.

The Satrae, as far as we know, have never yet been subject to any man; they alone of the Thracians have continued living in freedom to this day; they dwell on high mountains covered with forests of all kinds and snow, and they are excellent warriors. [2] It is they who possess the place of divination sacred to Dionysus. This place is in their highest mountains; the Bessi, a clan of the Satrae, are the prophets of the shrine; there is a priestess who utters the oracle, as at Delphi; it is no more complicated here than there.^{52*} 112.

After passing through the aforementioned land, Xerxes next passed the fortresses of the Pierians, one called Phagres and the other Pergamus. By going this way he marched right under their walls, keeping on his right the great and high Pangaeian range, where the

Pierians and Odomanti and especially the Satrae have gold and silver mines. 113.

Marching past the Paeonians, Doberes, and Paeoplae, who dwell beyond and northward of the Pangaeian mountains,^{53*} he kept going westwards, until he came to the river Strymon and the city of Eion; its governor was that Boges, then still alive, whom I mentioned just before this. [2] All this region about the Pangaeian range is called Phyllis; it stretches westwards to the river Angites, which issues into the Strymon, and southwards to the Strymon itself; at this river the Magi sought good omens by sacrificing white horses. 114.

After using these enchantments and many others besides on the river, they passed over it at the Nine Ways in Edonian country,^{54*} by the bridges which they found thrown across the Strymon. When they learned that Nine Ways was the name of the place, they buried alive that number of boys and maidens, children of the local people. [2] To bury people alive is a Persian custom; I have learned by inquiry that when Xerxes' wife Amestris reached old age, she buried twice seven sons of notable Persians as an offering on her own behalf to the fabled god beneath the earth. 115.

Journeying from the Strymon, the army passed by Argilus, a Greek town standing on a stretch of coast further westwards; the territory of this town and that which lies inland of it are called Bisaltia. [2] From there, keeping on his left hand the gulf off Poseideion, Xerxes traversed the plain of Syleus (as they call it), passing by the Greek town of Stagirus, and came to Acanthus. He took along with him all these tribes and those that dwelt about the Pangaeian range, just as he did those previously mentioned, the men of the coast serving in his fleet and the inland men in his land army. [3] The entire road along which king Xerxes led his army the Thracians neither break up nor sow, but they hold it in great reverence to this day. 116.

When Xerxes came to Acanthus, he declared the Acanthians his guests and friends, and gave them Median clothing, praising them for the zeal with which he saw them furthering his campaign, and for what he heard of the digging of the canal. 117.

While Xerxes was at Acanthus, it happened that Artachaees, overseer of the digging of the canal, died of an illness. He was high

in Xerxes' favor, an Achaemenid by lineage, and the tallest man in Persia, lacking four finger-breadths of five royal cubits^{55*} in stature, and his voice was the loudest on earth. For this reason Xerxes mourned him greatly and gave him a funeral and burial of great pomp, and the whole army poured libations on his tomb. [2] The Acanthians hold Artachaees a hero, and sacrifice to him, calling upon his name. This they do at the command of an oracle. 118.

King Xerxes, then, mourned for the death of Artachaees. But the Greeks who received Xerxes' army and entertained the king himself were brought to such a degree of misery, that they were driven from house and home. Witness the case of the Thasians, who received and feasted Xerxes' army on behalf of their towns on the mainland; Antipatrus son of Orgeus, as notable a man as any of his townsmen, chosen by them for this task, rendered them an account of four hundred silver talents expended on the dinner. 119.

Similar accounts were returned by the officers in the other towns. Now the dinner, about which a great deal of fuss had been made and for the preparation of which orders had been given long ago, proceeded as I will tell. [2] As soon as the townsmen had word from the herald's proclamation, they divided corn among themselves in their cities and all of them for many months ground it to wheat and barley meal; moreover, they fed the finest beasts that money could buy, and kept landfowl and waterfowl in cages and ponds, for the entertaining of the army. They also made gold and silver cups and bowls and all manner of service for the table. [3] These things were provided for the king himself and those that ate with him. For the rest of the army they provided only food. At the coming of the army, there was always a tent ready for Xerxes to take his rest in, while the men camped out in the open air. [4] When the hour came for dinner, the real trouble for the hosts began. When they had eaten their fill and passed the night there, the army tore down the tent on the next day and marched off with all the movables, leaving nothing but carrying all with them. 120.

It was then that a very apt saying was uttered by one Megacreon of Abdera. He advised his townsmen, men and women alike, to gather at their temples, and there in all humility to entreat the gods to defend them in the future from half of every threatened ill. They

should also, he said, thank the gods heartily for their previous show of favor, for it was Xerxes' custom to take a meal only once a day. Otherwise they would have been commanded to furnish a breakfast similar to the dinner. [2] The people of Abdera would then have had no choice but to flee before Xerxes' coming, or to perish most miserably if they awaited him. 121.

So the townsmen, oppressed as they were, nevertheless did as they were commanded. Upon leaving Acanthus, Xerxes sent his ships on their course away from him, giving orders to his generals that the fleet should await him at Therma, the town on the Thermaic gulf which gives the gulf its name, for this, he learned, was his shortest way. [2] The order of the army's march, from Doriscus to Acanthus, had been such as I will show. Dividing his entire land army into three parts, Xerxes appointed one of them to march beside his fleet along the coast. [3] Mardonius and Masistes were the generals of this segment, while another third of the army marched, as appointed, further inland under Tritantaechmes and Gergis. The third part, with which Xerxes himself went, marched between the two, and its generals were Smerdomenes and Megabyzus. 122.

Now when the fleet had left Xerxes, it sailed through the Athos canal which reached to the gulf in which are located the towns of Assa, Pylorus, Singus, and Sarte. The fleet took on board troops from all these cities and then headed for the Thermaic gulf. Then rounding Ampelus, the headland of Torone, it passed the Greek towns of Torone, Galepsus, Sermyle, Mectomyrna, and Olynthus, all of which gave them ships and men. 123.

This country is called Sithonia. The fleet held a straight course from the headland of Ampelus to the Canastraeon headland, where Pallene runs farthest out to sea, and received ships and men from the towns of what is now Pallene but was formerly called Phlegra, namely, Potidaea, Aphytis, Neapolis, Aegae, Therambyx, Scione, Mende, and Sane. [2] Sailing along this coast they made for the appointed place, taking troops from the towns adjacent to Pallene and near the Thermaic gulf, of which the names are Lipaxus, Combrea, Aesae, Gygis, Campsa, Smila, Aeneia; the territory of these cities is called Crossaeta to this day. [3] From Aeneia, the last-named in my list of the towns, the course of the fleet lay from the Thermaic gulf itself

and the Mygdonian territory until its voyage ended at Therma, the place appointed, and the towns of Sindus and Chalestra, where it came to the river Axius; this is the boundary, between the Mygdonian and the Bottiaean territory, in which are located the towns of Ichnae and Pella on the narrow strip of coast. 124.

So the fleet lay there off the river Axius and the city of Therma and the towns between them, awaiting the king. But Xerxes and his land army marched from Acanthus by the straightest inland course, making for Therma. Their way lay through the Paeonian and the Crestonaeon country to the river Cheidorus, which, rising in the Crestonaeon land, flows through the Mygdonian country and issues by the marshes of the Axius. 125.

As Xerxes marched by this route, lions attacked the camels which carried his provisions; nightly they would come down out of their lairs and made havoc of the camels alone, seizing nothing else, man or beast of burden. I wonder what prevented the lions from touching anything but the camels, creatures which they had not seen and had no knowledge of until then. 126.

In these parts there are many lions and wild oxen, whose horns are those very long ones which are brought into Hellas. The boundary of the lions' country is the river Nestus which flows through Abdera and the river Achelous which flows through Acarnania. Neither to the east of the Nestus anywhere in the nearer part of Europe, nor to the west of the Achelous in the rest of the mainland, is any lion to be seen, but they are found in the country between those rivers. 127.

When he had arrived at Therma, Xerxes quartered his army there. Its encampment by the sea covered all the space from Therma and the Mygdonian country to the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon, which unite their waters in one stream and so make the border between the Bottiaean and the Macedonian^{56*} territory. [2] In this place the foreigners lay encamped; of the rivers just mentioned, the Cheidorus, which flows from the Crestonaeon country, was the only one which could not suffice for the army's drinking but was completely drained by it. 128.

When Xerxes saw from Therma the very great height of the Thessalian mountains Olympus and Ossa and learned that the Peneus flows through them in a narrow pass, which was the way that led into

Thessaly, he desired to view the mouth of the Peneus because he intended to march by the upper road through the highland people of Macedonia to the country of the Perrhaebi and the town of Gonnus;^{57*} this, it was told him, was the safest way. [2] He did exactly as he desired. He embarked on a Sidonian ship which he always used when he had some such business in hand, and hoisted his signal for the rest also to put out to sea, leaving his land army where it was. Great wonder took him when he came and viewed the mouth of the Peneus, and calling his guides, he asked them if it were possible to turn the river from its course and lead it into the sea by another way. 129.

Thessaly, as tradition has it, was in old times a lake enclosed all round by high mountains. On its eastern side it is fenced in by the joining of the lower parts of the mountains Pelion and Ossa, to the north by Olympus, to the west by Pindus, towards the south and the southerly wind by Othrys. In the middle, then, of this ring of mountains, lies the vale of Thessaly. [2] A number of rivers pour into this vale, the most notable of which are Peneus, Apidanus, Onochonus, Enipeus, Pamisus. These five, while they flow towards their meeting place from the mountains which surround Thessaly, have their several names, until their waters all unite and issue into the sea by one narrow passage. [3] As soon as they are united, the name of the Peneus prevails, making the rest nameless. In ancient days, it is said, there was not yet this channel and outfall, but those rivers and the Boebean lake,^{58*} which was not yet named, had the same volume of water as now, and thereby turned all Thessaly into a sea. [4] Now the Thessalians say that Poseidon made the passage by which the Peneus flows. This is reasonable, for whoever believes that Poseidon is the shaker of the earth and that rifts made by earthquakes are the work of that god will conclude, upon seeing that passage, that it is of Poseidon's making. It was manifest to me that it must have been an earthquake which forced the mountains apart.^{59*} 130.

Xerxes asked his guides if there were any other outlet for the Peneus into the sea, and they, with their full knowledge of the matter, answered him: "The river, O king, has no other way into the sea, but this alone. This is so because there is a ring of mountains around the whole of Thessaly." Upon hearing this Xerxes said: "These

Thessalians are wise men; [2] this, then, was the primary reason for their precaution long before^{60*} when they changed to a better mind, for they perceived that their country would be easily and speedily conquerable. It would only have been necessary to let the river out over their land by barring the channel with a dam and to turn it from its present bed so that the whole of Thessaly, with the exception of the mountains, might be under water.” [3] This he said with regard in particular to the sons of Aleues, the Thessalians who were the first Greeks to surrender themselves to the king. Xerxes supposed that when they offered him friendship they spoke for the whole of their nation. After delivering this speech and seeing what he had come to see, he sailed back to Therma. 131.

Xerxes stayed for many days in the region of Pieria while a third part of his army was clearing a road over the Macedonian mountains so that the whole army might pass by that way to the Perrhaebian country. Now it was that the heralds who had been sent to Hellas to demand earth, some empty-handed, some bearing earth and water, returned. 132.

Among those who paid that tribute were the Thessalians,^{61*} Dolopes, Enienes, Perrhaebians, Locrians, Magnesians, Melians, Achaeans of Phthia, Thebans, and all the Boeotians except the men of Thespieae and Plataea. [2] Against all of these the Greeks who declared war with the foreigner entered into a sworn agreement, which was this: that if they should be victorious, they would dedicate to the god of Delphi the possessions of all Greeks who had of free will surrendered themselves to the Persians. Such was the agreement sworn by the Greeks. 133.

To Athens and Sparta Xerxes sent no heralds to demand earth, and this he did for the following reason. When Darius had previously sent men with this same purpose, those who made the request were cast at the one city into the Pit^{62*} and at the other into a well, and bidden to obtain their earth and water for the king from these locations. [2] What calamity befell the Athenians for dealing in this way with the heralds I cannot say, save that their land and their city were laid waste. I think, however, that there was another reason for this, and not the aforesaid.^{63*} 134.

Be that as it may, the anger of Talthybius, Agamemnon’s herald,

fell upon the Lacedaemonians. At Sparta there is a shrine of Talthybius and descendants of Talthybius called Talthybiadae, who have the special privilege of conducting all embassies from Sparta. [2] Now there was a long period after the incident I have mentioned above during which the Spartans were unable to obtain good omens from sacrifice. The Lacedaemonians were grieved and dismayed by this and frequently called assemblies, making a proclamation inviting some Lacedaemonian to give his life for Sparta. Then two Spartans of noble birth and great wealth, Sperthias son of Aneristus and Bulis son of Nicolaus, undertook of their own free will to make atonement to Xerxes for Darius' heralds who had been killed at Sparta. [3] Thereupon the Spartans sent these men to Media for execution. 135.

Worthy of admiration was these men's deed of daring, and so also were their sayings. On their way to Susa, they came to Hydarnes, a Persian, who was general of the coast of Asia. He entertained and feasted them as his guests, and as they sat at his board, he asked: [2] "Lacedaemonians, why do you shun the king's friendship? You can judge from what you see of me and my condition how well the king can honor men of worth. So might it be with you if you would but put yourselves in the king's hands, being as you are of proven worth in his eyes, and every one of you might by his commission be a ruler of Hellas." [3] To this the Spartans answered: "Your advice to us, Hydarnes, is not completely sound; one half of it rests on knowledge, but the other on ignorance. You know well how to be a slave, but you, who have never tasted freedom, do not know whether it is sweet or not. Were you to taste of it, not with spears you would counsel us to fight for it, no, but with axes." 136.

This was their answer to Hydarnes. From there they came to Susa, into the king's presence, and when the guards commanded and would have compelled them to fall down and bow to the king, they said they would never do that. This they would refuse even if they were thrust down headlong, for it was not their custom, said they, to bow to mortal men, nor was that the purpose of their coming. Having averted that, they next said, [2] "The Lacedaemonians have sent us, O king of the Medes, in requital for the slaying of your heralds at Sparta, to make atonement for their death," and more to that effect. To this Xerxes, with great magnanimity, replied that he would not

imitate the Lacedaemonians. “You,” said he, “made havoc of all human law by slaying heralds, but I will not do that for which I censure you, nor by putting you in turn to death will I set the Lacedaemonians free from this guilt.” 137.

This conduct on the part of the Spartans succeeded for a time in allaying the anger of Talthybius, in spite of the fact that Sperthias and Bulis returned to Sparta. Long after that, however, it rose up again in the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians, as the Lacedaemonians say. That seems to me to be an indication of something divine. [2] It was just that the wrath of Talthybius descended on ambassadors, nor abated until it was satisfied. The venting of it, however, on the sons of those men who went up to the king to appease it, namely on Nicolas son of Bulis and Aneristus son of Sperthias (that Aneristus who landed a merchant ships crew at the Tirynthian settlement of Halia and took it),^{64*} makes it plain to me that this was the divine result of Talthybius’ anger. [3] These two had been sent by the Lacedaemonians as ambassadors to Asia, and betrayed by the Thracian king Sitalces son of Tereus and Nymphodorus son of Pytheas of Abdera, they were made captive at Bisanthe on the Hellespont, and carried away to Attica, where the Athenians put them, and with them Aristestas son of Adimantus, a Corinthian, to death.^{65*} This happened many years after the king’s expedition, and I return now to the course of my history. 138.

The professed intent of the king’s march was to attack Athens, but in truth all Hellas was his aim. This the Greeks had long since learned, but not all of them regarded the matter alike. [2] Those of them who had paid the tribute of earth and water to the Persian were of good courage, thinking that the foreigner would do them no harm, but they who had refused tribute were afraid, since there were not enough ships in Hellas to do battle with their invader; furthermore, the greater part of them had no stomach for grappling with the war, but were making haste to side with the Persian. 139.

Here I am forced to declare an opinion which will be displeasing to most, but I will not refrain from saying what seems to me to be true. [2] Had the Athenians been panic-struck by the threatened peril and left their own country, or had they not indeed left it but remained and surrendered themselves to Xerxes, none would have attempted to

withstand the king by sea. What would have happened on land if no one had resisted the king by sea is easy enough to determine. [3] Although the Peloponnesians had built not one but many walls across the Isthmus for their defense,^{66*} they would nevertheless have been deserted by their allies (these having no choice or free will in the matter, but seeing their cities taken one by one by the foreign fleet), until at last they would have stood alone. They would then have put up quite a fight and perished nobly. [4] Such would have been their fate. Perhaps, however, when they saw the rest of Hellas siding with the enemy, they would have made terms with Xerxes. In either case Hellas would have been subdued by the Persians, for I cannot see what advantage could accrue from the walls built across the isthmus, while the king was master of the seas. [5] As it is, to say that the Athenians were the saviors of Hellas is to hit the truth. It was the Athenians who held the balance; whichever side they joined was sure to prevail. choosing that Greece should preserve her freedom, the Athenians roused to battle the other Greek states which had not yet gone over to the Persians and, after the gods, were responsible for driving the king off. [6] Nor were they moved to desert Hellas by the threatening oracles which came from Delphi and sorely dismayed them, but they stood firm and had the courage to meet the invader of their country. 140.

The Athenians had sent messages to Delphi asking that an oracle be given them, and when they had performed all due rites at the temple and sat down in the inner hall, the priestess, whose name was Aristonice, gave them this answer: [2] "Wretches, why do you linger here? Rather flee from your houses and city, Flee to the ends of the earth from the circle embattled of Athens! The head will not remain in its place, nor in the body, Nor the feet beneath, nor the hands, nor the parts between; But all is ruined, for fire and the headlong god of war speeding in a Syrian chariot will bring you low.

"[3] "Many a fortress too, not yours alone, will he shatter; Many a shrine of the gods will he give to the flame for devouring; Sweating for fear they stand, and quaking for dread of the enemy, Running with gore are their roofs, foreseeing the stress of their sorrow;

Therefore I bid you depart from the sanctuary.
Have courage to lighten your evil.^{67*}

“ 141.

When the Athenian messengers heard that, they were very greatly dismayed, and gave themselves up for lost by reason of the evil foretold. Then Timon son of Androbulus, as notable a man as any Delphian, advised them to take boughs of supplication and in the guise of suppliants, approach the oracle a second time. [2] The Athenians did exactly this; “Lord,” they said, “regard mercifully these suppliant boughs which we bring to you, and give us some better answer concerning our country. Otherwise we will not depart from your temple, but remain here until we die.” Thereupon the priestess gave them this second oracle: [3] “Vainly does Pallas strive to appease great Zeus of Olympus;

Words of entreaty are vain, and so too cunning counsels of wisdom. Nevertheless I will speak to you again of strength adamantine.

All will be taken and lost that the sacred border of Cecrops Holds in keeping today, and the dales divine of Cithaeron;

Yet a wood-built wall will by Zeus all-seeing be granted To the Triton-born, a stronghold for you and your children.

“ [4] “Await not the host of horse and foot coming from Asia,

Nor be still, but turn your back and withdraw from the foe.

Truly a day will come when you will meet him face to face.

Divine Salamis, you will bring death to women’s sons

When the corn is scattered, or the harvest gathered in.

“ 142.

This answer seemed to be and really was more merciful than the first, and the envoys, writing it down, departed for Athens. When the messengers had left Delphi and laid the oracle before the people, there was much inquiry concerning its meaning, and among the many opinions which were uttered, two contrary ones were especially worthy of note. Some of the elder men said that the gods answer signified that the acropolis should be saved, for in old time the acropolis of Athens had been fenced by a thorn hedge, [2] which, by their interpretation, was the wooden wall. But others supposed that the god was referring to their ships, and they were for doing nothing but equipping these. Those who believed their ships to be the

wooden wall were disabled by the two last verses of the oracle:

“Divine Salamis, you will bring death to women’s sons

When the corn is scattered, or the harvest gathered in.

“ [3] These verses confounded the opinion of those who said that their ships were the wooden wall, for the readers of oracles took the verses to mean that they should offer battle by sea near Salamis and be there overthrown. 143.

Now there was a certain Athenian, by name and title Themistocles son of Neocles, who had lately risen to be among their chief men. He claimed that the readers of oracles had incorrectly interpreted the whole of the oracle and reasoned that if the verse really pertained to the Athenians, it would have been formulated in less mild language, calling Salamis “cruel” rather than “divine “ seeing that its inhabitants were to perish. [2] Correctly understood, the gods’ oracle was spoken not of the Athenians but of their enemies, and his advice was that they should believe their ships to be the wooden wall and so make ready to fight by sea. [3] When Themistocles put forward this interpretation, the Athenians judged him to be a better counsellor than the readers of oracles, who would have had them prepare for no sea fight, and, in short, offer no resistance at all, but leave Attica and settle in some other country. 144.

The advice of Themistocles had prevailed on a previous occasion. The revenues from the mines at Laurium^{68*} had brought great wealth into the Athenians’ treasury, and when each man was to receive ten drachmae for his share, Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to make no such division but to use the money to build two hundred ships for the war, that is, for the war with Aegina. [2] This was in fact the war the outbreak of which saved Hellas by compelling the Athenians to become seamen. The ships were not used for the purpose for which they were built, but later came to serve Hellas in her need. These ships, then, had been made and were already there for the Athenians’ service, and now they had to build yet others. [3] In their debate after the giving of the oracle they accordingly resolved that they would put their trust in the god and meet the foreign invader of Hellas with the whole power of their fleet, ships and men, and with all other Greeks who were so minded. 145.

These oracles, then, had been given to the Athenians. All the Greeks who were concerned about the general welfare of Hellas met in conference and exchanged guarantees. They resolved in debate to make an end of all their feuds and wars against each other, whatever the cause from which they arose; among others that were in course at that time, the greatest was the war between the Athenians and the Aeginetans. [2] Presently, learning that Xerxes was at Sardis with his army, they planned to send men into Asia to spy out the king's doings and to despatch messengers, some to Argos, who should make the Argives their brothers in arms against the Persian, some to Gelon son of Dinomenes in Sicily, some to Corcyra, praying aid for Hellas, and some to Crete. This they did in the hope that since the danger threatened all Greeks alike, all of Greek blood might unite and work jointly for one common end. Now the power of Gelon was said to be very great, surpassing by far any power in Hellas. 146.

Being so resolved and having composed their quarrels, they first sent three men as spies into Asia. These came to Sardis and took note of the king's army. They were discovered, however, and after examination by the generals of the land army, they were led away for execution. [2] They were condemned to die, but when Xerxes heard of it, he blamed the judgment of his generals and sent some of his guards, charging them to bring the spies before him if they should be found alive. [3] They were found still living and brought into the king's presence; then Xerxes, having inquired of them the purpose of their coming, ordered his guards to lead them around and show them his whole army. When the spies had seen all to their heart's content, they were to send them away unharmed to whatever country they pleased. 147.

The reason alleged for his command was this: had the spies been put to death, the Greeks would not so soon have learned the unspeakable greatness of his power, and the Persians would have done their enemy no great harm by putting three men to death. Xerxes said that if they should return to Hellas, the Greeks would hear of his power and would surrender their peculiar freedom before the expedition with the result that there would be no need to march against them. [2] This was like that other saying of Xerxes when he

was at Abydos and saw ships laden with corn sailing out of the Pontus through the Hellespont on their way to Aegina and the Peloponnese. His counsellors, perceiving that they were enemy ships, were for taking them, and looked to the king for orders to do so. [3] Xerxes, however, asked them where the ships were sailing, and they answered: "To your enemies, Sire, carrying corn." Xerxes then answered, "And are not we too sailing to the same places as they, with corn among all our other provisions? What wrong are they doing us in carrying food there?" ¹⁴⁸.

So the spies were sent back after they had seen all and returned to Europe. After sending the spies, those of the Greeks who had sworn alliance against the Persian next sent messengers to Argos. [2] Now this is what the Argives say of their own part in the matter. They were informed from the first that the foreigner was stirring up war against Hellas. When they learned that the Greeks would attempt to gain their aid against the Persian, they sent messengers to Delphi to inquire of the god how it would be best for them to act, for six thousand of them had been lately^{69*} slain by a Lacedaemonian army and Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides its general. For this reason, they said, the messengers were sent. [3] The priestess gave this answer to their question: "Hated by your neighbors, dear to the immortals, Crouch with a lance in rest, like a warrior fenced in his armor, Guarding your head^{70*} from the blow, and the head will shelter the body.

“

This answer had already been uttered by the priestess when the envoys arrived in Argos and entered the council chamber to speak as they were charged. [4] Then the Argives answered to what had been said that they would do as was asked of them if they might first make a thirty years peace with Lacedaemonia and if the command of half the allied power were theirs. It was their right to have the full command, but they would nevertheless be content with half. ¹⁴⁹.

This, they say, was the answer of their council, although the oracle forbade them to make the alliance with the Greeks; furthermore, they, despite their fear of the oracle, were eager to secure a thirty years treaty so that their children might have time in those years to grow to be men. If there were to be no such treaty — so they

reasoned — then, if after the evil that had befallen them the Persian should deal them yet another blow, it was to be feared that they would be at the Lacedaemonians' mercy. [2] Then those of the envoys who were Spartans replied to the demands of the council, saying that they would refer the question of the truce to their own government at home; as for the command, however, they themselves had been commissioned to say that the Spartans had two kings, and the Argives but one. Now it was impossible to deprive either Spartan of his command, but there was nothing to prevent the Argive from having the same right of voting as their two had. [3] At that, say the Argives, they decided that the Spartans' covetousness was past all bearing and that it was better to be ruled by the foreigners than give way to the Lacedaemonians. They then bade the envoys depart from the land of Argos before sunset, for they would otherwise be treated as enemies. 150.

Such is the Argives' account of this matter, but there is another story told in Hellas, namely that before Xerxes set forth on his march against Hellas, he sent a herald to Argos, who said on his coming (so the story goes), [2] "Men of Argos, this is the message to you from King Xerxes. Perses our forefather had, as we believe, Perseus son of Danae for his father, and Andromeda daughter of Cepheus for his mother; if that is so, then we are descended from your nation. In all right and reason we should therefore neither march against the land of our forefathers, nor should you become our enemies by aiding others or do anything but abide by yourselves in peace. If all goes as I desire, I will hold none in higher esteem than you." [3] The Argives were strongly moved when they heard this, and although they made no promise immediately and demanded no share, they later, when the Greeks were trying to obtain their support, did make the claim, because they knew that the Lacedaemonians would refuse to grant it, and that they would thus have an excuse for taking no part in the war. 151.

This is borne out, some of the Greeks say, by the tale of a thing which happened many years afterwards. It happened that while Athenian envoys, Callias son of Hipponicus, and the rest who had come up with him, were at Susa, called the Memnonian,^{71*} about some other business,^{72*} the Argives also had at this same time sent

envoys to Susa, asking of Xerxes' son Artoxerxes whether the friendship which they had forged with Xerxes still held good, as they desired, or whether he considered them as his enemies. Artoxerxes responded to this that it did indeed hold good and that he believed no city to be a better friend to him than Argos." 152.

Now, whether it is true that Xerxes sent a herald with such a message to Argos, and that the Argive envoys came up to Susa and questioned Artoxerxes about their friendship, I cannot say with exactness, nor do I now declare that I consider anything true except what the Argives themselves say. [2] This, however, I know full well, namely if all men should carry their own private troubles to market for barter with their neighbors, there would not be a single one who, when he had looked into the troubles of other men, would not be glad to carry home again what he had brought.^{73*} [3] The conduct of the Argives was accordingly not utterly shameful. As for myself, although it is my business to set down that which is told me, to believe it is none at all of my business. This I ask the reader to hold true for the whole of my history, for there is another tale current, according to which it would seem that it was the Argives who invited the Persian into Hellas, because the war with the Lacedaemonians was going badly, and they would prefer anything to their present distresses. 153.

Such is the end of the story of the Argives. As for Sicily, envoys were sent there by the allies to hold converse with Gelon, Syagrus from Lacedaemon among them. The ancestor of this Gelon, who settled at Gela, was from the island of Telos which lies off Triopium. When the founding of Gela by Antiphemus and the Lindians of Rhodes was happening, he would not be left behind. [2] His descendants in time became and continue to be priests of the goddesses of the underworld;^{74*} this office had been won, as I will show, by Telines, one of their forefathers. There were certain Geloans who had been worsted in party strife and had been banished to the town of Mactorium, inland of Gela. [3] These men Telines brought to Gela with no force of men but only the holy instruments of the goddesses worship to aid him. From where he got these, and whether or not they were his own invention, I cannot say; however that may be, it was in reliance upon them that he restored the exiles,

on the condition that his descendants should be ministering priests of the goddesses. [4] Now it makes me marvel that Telines should have achieved such a feat, for I have always supposed that such feats cannot be performed by any man but only by such as have a stout heart and manly strength. Telines, however, is reported by the dwellers in Sicily to have had a soft and effeminate disposition. 154.

At the death^{75*} of Cleandrus son of Pantares, who had been tyrant of Gela for seven years, and had been slain by a man of that city named Sabyllus, the sovereignty passed to Cleandrus' brother Hippocrates. While Hippocrates was tyrant, Gelon, a descendant of the ministering priest Telines, was one of Hippocrates' guard, as were Aenesidemus son of Pataecus and many others. [2] In no long time he was appointed for his worth to be captain of the entire cavalry, for his performance had been preeminent while he served under Hippocrates in the assaults against Callipolis, Naxos, Zancle, Leontini, Syracuse, and many other of the foreigners' towns. None of these cities, with the exception of Syracuse, escaped enslavement by Hippocrates; the Syracusans were defeated in battle on the river Elorus. [3] They were, however, rescued by the Corinthians and Corcyraeans, who made a peace for them on the condition that the Syracusans should deliver up to Hippocrates Camarina, which had formerly been theirs. 155.

When Hippocrates, too, after reigning the same number of years as his brother Cleandrus, came to his end near the town of Hybla — from where he had marched against the Sicels — then Gelon made a pretence of serving the cause of Hippocrates' sons Euclides and Cleandrus, whose rule the citizens would no longer bear. When he had defeated the men of Gela, however, he deposed the sons of Hippocrates and held sway himself. [2] After this stroke of good fortune, Gelon brought back from the town of Casmene to Syracuse both the so-called landed gentry of Syracuse, who had been driven into exile by the common people, and their slaves, the Cyllyrians. He then took possession of that city also, for the Syracusan common people surrendered themselves and it to Gelon at his coming. 156.

When he had made Syracuse his own, he took less account of his rule over Gela, which he gave in charge to his brother Hiero; over Syracuse he reigned, and all his care was for Syracuse. [2]

Straightway that city grew and became great, for not only did Gelon bring all the people of Camarina to Syracuse and give them its citizenship, razing the township of Camarina, but he did the same thing to more than half of the townsmen of Gela, and when the Megarians^{76*} in Sicily surrendered to him on terms after a siege, he took the wealthier of them, who had made war on him and expected to be put to death for this, and brought them to Syracuse to be citizens there. As for the common people of Megara, who had had no hand in the making of that war and expected that no harm would be done them, these too he brought to Syracuse and sold them for slaves to be taken out of Sicily. [3] He dealt in a similar way with the Euboeans^{77*} of Sicily, making the same distinction. The reason for his treating the people of both places in this way was that he held the common people to be exceedingly disagreeable to live with. 157.

By these means Gelon had grown to greatness as a tyrant, and now, when the Greek envoys had come to Syracuse, they had audience with him and spoke as follows: “The Lacedaemonians and their allies have sent us to win your aid against the foreigner, for it cannot be, we think, that you have no knowledge of the Persian invader of Hellas, how he proposes to bridge the Hellespont and lead all the hosts of the east from Asia against us, making an open show of marching against Athens, but actually with intent to subdue all Hellas to his will. [2] Now you are rich in power, and as lord of Sicily you rule what is not the least part of Hellas; therefore, we beg of you, send help to those who are going to free Hellas, and aid them in so doing. The uniting of all those of Greek stock entails the mustering of a mighty host able to meet our invaders in the field. If, however, some of us play false and others will not come to our aid, while the sound part of Hellas is but small, then it is to be feared that all Greek lands alike will be destroyed. [3] Do not for a moment think that if the Persian defeats us in battle and subdues us, he will leave you unassailed, but rather look well to yourself before that day comes. Aid us, and you champion your own cause; in general a well-laid plan leads to a happy issue.” 158.

This is what they said, and Gelon, speaking very vehemently, said in response to this: “Men of Hellas, it is with a self-seeking plea that you have dared to come here and invite me to be your ally against the

foreigners; yet what of yourselves? [2] When I was at odds with the Carchedonians,^{78*} and asked you to be my comrades against a foreign army, and when I desired that you should avenge the slaying of Dorieus^{79*} son of Anaxandrides on the men of Egesta, and when I promised to free those trading ports from which great advantage and profit have accrued to you, — then neither for my sake would you come to aid nor to avenge the slaying of Dorieus. Because of your position in these matters, all these lands lie beneath the foreigners' feet. [3] Let that be; for all ended well, and our state was improved. But now that the war has come round to you in your turn, it is time for remembering Gelon! [4] Despite the fact that you slighted me, I will not make an example of you; I am ready to send to your aid two hundred triremes, twenty thousand men-at-arms, two thousand horsemen, two thousand archers, two thousand slingers, and two thousand light-armed men to run with horsemen.^{80*} I also pledge to furnish provisions for the whole Greek army until we have made an end of the war. [5] All this, however, I promise on one condition, that I shall be general and leader of the Greeks against the foreigner. On no other condition will I come myself or send others.”¹⁵⁹

When Syagrus heard that, he could not contain himself; “In truth,” he cried, “loudly would Agamemnon son of Pelops lament, when hearing that the Spartans had been bereft of their command by Gelon and his Syracusans! No, rather, put the thought out of your minds that we will give up the command to you. If it is your will to aid Hellas, know that you must obey the Lacedaemonians; but if, as I think, you are too proud to obey, then send no aid.”¹⁶⁰

Thereupon Gelon, seeing how unfriendly Syagrus' words were, for the last time declared his opinion to them: “My Spartan friend, the hard words that a man hears are likely to arouse his anger; but for all the arrogant tenor of your speech you will not move me to make an unseemly answer. [2] When you set such store by the command, it is but reasonable that it should be still more important to me since I am the leader of an army many times greater than yours and more ships by far. But seeing that your response to me is so haughty, we will make some concession in our original condition. It might be that you should command the army, and I the fleet; or if it is your pleasure to lead by sea, then I am ready to take charge of the army.

With that you will surely be content, unless you want depart from here without such allies as we are.” 161.

Such was Gelon’s offer, and the Athenian envoy answered him before the Lacedaemonian could speak. “King of the Syracusans,” he said, “Hellas sends us to you to ask not for a leader but for an army. You however, say no word of sending an army without the condition of your being the leader of Hellas; it is the command alone that you desire. [2] Now as long as you sought the leadership of the whole force, we Athenians were content to hold our peace, knowing that the Laconian was well able to answer for both of us; but since, failing to win the whole, you would gladly command the fleet, we want to let you know how the matter stands. Even if the Laconian should permit you to command it, we would not do so, for the command of the fleet, which the Lacedaemonians do not desire for themselves, is ours. If they should desire to lead it, we will not withstand them, but we will not allow anyone else to be admiral. [3] It would be for nothing, then, that we possess the greatest number of seafaring men in Hellas, if we Athenians yield our command to Syracusans, — we who can demonstrate the longest lineage of all and who alone among the Greeks have never changed our place of habitation;^{81*} of our stock too was the man of whom the poet Homer says that of all who came to Ilion, he was the best man in ordering and marshalling armies.^{82*} We accordingly cannot be reproached for what we now say. “ 162.

“My Athenian friend,” Gelon answered, “it would seem that you have many who lead, but none who will follow. Since, then, you will waive no claim but must have the whole, it is high time that you hasten home and tell your Hellas that her year has lost its spring.” [2] The significance of this statement was that Gelon’s army was the most notable part of the Greek army, just as the spring is the best part of the year. He accordingly compared Hellas deprived of alliance with him to a year bereft of its spring.^{83*} 163.

After such dealings with Gelon the Greek envoys sailed away. Gelon, however, feared that the Greeks would not be able to overcome the barbarian, while believing it dreadful and intolerable that he, the tyrant of Sicily, should go to the Peloponnese to be at the beck and call of Lacedaemonians. For this reason he took no more

thought of this plan but followed another instead. [2] As soon as he was informed that the Persian had crossed the Hellespont, he sent Cadmus son of Scythes,^{84*} a man of Cos, to Delphi with three fifty-oared ships, bringing them money and messages of friendship. Cadmus was to observe the outcome of the battle, and if the barbarian should be victorious, he was to give him both the money, and earth and water on behalf of Gelon's dominions. If, however, the Greeks were victorious, he was to bring everything back again. 164.

This Cadmus had previously inherited from his father the tyranny of Cos. Although the tyranny was well established, he nevertheless handed the government over to the whole body of Coans of his own free will. This he did under no constraint of danger, but out of a sense of justice, and he then went to Sicily, where he was given by the Samians the city of Zancle which he colonized and changed its name to Messene. [2] This is how Cadmus had come, and it was he whom Gelon now sent because of his sense of justice. What I will now relate was not the least of the many just acts of Cadmus' life; he had in his possession great wealth entrusted to him by Gelon and might have kept it. He nevertheless would not do so, but when the Greeks had prevailed in the sea-fight and Xerxes had headed home, Cadmus returned to Sicily with all that money. 165.

There is, however, another story told by the Sicilians: even though he was to be under Lacedaemonian authority, Gelon would still have aided the Greeks had it not been for Terillus son of Crinippus, the tyrant of Himera. This man, who had been expelled from Himera by Theron son of Aenesidemus, sovereign ruler of Acragas, at this very time brought against Gelon three hundred thousand Phoenicians, Libyans, Iberians, Ligyes, Elisyci, Sardinians, and Cymnians,^{85*} led by Amilcas son of Annon, the king of the Carchedonians. Terillus had induced him to do this partly through the prerogative of personal friendship, but mainly through the efforts of Anaxilaus son of Cretines, tyrant of Rhegium. He had handed over his own children as hostages to Amilcas, and brought him into Sicily to the help of his father-in-law; for Anaxilaus had as his wife Terillus' daughter Cydippe. Accordingly Gelon sent the money to Delphi, because he could not aid the Greeks. 166.

They add this tale too — that Gelon and Theron won a victory

over Amilcas the Carchedonian in Sicily on the same day that the Greeks defeated the Persian at Salamis. This Amilcas was, on his father's side, a Carchedonian, and a Syracusan on his mother's and had been made king of Carchedon for his virtue. When the armies met and he was defeated in the battle, it is said that he vanished from sight, for Gelon looked for him everywhere but was not able to find him anywhere on earth, dead or alive. 167.

The story told by the Carchedonians themselves seems to have some element of truth. They say that the barbarians fought with the Greeks in Sicily from dawn until late evening (so long, it is said, the battle was drawn out), during which time Amilcas stayed in his camp offering sacrifice and striving to obtain favorable omens by burning whole bodies on a great pyre. When he saw his army routed, he cast himself into the fire where he was pouring libations on the sacrifice; he was consumed by this and was not seen any more. [2] Whether he vanished as the Phoenicians say, or in the manner related by the Carchedonians and Syracusans, sacrifice is offered to him, and monuments have been set up in all the colonists' cities, the greatest of which is in Carchedon itself. 168.

This is how the campaign in Sicily fell out. As for the Corcyraeans, their answer to the envoys and their acts were as I will show. The men who had gone to Sicily sought their aid too, using the same arguments which they had used with Gelon. The Corcyraeans straightaway promised to send help and protection, declaring that they would not allow Hellas to perish, for if she should fall, the very next day would certainly see them also enslaved. They would accordingly have to help to the best of their ability. [2] Now this answer seemed fair enough, but when the time came for sending help, their minds changed. They manned sixty ships and put out to sea, making for the coast of the Peloponnese. There, however, they anchored off Pylos and Taenarus in the Lacedaemonian territory, waiting like the others to see which way the war should incline. They had no hope that the Greeks would prevail, but thought that the Persian would win a great victory and be lord of all Hellas. [3] Their course of action, therefore, had been planned with a view to being able to say to the Persian, "O king, we whose power is as great as any and who could have furnished as many ships as any state save

Athens, — we, when the Greeks attempted to gain our aid in this war, would not resist you nor do anything displeasing to you.” This plea, they hoped, would win them some advantage more than ordinary; and so, I believe, it would have been. [4] They were, however, also ready with an excuse which they could make to the Greeks, and in the end they made it; when the Greeks blamed them for sending no help, they said that they had manned sixty triremes, but that they could not round Malea because of the Etesian winds. It was for this reason, they said, that they could not arrive at Salamis; it was not cowardliness which made them late for the sea-fight. With such a plea they put the Greeks off. 169.

But the Cretans, when the Greeks appointed to deal with them were trying to gain their aid, acted as I will show. They sent messengers to Delphi, inquiring if it would be to their advantage to help the Greeks. [2] The Pythia answered them, “Foolish men, was not the grief enough which Minos sent upon your people for the help given to Menelaus, out of anger that those others^{86*} would not help to avenge his death at Camicus, while you helped them to avenge the stealing of that woman from Sparta by a barbarian?” When this was brought to the ears of the Cretans, they would have nothing to do with aiding the Greeks. 170.

Now Minos, it is said, went to Sicania, which is now called Sicily, in search for Daedalus, and perished there by a violent death. Presently all the Cretans except the men of Polichne and Praesus were bidden by a god to go with a great host to Sicania. Here they besieged the town of Camicus, where in my day the men of Acragas dwelt, for five years. [2] Presently, since they could neither take it nor remain there because of the famine which afflicted them, they departed. However, when they were at sea off Iapygia, a great storm caught and drove them ashore. Because their ships had been wrecked and there was no way left of returning to Crete, they founded there the town of Hyria, and made this their dwelling place, accordingly changing from Cretans to Messapians of Iapygia, and from islanders to dwellers on the mainland. [3] From Hyria they made settlements in those other towns which a very long time afterwards the Tarentines attempted to destroy, thereby suffering great disaster. The result was that no one has ever heard of so great a slaughter of Greeks as that of

the Tarentines and Rhegians; three thousand townsmen of the latter, men who had been coerced by Micythus son of Choerus to come and help the Tarentines, were killed, and no count was kept of the Tarentine slain. [4] Micythus was a servant of Anaxilaus and had been left in charge of Rhegium; it was he who was banished from Rhegium and settled in Tegea of Arcadia, and who set up those many statues at Olympia. 171.

In relating the matter of the Rhegians and Tarentines, however, I digress from the main thread of my history. The Praesians say that when Crete was left desolate, it was populated especially by Greeks, among other peoples. Then, in the third generation after Minos, the events surrounding the Trojan War, in which the Cretans bore themselves as bravely as any in the cause of Menelaus, took place. [2] After this, when they returned from Troy, they and their flocks and herds were afflicted by famine and pestilence, until Crete was once more left desolate. Then came a third influx of Cretans, and it is they who, with those that were left, now dwell there. It was this that the priestess bade them remember, and so prevented them from aiding the Greeks as they were previously inclined. 172.

The Thessalians had at first sided with the Persians, not willingly but of necessity. This their acts revealed, because they disliked the plans of the Aleuadae; as soon as they heard that the Persian was about to cross over into Europe, they sent messengers to the Isthmus, where men chosen from the cities which were best disposed towards Hellas were assembled in council for the Greek cause. [2] To these the Thessalian messengers came and said, "Men of Hellas, the pass of Olympus must be guarded so that Thessaly and all Hellas may be sheltered from the war. Now we are ready to guard it with you, but you too must send a great force. If you will not send it, be assured that we will make terms with the Persian, for it is not right that we should be left to stand guard alone and so perish for your sakes. [3] If you will not send help, there is nothing you can do to constrain us, for no necessity can prevail over lack of ability. As for us, we will attempt to find some means of deliverance for ourselves." These are the words of the men of Thessaly. 173.

Thereupon the Greeks resolved that they would send a land army to Thessaly by sea to guard the pass. When the forces had assembled,

they passed through the Euripus and came to Alus in Achaea, where they disembarked and took the road for Thessaly, leaving their ships where they were. They then came to the pass of Tempe, which runs from the lower^{87*} Macedonia into Thessaly along the river Peneus, between the mountains Olympus and Ossa. [2] There the Greeks were encamped, about ten thousand men-at-arms altogether, and the cavalry was there as well. The general of the Lacedaemonians was Euaenetus son of Carenus, chosen from among the Polemarchs, yet not of the royal house, and Themistocles son of Neocles was the general of the Athenians. [3] They remained there for only a few days, for messengers came from Alexander son of Amyntas, the Macedonian. These, pointing out the size of the army and the great number of ships, advised them to depart and not remain there to be trodden under foot by the invading host. When they had received this advice from the messengers (as they thought their advice was sound and that the Macedonian meant well by them), the Greeks followed their counsel. [4] To my thinking, however, what persuaded them was fear, since they had found out that there was another pass leading into Thessaly by the hill country of Macedonia through the country of the Perrhaebi, near the town of Gonnus; this was indeed the way by which Xerxes' army descended on Thessaly. The Greeks accordingly went down to their ships and made their way back to the Isthmus. 174.

This was the course of their expedition into Thessaly, while the king was planning to cross into Europe from Asia and was already at Abydos. The Thessalians, now bereft of their allies, sided with the Persian wholeheartedly and unequivocally. As a result of this they, in their acts, proved themselves to be most useful to the king. 175.

When they had come to the Isthmus, the Greeks, taking into account what was said by Alexander, deliberated as a body how and where they should stand to fight. It was decided that they should guard the pass of Thermopylae, for they saw that it was narrower than the pass into Thessaly and nearer home. [2] The pass, then, which brought about the fall of those Greeks who fell at Thermopylae, was unknown to them until they came to Thermopylae and learned of it from the men of Trachis. This pass they were resolved to guard and so stay the barbarian's passage into Hellas, while their fleet should

sail to Artemisium in the territory of Histiaea. These places are near to each other, and each force could therefore be informed of the other's doings. As for the places themselves, their nature is as follows. 176.

Artemisium is where the wide Thracian sea contracts until the passage between the island of Sciathus and the mainland of Magnesia is but narrow. This strait leads next to Artemisium, which is a beach on the coast of Euboea, on which stands a temple of Artemis. [2] The pass through Trachis into Hellas^{88*} is fifty feet wide at its narrowest point. It is not here, however, but elsewhere that the way is narrowest, namely, in front of Thermopylae and behind it; at Alpeni, which lies behind, it is only the breadth of a cart-way, and it is the same at the Phoenix stream, near the town of Anthele. [3] To the west^{89*} of Thermopylae rises a high mountain, inaccessible and precipitous, a spur of Oeta; to the east of the road there is nothing but marshes and sea. In this pass are warm springs for bathing, called the Basins by the people of the country, and an altar of Heracles stands nearby. Across this entry a wall had been built, and formerly there was a gate in it. [4] It was the Phocians^{90*} who built it for fear of the Thessalians when these came from Thesprotia to dwell in the Aeolian land, the region which they now possess. Since the Thessalians were trying to subdue them, the Phocians made this their protection, and in their search for every means to keep the Thessalians from invading their country, they then turned the stream from the hot springs into the pass, so that it might be a watercourse. [5] The ancient wall had been built long ago and most of it lay in ruins; those who built it up again thought that they would in this way bar the foreigner's way into Hellas. Very near the road is a village called Alpeni, and it is from here that the Greeks expected to obtain provisions. 177.

These places, then, were thought by the Greeks to suit their purpose. After making a thorough survey, they concluded that the barbarians could not make use of their entire army, nor of their horsemen. They therefore resolved, that they would meet the invader of Hellas here. Then, when they heard that the Persian was in Pieria, they broke up from the Isthmus and set out with their army to Thermopylae and with their fleet to Artemisium. 178.

So with all speed the Greeks went their several ways to meet the enemy. In the meantime, the Delphians, who were afraid for themselves and for Hellas, consulted the god. They were advised to pray to the winds, for these would be potent allies for Hellas. [2] When they had received the oracle, the Delphians first sent word of it to those Greeks who desired to be free; because of their dread of the barbarian, they were forever grateful. Subsequently they erected an altar to the winds at Thyia, the present location of the precinct of Thyia the daughter of Cephissus, and they offered sacrifices to them. This, then, is the reason why the Delphians to this day offer the winds sacrifice of propitiation. 179.

Xerxes' fleet, however, set forth from the city of Therma, and the ten swiftest of the ships laid their course straight for Sciathus, where there lay an advance guard of three Greek ships, a Troezenian, an Aeginetan, and an Attic. These, when they sighted the foreigners ships, took to flight. 180.

The ship of Troezen, of which Prexinus was captain, was pursued and straightway captured by the foreigners, who brought the best of its fighting men and cut his throat on the ship's prow, thinking that the sacrifice^{91*} of the foremost and fairest of their Greek captives would be auspicious. The name of the sacrificed man was Leon, and it was perhaps his name that he had to thank for it. 181.

The Aeginetan trireme, of which Asonides was captain, did however give them some trouble. On board this ship was Pytheas son of Ischenous, who acted heroically on that day. When his ship had been taken, he would not stop fighting until he had been entirely hacked to mincemeat. [2] When he finally did fall, he still had life in him, and the Persian soldiers on the ships took great pains to keep him alive for his valor, tending his wounds with ointments and wrapping him in bandages of linen cloth^{92*}. [3] Upon returning to their own station, they showed him to the whole host, and made much of him and treated him with kindness. The rest of those whom they took in that ship, however, they used as slaves. 182.

Two of the ships, then, were made captive, and the third trireme, of which Phormus an Athenian was captain, ran aground in her flight at the mouth of the Peneus; the barbarians took her hull but not the crew, for the Athenians, as soon as they had run their craft aground,

leapt out and made their way through Thessaly to Athens. 183.

The Greeks who were stationed at Artemisium were informed of these matters by beacons from Sciathus. They were frightened by this and accordingly changed their anchorage from Artemisium to Chalcis, proposing to guard the Euripus and leaving watchmen on the heights of Euboea. [2] Three of the ten barbarian ships ran aground on the reef called the Ant, which lies between Sciathus and Magnesia. The barbarians then brought a pillar of stone and set it on the reef, and when their course was plain before them, the whole fleet set forth and sailed from Therma, eleven days after the king had marched from there. [3] It was Pammon of Scyros who showed them where in the strait the reef lay. After sailing along all day, the foreign fleet reached Sepias in Magnesia and the beach between the town of Casthanaea and the Sepiad headland. 184.

Until the whole host reached this place and Thermopylae it suffered no hurt, and calculation proves to me that its numbers were still such as I will now show. The ships from Asia were twelve hundred and seven in number, and including the entire host of nations involved, there were a total of two hundred and forty-one thousand and four hundred men, two hundred being reckoned for each ship. [2] ^{93*}On board all these ships were thirty fighting men of the Persians and Medes and Sacae in addition to the company which each had of native fighters; the number of this added contingent is thirty-six thousand, two hundred and ten. [3] To this and to the first number I add the crews of the ships of fifty oars, calculating eighty men for each, whether there were actually more or fewer. Now seeing that, as has already been said, ^{94*} three thousand of these vessels were assembled, the number of men in them must have been two hundred and forty thousand. [4] These, then, were the ships' companies from Asia, and the total number of them was five hundred and seventeen thousand, six hundred and ten. There were seven hundred thousand and one hundred footsoldiers and eighty thousand cavalymen; to these I add the Arabian camel-riders and Libyan charioteers, estimating them to have been twenty thousand in number. [5] The forces of sea and land added together would consist of two million, three hundred and seventeen thousand, six hundred and ten men. So far I have spoken of the force which came from Asia

itself, without the train of servants which followed it and the companies of the grain-bearing craft. ¹⁸⁵.

I must, however, also take into account the force brought from Europe, and I will rely on my best judgment in doing so. The Greeks of Thrace and the islands off Thrace furnished one hundred and twenty ships, and the companies of these ships must then have consisted of twenty-four thousand men. [2] As regards the land army supplied by all the nations — Thracians, Paeonians, Eordi, Bottiaei, Chalcidians, Brygi, Pierians, Macedonians, Perrhaebi, Enienes, Dolopes, Magnesians, Achaeans, dwellers on the coast of Thrace — of all these I suppose the number to have been three hundred thousand. [3] When these numbers are added to the numbers from Asia, the sum total of fighting men is two million, six hundred and forty-one thousand, six hundred and ten. ¹⁸⁶.

This then is the number of soldiers. As for the service-train which followed them and the crews of the light corn-bearing vessels and all the other vessels besides which came by sea with the force, these I believe to have been not fewer but more than the fighting men. [2] Suppose, however, that they were equal in number, neither more nor fewer. If they were equal to the fighting contingent, they made up as many tens of thousands as the others. The number, then, of those whom Xerxes son of Darius led as far as the Sepiad headland and Thermopylae was five million, two hundred and eighty-three thousand, two hundred and twenty. ¹⁸⁷.

That is the number of Xerxes' whole force. No one, however, can say what the exact number of cooking women, and concubines, and eunuchs was, nor can one determine the number of the beasts of draught and burden, and the Indian dogs which accompanied the host; so many of them were there. It is accordingly not surprising to me that some of the streams of water ran dry. I do, however, wonder how there were provisions sufficient for so many tens of thousands, [2] for calculation shows me, that if each man received one choenix of wheat a day and no more, eleven hundred thousand and three hundred and forty bushels would be required every day.^{95*} In this calculation I take no account of the provisions for the women, eunuchs, beasts of burden and dogs. Of all those tens of thousands of men, there was not one, as regards looks and grandeur, worthier than

Xerxes himself to hold that command. 188.

The Persian fleet put to sea and reached the beach of the Magnesian land, between the city of Casthanaea and the headland of Sepia. The first ships to arrive moored close to land, with the others after them at anchor; since the beach was not large, they lay at anchor in rows eight ships deep out into the sea. [2] They spent the night in this way, but at dawn a storm descended upon them out of a clear and windless sky, and the sea began to boil. A strong east wind blew, which the people living in those parts call Hellespontian. [3] Those who felt the wind rising or had proper mooring dragged their ships up on shore ahead of the storm and so survived with their ships. The wind did, however, carry those ships caught out in the open sea against the rocks called the Ovens at Pelion or onto the beach. Some ships were wrecked on the Sepian headland, others were cast ashore at the city of Meliboea or at Casthanaea. The storm was indeed unbearable. 189.

The story is told that because of an oracle the Athenians invoked Boreas, the north wind, to help them, since another oracle told them to summon their son-in-law as an ally. According to the Hellenic story, Boreas had an Attic wife, Orithyia, the daughter of Erechtheus, ancient king of Athens. [2] Because of this connection, so the tale goes, the Athenians considered Boreas to be their son-in-law. They were stationed off Chalcis in Euboea, and when they saw the storm rising, they then, if they had not already, sacrificed to and called upon Boreas and Orithyia to help them by destroying the barbarian fleet, just as before at Athos. [3] I cannot say whether this was the cause of Boreas falling upon the barbarians as they lay at anchor, but the Athenians say that he had come to their aid before and that he was the agent this time. When they went home, they founded a sacred precinct of Boreas beside the Ilissus river. 190.

They say that at the very least no fewer than 400 ships were destroyed in this labor, along with innumerable men and abundant wealth. This shipwreck proved useful to Ameinocles son of Cretines, a man of Magnesia who owned land around Sepia, for he later picked up many gold and silver cups cast up on shore, found the Persian treasures, and acquired other untold riches. Although he became very rich from his findings, he did not enjoy luck in everything, for he

suffered greatly when his son was murdered. 191.

There was no counting how many grain-ships and other vessels were destroyed. The generals of the fleet were afraid that the Thessalians might attack them now that they had been defeated, so they built a high palisade out of the wreckage. [2] The storm lasted three days. Finally the Magi made offerings and cast spells upon the wind, sacrificing also to Thetis and the Nereids. In this way they made the wind stop on the fourth day — or perhaps it died down on its own. They sacrificed to Thetis after hearing from the Ionians the story that it was from this place that Peleus had carried her off and that all the headland of Sepia belonged to her and to the other Nereids. 192.

The storm, then, ceased on the fourth day. Now the scouts stationed on the headlands of Euboea ran down and told the Hellenes all about the shipwreck on the second day after the storm began. [2] After hearing this they prayed to Poseidon as their savior and poured libations. Then they hurried to Artemisium hoping to find few ships opposing them. So they came to Artemisium a second time and made their station there. From that time on they call Poseidon their savior. 193.

The barbarians, when the wind ceased and the waves no longer ran high, put to sea and coasted along the mainland; they sailed around the headland of Magnesia and sailed straight into the gulf which stretches toward Pagasae. [2] There is a place on this gulf in Magnesia, where, it is said, Heracles was sent for water and was left behind by Jason and his comrades of the Argo, when they were sailing to Aea in Colchis for the fleece; their purpose was to draw water from there and then to put out to sea. This is the reason why that place has been called Aphetæ.^{96*} Here Xerxes' men made their anchorage. 194.

Fifteen of those ships had put to sea a long time after all the rest, and it chanced that they sighted the Greek ships off Artemisium. Supposing these to be their own fleet, the barbarians proceeded into the midst of their enemies. Their captain was the viceroy from Cyme in Aeolia, Sandoces son of Thamasius. This man, who was one of the king's judges, had once before been taken and crucified by Darius because he had given unjust judgment for a bribe. [2] When Sandoces

had been hung on the cross, Darius found on consideration that his good services to the royal house outweighed his offenses. The king then perceived that he had acted with more haste than wisdom and set Sandoces free. [3] In this way he escaped from being put to death by Darius. Now that he was taken into the midst of the Greeks, however, he was not to escape a second time, for when the Greeks saw the Persians bearing down on them, they perceived their mistake and putting to sea, easily took them captive. 195.

In one of these ships they took Aridolis, the tyrant of Alabanda in Caria, and in another the Paphian captain Penthylus, son of Demonous; of the twelve ships which he had brought from Paphos he had lost eleven in the storm off the Sepiad headland and was in the one which remained when he was taken as he headed down on Artemisium. Having questioned these men and learned what they desired to know of Xerxes' force, the Greeks sent them away to the isthmus of Corinth in bonds. 196.

So the foreign fleet, of which, with the exception of fifteen ships Sandoces was captain, came to Aphetæ. Xerxes and his land army marched through Thessaly and Achæa, and it was three days since he had entered Malis. In Thessaly he held a race for his own cavalry; this was also a test of the Thessalian horsemen, whom he had heard were the best in Hellas. The Greek horses were far outpaced in this contest. Of the Thessalian rivers, the Onochonus was the only one which could not provide enough water for his army to drink. In Achæa, however, even the greatest river there, the Apidanus,^{97*} gave out, remaining but a sorry trickle. 197.

When Xerxes had come to Alus in Achæa, his guides, desiring to inform him of all they knew, told him the story which is related in that country concerning the worship of Laphystian Zeus, namely how Athamas son of Aeolus plotted Phrixus' death with Ino, and further, how the Achæans by an oracle's bidding compel Phrixus descendants to certain tasks. [2] They order the eldest of that family not to enter their town-hall (which the Achæans call the People's House) ^{98*} and themselves keep watch there. If he should enter, he may not come out, save only to be sacrificed. They say as well that many of those who were to be sacrificed had fled in fear to another country, and that if they returned at a later day and were taken, they

were brought into the town-hall. The guides showed Xerxes how the man is sacrificed, namely with fillets covering him all over and a procession to lead him forth. [3] It is the descendants of Phrixus' son Cytissorus who are treated in this way, because when the Achaeans by an oracle's bidding made Athamas son of Aeolus a scapegoat for their country and were about to sacrifice him, this Cytissorus came from Aea in Colchis and delivered him, thereby bringing the god's wrath on his own descendants. [4] Hearing all this, Xerxes, when he came to the temple grove, refrained from entering it himself and bade all his army do likewise, holding the house and the precinct of Athamas' descendants alike in reverence.^{99*} 198.

These were Xerxes' actions in Thessaly and Achaea. From here he came into Malis along a gulf of the sea, in which the tide ebbs and flows daily.^{100*} There is low-lying ground about this gulf, sometimes wide and sometimes very narrow, and around it stand high and inaccessible mountains which enclose the whole of Malis and are called the Rocks of Trachis. [2] Now the first town by the gulf on the way from Achaea is Anticyra, near to which the river Spercheus flows from the country of the Enieni and issues into the sea. About twenty furlongs from that river is another named Dyras, which is said to have risen from the ground to aid Heracles against the fire that consumed him and twenty furlongs again from that there is another river called the Black river. 199.

The town of Trachis is five furlongs away from this Black river. Here is the greatest distance in all this region between the sea and the hills on which Trachis stands, for the plain is twenty-two thousand plethra in extent.^{101*} In the mountains which hem in the Trachinian land there is a ravine to the south of Trachis, through which the river Asopus flows past the lower slopes of the mountains. 200.

There is another river south of the Asopus, the Phoenix, a little stream which flows from those mountains into the Asopus. Near this stream is the narrowest place; there is only space for a single cart-way. Thermopylae is fifteen furlongs away from the river Phoenix. [2] Between the river and Thermopylae there is a village named Anthele, past which the Asopus flows out into the sea, and there is a wide space around it in which stand a temple of Amphictyonid Demeter, seats for the Amphictyons,^{102*} and a temple of Amphictyon himself

King Xerxes lay encamped in Trachis in Malis and the Hellenes in the pass.^{103*} This place is called Thermopylae by most of the Hellenes, but by the natives and their neighbors Pylae.^{104*} Each lay encamped in these places. Xerxes was master of everything to the north^{105*} from Trachis, and the Hellenes of all that lay toward the south on the mainland.^{106*} 202.

The Hellenes who awaited the Persians in that place were these: three hundred Spartan armed men; one thousand from Tegea and Mantinea, half from each place; one hundred and twenty from Orchomenus in Arcadia and one thousand from the rest of Arcadia; that many Arcadians, four hundred from Corinth, two hundred from Phlius, and eighty Mycenaeans. These were the Peloponnesians present; from Boeotia there were seven hundred Thespians and four hundred Thebans. 203.

In addition, the Opuntian Locrians in full force and one thousand Phocians came at the summons. The Hellenes had called upon them through messengers who told them that this was only the advance guard, that the rest of the allies were expected any day now, and that the sea was being watched, with the Athenians and Aeginetans and all those enrolled in the fleet on guard. There was nothing for them to be afraid of. [2] The invader of Hellas was not a god but a human being, and there was not, and never would be, any mortal on whom some amount of evil was not bestowed at birth, with the greatest men receiving the largest share. The one marching against them was certain to fall from pride, since he was a mortal. When they heard this, the Locrians and Phocians marched to Trachis to help. 204.

Each city had its own general, but the one most admired and the leader of the whole army was a Lacedaemonian, Leonidas, son of Anaxandrides, son of Leon, son of Eurycratides, son of Anaxandrus, son of Eurycrates, son of Polydorus, son of Alcamenes, son of Teleclus, son of Archelaus, son of Hegesilaus, son of Doryssus, son of Leobotes, son of Echestratus, son of Agis, son of Eurysthenes, son of Aristodemus, son of Aristomachus, son of Cleodaeus, son of Hyllus, son of Heracles. Leonidas had gained the kingship at Sparta unexpectedly. 205.

Since he had two older brothers, Cleomenes and Dorieus, he had

renounced all thought of the kingship. Cleomenes, however, died without male offspring, and Dorieus, who had met his end in Sicily, was also no longer alive. The succession therefore fell to Leonidas since he was older than Anaxandrides' youngest son Cleombrotus and had married Cleomenes' daughter. [2] He now came to Thermopylae with the appointed three hundred he had selected,^{107*} all of whom had sons. He also brought those Thebans whom I counted among the number and whose general was Leontiades son of Eurymachus. [3] Leonidas took pains to bring only the Thebans among the Hellenes, because they were accused of medizing; he summoned them to the war wishing to know whether they would send their men with him or openly refuse the Hellenic alliance. They sent the men but intended something quite different 206.

The Spartans sent the men with Leonidas on ahead so that the rest of the allies would see them and march, instead of medizing like the others if they learned that the Spartans were delaying. At present the Carneia^{108*} was in their way, but once they had completed the festival, they intended to leave a garrison at Sparta and march out in full force with all speed. [2] The rest of the allies planned to do likewise, for the Olympiad coincided with these events. They accordingly sent their advance guard, not expecting the war at Thermopylae to be decided so quickly. 207.

This is what they intended, but the Hellenes at Thermopylae, when the Persians drew near the pass, fearfully took counsel whether to depart. The rest of the Peloponnesians were for returning to the Peloponnese and guarding the isthmus, but the Phocians and Locrians were greatly angered by this counsel. Leonidas voted to remain where they were and send messengers to the cities bidding them to send help, since they were too few to ward off the army of the Medes. 208.

While they debated in this way, Xerxes sent a mounted scout to see how many there were and what they were doing. While he was still in Thessaly, he had heard that a small army was gathered there and that its leaders were Lacedaemonians, including Leonidas, who was of the Heracleid clan. [2] Riding up to the camp, the horseman watched and spied out the place. He could, however, not see the whole camp, for it was impossible to see those posted inside the wall

which they had rebuilt and were guarding. He did take note of those outside, whose arms lay in front of the wall, and it chanced that at that time the Lacedaemonians were posted there. [3] He saw some of the men exercising naked and others combing their hair. He marvelled at the sight and took note of their numbers. When he had observed it all carefully, he rode back in leisure, since no one pursued him or paid him any attention at all. So he returned and told Xerxes all that he had seen. 209.

When Xerxes heard that, he could not comprehend the fact that the Lacedaemonians were actually, to the best of their ability, preparing to kill or be killed. What they did appeared laughable to him, so he sent for Demaratus the son of Ariston, who was in his camp. [2] When this man arrived, he asked him about each of these matters, wanting to understand what it was that the Lacedaemonians were doing. Demaratus said, "You have already heard about these men from me, when we were setting out for Hellas, but when you heard, you mocked me, although I told you how I expected things to turn out. It is my greatest aim, O King, to be truthful in your presence. [3] So hear me now. These men have come to fight us for the pass, and it for this that they are preparing. This is their custom: when they are about to risk their lives, they arrange their hair. [4] Rest assured that if you overcome these men and those remaining behind at Sparta, there is no one else on earth who will raise his hands to withstand you, my King. You are now attacking the fairest kingdom in Hellas and men who are the very best." [5] What he said seemed completely incredible to Xerxes, so he then asked how they, who were so few in number, would fight against his army. Demaratus answered, "My King, take me for a liar if this does not turn out as I say." So he spoke, but he did not persuade Xerxes. 210.

He let four days go by, expecting them to run away at any minute. They did not leave, and it seemed to him that they stayed out of folly and lack of due respect. On the fifth day he became angry and sent the Medes and Cissians against them, bidding them take them prisoner and bring them into his presence. [2] The Medes bore down upon the Hellenes and attacked. Many fell, but others attacked in turn, and they made it clear to everyone, especially to the king himself, that among so many people there were few real men. The

battle lasted all day. 211.

When the Medes had been roughly handled, they retired, and the Persians whom the king called Immortals, led by Hydarnes, attacked in turn. It was thought that they would easily accomplish the task. [2] When they joined battle with the Hellenes, they fared neither better nor worse than the Median army, since they used shorter spears than the Hellenes and could not use their numbers fighting in a narrow space. [3] The Lacedaemonians fought memorably, showing themselves skilled fighters amidst unskilled on many occasions, as when they would turn their backs and feign flight. The barbarians would see them fleeing and give chase with shouting and noise, but when the Lacedaemonians were overtaken, they would turn to face the barbarians and overthrow innumerable Persians. A few of the Spartans themselves were also slain. When the Persians could gain no inch of the pass, attacking by companies and in every other fashion, they withdrew. 212.

It is said that during these assaults in the battle the king, as he watched, jumped up three times from the throne in fear for his army. This, then, is how the fighting progressed, and on the next day the barbarians fought no better. They joined battle supposing that their enemies, being so few, were now disabled by wounds and could no longer resist. [2] The Hellenes, however, stood ordered in ranks by nation, and each of them fought in turn, except the Phocians, who were posted on the mountain to guard the path.^{109*} When the Persians found nothing different from what they saw the day before, they withdrew. 213.

The king was at a loss as to how to deal with the present difficulty. Epialtes son of Eurydemus, a Malian, thinking he would get a great reward from the king, came to speak with him and told him of the path leading over the mountain to Thermopylae. In so doing he caused the destruction of the Hellenes remaining there. [2] Later he fled into Thessaly in fear of the Lacedaemonians, and while he was in exile, a price was put on his head by the Pylagori^{110*} when the Amphictyons assembled at Pylae. Still later he returned from exile to Anticyra and was killed by Athenades, a Trachinian. [3] Athenades slew Epialtes for a different reason, which I will tell later in my history,^{111*} but he was given no less honor by the

Lacedaemonians. It was in this way, then, that Epialtes was later killed. ²¹⁴.

There is another story told, namely that Onetes son of Phanagoras, a Carystian, and Corydallus of Anticyra are the ones who gave the king this information and guided the Persians around the mountain, but I find it totally incredible. [2] One must judge by the fact that the Pylagori set a price not on Onetes and Corydallus but on Epialtes the Trachinian, and I suppose they had exact knowledge; furthermore, we know that Epialtes was banished on this charge. [3] Onetes might have known the path, although he was not a Malian, if he had often come to that country, but Epialtes was the one who guided them along the path around the mountain. It is he whom I put on record as guilty. ²¹⁵.

Xerxes was pleased by what Epialtes promised to accomplish. He immediately became overjoyed and sent out Hydarnes and the men under Hydarnes command, who set forth from the camp at about lamp-lighting time. This path^{112*} had been discovered by the native Malians, who used it to guide the Thessalians into Phocis when the Phocians had fenced off the pass with a wall and were sheltered from the war. So long ago the Malians had discovered that the pass was in no way a good thing.^{113*} ²¹⁶.

The course of the path is as follows: it begins at the river Asopus as it flows through the ravine, and this mountain and the path have the same name, Anopaea. This Anopaea stretches along the ridge of the mountain and ends at Alpenus, the Locrian city nearest to Malis, near the rock called Blackbuttock and the seats of the Cercopes, where it is narrowest.^{114*} ²¹⁷.

This, then, was the nature of the pass. The Persians crossed the Asopus and travelled all night along this path, with the Oetaean mountains on their right and the Trachinian on their left. At dawn they came to the summit of the pass. [2] In this part of the mountain one thousand armed men of the Phocians were on watch, as I have already shown, defending their own country and guarding the path. The lower pass was held by those I have mentioned, but the Phocians had voluntarily promised Leonidas to guard the path over the mountain. ²¹⁸.

The Phocians learned in the following way that the Persians had

climbed up: they had ascended without the Phocians' notice because the mountain was entirely covered with oak trees. Although there was no wind, a great noise arose like leaves being trodden underfoot. The Phocians jumped up and began to put on their weapons, and in a moment the barbarians were there. [2] When they saw the men arming themselves, they were amazed, for they had supposed that no opposition would appear, but they had now met with an army. Hydarnes feared that the Phocians might be Lacedaemonians and asked Epialtes what country the army was from. When he had established what he wanted to know with certainty, he arrayed the Persians for battle. [3] The Phocians, assailed by thick showers of arrows and supposing that the Persians had set out against them from the start, fled to the top of the mountain and prepared to meet their destruction. This is what they intended, but the Persians with Epialtes and Hydarnes paid no attention to the Phocians and went down the mountain as fast as possible. 219.

The seer Megistias, examining the sacrifices, first told the Hellenes at Thermopylae that death was coming to them with the dawn. Then deserters came who announced the circuit made by the Persians. These gave their signals while it was still night; a third report came from the watchers running down from the heights at dawn. [2] The Hellenes then took counsel, but their opinions were divided. Some advised not to leave their post, but others spoke against them. They eventually parted, some departing and dispersing each to their own cities, others preparing to remain there with Leonidas. 220.

It is said that Leonidas himself sent them away because he was concerned that they would be killed, but felt it not fitting for himself and the Spartans to desert that post which they had come to defend at the beginning. [2] I, however, tend to believe that when Leonidas perceived that the allies were dispirited and unwilling to run all risks with him, he told them to depart. For himself, however, it was not good to leave; if he remained, he would leave a name of great fame, and the prosperity of Sparta would not be blotted out. [3] When the Spartans asked the oracle about this war when it broke out, the Pythia had foretold that either Lacedaemon would be destroyed by the barbarians or their king would be killed. She gave them this answer

in hexameter verses running as follows: [4] “For you, inhabitants of wide-wayed Sparta,

Either your great and glorious city must be wasted by Persian men,
Or if not that, then the bound of Lacedaemon must mourn a dead king, from Heracles’ line.

The might of bulls or lions will not restrain him with opposing strength; for he has the might of Zeus.

I declare that he will not be restrained until he utterly tears apart one of these.

“

Considering this and wishing to win distinction for the Spartans alone, he sent away the allies rather than have them leave in disorder because of a difference of opinion. 221.

Not the least proof I have of this is the fact that Leonidas publicly dismissed the seer who attended the expedition, for fear that he might die with them. This was Megistias the Acarnanian, said to be descended from Melampus, the one who told from the sacrifices what was going to happen to them. He was dismissed but did not leave; instead he sent away his only son who was also with the army. 222.

Those allies who were dismissed went off in obedience to Leonidas, only the Thespians and Thebans remaining with the Lacedaemonians. The Thebans remained against their will and desire, for Leonidas kept them as hostages. The Thespians very gladly remained, saying they would not abandon Leonidas and those with him by leaving; instead they would stay and die with them. Their general was Demophilus son of Diadromes. 223.

Xerxes made libations at sunrise and waiting till about mid-morning, made his assault. Epialtes had advised this, for the descent from the mountain is more direct, and the way is much shorter than the circuit and ascent. [2] Xerxes and his barbarians attacked, but Leonidas and his Hellenes, knowing they were going to their deaths, advanced now much farther than before into the wider part of the pass. In all the previous days they had sallied out into the narrow way and fought there, guarding the defensive wall. [3] Now, however, they joined battle outside the narrows and many of the barbarians fell, for the leaders of the companies beat everyone with whips from

behind, urging them ever forward. Many of them were pushed into the sea and drowned; far more were trampled alive by each other, with no regard for who perished. [4] Since the Hellenes knew that they must die at the hands of those who had come around the mountain, they displayed the greatest strength they had against the barbarians, fighting recklessly and desperately. 224.

By this time most of them had had their spears broken and were killing the Persians with swords. Leonidas, proving himself extremely valiant, fell in that struggle and with him other famous Spartans, whose names I have learned by inquiry since they were worthy men. Indeed, I have learned by inquiry the names of all three hundred.^{115*} [2] Many famous Persians also fell there, including two sons of Darius, Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, born to Darius by Phratagune daughter of Artanes. Artanes was the brother of king Darius and son of Hystaspes son of Arsames. When he gave his daughter in marriage to Darius, he gave his whole house as dowry, since she was his only child. 225.

Two brothers of Xerxes accordingly fought and fell there. There was a great struggle between the Persians and Lacedaemonians over Leonidas' body, until the Hellenes by their courageous prowess dragged it away and routed their enemies four times. The battle went on until the men with Epialtes arrived. [2] When the Hellenes saw that they had come, the contest turned, for they retired to the narrow part of the way, passed behind the wall, and took their position crowded together on the hill, all except the Thebans. This hill is at the mouth of the pass, where the stone lion in honor of Leonidas now stands. [3] In that place they defended themselves with swords, if they still had them, and with hands and teeth. The barbarians buried them with missiles, some attacking from the front and throwing down the defensive wall, others surrounding them on all sides. 226.

This then is how the Lacedaemonians and Thespians conducted themselves, but the Spartan Dieneces is said to have exhibited the greatest courage of all. They say that he made the following speech before they joined battle with the Medes: he had learned from a Trachinian that there were so many of the barbarians that when they shot their missiles, the sun was hidden by the multitude of their arrows. [2] He was not at all disturbed by this and made light of the

multitude of the Medes, saying that their Trachinian foreigner brought them good news. If the Medes hid the sun, they could fight them in the shade instead of in the sun. This saying and others like it, they claim, Dieneces the Lacedaemonian left behind as a memorial.
227.

Next after him two Lacedaemonian brothers, Alpheus and Maron, sons of Orsiphantus, are said to have been most courageous. The Thespian who gained most renown was one whose name was Dithyrambus son of Harmatides. 228.

There is an inscription written over these men, who were buried where they fell, and over those who died before the others went away, dismissed by Leonidas. It reads as follows: "Here four thousand from the Peloponnese once fought three million.

" [2]

That inscription is for them all, but the Spartans have their own: "Foreigner, go tell the Spartans that we lie here obedient to their commands.

" [3]

That one is to the Lacedaemonians, this one to the seer: "This is a monument to the renowned Megistias,
Slain by the Medes who crossed the Spercheius river.
The seer knew well his coming doom,
But endured not to abandon the leaders of Sparta.

" [4]

Except for the seer's inscription, the Amphictyons are the ones who honored them by erecting inscriptions and pillars. That of the seer Megistias was inscribed by Simonides son of Leoprepes because of his tie of guest-friendship with the man.^{116*} 229.

It is said that two of these three hundred, Eurytus and Aristodemus, could have agreed with each other either to come home safely together to Sparta, since Leonidas had dismissed them from the camp and they were lying at Alpeni very sick of ophthalmia, or to die with the others, if they were unwilling to return home. They could have done either of these things, but they could not agree and had different intentions. When Eurytus learned of the Persians circuit, he demanded his armor and put it on, bidding his helot to lead him to the fighting. The helot led him there and fled, but he rushed

into the fray and was killed. Aristodemus, however, lost his strength and stayed behind. [2] Now if Aristodemus alone had been sick and returned to Sparta, or if they had both made the trip, I think the Spartans would not have been angry with them. When, however, one of them died, and the other had the same excuse but was unwilling to die, the Spartans had no choice but to display great anger towards Aristodemus. 230.

Some say that Aristodemus came home safely to Sparta in this way and by this excuse. Others say that he had been sent out of the camp as a messenger and could have gotten back in time for the battle but chose not to, staying behind on the road and so surviving, while his fellow-messenger arrived at the battle and was killed. 231.

When Aristodemus returned to Lacedaemon, he was disgraced and without honor. He was deprived of his honor in this way: no Spartan would give him fire or speak with him, and they taunted him by calling him Aristodemus the Trembler. In the battle at Plataea, however, he made up for all the blame brought against him. 232.

It is said that another of the three hundred survived because he was sent as a messenger to Thessaly. His name was Pantites. When he returned to Sparta, he was dishonored and hanged himself. 233.

The Thebans, whose general was Leontiades, fought against the king's army as long as they were with the Hellenes and under compulsion. When, however, they saw the Persian side prevailing and the Hellenes with Leonidas hurrying toward the hill, they split off and approached the barbarians, holding out their hands. With the most truthful words ever spoken, they explained that they were Medizers, had been among the first to give earth and water to the king, had come to Thermopylae under constraint, and were guiltless of the harm done to the king. [2] By this plea they saved their lives, and the Thessalians bore witness to their words. They were not, however, completely lucky. When the barbarians took hold of them as they approached, they killed some of them even as they drew near. Most of them were branded by Xerxes command with the kings marks, starting with the general Leontiades. His son Eurymachus long afterwards^{117*} was murdered by the Plataeans when, as general of four hundred Thebans, he seized the town of Plataea. 234.

This, then, is how the Greeks fought at Thermopylae. Xerxes then

sent for Demaratus and questioned him, saying first, “Demaratus you are a good man. I hold that proven by the plain truth, for things have turned out no differently than you foretold. Now, tell me this: how many Lacedaemonians are left, and how many of them are warriors like these? or is it so with them all?” [2] “My king,” said Demaratus, “the number of the Lacedaemonians is great, and so too the number of their cities. But what you would like to know, I will tell you: there is in Lacedaemon a city called Sparta, a city of about eight thousand men, all of them equal to those who have fought here; the rest of the Lacedaemonians are not equal to these, yet they are valiant men.” [3] “And how, Demaratus,” answered Xerxes, “can we overcome those men with the least trouble to ourselves? Come, disclose that to me, for you have been their king and know the plan and order of their counsels.” 235.

“My king,” Demaratus replied, “if you in sincerity ask my counsel, it is but right that I should point out to you the best way. It is this, namely that you should send three hundred ships of your fleet to the Laconian land. [2] There is an island lying off their coasts called Cythera. Chilon, a man of much wisdom among us, says about it that it would be better for the Spartans if Cythera were beneath the sea rather than above it. This he said because he expected that it would provide an opportunity for attack just as I am suggesting — not that he had any foreknowledge of your force, but he dreaded all men’s forces alike. [3] Let them then make that island their station and set out from there to strike fear into the Lacedaemonians. If these have a war of their own on their borders, you will have no cause to fear that they will send men to save the rest of Hellas from being overrun by your armies; furthermore, the enslavement of the rest of Hellas must weaken Laconia if it is left to stand alone. [4] If, however, you do not do this, then expect what I will now tell you: a narrow isthmus leads to the Peloponnese; all the Peloponnesians will be banded together there against you, and you may expect battles more stubborn than those that you have fought already. But if you do as I have said, then you may have that isthmus and all their cities without striking a blow.” 236.

Next spoke Achaemenes, Xerxes’ brother and admiral of the fleet; it chanced that he was present during their conversation, and he

feared that Xerxes would be persuaded to follow Demaratus' counsel. "O king," he said, "I see that you are listening to a man who is jealous of your good fortune or is perhaps even a traitor to your cause. These are the ways that are dear to the hearts of all Greeks: they are jealous of success and they hate power. [2] No, if after the recent calamity which has wrecked four hundred of your ships you send away three hundred more from your fleet to sail round the Peloponnese, your enemies will be enough to do battle with you; while your fleet is united, however, it is invincible, and your enemies will not be so many as to be enough to fight; moreover, all your navy will be a help to your army and your army to your navy, both moving together. If you separate some of your fleet from yourself, you will be of no use to them, nor they to you. [3] My counsel is rather that you make your own plans well, and take no account of the business of your adversaries, what battlefields they will choose, what they will do, and how many they are. They are able enough to think for themselves, and we similarly for ourselves. As for the Lacedaemonians, if they meet the Persians in the field, they will in no way repair their most recent losses." 237.

"Achaemenes," Xerxes answered, "I think that you speak well, and I will do as you counsel. Despite the fact that your advice is better than his, Demaratus does say what he supposes to be most serviceable to me, [2] for assuredly I will never believe that he is no friend to my cause. I believe this of him because of all that he has already said and by what is the truth, namely, that if one citizen prospers, another citizen is jealous of him and shows his enmity by silence, and no one, (except if he has attained the height of excellence; and such are seldom seen) if his own townsman asks for counsel, will give him what he thinks to be the best advice. [3] If one stranger prospers, however, another stranger is beyond all men his well-wisher and will, if he is asked, impart to him the best counsel he has. It is for this reason that I bid you all to refrain from maligning Demaratus, seeing that he is a stranger and a friend." 238.

Having spoken in this way, Xerxes passed over the place where the dead lay and hearing that Leonidas had been king and general of the Lacedaemonians, he gave orders to cut off his head and impale it.

[2] It is plain to me by this piece of evidence among many others, that

while Leonidas lived, king Xerxes was more incensed against him than against all others; otherwise he would never have dealt so outrageously with his dead body, for the Persians are beyond all men known in the habit of honoring valiant warriors. They, then, who received these orders did as I have said. 239.

I return now to that place in my history where it earlier left off.^{118*} The Lacedaemonians were the first to be informed that the king was equipping himself to attack Hellas; with this knowledge it was that they sent to the oracle at Delphi, where they received the answer about which I spoke a little while ago. Now the way in which they were informed of this was strange. [2] Demaratus son of Ariston, an exile among the Medes, was, as I suppose (reason being also my ally), no friend to the Lacedaemonians, and I leave it to be imagined whether what he did was done out of goodwill or spiteful triumph. When Xerxes was resolved to march against Hellas, Demaratus, who was then at Susa and had knowledge of this, desired to send word of it to the Lacedaemonians. [3] He, however, feared detection and had no other way of informing them than this trick: — taking a double tablet, he scraped away the wax from it, and then wrote the king's plan on the wood. Next he melted the wax back again over the writing, so that the bearer of this seemingly blank tablet might not be troubled by the way-wardens. [4] When the tablet came to Lacedaemon, the Lacedaemonians could not guess its meaning, until at last (as I have been told) Gorgo, Cleomenes' daughter and Leonidas' wife, discovered the trick herself and advised them to scrape the wax away so that they would find writing on the wood. When they did so, they found and read the message, and presently sent it to the rest of the Greeks. This is the story, as it is told.

FOOTNOTES: BOOK VII

1 489-487.

2 521-485.

3 Some take the Greek to mean “this argument was his helper”; but the statement seems rather pointless.

4 The word sometimes means “a diviner”; here, probably, rather a “selector and publisher” of existing oracles, by recitation or otherwise.

5 A poet and musician, Pindar’s teacher.

6 In 460; cp. Hdt. 3.15.

7 To an oriental all Greeks alike were “Ionians,” Persian Yauna; cp. the “Javan” of the Bible. In Aristoph. Ach. 104 the Persian ambassador addresses a Greek as *χαυνόπρωκτ Ιαοναῦ*.

8 i.e. rubbing against the touchstone, which would be stained by pure gold.

9 Cp. Hdt. 4.136 ff.

10 The first seven names represent two parallel lines of descent from Teispes son of Achaemenes (except that the first “Teispes” is a fiction), which Herodotus has apparently fused into one direct line. Xerxes could claim descent from both, in virtue of his mother Atossa, Cyrus’ daughter; hence perhaps the confusion. For a complete discussion see How and Wells, Appendix IV. It may be remembered that Herodotus probably deals with Egyptian chronology in the same way, making a sequence out of lists of kings some of whom were contemporaries.

11 484-481.

12 Cp. Hdt. 1.103; Hdt. 4.1.

13 It seems fairly clear that there was some sort of movement from the one continent to the other; Herodotus makes it from Asia to Europe; but on the evidence it is just as likely to have been the other way. See How and Wells, ad loc.

14 In spite of the incredulity of antiquity the canal was no doubt actually made and used. Traces of it are said to exist. See, e.g. How and Wells, ad loc.

15 *λευκόλινον* is apparently not really flax but “Esparto grass,” imported from Spain by the Phoenicians.

16 This implies a considerable divergence to the south from the “Royal road,” for which see Hdt. 5.52. Xerxes here turns south to avoid the difficult route through the Hermes valley, probably; cp. How and Wells, ad loc.

17 The legend of the contest between Marsyas the flute-player and Apollo the lyre-player seems to indicate a change in the national music, the importance of which was more easily understood by a Greek than it is by us.

18 The Daric stater was equivalent to about 22s. of our money.

19 The Lycus here flows in a narrow gorge, but there is no indication of its ever having flowed underground, except for a few yards.

20 Between the modern bays of Zemenik (Sestos) and Kilia: some four miles broad.

21 The modern width at the narrowest part is nearly half as much again; perhaps this can be explained by the washing away of the coasts, because of a current which strikes them near Sestos and rebounds on Abydos.

22 Or it may mean, as Stein thinks, that the ships of the upper or N.E. bridge were ἐπικαρσῖαι, and those of the lower or S.W. one were κατὰ ῥόον. For a discussion of the various difficulties and interpretations of the whole passage, see How and Wells' notes, ad loc.

23 About 80 lbs.

24 i.e. the line of ships supporting the cables.

25 Probably about the middle of April 480.

26 That is, of Ormuzd.

27 Modern Kara Dagh.

28 It was about nine miles from Abydos.

29 Probably what is called Mal-Tepe, on the promontory of Nagara.

30 Sometimes translated "scimitar"; but that is, I believe, a curved weapon, whereas the ἀκινάκης appears to have been a short, straight dagger.

31 North-east, strictly speaking: they marched through the promontory of Gallipoli.

32 Herodotus is always prone to base ethnological conclusions on Greek legends and the similarity of names; so in the next chapter Medea supplies the name of the Medes. But it is strange that Perseus, being commonly held great-grandfather of Heracles, is here made to marry the granddaughter of Belus, who in Hdt. 1.7, is Heracles' grandson.

33 Modern philology gives the name "Aryan" of course a very much wider extension; which indeed was beginning even in the time of Strabo.

34 Not mentioned in the list of Darius subjects in Hdt. 3; they lived on the S.E. coast of the Caspian.

35 Cotton.

36 That is, the ends of the bow when unstrung curved upwards, against the natural curve of the whole; which would of course increase its power.

37 For these see Hdt. 3.94. The "eastern Ethiopians" were apparently in or near Beluchistan.

38 This tends to support a reversal of Herodotus account of racial migration in Hdt. 7.20; see the note there.

39 From a district bordered by Caria, Phrygia, Pisidia, and Lycia.

40 479.

41 That is, native leaders, not the regular officers of the army.

42 i.e. lassoes.

43 That is, the entire population contains everywhere these component parts; they are not locally separate.

44 Agenor appears to represent the Phoenician Baal.

45 In Hdt. 1.171.

46 Herodotus generally uses the name "Pelasgian" for the oldest known population of Greece: cp. Hdt.

1.146; Hdt. 2.171.

47 For the twelve cities, see Hdt. 1.142.

48 The exiled king of Sparta; see Hdt. 7.3.

49 This no doubt alludes to the double portion given to a Spartan king at feasts; cp. Hdt. 6.57.

50 Erected doubtless by the Samothracians to protect their possessions on the mainland.

51 All these are tribes of the Nestus and Strymon valleys or the intervening hill country.

52 Hdt. appears to mean that the method of divination is the "usual" one, as at Delphi; perhaps there were exaggerated accounts of the mysterious rites of the Bessi.

53 In Hdt. 7.112 Xerxes was marching along the coast; here he is far inland. Doubtless the explanation lies in the division of his army into three parallel columns (Hdt. 7.121).

54 About three miles above Eion on the Strymon.

55 This would make Artachaeus eight feet high.

56 Not the whole of Macedonia, but the region originally ruled by the Temenid dynasty, between the rivers Haliacmon and Axios and the foothills of Bermius. Edessa was the chief town.

57 Xerxes' army might have entered Thessaly by marching along the coast between Olympus and the sea, and up the Peneus valley (the pass of Tempe) to Gonnus. Instead, it crossed the mountains; probably both by a route which runs across the southern slope of Olympus to Gonnus, and also by the Petra pass, further inland, between Olympus and Bermius. But Herodotus is mistaken in making the ἄνω ὁδός alone reach Gonnus; the Tempe route would have done the same.

58 In eastern Thessaly, west of Pelion. Naturally, with the whole country inundated, the lake would have no independent existence.

59 The correspondence in formation of the two sides of the pass (salients on one side answering to recesses on the other) gives the impression that they were once united and have been violently separated.

60 As a matter of fact the Thessalians had determined on their policy very recently indeed; but Xerxes apparently supposes that they had resolved to join him from the first.

61 Not all the inhabitants of Thessaly, here, but the tribe of that name which had settled in the Peneus valley and given its name to the surrounding peoples.

62 Into which criminals condemned to death were thrown.

63 Possibly the burning of the temple at Sardis (Hdt. 5.102).

64 Halia was a port in Argolis. The event took place probably between 461 and 450, when Athens and Argos were allied against Sparta.

65 In 430; cp. Thuc. 2.67.

66 Cp. Hdt. 1.181, where the wall of Babylon is called a θῶπιξ.

67 Lit. spread courage over your evils. But most commentators translate "steep your souls in woe."

68 Silver, lead, and perhaps copper mines in Attica, from which the state drew an annual revenue. Apparently when this exceeded the usual amount the general public received a largess. Even if the population numbered 30,000 (cp. Hdt. 5.97) ten drachmae per head would be only 50 talents; far too small a sum for the building of 200 ships; Herodotus cannot mean more than that the Laurium money was a contribution towards a ship-building fund.

69 In the battle of Tiryns, 494; cp. Hdt. 6.77.

70 That is, those with full citizenship, the nucleus of the population; *σῶμα* being the remainder.

71 Cp. Hdt. 5.53.

72 In 448, apparently. See How and Wells *ad loc.* for a full discussion of the matter.

73 The general idea, — rather obscurely expressed, — seems to be that some who judge the Argives harshly have really just as many *κακά* and *αἰσχροῦ* (which Herodotus appears to confuse) of their own.

74 Demeter and Persephone.

75 In 498.

76 At Hybla, N. of Syracuse, on the E. coast of Sicily.

77 A colony from Chalcis, at Leontini.

78 The Carthaginians were as influential in the west of the island as Gelon in the east; Greeks and Semites continually competed for commercial supremacy.

79 Cp. Hdt. 5.42-46.

80 Probably active infantry troops, able to keep up with the cavalry.

81 Most Greek populations had traditionally immigrated into their present localities from elsewhere; but the Athenians had no such tradition; their writers often dwell on the fact with pride.

82 Menestheus: Hom. Il. 2.552.

83 According to Aristotle (Aristot. Rh. 1.7 and Aristot. Rh. 3.10) Pericles used the same simile in a funeral oration, referring to the State's loss of its young men.

84 Probably the expelled ruler of Zancle; cp. the following chapter, and Hdt. 6.23.

85 The Carthaginians invaded Sicily with a force drawn from Africa and the western Mediterranean. The Ligyes are Ligureians, the Cynrians Corsicans; the Elisyci an Iberian people living on the coast between the Pyrenees and the Rhone. According to a statement quoted from the historian Ephorus, this Carthaginian expedition was part of a concerted plan, whereby the Greek world was to be attacked by the Carthaginians in the west and the Persians in the east simultaneously.

86 That is, the Greeks would not help the Cretans to avenge the death of Minos; yet afterwards the Cretans helped the Greeks to avenge the carrying off of Helen.

87 As opposed to the hill country further inland.

88 Hellas in the narrower sense, not including Thessaly.

89 Herodotus' points of the compass are wrong throughout in his description of Thermopylae; the road runs east and west, not north and south as he supposes; so "west" here should be "south" and "east" "north." "In front" and "behind" are equivalent to "west" and "east" respectively.

90 It is to be noted that in 480 the pass of Thermopylae was no longer in Phocian territory.

91 *διαδέξιον* has been otherwise translated, as meaning "of good augury"; Stein derives it rather from *διαδέξασθαι*, supposing the meaning to be "a sacrifice where the portions of the victim are handed round among the sacrificers."

92 Commonly used for mummy-wrappings in Egypt; cp. Hdt. 2.86.

93 200 was the usual complement for a Greek trireme — 170 rowers, 30 fighters.

94 In 97. But Herodotus' total of 3000 there is only partly composed of fifty-oared ships.

95 The figure is wrong. Reckoning 48 choenixes to the medimnus, Herodotus has of course divided

5,283, 220 by 48. The right quotient is 110,067.083. 5,280,000 divided by 48 produces 110,000; 3220 divided by 48 leaves a dividend, after the first stage of division, of 340, and this for some unexplained reason Herodotus has added to the quotient. The medimnus is the chief Attic unit for dry measure; said to be the equivalent of six gallons.

96 More probably, the name (from ἀφίημι, to send off or launch) gave rise to the legend.

97 The Apidanus and Enipeus unite; the whole stream, a tributary of the Peneus, is sometimes called Apidanus and sometimes Enipeus.

98 From λείως or λήος.

99 The legend, in its main features, originates in the cult of "Zeus Laphystius," a tribal god who, like the Jehovah of the O. T. and the Moloch and Melqart of the Phoenicians, has a right to all first-born, especially of the priestly house. In time human sacrifice is avoided by the substitution of a ram; but even then the first-born child must leave the country.

100 Tidal movement is rare in the Mediterranean. But there is a strong ebb and flood in the Euripus, which is not far from the Malian gulf.

101 This must be a measure not of length but of superficial extent: more than 5000 acres.

102 Lit. dwellers around: neighboring tribes forming a league, and sending representatives (Pylagori) to a conference held twice a year.

103 In the space between the eastern and western narrow ἔσοδοι.

104 "the Gates", since it served as the entrance into Greece from the north. Thermopylae means "the Hot Gates", from the warm springs there.

105 West, properly speaking; "southward" below should be "eastward."

106 That is, Greece.

107 The regular number of the royal body-guard, the so-called ἱππεῖς. No other translation of this sentence than what I have given is possible; but if "all of whom had sons" are added to the 300, this is inconsistent with the received tradition that there were only 300 Spartans at Thermopylae. There seems to be no explanation of the matter except Dr. Macan's theory that Herodotus made a mistake. Of course if ἐπιλεξιμένος could mean "selecting from," the difficulty might be removed; but I do not think it can.

108 The national festival in honor of Apollo, held in September.

109 For which see below, Hdt. 7.215, 216.

110 Cp. Hdt. 7.200 (note).

111 The expression suggests Herodotus' intention of continuing his history beyond 479, the year with which Book IX ends; but see How-Wells ad loc.

112 Plutarch in his life of Cato (13) describes the difficulty which troops under Cato's command encountered in trying to follow it.

113 This is Steins interpretation; others make οὐδὲν χρηστή refer to the ἀτραπός, meaning there "pernicious."

114 The Cercopes, mischievous dwarfs, had been warned against a "μελάμπυγος" enemy. Heracles, to rid the country of them, carried off two on his back, hanging head downwards, in which position they had every opportunity of observing his title to the above epithet; until their jests on the subject moved him to release them.

115 Leonidas' body was brought to Sparta and there buried in 440; a column was erected on his grave bearing the names of the three hundred, which Herodotus probably saw.

116 As a matter of fact Simonides composed all three inscriptions; but the epitaph of Megistias was the only one which he made at his own cost.

117 In 431; cp. Thuc. 2.2 ff.

118 Hdt. 7.220, where Herodotus mentioned the bare fact of the Spartans getting early intelligence of Xerxes' plans against Greece. Now he completes the story.

BOOK VIII.

1. The Greeks appointed to serve in the fleet were these: the Athenians furnished a hundred and twenty-seven ships; the Plataeans manned these ships with the Athenians, not that they had any knowledge of seamanship, but because of mere valor and zeal. The Corinthians furnished forty ships and the Megarians twenty; [2] the Chalcidians manned twenty, the Athenians furnishing the ships; the Aeginetans eighteen, the Sicyonians twelve, the Lacedaemonians ten, the Epidaurians eight, the Eretrians seven, the Troezenians five, the Styrians two, and the Ceans two, and two fifty-oared barks; the Opuntian Locrians brought seven fifty-oared barks to their aid. 2.

These are the forces which came to Artemisium for battle, and I have now shown how they individually furnished the whole sum. The number of ships mustered at Artemisium was two hundred and seventy-one, besides the fifty-oared barks. [2] The Spartans, however, provided the admiral who had the chief command, Eurybiades, son of Euryclides, for the allies said that if the Laconian were not their leader, they would rather make an end of the fleet that was assembling than be led by the Athenians. 3.

In the first days, before the sending to Sicily for alliance, there had been talk of entrusting the command at sea to the Athenians. However, when the allies resisted, the Athenians waived their claim, considering the safety of Hellas of prime importance and seeing that if they quarrelled over the leadership, Hellas must perish. In this they judged rightly, for civil strife is as much worse than united war as war is worse than peace. [2] Knowing that, they gave ground and waived their claim, but only so long as they had great need of the others. This is clear, for when they had driven the Persian back and the battle was no longer for their territory but for his, they made a pretext of Pausanias' highhandedness and took the command away from the Lacedaemonians. All that, however, took place later. 4.

But now, the Greeks who had at last come to Artemisium saw a multitude of ships launched at Aphetæ and forces everywhere, and contrary to all expectation, the barbarian was shown to be in much different shape than they had supposed. They accordingly lost heart

and began to deliberate about flight from Artemisium homewards into Hellas. [2] Then the Euboeans, noticing that they were making such plans, entreated Eurybiades to wait a little while, till they themselves had removed their children and households. When they could not prevail with him, they tried another way and gave Themistocles, the Athenian admiral, a bribe of thirty talents on the condition that the Greek fleet should remain there and fight, when they fought, to defend Euboea. 5.

This was the way in which Themistocles made the Greeks stay where they were: he gave Eurybiades for his share five talents of that money, as though he were making the present of his own money. When Eurybiades had been won over in this way, none of the rest was inclined to resist save Adimantus, son of Ocytus, the Corinthian admiral, who said that he would not remain but sail away from Artemisium; to him Themistocles, adding an oath, said: [2] "No, you of all men will not desert us, for I will give you a greater gift than the king of the Medes would send you for deserting your allies." With that he sent three talents of silver to Adimantus ship. [3] These two, then, were won over by gifts, the Euboeans got what they wanted, and Themistocles himself was the gainer. No one knew that he had kept the rest of the money, and those who had received a part of it supposed that it had been sent for that purpose by the Athenians. 6.

So the Greeks remained in Euboea and fought there; this came about as I will now reveal. Having arrived at Aphetæ in the early part of the afternoon, the barbarians saw for themselves the few Greek ships that they had already heard were stationed off Artemisium, and they were eager to attack so that they might take them. [2] They were not prepared to make a head-on attack since they feared that the Greeks would see them coming and turn to flee with night close upon them as they fled; it was their belief that the Greeks would save themselves by flight, and they did not want even so much as a firebearer to be saved. 7.

Taking these things into consideration, they devised the following plan; separating two hundred ships from the whole number, they sent them to cruise outside Sciathus so that the enemies might not see them sailing round Euboea and by way of Caphereus round Geraestus to the Euripus so that they might catch the Greeks between

them, the one part holding that course and barring the retreat, and they themselves attacking in front. [2] Upon making these plans they sent the appointed ships on their way, intending not to make an attack upon the Greeks either on that day or before the signal should be seen, whereby the ships that sailed round were to declare their coming. So they sent those ships to sail round, and set about counting the rest at Aphetæ. 8.

Now when they were engaged in this count, there was in the fleet one Scyllias, a man of Scione; he was the best diver of the time, and in the shipwreck at Pelion he had saved for the Persians much of their possessions and gotten much for himself in addition; this Scyllias had before now, it would seem, intended to desert to the Greeks, but he never had had so fair an occasion as now. [2] By what means he did at last make his way to the Greeks, I cannot with exactness say. If the story is true, it is marvellous indeed, for it is said that he dove into the sea at Aphetæ and never rose to the surface till he came to Artemisium, thus passing underneath the sea for about eighty furlongs. [3] There are many tales about this man, some similar to lies and some true, but as regards the present business it is my opinion that he came to Artemisium in a boat. After arriving, he straightway told the admirals the story of the shipwreck, and of the ships that had been sent round Euboea. 9.

Hearing that, the Greeks took counsel together; there was much talk, but the opinion prevailed that they should remain and encamp where they were for that day, and then, after midnight, to put to sea and meet the ships which were sailing around. Presently, however, meeting with no opposition, they waited for the late afternoon of the day and themselves advanced their ships against the barbarian, desiring to put to the proof his fashion of fighting and the art of breaking the line. 10.

When Xerxes' men and their generals saw the Greeks bearing down on them with but a few ships, they thought that they were definitely mad and put out to sea themselves, thinking that they would win an easy victory; this expectation was very reasonable, since they saw that the Greek ships so few while their own were many times more numerous and more seaworthy. With this assurance, they hemmed in the Greeks in their midst. [2] Now all the

Ionians who were friendly to the Greeks came unwillingly to the war and were distressed to see the Greeks surrounded. They supposed that not one of them would return home, so powerless did the Greeks seem to them to be. [3] Those who were glad about the business, however, vied each with each that he might be the first to take an Attic ship and receive gifts from the king, for it was the Athenians of whom there was most talk in the fleet. 11.

But the Greeks, when the signal was given them, first drew the sterns of their ships together, their prows turned towards the foreigners; then at the second signal they put their hands to the work, despite the fact that they were hemmed in within a narrow space and were fighting face-to-face. [2] There they took thirty of the foreigners ships as well as the brother of Gorgus king of Salamis, Philaon son of Chersis, a man of note in the fleet. The first Greek to take an enemy ship was an Athenian, Lycomedes, son of Aeschraeus, and he it was who received the prize for valor. [3] They fought that sea-fight with doubtful issue, and nightfall ended the battle; the Greeks sailed back to Artemisium, and the barbarians to Aphetæ, after faring far below their hopes in the fight. In that battle Antidorus of Lemnos, the only one of the Greeks siding with the Persian, deserted to the Greeks, and for that the Athenians gave him land in Salamis. 12.

When darkness came on, the season being then midsummer, there was abundance of rain all through the night and violent thunderings from Pelion. The dead and the wrecks were driven towards Aphetæ, where they were entangled with the ships' prows and jumbled the blades of the oars. [2] The ships crews who were there were dismayed by the noise of this, and considering their present bad state, expected utter destruction; for before they had recovered from the shipwreck and the storm off Pelion, they next endured a stubborn sea-fight, and after the sea-fight, rushing rain and mighty torrents pouring seaward and violent thunderings. 13.

This is how the night dealt with them. To those who were appointed to sail round Euboea, however, that same night was still more cruel since it caught them on the open sea. Their end was a terrible one, for when the storm and the rain came on them in their course off the Hollows of Euboea, they were driven by the wind in an unknown direction and were driven onto the rocks. All this was

done by the god so that the Persian power might be more equally matched with the Greek, and not much greater than it. 14.

These men, then, perished at the Hollows of Euboea. As for the barbarians at Aphetæ, when to their great comfort the day dawned, they kept their ships unmoved, being in their evil plight well content to do nothing for the moment. Now fifty-three Attic ships came to aid the Greeks, [2] who were encouraged both by the ships coming and by the news that the barbarians sailing round Euboea had all perished in the recent storm. They waited then for the same hour as before, and fell upon certain Cilician ships when they put to sea. After destroying these when night fell, they sailed back to Artemisium. 15.

On the third day, however, the barbarian admirals, finding it hard to bear that so few ships should do them hurt and fearing Xerxes' anger, waited no longer for the Greeks to begin the fight, but gave the word and put out to sea about midday. So it came to pass that these sea-battles were fought on the same days as the land-battles at Thermopylae; [2] the seamen's whole endeavor was to hold the Euripus while Leonidas' men strove to guard the passage; the Greeks were ordered to give the barbarian no entry into Hellas, and the Persians to destroy the Greek host and win the strait. 16.

So when Xerxes' men ordered their battle and advanced, the Greeks remained in their station off Artemisium, and the barbarians made a half circle of their ships striving to encircle and enclose them. At that the Greeks charged and joined battle. In that sea-fight both had equal success. [2] Xerxes' fleet did itself harm by its numbers and size. The ships were thrown into confusion and ran foul of each other; nevertheless they held fast and did not yield, for they could not bear to be put to flight by a few ships. [3] Many were the Greek ships and men that perished there, and far more yet of the foreigners' ships and men; this is how they fought until they drew off and parted from each other. 17.

In that sea-fight of all Xerxes' fighters the Egyptians conducted themselves with the greatest valor; besides other great feats of arms which they achieved, they took five Greek ships together with their crews. As regards the Greeks, it was the Athenians who bore themselves best on that day, and of the Athenians Clinias son of

Alcibiades. He brought to the war two hundred men and a ship of his own, all at his own expense. 18.

So they parted, and each hurried gladly to his own place of anchorage. When the Greeks had withdrawn and come out of the battle, they were left in possession of the dead and the wrecks. They had, however, had a rough time of it themselves, chiefly the Athenians, half of whose ships had suffered some damage. Now their counsel was to flee to the inner waters of Hellas 19.

Themistocles thought that if the Ionian and Carian nations were removed from the forces of the barbarians, the Greeks might be strong enough to prevail over the rest. Now it was the custom of the Euboeans to drive their flocks down to the sea there. Gathering the admirals together, he told them that he thought he had a device whereby he hoped to draw away the best of the king's allies. [2] So much he revealed for the moment, but merely advised them to let everyone slay as many from the Euboean flocks as he wanted; it was better that the fleet should have them, than the enemy. Moreover, he counselled them each to order his men to light a fire; as for the time of their departure from that place, he would see to it that they would return to Hellas unscathed. All this they agreed to do and immediately lit fires and set upon the flocks. 20.

Now the Euboeans had neglected the oracle of Bacis, believing it to be empty of meaning, and neither by carrying away nor by bringing in anything had they shown that they feared an enemy's coming. In so doing they were the cause of their own destruction, [2] for Bacis' oracle concerning this matter runs as follows "When a strange-tongued man casts a yoke of papyrus on the waves, Then take care to keep bleating goats far from the coasts of Euboea
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To these verses the Euboeans gave no heed; but in the evils then present and soon to come they suffered the greatest calamity. 21.

While the Greeks were doing as I have said, there came to them their lookout from Trachis. There was a scout at Artemisium, one Polyas, a native of Anticyra, who was charged (and had a rowing boat standing ready for it), if the fleet should suffer a reverse to declare it to the men at Thermopylae. Similarly, if any ill should befall the land army, Abronichus son of Lysicles, an Athenian, was

with Leonidas, ready for his part to bring the news in a thirty-oared bark to the Greeks at Artemisium. [2] So this Abronichus came and declared to them the fate of Leonidas and his army. When the Greeks learned this, they no longer delayed their departure but went their ways in their appointed order, the Corinthians first and last of all the Athenians. 22.

Themistocles, however, picked out the seaworthiest Athenian ships and made his way to the places where drinking water could be found. Here he engraved on the rocks words which the Ionians read on the next day when they came to Artemisium. This was what the writing said: "Men of Ionia, you do wrongly to fight against the land of your fathers and bring slavery upon Hellas. [2] It would best for you to join yourselves to us, but if that should be impossible for you, then at least now withdraw from the war, and entreat the Carians to do the same as you. If neither of these things may be and you are fast bound by such constraint that you cannot rebel, yet we ask you not to use your full strength in the day of battle. Remember that you are our sons and that our quarrel with the barbarian was of your making in the beginning." [3] To my thinking Themistocles wrote this with a double intent, namely that if the king knew nothing of the writing, it might induce the Ionians to change sides and join with the Greeks, while if the writing were maliciously reported to Xerxes, he might thereby be led to mistrust the Ionians and keep them out of the sea-fights. 23.

Such was Themistocles' writing. Immediately after this there came to the barbarians a man of Histiaea in a boat, telling them of the flight of the Greeks from Artemisium. Not believing this, they kept the bringer of the news in confinement and sent swift ships to spy out the matter. When the crews of these brought word of the truth, the whole armada sailed all together to Artemisium at the crack of dawn. Here they waited till midday and then sailed to Histiaea. Upon their arrival they took possession of the Histiaeans' city and overran all the villages on the seaboard of the Ellopiian region, which is a district belonging to Histiaea. 24.

While they were there, Xerxes sent a herald to the fleet. Before sending him, Xerxes had made the following preparations: of all his own soldiers who had fallen at Thermopylae (that is, as many as

twenty thousand) he left about a thousand, and the rest he buried in trenches, which he covered with leaves and heaped earth so that the men of the fleet might not see them. [2] When the herald had crossed over to Histiaea, he assembled all the men of the fleet and said: "Men of our allies, King Xerxes permits any one of you who should so desire to leave his place and come to see how he fights against those foolish men who thought they could overcome the king's power." 25.

After this proclamation, there was nothing so hard to get as a boat, so many were they who wanted to see this. They crossed over and went about viewing the dead. All of them supposed that the fallen Greeks were all Lacedaemonians and Thespians, though helots were also there for them to see. [2] For all that, however, those who crossed over were not deceived by what Xerxes had done with his own dead, for the thing was truly ridiculous; of the Persians a thousand lay dead before their eyes, but the Greeks lay all together assembled in one place, to the number of four thousand. [3] All that day they spent in observation, and on the next the shipmen returned to their fleet at Histiaea while Xerxes' army set forth on its march. 26.

There had come to them a few deserters, men of Arcadia, lacking a livelihood and desirous to find some service. Bringing these men into the king's presence, the Persians inquired of them what the Greeks were doing, there being one who put this question in the name of all. [2] When the Arcadians told them that the Greeks were holding the Olympic festival and viewing sports and horseraces, the Persian asked what was the prize offered, for which they contended. They told him of the crown of olive that was given to the victor. Then Tigranes son of Artabanus uttered a most noble saying (but the king deemed him a coward for it); [3] when he heard that the prize was not money but a crown, he could not hold his peace, but cried, "Good heavens, Mardonius, what kind of men are these that you have pitted us against? It is not for money they contend but for glory of achievement!" Such was Tigranes' saying. 27.

In the meantime, immediately after the misfortune at Thermopylae, the Thessalians sent a herald to the Phocians, because they bore an old grudge against them and still more because of their latest disaster. [2] Now a few years before the king's expedition, the Thessalians and their allies had invaded Phocis with their whole

army but had been worsted and roughly handled by the Phocians. [3] When the Phocians were besieged on Parnassus, they had with them the diviner Tellias of Elis; Tellias devised a stratagem for them: he covered six hundred of the bravest Phocians with gypsum, themselves and their armor, and led them to attack the Thessalians by night, bidding them slay whomever they should see not whitened. [4] The Thessalian sentinels were the first to see these men and to flee for fear, supposing falsely that it was something supernatural, and after the sentinels the whole army fled as well. The Phocians made themselves masters of four thousand dead, and their shields, of which they dedicated half at Abae and the rest at Delphi. [5] A tithe of what they won in that fight went to the making of the great statues that stand around the tripod in front of the shrine at Delphi, and there are others like them dedicated at Abae. 28.

This is what the besieged Phocians did with the Thessalian footsoldiers. When the Thessalian horsemen rode into their country, the Phocians did them mortal harm; they dug a great pit in the pass near Hyampolis and put empty jars inside it. They then covered it with earth till all was like the rest of the ground and awaited the onset of the Thessalians. These rode on intending to sweep the Phocians before them, and fell in among the jars, whereby their horses' legs were broken. 29.

These two deeds had never been forgiven by the Thessalians, and now they sent a herald with this message: "Men of Phocis, it is time now that you confess yourselves to be no match for us. [2] We were even formerly preferred to you by the Greeks, as long as we were on their side, and now we bear such weight with the foreigner that it lies in our power to have you deprived of your lands and to have you enslaved. Nevertheless, although we could easily do these things, we bear you no ill-will for the past. Pay us fifty talents of silver for what you did, and we promise to turn aside what threatens your land." 30.

This was the Thessalians' offer. The Phocians alone of all that region would not take the Persians' side, and that for no other reason (if I argue correctly) than their hatred of the Thessalians. [2] Had the Thessalians aided the Greek side, then the Phocians would certainly have stood for the Persians. They replied to the offer of the Thessalians that they would give no money; they could do as the

Thessalians did and take the Persian part, if for any cause they so wished, but they would not willingly betray the cause of Hellas. 31.

When this answer was returned to them, the Thessalians in their wrath against the Phocians began to guide the barbarian on his march. From the lands of Trachis they broke into Doris; there is a narrow tongue of Dorian land stretching that way, about thirty furlongs wide, between the Malian territory and the Phocian, which in old time was Dryopian. This region is the motherland of the Dorians of the Peloponnese. To this Dorian territory the barbarians did no harm at their invasion, for the people took the Persian side, and the Thessalians would not have them harmed. 32.

When they entered Phocis from Doris, they could not take the Phocians themselves, for some of the Phocians ascended to the heights of Parnassus. The peak of Parnassus called Tithorea, which rises by itself near the town Neon, has room enough for a multitude of people. It was there that they carried their goods and themselves ascended to it, [2] but most of them made their way out of the country to the Ozolian Locrians, where the town of Amphissa lies above the Crisaeian plain. The barbarians, while the Thessalians so guided their army, overran the whole of Phocis. All that came within their power they laid waste to and burnt, setting fire to towns and temples. 33.

Marching this way down the river Cephissus, they ravaged everything that lay in their way, burning the towns of Drymus, Charadra, Erochus, Tethronium, Amphicaea, Neon, Pediea, Tritaea, Elatea, Hyampolis, Parapotamii, and Abae, where there was a richly endowed temple of Apollo, provided with wealth of treasure and offerings. There was also then as now a place of divination at this place. This temple, too, they plundered and burnt, and they pursued and caught some of the Phocians near the mountains. Certain women too perished because of the multitude of their violators. 34.

Passing Parapotamii, the foreigners came to Panopea. There their army parted into two companies. The greater and stronger part of the host marched with Xerxes himself towards Athens and broke into the territory of Orchomenus in Boeotia. Now the whole population of Boeotia took the Persian side, and men of Macedonia sent by Alexander safeguarded their towns, each in his appointed place; the reason of the safeguarding was that Xerxes should see that the

Boeotians were on the Persian side. 35.

So this part of the barbarian army marched as I have said, and others set forth with guides for the temple at Delphi, keeping Parnassus on their right. These, too, laid waste to every part of Phocis which they occupied, burning the towns of the Panopeans and Daulii and Aeolidae. [2] The purpose of their parting from the rest of the army and marching this way was that they might plunder the temple at Delphi and lay its wealth before Xerxes, who (as I have been told) had better knowledge of the most notable possessions in the temple than of what he had left in his own palace, chiefly the offerings of Croesus son of Alyattes; so many had always spoken of them. 36.

When the Delphians learned all this, they were very much afraid, and in their great fear they inquired of the oracle whether they should bury the sacred treasure in the ground or take it away to another country. The god told them to move nothing, saying that he was able to protect what belonged to him. [2] Upon hearing that, the Delphians took thought for themselves. They sent their children and women overseas to Achaia. Most of the men went up to the peaks of Parnassus and carried their goods into the Corycian cave, but some escaped to Amphissa in Locris. In short, all the Delphians left the town save sixty men and the prophet. 37.

Now when the barbarians drew near and could see the temple, the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, saw certain sacred arms, which no man might touch without sacrilege, brought out of the chamber within and laid before the shrine. [2] So he went to tell the Delphians of this miracle, but when the barbarians came with all speed near to the temple of Athena Pronaea, they were visited by miracles yet greater than the aforesaid. Marvellous indeed it is, that weapons of war should of their own motion appear lying outside in front of the shrine, but the visitation which followed was more wondrous than anything else ever seen. [3] When the barbarians were near to the temple of Athena Pronaea, they were struck by thunderbolts from the sky, and two peaks broken off from Parnassus came rushing among them with a mighty noise and overwhelmed many of them. In addition to this a shout and a cry of triumph were heard from the temple of Athena. 38.

All of this together struck panic into the barbarians, and the Delphians, perceiving that they fled, descended upon them and killed a great number. The survivors fled straight to Boeotia. Those of the barbarians who returned said (as I have been told) that they had seen other divine signs besides what I have just described: two men-at-arms of stature greater than human, they said, had come after them, slaying and pursuing. ³⁹.

These two, say the Delphians, were the native heroes Phylacus and Autonus, whose precincts are near the temple, Phylacus' by the road itself above the shrine of Athena Pronaea, and Autonus' near the Castalian spring, under the Hyarapean Peak. [2] The rocks that fell from Parnassus were yet to be seen in my day, lying in the precinct of Athena Pronaea, from where their descent through the foreigners' ranks had hurled them. Such, then, was the manner of those men's departure from the temple. ⁴⁰.

At the request of the Athenians, the fleet of the Hellenes came from Artemisium and put in at Salamis. The Athenians requested them to put in at Salamis so that they take their children and women out of Attica and also take counsel what they should do. They had been disappointed in their plans, so they were going to hold a council about the current state of affairs. [2] They expected to find the entire population of the Peloponnese in Boeotia awaiting the barbarian, but they found no such thing. They learned that they were fortifying the Isthmus instead and considered the defense of the Peloponnese the most important thing, disregarding all the rest. When the Athenians learned this, they asked the fleet to put in at Salamis. ⁴¹.

While the others put in at Salamis, the Athenians landed in their own country. When they arrived, they made a proclamation that every Athenian should save his children and servants as he best could. Thereupon most of them sent the members of their households to Troezen, and some to Aegina and Salamis. [2] They were anxious to get everything out safely because they wished to obey the oracle, and also not least because of this: the Athenians say that a great snake lives in the sacred precinct guarding the acropolis. They say this and even put out monthly offerings for it as if it really existed. The monthly offering is a honey-cake. [3] In all the time before this the honey-cake had been consumed, but this time it was untouched.

When the priestess interpreted the significance of this, the Athenians were all the more eager to abandon the city since the goddess had deserted the acropolis. When they had removed everything to safety, they returned to the camp. 42.

When those from Artemisium had put in at Salamis, the rest of the Hellenic fleet learned of this and streamed in from Troezen, for they had been commanded to assemble at Pogon, the harbor of Troezen. Many more ships assembled now than had fought at Artemisium, and from more cities. [2] The admiral was the same as at Artemisium, Eurybiades son of Euryclides, a Spartan but not of royal descent. The ships provided by the Athenians were by far the most numerous and the most seaworthy. 43.

The following took part in the war: from the Peloponnese, the Lacedaemonians provided sixteen ships; the Corinthians the same number as at Artemisium; the Sicyonians furnished fifteen ships, the Epidaurians ten, the Troezenians five, the Hermioneans three. All of these except the Hermioneans are Dorian and Macedonian and had last come from Erineus and Pindus and the Dryopian region. The Hermioneans are Dryopians, driven out of the country now called Doris by Herakles and the Malians. 44.

These, then, were the Peloponnesians who took part in the war. From the mainland outside the Peloponnese came the following: the Athenians provided more than all the rest, one hundred and eighty ships. They provided these alone, since the Plataeans did not fight with the Athenians at Salamis for this reason: when the Hellenes departed from Artemisium and were off Chalcis, the Plataeans landed on the opposite shore of Boeotia and attended to the removal of their households. In bringing these to safety they were left behind. [2] The Athenians, while the Pelasgians ruled what is now called Hellas, were Pelasgians, bearing the name of Cranai. When Cecrops was their king they were called Cecropidae, and when Erechtheus succeeded to the rule, they changed their name and became Athenians. When, however, Ion son of Xuthus was commander of the Athenian army, they were called after him Ionians. 45.

The Megarians provided the same number as at Artemisium. The Ampraciots came to help with seven ships, and the Leucadians, who are Dorians from Corinth, with three. 46.

Of the islanders, the Aeginetans provided thirty ships. They had other manned ships, but they guarded their own land with these and fought at Salamis with the thirty most seaworthy. The Aeginetans are Dorians from Epidaurus, and their island was formerly called Oenone. [2] After the Aeginetans came the Chalcidians with their twenty ships from Artemisium, and the Eretrians with the same seven; these are Ionians. Next were the Ceans, Ionians from Athens, with the same ships as before. [3] The Naxians provided four ships. They had been sent by their fellow citizens to the Persians, like the rest of the islanders, but they disregarded their orders and came to the Hellenes at the urging of Democritus, an esteemed man among the townsmen and at that time captain of a trireme. The Naxians are Ionians descended from Athens. [4] The Styrians provided the same number of ships as at Artemisium, and the Cythnians one trireme and a fifty-oared boat; these are both Dryopians. The Seriphians, Siphnians, and Melians also took part, since they were the only islanders who had not given earth and water to the barbarian. 47.

All these people who live this side of Thesprotia and the Acheron river took part in the war. The Thesprotians border on the Ampracioti and Leucadians, who were the ones who came from the most distant countries to take part in the war. The only ones living beyond these to help Hellas in its danger were the Crotonians, with one ship. Its captain was Phayllus, three times victor in the Pythian games. The Crotonians are Achaeans by birth. 48.

All of these came to the war providing triremes, except the Melians and Siphnians and Seriphians, who brought fifty-oared boats. The Melians (who are of Lacedaemonian stock) provided two; the Siphnians and Seriphians, who are Ionians from Athens, one each. The total number of ships, besides the fifty-oared boats, was three hundred and seventy-eight. 49.

When the generals from the aforementioned cities, met at Salamis, they held a council and Eurybiades proposed that whoever wanted to should give his opinion on what place under their control was most suitable for a sea battle. Attica was already lost, and he proposed that they consider the places which were left. [2] The consensus of most of the speakers was to sail to the Isthmus and fight at sea for the Peloponnese, giving this reason: if they were defeated in the fight at

Salamis they would be besieged on an island, where no help could come to them, but if they were at the Isthmus they could go ashore to their own lands. 50.

While the generals from the Peloponnese considered this argument, an Athenian came with the message that the barbarians had reached Attica and were destroying all of it by fire. [2] The army with Xerxes had made its way through Boeotia and burnt the city of the Thespians, who had abandoned it and gone to the Peloponnese, and Plataea likewise. Now the army had come to Athens and was devastating everything there. The army burnt Thespia and Plataea upon learning from the Thebans that they had not medized. 51.

Since the crossing of the Hellespont, where the barbarians began their journey, they had spent one month there crossing into Europe and in three more months were in Attica, when Calliades was archon at Athens. [2] When they took the town it was deserted, but in the sacred precinct they found a few Athenians, stewards of the sacred precinct and poor people, who defended themselves against the assault by fencing the acropolis with doors and logs. They had not withdrawn to Salamis not only because of poverty but also because they thought they had discovered the meaning of the oracle the Pythia had given, namely that the wooden wall would be impregnable. They believed that according to the oracle this, not the ships, was the refuge. 52.

The Persians took up a position on the hill opposite the acropolis, which the Athenians call the Areopagus, and besieged them in this way: they wrapped arrows in tar and set them on fire, and then shot them at the barricade. Still the besieged Athenians defended themselves, although they had come to the utmost danger and their barricade had failed them. [2] When the Pisistratids proposed terms of surrender, they would not listen but contrived defenses such as rolling down boulders onto the barbarians when they came near the gates. For a long time Xerxes was at a loss, unable to capture them. 53.

In time a way out of their difficulties was revealed to the barbarians, since according to the oracle all the mainland of Attica had to become subject to the Persians. In front of the acropolis, and behind the gates and the ascent, was a place where no one was on

guard, since no one thought any man could go up that way. Here some men climbed up, near the sacred precinct of Cecrops' daughter Aglaurus, although the place was a sheer cliff. [2] When the Athenians saw that they had ascended to the acropolis, some threw themselves off the wall and were killed, and others fled into the chamber. The Persians who had come up first turned to the gates, opened them, and murdered the suppliants. When they had levelled everything, they plundered the sacred precinct and set fire to the entire acropolis. 54.

So it was that Xerxes took complete possession of Athens, and he sent a horseman to Susa to announce his present success to Artabanus. On the day after the messenger was sent, he called together the Athenian exiles who accompanied him and asked them go up to the acropolis and perform sacrifices in their customary way, an order given because he had been inspired by a dream or because he felt remorse after burning the sacred precinct. The Athenian exiles did as they were commanded. 55.

I will tell why I have mentioned this. In that acropolis is a shrine of Erechtheus, called the "Earthborn," and in the shrine are an olive tree and a pool of salt water. The story among the Athenians is that they were set there by Poseidon and Athena as tokens when they contended for the land. It happened that the olive tree was burnt by the barbarians with the rest of the sacred precinct, but on the day after its burning, when the Athenians ordered by the king to sacrifice went up to the sacred precinct, they saw a shoot of about a cubit's length sprung from the stump, and they reported this. 56.

When this business concerning the Athenian acropolis was announced to the Hellenes at Salamis, some of the Peloponnesian generals became so alarmed that they did not even wait for the proposed matter to be decided, but jumped into their ships and hoisted their sails for flight. Those left behind resolved that the fleet should fight for the Isthmus. Night fell, and they dissolved the assembly and boarded their ships. 57.

When Themistocles returned to his ship, Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, asked him what had been decided. Learning from him that they had resolved to sail to the Isthmus and fight for the Peloponnese, he said, [2] "If they depart from Salamis, you will no

longer be fighting for one country. Each will make his way to his own city, and neither Eurybiades nor any other man will be able to keep them from disbanding the army. Hellas will be destroyed by bad planning. If there is any way at all that you could persuade Eurybiades to change his decision and remain here, go try to undo this resolution.”⁵⁸

This advice greatly pleased Themistocles. He made no answer and went to the ship of Eurybiades. When he arrived there, he said he wanted to talk with him on a matter of common interest, so Eurybiades bade him come aboard and say what he wanted. [2] Themistocles sat next to him and told him all that he had heard from Mnesiphilus, pretending it was his own idea and adding many other things. Finally by his entreaty he persuaded him to disembark and gather the generals for a council of war.⁵⁹

When they were assembled and before Eurybiades had a chance to put forward the reason he had called the generals together, Themistocles spoke at length in accordance with the urgency of his request. While he was speaking, the Corinthian general Adeimantus son of Ocytus said, “Themistocles, at the games those who start before the signal are beaten with rods.” Themistocles said in justification, “Those left behind win no crown.”⁶⁰

He answered the Corinthian mildly and said to Eurybiades nothing of what he had said before, how if they put out from Salamis they would flee different ways, for it would be unbecoming for him to accuse the allies in their presence. Instead he relied on a different argument and said, 60A. “It is in your hands to save Hellas, if you will obey me and remain here to fight, and not obey the words of these others and move your ships back to the Isthmus. Compare each plan after you have heard. If you join battle at the Isthmus, you will fight in the open sea where it is least to our advantage, since our ships are heavier and fewer in number. You will also lose Salamis and Megara and Aegina, even if we succeed in all else. Their land army will accompany their fleet, and so you will lead them to the Peloponnese and risk all Hellas. 60B. But if you do what I say, you will find it useful in these ways: first, by engaging many ships with our few in the strait, we shall win a great victory, if the war turns out reasonably, for it is to our advantage to fight in a strait and to their

advantage to fight in a wide area. Second, Salamis will survive, where we have carried our children and women to safety. It also has in it something you are very fond of: by remaining here you will be fighting for the Peloponnese just as much as at the Isthmus, and you will not lead them to the Peloponnese, if you exercise good judgment. 60C. If what I expect happens and we win the victory with our ships, you will not have the barbarians upon you at the Isthmus. They will advance no further than Attica and depart in no order, and we shall gain an advantage by the survival of Megara, Aegina, and Salamis, where it is prophesied that we will prevail against our enemies. Men usually succeed when they have reasonable plans. If their plans are unreasonable, the god does not wish to assent to human intentions.” 61.

As Themistocles said this, Adeimantus the Corinthian attacked him again, advising that a man without a city should keep quiet and that Eurybiades should not ask the vote of a man without a city. He advised Themistocles to contribute his opinion when he provided a city — attacking him in this way because Athens was captured and occupied. [2] This time Themistocles said many things against him and the Corinthians, declaring that so long as they had two hundred manned ships, the Athenians had both a city and a land greater than theirs, and that none of the Hellenes could repel them if they attacked. 62.

Next he turned his argument to Eurybiades, saying more vehemently than before, “If you remain here, you will be an noble man. If not, you will ruin Hellas. All our strength for war is in our ships, so listen to me. [2] If you do not do this, we will immediately gather up our households and travel to Siris in Italy, which has been ours since ancient times, and the prophecies say we must found a colony there. You will remember these words when you are without such allies.” 63.

When Themistocles said this, Eurybiades changed his mind. I think he did so chiefly out of fear that the Athenians might desert them if they set sail for the Isthmus. If the Athenians left, the rest would be no match for the enemy, so he made the choice to remain there and fight. 64.

After this skirmish of words, since Eurybiades had so resolved,

the men at Salamis prepared to fight where they were. At sunrise on the next day there was an earthquake on land and sea, [2] and they resolved to pray to the gods and summon the sons of Aeacus as allies. When they had so resolved, they did as follows: they prayed to all the gods, called Ajax and Telamon to come straight from Salamis, and sent a ship to Aegina for Aeacus and his sons. 65.

Dicaeus son of Theocydes, an Athenian exile who had become important among the Medes, said that at the time when the land of Attica was being laid waste by Xerxes' army and there were no Athenians in the country, he was with Demaratus the Lacedaemonian on the Thriasian plain and saw advancing from Eleusis a cloud of dust as if raised by the feet of about thirty thousand men. They marvelled at what men might be raising such a cloud of dust and immediately heard a cry. The cry seemed to be the "Iacchus" of the mysteries, [2] and when Demaratus, ignorant of the rites of Eleusis, asked him what was making this sound, Dicaeus said, "Demaratus, there is no way that some great disaster will not befall the king's army. Since Attica is deserted, it is obvious that this voice is divine and comes from Eleusis to help the Athenians and their allies. [3] If it descends upon the Peloponnese, the king himself and his army on the mainland will be endangered. If, however, it turns towards the ships at Salamis, the king will be in danger of losing his fleet. [4] Every year the Athenians observe this festival for the Mother and the Maiden, and any Athenian or other Hellene who wishes is initiated. The voice which you hear is the 'Iacchus' they cry at this festival." To this Demaratus replied, "Keep silent and tell this to no one else. [5] If these words of yours are reported to the king, you will lose your head, and neither I nor any other man will be able to save you, so be silent. The gods will see to the army." [6] Thus he advised, and after the dust and the cry came a cloud, which rose aloft and floated away towards Salamis to the camp of the Hellenes. In this way they understood that Xerxes' fleet was going to be destroyed. Dicaeus son of Theocydes used to say this, appealing to Demaratus and others as witnesses. 66.

When those stationed with Xerxes' fleet had been to see the Laconian disaster at Thermopylae, they crossed over from Trachis to Histiaea, waited three days, and then sailed through the Euripus, and

in three more days they were at Phalerum, the port of Athens. I think no less a number invaded Athens by land and sea than came to Sepias and Thermopylae. [2] Those killed by the storm, at Thermopylae, and in the naval battles at Artemisium, I offset with those who did not yet follow the king: the Melians and Dorians and Locrians and the whole force of Boeotia except the Thespians and Plataeans; and the Carystians and Andrians and Teneans and all the rest of the islanders, except the five cities whose names I previously mentioned. The farther into Hellas the Persian advanced, the more nations followed him. 67.

All these came to Athens except the Parians. The Parians stayed behind in Cythnus watching to see which way the war turned out. When the rest of them reached Phalerum, Xerxes himself went down to the ships, wishing to mix with the sailors and hear their opinions. [2] He came and sat on his throne, and present at his summons were the tyrants of all the peoples and the company leaders from the fleet. They sat according to the honor which the king had granted each of them, first the king of Sidon, then the king of Tyre, then the rest. When they sat in order one after another, Xerxes sent Mardonius to test each by asking if they should fight at sea. 68.

Mardonius went about questioning them, starting with the Sidonian, and all the others were unanimous, advising to fight at sea, but Artemisia said, 68A. "Tell the king, Mardonius, that I, who neither was most cowardly in the sea battles off Euboea nor performed the least feats of arms, say this: 'Master, it is just for me to declare my real opinion, what I consider to be best for your cause. And I say to you this: spare your ships, and do not fight at sea. Their men are as much stronger than your men by sea as men are stronger than women. [2] Why is it so necessary for you to risk everything by fighting at sea? Do you not possess Athens, for which you set out on this march, and do you not have the rest of Hellas? No one stands in your way. Those who opposed you have received what they deserved. 68B. I will tell you how I think the affairs of your enemies will turn out: If you do not hurry to fight at sea, but keep your ships here and stay near land, or even advance into the Peloponnese, then, my lord, you will easily accomplish what you had in mind on coming here. [2] The Hellenes are not able to hold out against you for a long

time, but you will scatter them, and they will each flee to their own cities. I have learned that they have no food on this island, and it is not likely, if you lead your army against the Peloponnese, that those of them who have come from there will sit still, nor will they care to fight at sea for Athens. 68C. But if you hurry to fight at sea immediately, I fear that your fleet if reduced to cowardice may also injure your army on land. In addition, my King, take this to heart: Good people's slaves tend to be base, and the slaves of the base tend to be good. You, who are best among men, have base slaves, who are accounted your allies, the Egyptians and Cyprians and Cilicians and Pamphylians, who are of no use at all.'” 69.

When she said this to Mardonius, all who were well disposed towards Artemisia lamented her words, thinking she would suffer some ill from the king because she advised against fighting at sea. Those who were jealous and envied her, because she was given honor among the chief of all the allies, were glad at her answer, thinking she would be killed. [2] But when the counsels were reported to Xerxes, he was greatly pleased by Artemisia's opinion. Even before this he had considered her of excellent character, and now he praised her much more highly. Still he ordered that the majority be obeyed, for he believed that at Euboea they had purposely fought badly because he was not there. This time he had made preparations to see the battle in person. 70.

When the command to put out to sea was given, they set sail for Salamis and were calmly marshalled in line. There was not enough daylight left for them to fight, since night came on, so they made preparations for the next day. [2] Fear and dread possessed the Hellenes, especially those from the Peloponnese. They were afraid because they were stationed in Salamis and were about to fight at sea on behalf of the land of the Athenians, and if they were defeated they would be trapped on an island and besieged, leaving their own land unguarded. 71.

That very night the land army of the barbarians began marching to the Peloponnese. Yet every possible device had been used to prevent the barbarians from invading by the mainland. As soon as the Peloponnesians learned that Leonidas and his men at Thermopylae were dead, they ran together from their cities and took up their

position at the Isthmus. Their general was Cleombrotus son of Anaxandrides, the brother of Leonidas. [2] When they were in position at the Isthmus, they demolished the Scironian road and then, after resolving in council, built a wall across the Isthmus. Since there were many tens of thousands and everyone worked, the task was completed, as they brought in stones and bricks and logs and baskets full of sand. At no moment of the day or night did those who had marched out there rest from their work. 72.

These were the Hellenes who marched out in a body to the Isthmus: the Lacedaemonians and all the Arcadians, the Eleans and Corinthians and Sicyonians and Epidaurians and Phliasians and Troezenians and Hermioneans. These were the ones who marched out and feared for Hellas in her peril. The rest of the Peloponnesians cared nothing, though the Olympian and Carnean festivals were now past. 73.

Seven nations inhabit the Peloponnese. Two of these are aboriginal and are now settled in the land where they lived in the old days, the Arcadians and Cynurians. One nation, the Achaean, has never left the Peloponnese, but it has left its own country and inhabits another nation's land. [2] The four remaining nations of the seven are immigrants, the Dorians and Aetolians and Dryopians and Lemnians. The Dorians have many famous cities, the Aetolians only Elis, the Dryopians Hermione and Asine near Laconian Cardamyle, the Lemnians all the Paroreatae. [3] The Cynurians are aboriginal and seem to be the only Ionians, but they have been Dorianized by time and by Argive rule. They are the Orneatae and the perioikoi. All the remaining cities of these seven nations, except those I enumerated, stayed neutral. If I may speak freely, by staying neutral they medized. 74.

Those at the Isthmus were involved in so great a labor, since all they had was at stake and they did not expect the ships to win distinction. Those at Salamis heard of their labors but still were full of dread, fearing not for themselves but for the Peloponnese. [2] For a time each man talked quietly to his neighbor, wondering at Eurybiades' folly, but finally it came out into the open. They held an assembly and talked at length on the same matters as before: some said they must sail away to the Peloponnese and risk battle for that

country, not stay and fight for a captured land; but the Athenians and Aeginetans and Megarians said they must stay and defend themselves. 75.

When the Peloponnesians were outvoting him, Themistocles secretly left the assembly, and sent a man by boat to the Median fleet after ordering him what to say. His name was Sicinnus, and he was Themistocles' servant and his sons' attendant. Later Themistocles enrolled him as a Thespian, when the Thespians were adopting citizens, and made him wealthy with money. [2] He now came by boat and said to the generals of the barbarians, "The Athenian general has sent me without the knowledge of the other Hellenes. He is on the king's side and prefers that your affairs prevail, not the Hellenes'. I am to tell you that the Hellenes are terrified and plan flight, and you can now perform the finest deed of all if you do not allow them to escape. [3] They do not all have the same intent, and they will no longer oppose you. Instead you will see them fighting against themselves, those who are on your side against those who are not." After indicating this to them he departed. 76.

Finding the message credible, they first landed many of the Persians on the islet of Psyttalea, which lies between Salamis and the mainland. When it was midnight, they brought their western wing in a circle towards Salamis, and those stationed at Ceos and Cynosura also put out to sea, occupying all the passage as far as Munychia with their ships. [2] They launched their ships in this way so that the Hellenes would have no escape: they would be trapped at Salamis and pay the penalty for the battles at Artemisium. The purpose of their landing Persians on the islet called Psyttalea was this: when the battle took place, it was chiefly there that the men and wrecks would be washed ashore, for the island lay in the path of the impending battle. The Persians would be able to save some of those who washed up and kill the others. [3] They did this in silence for fear that their enemies hear, making their preparations at night without sleep. 77.

I cannot say against oracles that they are not true, and I do not wish to try to discredit them when they speak plainly. Look at the following matter: "When the sacred headland of golden-sworded Artemis and Cynosura by the sea they bridge with ships, After sacking shiny Athens in mad hope,

Divine Justice will extinguish mighty Greed the son of Insolence
Lusting terribly, thinking to devour all.

“^[2] “Bronze will come together with bronze, and Ares
Will redden the sea with blood. To Hellas the day of freedom
Far-seeing Zeus and august Victory will bring.
“

Considering this, I dare to say nothing against Bacis concerning
oracles when he speaks so plainly, nor will I consent to it by others.
78.

Among the generals at Salamis there was fierce argument. They
did not yet know that the barbarians had encircled them with their
ships, supposing them still marshalled in the place where they had
seen them by day. 79.

As the generals disputed, Aristides son of Lysimachus, an
Athenian, crossed over from Aegina. Although he had been
ostracized by the people, I, learning by inquiry of his character, have
come to believe that he was the best and most just man in Athens. ^[2]
This man stood at the assembly and called Themistocles out,
although he was no friend of his, but his bitter enemy. Because of the
magnitude of the present ills, he deliberately forgot all that and called
him out, wanting to talk to him. He had already heard that those from
the Peloponnese were anxious to set sail for the Isthmus, ^[3] so when
Themistocles came out he said, “On all occasions and especially now
our contention must be over which of us will do our country more
good. ^[4] I say that it is all the same for the Peloponnesians to speak
much or little about sailing away from here, for I have seen with my
own eyes that even if the Corinthians and Eurybiades himself wanted
to, they would not be able to escape. We are encircled by the enemy.
Go in and indicate this to them.” 80.

Themistocles answered, “Your exhortation is most useful and you
bring good news. You have come as an eyewitness of just what I
wanted to happen. Know that I am the cause of what the Medes are
doing. When the Hellenes would not willingly enter battle, it was
necessary to force them against their will. Since you have come
bringing good news, tell it to them yourself. ^[2] If I say these things,
they will think I invented it, and they will not believe that the
barbarians are doing this. Go in yourself and let them know how it

stands. It would be best if they believe you when you tell them, but if they find these things incredible it is all the same to us. They will not be able to run away, if indeed we are surrounded on all sides as you say.”⁸¹.

Aristides went in and told them, saying that he had come from Aegina and had barely made it past the blockade when he sailed out, since all the Hellenic camp was surrounded by Xerxes’ ships. He advised them to prepare to defend themselves. He said this and left, and again a dispute arose among them. The majority of the generals did not believe the news.⁸²

While they were still held by disbelief, a trireme of Tenian deserters arrived, captained by Panaetius son of Sosimenes, which brought them the whole truth. For this deed the Tenians were engraved on the tripod at Delphi with those who had conquered the barbarian. [2] With this ship that deserted at Salamis and the Lemnian which deserted earlier at Artemisium, the Hellenic fleet reached its full number of three hundred and eighty ships, for it had fallen short of the number by two ships.⁸³

When they found the words of the Tenians worthy of belief, the Hellenes prepared to fight at sea. As dawn glimmered, they held an assembly of the fighting men, and Themistocles gave the best address among the others. His entire speech involved comparing the better and lesser elements in human nature and the human condition. [2] He concluded his speech by advising them to choose the better of these, then gave the command to mount the ships. Just as they embarked, the trireme which had gone after the sons of Aeacus arrived from Aegina.⁸⁴

Then the Hellenes set sail with all their ships, and as they were putting out to sea the barbarians immediately attacked them. The rest of the Hellenes began to back water and tried to beach their ships, but Ameinias of Pallene, an Athenian, charged and rammed a ship. When his ship became entangled and the crew could not free it, the others came to help Ameinias and joined battle. [2] The Athenians say that the fighting at sea began this way, but the Aeginetans say that the ship which had been sent to Aegina after the sons of Aeacus was the one that started it. The story is also told that the phantom of a woman appeared to them, who cried commands loud enough for all

the Hellenic fleet to hear, reproaching them first with, “Men possessed, how long will you still be backing water?” 85.

The Phoenicians were marshalled against the Athenians, holding the western wing toward Eleusis. Against the Lacedaemonians were the Ionians, on the eastern wing toward Piraeus, and a few of them fought badly according to Themistocles’ instructions, but the majority did not. [2] I can list the names of many captains who captured Hellenic ships, but I will mention none except Theomestor son of Androdamas and Phylacus son of Histiaeus, both Samians. [3] I mention only these because Theomestor was appointed tyrant of Samos by the Persians for this feat, and Phylacus was recorded as a benefactor of the king and granted much land. The king’s benefactors are called “orosangae” in the Persian language. 86.

Thus it was concerning them. But the majority of the ships at Salamis were sunk, some destroyed by the Athenians, some by the Aeginetans. Since the Hellenes fought in an orderly fashion by line, but the barbarians were no longer in position and did nothing with forethought, it was likely to turn out as it did. Yet they were brave that day, much more brave than they had been at Euboea, for they all showed zeal out of fear of Xerxes, each one thinking that the king was watching him. 87.

I cannot say exactly how each of the other barbarians or Hellenes fought, but this is what happened to Artemisia, and it gave her still higher esteem with the king: [2] When the king’s side was all in commotion, at that time Artemisia’s ship was pursued by a ship of Attica. She could not escape, for other allied ships were in front of her and hers was the nearest to the enemy. So she resolved to do something which did in fact benefit her: as she was pursued by the Attic ship, she charged and rammed an allied ship, with a Calyndian crew and Damasithymus himself, king of the Calyndians, aboard. [3] I cannot say if she had some quarrel with him while they were still at the Hellespont, or whether she did this intentionally or if the ship of the Calyndians fell in her path by chance. [4] But when she rammed and sank it, she had the luck of gaining two advantages. When the captain of the Attic ship saw her ram a ship with a barbarian crew, he decided that Artemisia’s ship was either Hellenic or a deserter from the barbarians fighting for them, so he turned away to deal with

others. 88.

Thus she happened to escape and not be destroyed, and it also turned out that the harmful thing which she had done won her exceptional esteem from Xerxes. [2] It is said that the king, as he watched the battle, saw her ship ram the other, and one of the bystanders said, "Master, do you see how well Artemisia contends in the contest and how she has sunk an enemy ship?" When he asked if the deed was truly Artemisia's, they affirmed it, knowing reliably the marking of her ship, and they supposed that the ruined ship was an enemy. [3] As I have said, all this happened to bring her luck, and also that no one from the Calyndian ship survived to accuse her. It is said that Xerxes replied to what was told him, "My men have become women, and my women men." They say this is what Xerxes said. 89.

In this struggle the general Ariabignes died, son of Darius and the brother of Xerxes. Many other famous men of the Persians and Medes and other allies also died, but only a few Hellenes, since they knew how to swim. Those whose ships were sunk swam across to Salamis, unless they were killed in action, [2] but many of the barbarians drowned in the sea since they did not know how to swim. Most of the ships were sunk when those in the front turned to flee, since those marshalled in the rear, as they tried to go forward with their ships so they too could display some feat to the king, ran afoul of their own side's ships in flight. 90.

It also happened in this commotion that certain Phoenicians whose ships had been destroyed came to the king and accused the Ionians of treason, saying that it was by their doing that the ships had been lost. It turned out that the Ionian generals were not put to death, and those Phoenicians who slandered them were rewarded as I will show. [2] While they were still speaking, a Samothracian ship rammed an Attic ship. The Attic ship sank and an Aeginetan ship bore down and sank the Samothracian ship, but the Samothracians, being javelin-throwers, by pelting them with missiles knocked the fighters off the ship that had sunk theirs and boarded and seized it. [3] This saved the Ionians. In his deep vexation Xerxes blamed everyone. When he saw the Ionians performing this great feat, he turned to the Phoenicians and commanded that their heads be cut off, so that they who were base not slander men more noble. [4] Whenever Xerxes, as

he sat beneath the mountain opposite Salamis which is called Aegaleos, saw one of his own men achieve some feat in the battle, he inquired who did it, and his scribes wrote down the captain's name with his father and city of residence. The presence of Ariaramnes, a Persian and a friend of the Ionians, contributed still more to this calamity of the Phoenicians. Thus they dealt with the Phoenicians. 91.

The barbarians were routed and tried to flee by sailing out to Phalerum, but the Aeginetans lay in wait for them in the strait and then performed deeds worth telling. The Athenians in the commotion destroyed those ships which either resisted or tried to flee, the Aeginetans those sailing out of the strait. Whoever escaped from the Athenians charged right into the Aeginetans. 92.

The ships of Themistocles, as he was pursuing a ship, and of Polycritus son of Crius, an Aeginetan, then met. Polycritus had rammed a Sidonian ship, the one which had captured the Aeginetan ship that was on watch off Sciathus, and on it was Pytheas son of Ischenous, the one the Persians marvelled at when severely wounded and kept aboard their ship because of his virtue. This Sidonian ship carrying him with the Persians was now captured, so Pytheas came back safe to Aegina. [2] When Polycritus saw the Attic ship, he recognized it by seeing the flagship's marking and shouted to Themistocles, mocking and reproaching him concerning the Medizing of the Aeginetans. After ramming an enemy ship, Polycritus hurled these insults at Themistocles. The barbarians whose ships were still intact fled and reached Phalerum under cover of the land army. 93.

In this battle the Hellenes with the reputation as most courageous were the Aeginetans, then the Athenians. Among individuals they were Polycritus the Aeginetan and the Athenians Eumenes of Anagyrus and Aminias of Pallene, the one who pursued Artemisia. If he had known she was in that ship, he would not have stopped before either capturing it or being captured himself. [2] Such were the orders given to the Athenian captains, and there was a prize offered of ten thousand drachmas to whoever took her alive, since they were indignant that a woman waged war against Athens. But she escaped, as I said earlier, and the others whose ships survived were also in Phalerum. 94.

The Athenians say that when the ships joined battle, the Corinthian general Adeimantus, struck with bewilderment and terror, hoisted his sails and fled away. When the Corinthians saw their flagship fleeing, they departed in the same way, [2] but when in their flight they were opposite the sacred precinct of Athena Sciras on Salamis, by divine guidance a boat encountered them. No one appeared to have sent it, and the Corinthians knew nothing about the affairs of the fleet when it approached. They reckon the affair to involve the gods because when the boat came near the ships, the people on the boat said, [3] “Adeimantus, you have turned your ships to flight and betrayed the Hellenes, but they are overcoming their enemies to the fulfillment of their prayers for victory.” Adeimantus did not believe them when they said this, so they spoke again, saying that they could be taken as hostages and killed if the Hellenes were not seen to be victorious. [4] So he and the others turned their ships around and came to the fleet, but it was all over. The Athenians spread this rumor about them, but the Corinthians do not agree at all, and they consider themselves to have been among the foremost in the battle. The rest of Hellas bears them witness. 95.

Aristides son of Lysimachus, the Athenian whom I mentioned a little before this as a valiant man, did this in the commotion that arose at Salamis: taking many of the armed men who were arrayed along the shore of Salamis, he brought them across and landed them on the island of Psyttalea, and they slaughtered all the Persians who were on that islet. 96.

When the battle was broken off, the Hellenes towed to Salamis as many of the wrecks as were still there and kept ready for another battle, supposing that the king could still make use of his surviving ships. [2] A west wind had caught many of the wrecks and carried them to the shore in Attica called Colias. Thus not only was all the rest of the oracle fulfilled which Bacis and Musaeus had spoken about this battle, but also what had been said many years before this in an oracle by Lysistratus, an Athenian soothsayer, concerning the wrecks carried to shore there. Its meaning had eluded all the Hellenes: “The Colian women will cook with oars. But this was to happen after the king had marched away.

When Xerxes understood the calamity which had taken place, he feared that some of the Ionians might advise the Hellenes, if they did not think of it themselves, to sail to the Hellespont and destroy the bridges. He would be trapped in Europe in danger of destruction, so he resolved on flight. He did not want to be detected either by the Hellenes or by his own men, so he attempted to build a dike across to Salamis, and joined together Phoenician cargo ships to be both a bridge and a wall, making preparations as if to fight another sea battle. [2] All who saw him doing this confidently supposed that he fully intended to stay and fight there, but none of this eluded Mardonius, who had the most experience of the king's intentions. While doing all this, Xerxes sent a messenger to Persia to announce the disaster. 98.

While Xerxes did thus, he sent a messenger to Persia with news of his present misfortune. Now there is nothing mortal that accomplishes a course more swiftly than do these messengers, by the Persians' skillful contrivance. It is said that as many days as there are in the whole journey, so many are the men and horses that stand along the road, each horse and man at the interval of a day's journey. These are stopped neither by snow nor rain nor heat nor darkness from accomplishing their appointed course with all speed. [2] The first rider delivers his charge to the second, the second to the third, and thence it passes on from hand to hand, even as in the Greek torch-bearers' race in honor of Hephaestus. This riding-post is called in Persia, angareion. 99.

When the first message came to Susa, saying that Xerxes had taken Athens, it gave such delight to the Persians who were left at home that they strewed all the roads with myrtle boughs and burnt incense and gave themselves up to sacrificial feasts and jollity. [2] The second, however, coming on the heels of the first, so confounded them that they all tore their tunics, and cried and lamented without ceasing, holding Mardonius to blame; it was not so much in grief for their ships that they did this as because they feared for Xerxes himself. 100.

Such was the plight of the Persians for all the time until the coming of Xerxes himself ended it. Mardonius, however, seeing that Xerxes was greatly distressed because of the sea-fight, and

suspecting that he planned flight from Athens, thought that he would be punished for persuading the king to march against Hellas and that it was better for him to risk the chance of either subduing Hellas or dying honorably while engaged in a noble cause; yet his hope rather inclined to the subduing of Hellas. Taking all this into account, he made this proposal: [2] “Sire, be not grieved nor greatly distressed because of what has befallen us. It is not on things of wood that the issue hangs for us, but on men and horses; furthermore, there is no one among these men, who thinks that he has now won a crowning victory and will disembark from his ship in an attempt to withstand you, no, nor anyone from this mainland. Those who have withstood us have paid the penalty. [3] If then you so desire, let us straightway attack the Peloponnese, or if it pleases you to wait, that also we can do. Do not be downcast, for the Greeks have no way of escaping guilt for their former and their later deeds and from becoming your slaves. It is best then that you should do as I have said, but if you have resolved to lead your army away, even then I have another plan. [4] Do not, O king, make the Persians the laughing-stock of the Greeks, for if you have suffered harm, it is by no fault of the Persians. Nor can you say that we have anywhere done less than brave men should, and if Phoenicians and Egyptians and Cyprians and Cilicians have so done, it is not the Persians who have any part in this disaster. [5] Therefore, since the Persians are in no way to blame, be guided by me; if you are resolved not to remain, march homewards with the greater part of your army. It is for me, however, to enslave and deliver Hellas to you with three hundred thousand of your host whom I will choose.”¹⁰¹

When Xerxes heard that, he was as glad and joyful as a man in his situation might be and said to Mardonius that he would answer him after deliberating which of the two plans he would follow. When he consulted with those Persians whom he summoned, he resolved to send for Artemisia as well, because he saw that she alone at the former sitting had discerned what was best to do. [2] When Artemisia came, Xerxes bade all others withdraw, both Persian councillors and guards, and said to her: “It is Mardonius’ advice that I should follow here and attack the Peloponnese, for the Persians, he says, and the land army are not to blame for our disaster; of that they would

willingly give proof. [3] Therefore he advises me to do this, or else he offers to choose three hundred thousand men of the army and deliver Hellas to me enslaved, while I myself by his counsel march homeward with the rest of the host. [4] Now I ask of you, seeing that you correctly advised me against the late sea-fight, counsel me as to which of these two things would be best for me to do.” 102.

When she was asked for advice, she replied: “It is difficult, O king, to answer your plea for advice by saying that which is best, but in the present turn of affairs I think it best that you march back and that Mardonius, if he so wishes and promises to do as he says, be left here with those whom he desires. [2] For if he subdues all that he offers to subdue and prospers in his design, the achievement, Sire, is yours since it will be your servants who have accomplished it. If, on the other hand, the issue is contrary to Mardonius’ expectation, it is no great misfortune so long as you and all that household of yours are safe; [3] for while you and the members of your household are safe, many a time will the Greeks have to fight for their lives. As for Mardonius, if any disaster befalls him, it is does not much matter, nor will any victory of the Greeks be a real victory when they have but slain your servant. As for you, you will be marching home after the burning of Athens, which thing was the whole purpose of your expedition.” 103.

Artemisia’s counsel pleased Xerxes, for it happened that she spoke what he himself had in mind. In truth, I think that he would not have remained even if all men and women had counselled him so to do — so panic-stricken was he. Having then thanked Artemisia, he sent her away to take his sons to Ephesus, for he had some bastard sons with him. 104.

With these sons he sent Hermotimus as guardian. This man was by birth of Pedasa, and the most honored by Xerxes of all his eunuchs. The people of Pedasa dwell above Halicarnassus. The following thing happens among these people: when anything untoward is about to befall those who dwell about their city, the priestess of Athena then grows a great beard. This had already happened to them twice. 105.

Hermotimus, who came from Pedasa, had achieved a fuller vengeance for wrong done to him than had any man whom we know.

When he had been taken captive by enemies and put up for sale, he was bought by one Panionius of Chios, a man who had set himself to earn a livelihood out of most wicked practices. He would procure beautiful boys and castrate and take them to Sardis and Ephesus where he sold them for a great price, [2] for the barbarians value eunuchs more than perfect men, by reason of the full trust that they have in them. Now among the many whom Panionius had castrated was Hermotimus, who was not entirely unfortunate; he was brought from Sardis together with other gifts to the king, and as time went on, he stood higher in Xerxes' favor than any other eunuch. 106.

Now while the king was at Sardis and preparing to lead his Persian army against Athens, Hermotimus came for some business down to the part of Mysia which is inhabited by Chians and called Atarneus. There he found Panionius. [2] Perceiving who he was, he held long and friendly converse with him, telling him that it was to him that he owed all this prosperity and promising that he would make him prosperous in return if he were to bring his household and dwell there. Panionius accepted his offer gladly, and brought his children and his wife. [3] When Hermotimus had gotten the man and all his household into his power, he said to him: "Tell me, you who have made a livelihood out of the wickedest trade on earth, what harm had I or any of my forefathers done to you or yours, that you made me to be no man, but a thing of nought? You no doubt thought that the gods would have no knowledge of your former practices, but their just law has brought you for your wicked deeds into my hands. Now you will be well content with the fullness of that justice which I will execute upon you." [4] With these words of reproach, he brought Panionius' sons before him and compelled him to castrate all four of them — his own children; this Panionius was compelled to do. When he had done this, the sons were compelled to castrate their father in turn. This, then, was the way in which Panionius was overtaken by vengeance at the hands of Hermotimus. 107.

Having given his sons to Artemisia's charge to be carried to Ephesus, Xerxes called Mardonius to him and bade him choose whom he would from the army, and make his words good so far as endeavor availed. That is as far as matters went on that day; in the night, however, the admirals, by the king's command, put out to sea

from Phalerum and made for the Hellespont again with all speed to guard the bridges for the king's passage. [2] When the barbarians came near to the "Girdle" in their course, they thought that certain little headlands, which here jut out from the mainland, were ships, and they fled for a long way. When they learned at last that they were no ships but headlands, they drew together and went on their way. 108.

When it was day, the Greeks saw the land army abiding where it had been and supposed the ships also to be at Phalerum. Thinking also that there would be a sea-fight they prepared to defend themselves. When, however, they learned that the ships were gone, they straightway resolved on pursuit; so they pursued Xerxes' fleet as far as Andros, but failed to catch sight of it. When they came to Andros, they held a council there. [2] Themistocles declared his opinion that they should hold their course through the islands, and having pursued the ships, should sail forthwith to the Hellespont to break the bridges. Eurybiades, on the other hand, offered a contrary opinion, saying that to break the bridges would be the greatest harm that they could do to Hellas. [3] "For," said he, "if the Persian is cut off and compelled to remain in Europe, he will attempt not to be inactive. This he will do because if he remains inactive, he can neither make his cause prosper nor find any way of return home, but his army will perish of hunger. If, on the other hand, he is enterprising and active, it may well be that every town and nation in Europe will join itself to him, by conquest or, before that, by compact. He will then live on whatever yearly fruits of the earth Hellas produces. [4] But, as I think that the Persian will not remain in Europe after his defeat in the sea-fight, let us permit him to flee to his own country. Thereafter let it be that country and not ours which is at stake in the war." With that opinion the rest of the Peloponnesian admirals also agreed. 109.

When Themistocles perceived that he could not persuade the greater part of them to sail to the Hellespont, he turned to the Athenians (for they were the angriest at the Persians' escape, and they were minded to sail to the Hellespont even by themselves, if the rest would not) and addressed them as follows: [2] "This I have often seen with my eyes and heard yet more often, namely that beaten men, when they be driven to bay, will rally and retrieve their former

mishap. Therefore I say to you, — as it is to a fortunate chance that we owe ourselves and Hellas, and have driven away so mighty a band of enemies — let us not pursue men who flee, [3] for it is not we who have won this victory, but the gods and the heroes, who deemed Asia and Europe too great a realm for one man to rule, and that a wicked man and an impious one who dealt alike with temples and bones, burning and overthrowing the images of the gods, — yes, and one who scourged the sea and threw fetters into it. [4] But as it is well with us for the moment, let us abide now in Hellas and take thought for ourselves and our households. Let us build our houses again and be diligent in sowing, when we have driven the foreigner completely away. Then when the next spring comes, let us set sail for the Hellespont and Ionia.” [5] This he said with intent to have something to his credit with the Persian, so that he might have a place of refuge if ever (as might chance) he should suffer anything at the hands of the Athenians — and just that did in fact happen. 110.

Thus spoke Themistocles with intent to deceive, and the Athenians obeyed him; since he had always been esteemed wise and now had shown himself to be both wise and prudent, they were ready to obey whatever he said. [2] Having won them over, Themistocles straightway sent men in a boat whom he could trust not to reveal under any question the message which he charged them to deliver to the king; one of these was his servant Sicinnus. When these men came to Attica, the rest remained with the boat, and Sicinnus went up to Xerxes; [3] “Themistocles son of Neocles,” he said, “who is the Athenian general and of all the allies the worthiest and wisest, has sent me to tell you this: Themistocles the Athenian has out of his desire to do you a service stayed the Greeks when they wanted to pursue your ships and break the bridges of the Hellespont. Now he bids you go your way, none hindering you.” With that message, the men returned in their boat. 111.

But the Greeks, now that they were no longer minded to pursue the barbarians’ ships farther or sail to the Hellespont and break the way of passage, besieged Andros so that they might take it, [2] for the men of that place, the first islanders of whom Themistocles demanded money, would not give it. When, however, Themistocles gave them to understand that the Athenians had come with two great

gods to aid them, Persuasion and Necessity, and that the Andrians must therefore certainly give money, they said in response, "It is then but reasonable that Athens is great and prosperous, being blessed with serviceable gods. [3] As for us Andrians, we are but blessed with a plentiful lack of land, and we have two unserviceable gods who never quit our island but want to dwell there forever, namely Poverty and Helplessness. Since we are in the hands of these gods, we will give no money; the power of Athens can never be stronger than our inability." 112.

It was for giving this answer and refusing to give what was asked of them that they were besieged. There was no end to Themistocles' avarice; using the same agents whom he had used with the king, he sent threatening messages to the other islands, demanding money and saying that if they would not give what he asked he would bring the Greek armada upon them and besiege and take their islands. [2] Thereby he collected great sums from the Carystians and Parians, for these were informed that Andros was besieged for taking the Persian side and that Themistocles was of all the generals the most esteemed. This frightened them so much that they sent money. I suppose that there were other islanders too who gave and not these alone, but I cannot with certainty say. [3] Nevertheless, the Carystians got no respite from misfortune by doing this. The Parians, however, propitiated Themistocles with money and so escaped the force. So Themistocles went away from Andros and took money from the islanders, unknown to the other generals. 113.

Those who were with Xerxes waited for a few days after the sea-fight and then marched away to Boeotia by the road by which they had come. Mardonius wanted to give the king safe conduct and thought the time of year unseasonable for war; it was better, he thought, to winter in Thessaly, and then attack the Peloponnese in the spring. [2] When they had arrived in Thessaly, Mardonius first chose all the Persians called Immortals, save only Hydarnes their general who said that he would not quit the king's person, and next, the Persian cuirassiers and the thousand horse and the Medes and Sacae and Bactrians and Indians, alike their infantrymen and the rest of the horsemen. [3] These nations he chose in their entirety; of the rest of his allies he picked out a few from each people, the best men and

those whom he knew to have done some good service. The Persians whom he chose (men who wore torques and bracelets) were more in number than those of any other nation and next to them the Medes; these indeed were as many as the Persians, but not such stout fighters. Thereby the whole number, together with the horsemen, grew to three hundred thousand men. 114.

Now while Mardonius was choosing his army and Xerxes was in Thessaly, there came an oracle from Delphi to the Lacedaemonians, that they should demand justice of Xerxes for the slaying of Leonidas and take whatever he should offer them. The Spartans then sent a herald with all speed. He found the army yet undivided in Thessaly, came into Xerxes' presence, and spoke as follows: [2] "The Lacedaemonians and the Heraclidae of Sparta demand of you, king of the Medes, that you pay the penalty for the death of their king, whom you killed while he defended Hellas." At that Xerxes laughed, and after a long while, he pointed to Mardonius, who chanced to be standing by him and said, "Then here is Mardonius, who shall pay those you speak of such penalty as befits them." 115.

So the herald took that response and departed, but Xerxes left Mardonius in Thessaly. He himself journeyed with all speed to the Hellespont and came in forty-five days to the passage for crossing, bringing back with him as good as none (if one may say so) of his host. [2] Wherever and to whatever people they came, they seized and devoured its produce. If they found none, they would eat the grass of the field and strip the bark and pluck the leaves of the trees, garden and wild alike, leaving nothing — such was the degree of their starvation. [3] Moreover, pestilence and dysentery broke out among them on their way, from which they died. Some who were sick Xerxes left behind, charging the cities to which he came in his march to care for them and nourish them, some in Thessaly and some in Siris of Paeonia and in Macedonia. [4] In Siris he had left the sacred chariot of Zeus when he was marching to Hellas, but on his return he did not get it back again. The Paeonians had given it to the Thracians, and when Xerxes demanded it back, they said that the horses had been carried off from pasture by the Thracians of the hills who dwelt about the headwaters of the Strymon. 116.

It was then that a monstrous deed was done by the Thracian king

of the Bisaltae and the Crestonian country. He had refused to be of his own free will Xerxes' slave, and fled to the mountains called Rhodope. He forbade his sons to go with the army to Hellas, [2] but they took no account of that; they had always wanted to see the war, and they followed the Persians' march. For this reason, when all the six of them returned back scatheless, their father tore out their eyes. 117.

This was their reward. Now the Persians, journeying through Thrace to the passage, made haste to cross to Abydos in their ships, for they found the bridges no longer made fast but broken by a storm. There their march halted, and more food was given them than on their way. [2] Then by reason of their immoderate gorging and the change of the water which they drank, many of the army that had survived died. The rest came with Xerxes to Sardis. 118.

There is, however, another tale, which is this: when Xerxes came in his march from Athens to Eion on the Strymon, he travelled no farther than that by land, but committed his army to Hydarnes to be led to the Hellespont. He himself embarked and set sail for Asia in a Phoenician ship. [2] In the course of this voyage he was caught by a strong wind called the Strymonian, which lifted up the waves. This storm bearing the harder upon him by reason of the heavy load of the ship (for the Persians of his company who were on the deck were so many), the king grew afraid and cried to the ship's pilot asking him if there were any way of deliverance. To this the man said, [3] "Sire, there is none, if we do not rid ourselves of these many who are on board." Hearing that, it is said, Xerxes said to the Persians, "Now it is for you to prove your concern for your king, for it seems that my deliverance rests with you." [4] At this they bowed and leapt into the sea. The ship, now much lighter, came by these means safe to Asia. No sooner had Xerxes disembarked on land, than he made the pilot a gift of a golden crown for saving the king's life but cut off his head for being the death of many Persians. 119.

This is the other tale of Xerxes' return; but I for my part believe neither the story of the Persians' fate nor any other part of it. For if indeed the pilot had spoken to Xerxes in this way, I think that there is not one in ten thousand who would not say that the king would have bidden the men on deck (who were Persians and of the best blood of

Persia) descend into the ship's hold, and would have taken from the Phoenician rowers a number equal to the number of the Persians and cast them into the sea. No, the truth is that Xerxes did as I have already said, and returned to Asia with his army by road. 120.

There is further proof of this, for it is known that when Xerxes came to Abdera in his return, he made a compact of friendship with its people and gave them a golden sword and a gilt tiara. As the people of Abdera say (but for my part I wholly disbelieve them), it was here that Xerxes in his flight back from Athens first loosed his girdle, as being here in safety. Now Abdera lies nearer to the Hellespont than the Strymon and Eion, where they say that he took ship. 121.

As for the Greeks, not being able to take Andros, they went to Carystus. When they had laid it waste, they returned to Salamis. First of all they set apart for the gods, among other first-fruits, three Phoenician triremes, one to be dedicated at the Isthmus, where it was till my lifetime, the second at Sunium, and the third for Ajax at Salamis where they were. [2] After that, they divided the spoils and sent the first-fruits of it to Delphi; of this was made a man's image twelve cubits high, holding in his hand the figurehead of a ship. This stood in the same place as the golden statue of Alexander the Macedonian. 122.

Having sent the first-fruits to Delphi, the Greeks, in the name of the country generally, made inquiry of the god whether the first-fruits which he had received were of full measure and whether he was content. To this he said that he was content with what he had received from all other Greeks, but not from the Aeginetans. From these he demanded the victor's prize for the sea-fight of Salamis. When the Aeginetans learned that, they dedicated three golden stars which are set on a bronze mast, in the angle, nearest to Croesus' bowl. 123.

After the division of the spoils, the Greeks sailed to the Isthmus, there to award the prize of excellence to him who had shown himself most worthy of it in that war. [2] But when the admirals came and at the altar of Poseidon gave their votes to judge who was first and who second among them, each of them voted for himself, supposing himself to have done the best service. The greater part of them,

however, united in giving the second place to Themistocles. So they each gained but one vote, while Themistocles far outstripped them in votes for the second place. 124.

The Greeks were too jealous to assign the prize and sailed away each to his own place, leaving the matter undecided; nevertheless, Themistocles was lauded, and throughout all of Hellas was deemed the wisest man by far of the Greeks. [2] However, because he had not received from those that fought at Salamis the honor due to his preeminence, he immediately afterwards went to Lacedaemon in order that he might receive honor there. The Lacedaemonians welcomed him and paid him high honor. They bestowed on Eurybiades a crown of olive as the reward of excellence and another such crown on Themistocles for his wisdom and cleverness. They also gave him the finest chariot in Sparta, [3] and with many words of praise, they sent him home with the three hundred picked men of Sparta who are called Knights to escort him as far as the borders of Tegea. Themistocles was the only man of whom we know to whom the Spartans gave this escort. 125.

But when Themistocles returned to Athens from Lacedaemon, Timodemus of Aphidnae, who was one of Themistocles' enemies but not a man of note, was crazed with envy and spoke bitterly to Themistocles of his visit to Lacedaemon, saying that the honors he had from the Lacedaemonians were paid him for Athens' sake and not for his own. [2] This he kept saying until Themistocles replied, "This is the truth of the matter: if I had been a man of Belbina I would not have been honored in this way by the Spartans, nor would you, sir, for all you are a man of Athens." Such was the end of that business. 126.

Artabazus son of Pharnaces, who was already a notable man among the Persians and grew to be yet more so through the Plataean business, escorted the king as far as the passage with sixty thousand men of the army that Mardonius had chosen. [2] Xerxes, then, was now in Asia, and when Artabazus came near Pallene in his return (for Mardonius was wintering in Thessaly and Macedonia and making no haste to come to the rest of his army), he thought it right that he should enslave the people of Potidaea, whom he found in revolt. [3] When the king had marched away past the town and the Persian fleet

had taken flight from Salamis, Potidaea had openly revolted from the barbarians and so too had the rest of the people of Pallene. 127.

Thereupon Artabazus laid siege to Potidaea, and suspecting that Olynthus too was plotting revolt from the king, he laid siege to it also. This town was held by Bottiaeans who had been driven from the Thermaic gulf by the Macedonians. Having besieged and taken Olynthus, he brought these men to a lake and there cut their throats and delivered their city over to the charge of Critobulus of Torone and the Chalcidian people. It was in this way that the Chalcidians gained possession of Olynthus. 128.

Having taken Olynthus, Artabazus dealt immediately with Potidaea, and his zeal was aided by Timoxenus the general of the Scionaeans, who agreed to betray the place to him. I do not know how the agreement was first made, since there is no information available about it. The result, however, was as I will now show. Whenever Timoxenus wrote a letter to be sent to Artabazus, or Artabazus to Timoxenus, they would wrap it around the shaft of an arrow at the notches, attach feathers to the letter, and shoot it to a place upon which they had agreed. [2] Timoxenus' plot to betray Potidaea was, however, discovered, for Artabazus in shooting an arrow to the place agreed upon, missed it and hit the shoulder of a man of Potidaea. A throng gathered quickly around the man when he was struck (which is a thing that always happens in war), and they straightway took the arrow, found the letter, and carried it to their generals; the rest of their allies of Pallene were also there present. [3] The generals read the letter and perceived who was the traitor, but they resolved for Scione's sake that they would not condemn Timoxenus with a charge of treason, for fear that the people of Scione should hereafter be called traitors. 129.

This is how Timoxenus' treachery was brought to light. But when Artabazus had besieged Potidaea for three months, there was a great ebb-tide in the sea which lasted for a long while, and when the foreigners saw that the sea was turned to a marsh, they prepared to pass over it into Pallene. [2] When they had made their way over two-fifths of it, however, and three yet remained to cross before they could be in Pallene, there came a great flood-tide, higher, as the people of the place say, than any one of the many that had been

before. Some of them who did not know how to swim were drowned, and those who knew were slain by the Potidaeans, who came among them in boats. [3] The Potidaeans say that the cause of the high sea and flood and the Persian disaster lay in the fact that those same Persians who now perished in the sea had profaned the temple and the image of Poseidon which was in the suburb of the city. I think that in saying that this was the cause they are correct. Those who escaped alive were led away by Artabazus to Mardonius in Thessaly. This is how the men who had been the king's escort fared. 130.

All that was left of Xerxes' fleet, having in its flight from Salamis touched the coast of Asia and ferried the king and his army over from the Chersonese to Abydos, wintered at Cyme. Then early in the first dawn of spring they mustered at Samos, where some of the ships had wintered. The majority of their fighting men were Persians and Medes. [2] Mardontes son of Bagaeus and Artayntes son of Artachaees came to be their admirals, and Artayntes chose also his own nephew Ithamitres to have a share in the command. But by reason of the heavy blow dealt them they went no further out to sea westwards, nor did anyone insist that they should so do. They did, however, lie off Samos keeping watch against a revolt in Ionia. The whole number of their ships, Ionian and other, was three hundred. [3] In truth they did not expect that the Greeks would come to Ionia, but rather that they would be content to guard their own country. This they thought because the Greeks had not pursued them when they fled from Salamis, but had been glad to be quit of them. In regard to the sea, the Persians were at heart beaten men, but they supposed that on land Mardonius would easily prevail. [4] So they were at Samos, and there planned to do what harm they could to their enemies and to listen in the interim for news of how Mardonius' affairs were proceeding. 131.

As for the Greeks, the coming of spring and Mardonius' being in Thessaly moved them to action. They had not yet begun the mustering of their army, but their fleet, one hundred and ten ships, came to Aegina. [2] Their general and admiral was Leutychides son of Menares, who traced his lineage from son to father through Hegesilaus, Hippocratides, Leutychides, Anaxilaus, Archidemus, Anaxandrides, Theopompus, Nicandrus, Charilaus, Eunomus,

Polydectes, Prytanis, Euryphon, Procles, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodaeus, to Hyllus who was the son of Heracles. He was of the second royal house. [3] All the aforesaid had been kings of Sparta, save the seven named first after Leutychides. The general of the Athenians was Xanthippus son of Ariphron. 132.

When all the ships had arrived at Aegina, there came to the Greek quarters messengers from the Ionians, the same who a little while before that had gone to Sparta and entreated the Lacedaemonians to free Ionia. [2] One of these was Herodotus the son of Basileides. These, who at first were seven, made a faction and conspired to slay Strattis, the tyrant of Chios, but when their conspiracy became known, one of the accomplices having revealed their enterprise, the six who remained got them secretly out of Chios, from where they went to Sparta and now to Aegina, entreating the Greeks to sail to Ionia. [3] The Greeks took them as far as Delos, and that not readily, for they, having no knowledge of those parts and thinking that armed men were everywhere, feared all that lay beyond. They supposed too that Samos was no nearer to them than the Pillars of Heracles. So it happened that the barbarians were too disheartened to dare to sail farther west than Samos, while at the same time the Greeks dared to go at the Chians' request no farther east than Delos. It was fear which kept the middle space between them. 133.

The Greeks, then, sailed to Delos, and Mardonius wintered in Thessaly. Having his headquarters there he sent a man of Europus called Mys to visit the places of divination, charging him to inquire of all the oracles which he could test. What it was that he desired to learn from the oracles when he gave this charge, I cannot say, for no one tells of it. I suppose that he sent to inquire concerning his present business, and that alone. 134.

This man Mys is known to have gone to Lebadea and to have bribed a man of the country to go down into the cave of Trophonius and to have gone to the place of divination at Abae in Phocis. He went first to Thebes where he inquired of Ismenian Apollo (sacrifice is there the way of divination, as at Olympia), and moreover he bribed one who was no Theban but a stranger to lie down to sleep in the shrine of Amphiaraus. [2] No Theban may seek a prophecy there, for Amphiaraus bade them by an oracle to choose which of the two

they wanted and forgo the other, and take him either for their prophet or for their ally. They chose that he should be their ally. Therefore no Theban may lie down to sleep in that place. 135.

But at this time there happened, as the Thebans say, a thing at which I marvel greatly. It would seem that this man Mys of Europus came in his wanderings among the places of divination to the precinct of Ptoan Apollo. This temple is called Ptoum, and belongs to the Thebans. It lies by a hill, above lake Copais, very near to the town Acraephia. [2] When the man called Mys entered into this temple together with three men of the town who were chosen on the state's behalf to write down the oracles that should be given, straightway the diviner prophesied in a foreign tongue. [3] The Thebans who followed him were astonished to hear a strange language instead of Greek and knew not what this present matter might be. Mys of Europus, however, snatched from them the tablet which they carried and wrote on it that which was spoken by the prophet, saying that the words of the oracle were Carian. After writing everything down, he went back to Thessaly. 136.

Mardonius read whatever was said in the oracles, and presently he sent a messenger to Athens, Alexander, a Macedonian, son of Amyntas. Him he sent, partly because the Persians were akin to him; Bubares, a Persian, had taken to wife Gygaea Alexander's sister and Amyntas' daughter, who had borne to him that Amyntas of Asia who was called by the name of his mother's father, and to whom the king gave Alabanda a great city in Phrygia for his dwelling. Partly too he sent him because he learned that Alexander was a protector and benefactor to the Athenians. [2] It was thus that he supposed he could best gain the Athenians for his allies, of whom he heard that they were a numerous and valiant people, and knew that they had been the chief authors of the calamities which had befallen the Persians at sea. [3] If he gained their friendship he thought he would easily become master of the seas, as truly he would have been. On land he supposed himself to be by much the stronger, and he accordingly reckoned that thus he would have the upper hand of the Greeks. This chanced to be the prediction of the oracles which counseled him to make the Athenians his ally. It was in obedience to this that he sent his messenger. 137.

This Alexander was seventh in descent from Perdiccas, who got for himself the tyranny of Macedonia in the way that I will show. Three brothers of the lineage of Temenus came as banished men from Argos to Illyria, Gauanes and Aeropus and Perdiccas; and from Illyria they crossed over into the highlands of Macedonia till they came to the town Lebaea. [2] There they served for wages as thetes in the king's household, one tending horses and another oxen. Perdiccas, who was the youngest, tended the lesser flocks. Now the king's wife cooked their food for them, for in old times the ruling houses among men, and not the common people alone, were lacking in wealth. [3] Whenever she baked bread, the loaf of the thete Perdiccas grew double in size. Seeing that this kept happening, she told her husband, and it seemed to him when he heard it that this was a portent signifying some great matter. So he sent for his thetes and bade them depart from his territory. [4] They said it was only just that they should have their wages before they departed. When they spoke of wages, the king was moved to foolishness and said, "That is the wage you merit, and it is that I give you," pointing to the sunlight that shone down the smoke vent into the house. [5] Gauanes and Aeropus, who were the elder, stood astonished when they heard that, but the boy said, "We accept what you give, O king," and with that he took a knife which he had with him and drew a line with it on the floor of the house round the sunlight. When he had done this, he three times gathered up the sunlight into the fold of his garment and went his way with his companions. 138.

So they departed, but one of those who sat nearby declared to the king what this was that the boy had done and how it was of set purpose that the youngest of them had accepted the gift offered. When the king heard this, he was angered, and sent riders after them to slay them. There is, however, in that land a river, to which the descendants from Argos of these men offer sacrifice as their deliverer. [2] This river, when the sons of Temenus had crossed it, rose in such flood that the riders could not cross. So the brothers came to another part of Macedonia and settled near the place called the garden of Midas son of Gordias, where roses grow of themselves, each bearing sixty blossoms and of surpassing fragrance. [3] In this garden, according to the Macedonian story, Silenus was taken

captive. Above it rises the mountain called Bermius, which none can ascend for the wintry cold. From there they issued forth when they had won that country and presently subdued also the rest of Macedonia. 139.

From that Perdiccas Alexander was descended, being the son of Amyntas, who was the son of Alcetes; Alcetes' father was Aeropus, and his was Philippus; Philippus' father was Argaeus, and his again was Perdiccas, who won that lordship. 140A.

Such was the lineage of Alexander son of Amyntas. When he came to Athens from Mardonius who had sent him, he spoke as follows : "This, Athenians, is what Mardonius says to you: — there is a message come to me from the king, saying, 'I forgive the Athenians all the offenses which they have committed against me; [2] and now, Mardonius, I bid you do this: — Give them back their territory and let them choose more for themselves besides, where ever they will, and dwell under their own laws. Rebuild all their temples which I burnt, if they will make a pact with me.' This is the message, and I must obey it (says Mardonius), unless you take it upon yourselves to hinder me. [3] This too I say to you: — Why are you so insane as to wage war against the king? You cannot overcome him, nor can you resist him forever. As for the multitude of Xerxes' army, what it did, you have seen, and you have heard of the power that I now have with me. Even if you overcome and conquer us (whereof, if you be in your right minds, you can have no hope), yet there will come another host many times as great as this. [4] Be not then minded to match yourselves against the king, and thereby lose your land and always be yourselves in jeopardy, but make peace. This you can most honorably do since the king is that way inclined. Keep your freedom, and agree to be our brothers in arms in all faith and honesty. — 140B. This Athenians, is the message which Mardonius charges me to give you. For my own part I will say nothing of the goodwill that I have towards you, for it would not be the first that you have learned of that. But I entreat you to follow Mardonius' counsel. [2] Well I see that you will not have power to wage war against Xerxes forever. If I saw such power in you, I would never have come to you with such language as this, for the king's might is greater than human, and his arm is long. [3] If, therefore, you

will not straightway agree with them, when the conditions which they offer you are so great, I fear what may befall you. For of all the allies you dwell most in the very path of the war, and you alone will never escape destruction, your country being marked out for a battlefield. [4] No, rather follow his counsel, for it is not to be lightly regarded by you who are the only men in Hellas whose offenses the great king is ready to forgive and whose friend he would be.” 141.

These were the words of Alexander. The Lacedaemonians, however, had heard that Alexander had come to Athens to bring the Athenians to an agreement with the barbarian. Remembering the oracles, how that they themselves with the rest of the Dorians must be driven out of the Peloponnese by the Medes and the Athenians, they were greatly afraid that the Athenians should agree with the Persian, and they straightway resolved that they would send envoys. [2] Moreover, it so fell out for both that they made their entry at one and the same time, for the Athenians delayed and waited for them, being certain that the Lacedaemonians were going to hear that the messenger had come from the Persians for an agreement. They had heard that the Lacedaemonians would send their envoys with all speed. Therefore it was of set purpose that they did this in order that they might make their will known to the Lacedaemonians. 142.

So when Alexander had made an end of speaking, the envoys from Sparta said, “We on our part have been sent by the Lacedaemonians to entreat you to do nothing harmful to Hellas and accept no offer from the barbarian. [2] That would be unjust and dishonorable for any Greek, but for you most of all, on many counts; it was you who stirred up this war, by no desire of ours, and your territory was first the stake of that battle in which all Hellas is now engaged. [3] Apart from that, it is unbearable that not all this alone but slavery too should be brought upon the Greeks by you Athenians, who have always been known as givers of freedom to many. Nevertheless, we grieve with you in your afflictions, seeing that you have lost two harvests and your substance has been for a long time wasted. [4] In requital for this the Lacedaemonians and their allies declare that they will nourish your women and all of your household members who are unserviceable for war, so long as this war will last. Let not Alexander the Macedonian win you with his smooth-tongued

praise of Mardonius' counsel. It is his business to follow that counsel, [5] for as he is a tyrant so must he be the tyrant's fellow-worker; it is not your business, if you are men rightly minded, for you know that in foreigners there is no faith nor truth." These are the words of the envoys. 143.

But to Alexander the Athenians replied as follows: “We know of ourselves that the power of the Mede is many times greater than ours. There is no need to taunt us with that. Nevertheless in our zeal for freedom we will defend ourselves to the best of our ability. But as regards agreements with the barbarian, do not attempt to persuade us to enter into them, nor will we consent. [2] Now carry this answer back to Mardonius from the Athenians, that as long as the sun holds the course by which he now goes, we will make no agreement with Xerxes. We will fight against him without ceasing, trusting in the aid of the gods and the heroes whom he has disregarded and burnt their houses and their adornments. [3] Come no more to Athenians with such a plea, nor under the semblance of rendering us a service, counsel us to act wickedly. For we do not want those who are our friends and protectors to suffer any harm at Athenian hands.” 144.

Such was their answer to Alexander, but to the Spartan envoys they said, “It was most human that the Lacedaemonians should fear our making an agreement with the barbarian. We think that it is an ignoble thing to be afraid, especially since we know the Athenian temper to be such that there is nowhere on earth such store of gold or such territory of surpassing fairness and excellence that the gift of it should win us to take the Persian part and enslave Hellas. [2] For there are many great reasons why we should not do this, even if we so desired; first and foremost, the burning and destruction of the adornments and temples of our gods, whom we are constrained to avenge to the utmost rather than make pacts with the perpetrator of these things, and next the kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of gods and the sacrifices that we have in common, and the likeness of our way of life, to all of which it would not befit the Athenians to be false. [3] Know this now, if you knew it not before, that as long as one Athenian is left alive we will make no agreement with Xerxes. Nevertheless we thank you for your forethought concerning us, in that you have so provided for our wasted state that you offer to nourish our households. [4] For your part, you have given us full measure of kindness, yet for ourselves, we will make shift to endure as best we may, and not be burdensome to you. But now, seeing that this is so, send your army with all speed,

[5] for as we guess, the barbarian will be upon us and invade our country in no long time as soon as the message comes to him that we will do nothing that he requires of us; therefore, before he comes into Attica, now is the time for us to march first into Boeotia.” At this reply of the Athenians the envoys returned back to Sparta.

BOOK IX.

1. When Alexander returned and told him what he had heard from the Athenians, Mardonius set forth from Thessaly and led his army with all zeal against Athens;^{1*} he also took with him all the people to whose countries he came along the way. The rulers of Thessaly did not repent of what they had already done and were readier than before to further his march. Thorax of Larissa, who had given Xerxes safe-conduct in his flight, now, without any attempt of concealment, opened a passage for Mardonius into Hellas. 2.

But when, in the course of its march, the army had come into Boeotia, the Thebans attempted to stay Mardonius, advising him that he could find no country better fitted than theirs for encampment; he should not (they begged) go further, but rather halt there and subdue all Hellas without fighting. [2] As long as the Greeks who were previously in accord remained so, it would be difficult even for the whole world to overcome them by force of arms; “but if you do as we advise,” said the Thebans, “you will without trouble be master of all their battle plans. [3] Send money to the men who have power in their cities, and thereby you will divide Hellas against itself; after that, with your partisans to aid you, you will easily subdue those who are your adversaries.” 3.

Such was their counsel, but he would not follow it. What he desired was to take Athens once more; this was partly out of mere perversity, and partly because he intended to signify to the king at Sardis by a line of beacons across the islands that he held Athens. [2] When he came to Attica, however, he found the city as unpopulated as before, for, as he learned, the majority of them were on shipboard at Salamis. So he took the city, but without any of its men. There were ten months between the kings taking of the place and the later invasion of Mardonius. 4.

When Mardonius came to Athens, he sent to Salamis a certain Murychides, a man from Hellespont, bearing the same offer as Alexander the Macedonian had ferried across to the Athenians. [2] He sent this for the second time because although he already knew the Athenians’ unfriendly purpose, he expected that they would abandon

their stubbornness now that Attica was the captive of his spear and lay at his mercy. 5.

For this reason he sent Murychides to Salamis who came before the council and conveyed to them Mardonius message. Then Lycidas, one of the councillors, said that it seemed best to him to receive the offer brought to them by Murychides and lay it before the people. [2] This was the opinion which he declared, either because he had been bribed by Mardonius, or because the plan pleased him. The Athenians in the council were, however, very angry; so too were those outside when they heard of it. They made a ring round Lycidas and stoned him to death. Murychides the Hellespontian, however, they permitted to depart unharmed. [3] There was much noise at Salamis over the business of Lycidas; and when the Athenian women learned what was afoot, one calling to another and bidding her follow, they went on their own impetus to the house of Lycidas and stoned to death his wife and his children. 6.

Now this was how the Athenians had crossed over to Salamis. As long as they expected that the Peloponnesian army would come to their aid, they remained in Attica. But when the Peloponnesians took longer and longer to act and the invader was said to be in Boeotia already, they then conveyed all their goods out of harms way and themselves crossed over to Salamis. They also sent envoys to Lacedaemon, who were to upbraid the Lacedaemonians for permitting the barbarian to invade Attica and not helping the Athenians to meet him in Boeotia; and who were to remind the Lacedaemonians of the promises which the Persian had made to Athens if she would change sides, and warn them that the Athenians would devise some means of salvation for themselves if the Lacedaemonians sent them no help. 7.

The Lacedaemonians were at this time celebrating the festival of Hyacinthus,^{2*} and their chief concern was to give the god his due; moreover, the wall which they were building on the Isthmus was by now getting its battlements. When the Athenian envoys arrived in Lacedaemon, bringing with them envoys from Megara and Plataea, they came before the ephors and said: 7A. "The Athenians have sent us with this message: the king of the Medes is ready to give us back our country, and to make us his confederates, equal in right and

standing, in all honor and honesty, and to give us whatever land we ourselves may choose besides our own. [2] But we, since we do not want to sin against Zeus the god of Hellas and think it shameful to betray Hellas, have not consented. This we have done despite the fact that the Greeks are dealing with us wrongfully and betraying us to our hurt; furthermore, we know that it is more to our advantage to make terms with the Persians than to wage war with him, yet we will not make terms with him of our own free will. For our part, we act honestly by the Greeks; 7B. but what of you, who once were in great dread lest we should make terms with the Persian? Now that you have a clear idea of our sentiments and are sure that we will never betray Hellas, and now that the wall which you are building across the Isthmus is nearly finished, you take no account of the Athenians, but have deserted us despite all your promises that you would withstand the Persian in Boeotia, and have permitted the barbarian to march into Attica. [2] For the present, then, the Athenians are angry with you since you have acted in a manner unworthy of you. Now they ask you to send with us an army with all speed, so that we may await the foreigner's onset in Attica; since we have lost Boeotia, in our own territory the most suitable place for a battle is the Thriasian plain." 8.

When the ephors heard that, they delayed answering till the next day, and again till the day after. This they did for ten days, putting it off from day to day. In the meantime all the Peloponnesians were doing all they could to fortify the Isthmus, and they had nearly completed the task. [2] I cannot say for certain why it was that when Alexander the Macedonian came to Athens^{3*} the Lacedaemonians insisted that the Athenians should not join the side of the Persian, yet now took no account of that; it may be that with the Isthmus fortified, they thought they had no more need of the Athenians, whereas when Alexander came to Attica, their wall was not yet built and they were working at this in great fear of the Persians. 9.

The nature of their response was as follows: on the day before the final hearing of the Athenian delegation, Chileus, a man of Tegea, who had more authority with the Lacedaemonians than any other of their guests, learned from the ephors all that the Athenians had said.

[2] Upon hearing this he, as the tale goes, said to the ephors, "Sirs, if

the Athenians are our enemies and the barbarians allies, then although you push a strong wall across the Isthmus, a means of access into the Peloponnese lies wide open for the Persian. No, give heed to what they say before the Athenians take some new resolve which will bring calamity to Hellas.”¹⁰

This was the counsel he gave the ephors, who straightway took it to heart. Without saying a word to the envoys who had come from the cities, they ordered five thousand Spartans to march before dawn. Seven helots were appointed to attend each of them, and they gave the command to Pausanias son of Cleombrotus. [2] The leader’s place rightfully belonged to Pleistarchus son of Leonidas, but he was still a boy, and Pausanias his guardian and cousin. Cleombrotus, Pausanias’ father and Anaxandrides’ son, was no longer living. [3] After he led the army which had built the wall away from the Isthmus, he lived but a little while before his death. The reason for Cleombrotus leading his army away from the Isthmus was that while he was offering sacrifice for victory over the Persian, the sun was darkened in the heavens. Pausanias chose as his colleague a man of the same family,^{4*} Euryanax son of Dorieus. ¹¹

So Pausanias’ army had marched away from Sparta; but as soon as it was day, the envoys came before the ephors, having no knowledge of the expedition, and being minded themselves too to depart each one to his own place. When they arrived, “You Lacedaemonians,” they said, “remain where you are, observing your Hyacinthia and celebrating, leaving your allies deserted. For the wrong that you do them and for lack of allies, the Athenians, will make their peace with the Persian as best they can, [2] and thereafter, in so far as we will be king’s allies, we will march with him against whatever land his men lead us. Then will you learn what the issue of this matter will be for you.” In response to this the ephors swore to them that they believed their army to be even now at Orestheum,^{5*} marching against the “strangers,” as they called the barbarians. [3] Having no knowledge of this, the envoys questioned them further as to the meaning of this and thereby learned the whole truth; they marvelled at this and hastened with all speed after the army. With them went five thousand men-at-arms of the Lacedaemonian countrymen.^{6*} ¹²

So they made haste to reach the Isthmus. The Argives, however, had already promised Mardonius that they would prevent the Spartans from going out to war. As soon as they were informed that Pausanias and his army had departed from Sparta, they sent as their herald to Attica the swiftest runner of long distances whom they could find. [2] When he came to Athens, he spoke to Mardonius in the following manner: "I have been sent by the Argives to tell you that the young men have gone out from Lacedaemon to war, and that the Argives cannot prevent them from so doing; therefore, make plans accordingly." 13.

So spoke the herald, and went back again. When Mardonius heard that, he no longer desired to remain in Attica. Before he had word of it, he had held his land, desiring to know the Athenians' plan and what they would do; he neither harmed nor harried the land of Attica, for he still supposed that they would make terms with him. [2] But when he could not prevail upon them and learned the truth of the matter, he withdrew before Pausanias' army prior to its entering the Isthmus. First, however, he burnt Athens, and utterly overthrew and demolished whatever wall or house or temple was left standing. [3] The reason for his marching away was that Attica was not a land fit for horses, and if he should be defeated in a battle, there was no way of retreat save one so narrow that a few men could prevent his passage.^{7*} He therefore planned to retreat to Thebes and do battle where he had a friendly city at his back and ground suitable for horsemen. 14.

So Mardonius drew his men off, and when he had now set forth on his road there came a message that in addition to the others, an advance guard of a thousand Lacedaemonians had arrived at Megara. When he heard this, he deliberated how he might first make an end of these. He accordingly turned about and led his army against Megara, his cavalry going first and overrunning the lands of that city. That was the westernmost place in Europe which this Persian army reached. 15.

Presently there came a message to Mardonius that the Greeks were gathered together on the Isthmus. Thereupon he marched back again through Decelea; the rulers of Boeotia sent for those of the Asopus country who lived nearby, and these guided him to

Sphendalae and from there to Tanagra. [2] Here he camped for the night, and on the next day he turned from there to Scolus, where he was in Theban territory. There he laid waste the lands of the Thebans, though they sided with the Persian part. This he did, not for any ill-will that he bore them, but because sheer necessity drove him to make a stronghold for his army and to have this for a refuge if the fortune of battle were other than he wished. [3] His army, stationed along the Asopus river, covered the ground from Erythrae past Hysiae and up to the lands of Plataea. I do not mean to say that the walled camp which he made was of this size; each side of it was of a length of about ten furlongs. 16.

While the barbarians were engaged in this task, Attaginus son of Phrynon, a Theban, made great preparations and invited Mardonius with fifty who were the most notable of the Persians to be his guests at a banquet. They came as they were bidden; the dinner was held at Thebes. What follows was told me by Thersander of Orchomenus, one of the most notable men of that place. Thersander too (he said) was invited to this dinner, and fifty Thebans in addition. Attaginus made them sit, not each man by himself but on each couch a Persian and a Theban together. [2] Now as they were drinking together after dinner, the Persian who sat with him asked Thersander in the Greek tongue from what country he was. Thersander answered that he was from Orchomenus. Then said the Persian: "Since you have eaten at the board with me and drunk with me afterwards, I would like to leave a memorial of my belief, so that you yourself may have such knowledge as to take fitting counsel for your safety. [3] Do you see these Persians at the banquet and that host which we left encamped by the river side? In a little while you shall see but a small remnant left alive of all these." As he said this, the Persian wept bitterly. [4] Marvelling at these words, Thersander answered: "Must you not then tell this to Mardonius and those honorable Persians who are with him?" "Sir," said the Persian, "that which a god wills to send no man can turn aside, for even truth sometimes finds no one to believe it. [5] What I have said is known to many of us Persians, but we follow, in the bonds of necessity. It is the most hateful thing for a person to have much knowledge and no power." This tale I heard from Thersander of Orchomenus who told me in addition that he had

straightway told this to others before the battle of Plataea. 17.

So Mardonius was making his encampment in Boeotia. All the Greeks of that region who sided with the Persians furnished fighting men, and they joined with him in his attack upon Athens, with the exception of the Phocians; as for taking the Persian side, that they did right away, though from necessity rather than willingly. [2] A few days after the Persians' coming to Thebes, a thousand Phocian men-at-arms under the leadership of Harmocydes, the most notable of their countrymen, arrived. When these men too were in Thebes, Mardonius sent horsemen and bade the Phocians take their station on the plain by themselves. [3] When they had done so, the whole of the Persian cavalry appeared, and presently word was spread through all of the Greek army which was with Mardonius, and likewise among the Phocians themselves, that Mardonius would shoot them to death with javelins. [4] Then their general Harmocydes exhorted them: "Men of Phocis," he said, "seeing that death at these fellows' hands is staring us in the face (we being, as I surmise, maligned by the Thessalians), it is now time for every one of you to be noble; for it is better to end our lives in action and fighting than tamely to suffer a shameful death. No, rather we will teach them that they whose slaying they have devised are men of Hellas." Thus he exhorted them. 18.

But when the horsemen had encircled the Phocians, they rode at them as if to slay them, and drew their bows to shoot; it is likely too that some did in fact shoot. The Phocians opposed them in every possible way, drawing in together and closing their ranks to the best of their power. At this the horsemen wheeled about and rode back and away. [2] Now I cannot with exactness say whether they came at the Thessalians' desire to slay the Phocians, but when they saw the men preparing to defend themselves, they feared lest they themselves should suffer some hurt, and so rode away (for such was Mardonius' command), — or if Mardonius wanted to test the Phocians' mettle. [3] When the horsemen had ridden away, Mardonius sent a herald, with this message: "Men of Phocis, be of good courage, for you have shown yourselves to be valiant men, and not as it was reported to me. Now push this war zealously forward, for you will outdo neither myself nor the king in the rendering of service."^{8*} This is how the

matter of the Phocians turned out. 19.

As for the Lacedaemonians, when they had come to the Isthmus, they encamped there. When the rest of the Peloponnesians who chose the better cause heard that, seeing the Spartans setting forth to war, they thought that they should not lag behind the Lacedaemonians in so doing. [2] Accordingly, they all marched from the Isthmus (the omens of sacrifice being favorable) and came to Eleusis. When they had offered sacrifice there also and the omens were favorable, they continued their march, having now the Athenians with them, who had crossed over from Salamis and joined with them at Eleusis. [3] When they came (as it is said) to Erythrae in Boeotia, they learned that the barbarians were encamped by the Asopus. Taking note of that, they arrayed themselves opposite the enemy on the lower hills of Cithaeron. 20.

When the Greeks did not come down into the plain, Mardonius sent against them his entire cavalry, whose commander was Masistius (whom the Greeks call Macistius), a man much honored among the Persians; he rode a Nesaeon horse which had a golden bit and was elaborately adorned all over. Thereupon the horsemen rode up to the Greeks and charged them by squadrons; as they attacked, they did them much hurt, and called them women all the while. 21.

Now it chanced that the Megarians were posted in that part of the field which was most open to attack, and here the horsemen found the readiest approach. Therefore, being hard-pressed by the charges, the Megarians sent a herald to the generals of the Greeks, who came to them and spoke as follows : [2] "From the men of Megara to their allies: we cannot alone withstand the Persian cavalry (although we have till now held our ground with patience and valor, despite the fact that we were hard-pressed) in the position to which we were first appointed. Know that now we will abandon our post, unless you send others to take our place there." [3] This the herald reported, and Pausanias inquired among the Greeks if any would offer to go to that place and relieve the Megarians by holding the post. All the others did not want to, but the Athenians took it upon themselves, that is three hundred picked men of Athens, whose captain was Olympiodorus son of Lampon. 22.

Those who volunteered themselves, were posted at Erythrae in

front of the whole Greek army, and they took with them the archers also. They fought for a long time and the end of the battle was as I will now tell. The cavalry charged by squadrons, and Masistius' horse, being at the head of the rest, was struck in the side by an arrow. Rearing up in pain, it threw Masistius, [2] who when he fell, was straightaway set upon by the Athenians. His horse they took then and there, and he himself was killed fighting. They could not, however, kill him at first, for he was outfitted in the following manner: he wore a purple tunic over a cuirass of golden scales which was within it; thus they accomplished nothing by striking at the cuirass, until someone saw what was happening and stabbed him in the eye. Then he collapsed and died. [3] But as chance would have it, the rest of the horsemen knew nothing of this, for they had not seen him fall from his horse, or die. They wheeled about and rode back without perceiving what was done. As soon as they halted, however, they saw what they were missing since there was no one to give them orders. Then when they perceived what had occurred, they gave each other the word, and all rode together to recover the dead body. 23.

When the Athenians saw the horsemen riding at them, not by squadrons as before, but all together, they cried to the rest of the army for help. While all their infantry was rallying to aid, there was a bitter fight over the dead body. [2] As long as the three hundred stood alone, they had the worst of the battle by far, and were ready to leave the dead man. When the main body came to their aid, then it was the horsemen who could no longer hold their ground, nor help to recover the dead man, but rather lost others of their comrades in addition to Masistius. They accordingly withdrew and halted about two furlongs away, where they deliberated what they should do. Since there was no one to give them orders, they resolved to report to Mardonius. 24.

When the cavalry returned to camp, Mardonius and the whole army mourned deeply for Masistius, cutting their own hair and the hair of their horses and beasts of burden, and lamenting loudly; the sound of this was heard over all Boeotia, for a man was dead who, next to Mardonius, was most esteemed by all Persia and the king. 25.

So the barbarians honored Masistius' death in their customary way, but the Greeks were greatly encouraged that they withstood and drove off the charging horsemen. First they laid the dead man on a

cart and carried him about their ranks, and the body was well worth seeing, because of its stature and grandeur; therefore, they would even leave their ranks and come to view Masistius. [2] Presently they resolved that they would march down to Plataea, for they saw that the ground there was generally more suited for encampment than that at Erythrae, and chiefly because it was better watered. It was to this place and to the Gargaphian spring which was there, that they resolved to go and pitch camp in their several battalions; [3] They took up their arms and marched along the lower slopes of Cithaeron past Hysiae to the lands of Plataea, and when they arrived, they arrayed themselves nation by nation near the Gargaphian spring and the precinct of the hero Androcrates, among low hills and in a level country. 26.

During the drawing up of battle formation there arose much dispute between the Tegeans and the Athenians, for each of them claimed that they should hold the second^{9*} wing of the army, justifying themselves by tales of deeds new and old. [2] First the Tegeans spoke: "We, among all the allies, have always had the right to hold this position in all campaigns, of the united Peloponnesian armies, both ancient and recent, ever since that time when the Heraclidae after Eurystheus' death attempted to return to the Peloponnese. [3] We gained because of the achievement which we will relate. When we marched out at the Isthmus for war, along with the Achaeans and Ionians who then dwelt in the Peloponnese, and encamped opposite the returning exiles, then (it is said) Hyllus^{10*} announced that army should not be risked against army in battle, but that that champion in the host of the Peloponnesians whom they chose as their best should fight with him in single combat on agreed conditions. [4] The Peloponnesians, resolving that this should be so, swore a compact that if Hyllus should overcome the Peloponnesian champion, the Heraclidae should return to the land of their fathers, but if he were himself beaten, then the Heraclidae should depart and lead their army away, not attempting to return to the Peloponnese until a hundred years had passed. [5] Then our general and king Echemus, son of Phegeus' son Eeropus, volunteered and was chosen out of all the allied host; he fought that duel and killed Hyllus. It was for that feat of arms that the Peloponnesians granted us this in

addition to other great privileges which we have never ceased to possess, namely that in all united campaigns we should always lead the army's second wing. [6] Now with you, men of Lacedaemon, we have no rivalry, but forbear and bid you choose the command of whichever wing you want. We do, however, say that our place is at the head of the other, as it has always been. Quite apart from that feat which we have related, we are worthier than the Athenians to hold that post, [7] for we have fought many battles which turned out favorably for you, men of Lacedaemon, and others besides. It is accordingly we and not the Athenians who should hold the second wing, for neither at some earlier period nor recently, have they achieved such feats of arms as we." 27.

To these words the Athenians replied: "It is our belief that we are gathered for battle with the barbarian, and not for speeches; but since the man of Tegea has made it his business to speak of all the valorous deeds, old and new, which either of our nations has at any time achieved, we must prove to you how we, rather than Arcadians, have by virtue of our valor a hereditary right to the place of honor. These Tegeans say that they killed the leader of the Heraclidae at the Isthmus. [2] Now when those same Heraclidae had been rejected by every Greek people to whom they resorted to escape the tyranny of the Mycenaeans, we alone received them.^{11*} With them we vanquished those who then inhabited the Peloponnese, and we broke the pride of Eurystheus. [3] Furthermore, when the Argives who had marched with Polynices^{12*} against Thebes had there made an end of their lives and lay unburied, know that we sent our army against the Cadmeans and recovered the dead and buried them in Eleusis. [4] We also have on record our great victory against the Amazons, who once came from the river Thermodon and broke into Attica, and in the hard days of Troy we were second to none. But since it is useless to recall these matters — for those who were previously valiant may now be of lesser mettle, and those who lacked mettle then may be better men now — [5] enough of the past. Supposing that we were known for no achievement (although the fact is that we have done more than any other of the Greeks), we nevertheless deserve to have this honor and more beside because of the role we played at Marathon, seeing that alone of all Greeks we met the Persian

singlehandedly and did not fail in that enterprise, but overcame forty-six nations. [6] Is it not then our right to hold this post, for that one feat alone? Yet seeing that this is no time for wrangling about our place in the battle, we are ready to obey you, men of Lacedaemon and take whatever place and face whatever enemy you think fitting. Wherever you set us, we will strive to be valiant men. Command us then, knowing that we will obey.” 28. This was the Athenians’ response, and the whole army shouted aloud that the Athenians were worthier to hold the wing than the Arcadians. It was in this way that the Athenians were preferred to the men of Tegea, and gained that place. [2]

Presently the whole Greek army was arrayed as I will show, both the later and the earliest comers. On the right wing were ten thousand Lacedaemonians; five thousand of these, who were Spartans, had a guard of thirty-five thousand light-armed helots, seven appointed for each man. [3] The Spartans chose the Tegeans for their neighbors in the battle, both to do them honor, and for their valor; there were of these fifteen hundred men-at-arms. Next to these in the line were five thousand Corinthians, at whose desire Pausanias permitted the three hundred Potidaeans from Pallene then present to stand by them. [4] Next to these were six hundred Arcadians from Orchomenus, and after them three thousand men of Sicyon. By these one thousand Troezenians were posted, and after them two hundred men of Lepreum, then four hundred from Mycenae and Tiryns, and next to them one thousand from Phlius. By these stood three hundred men of Hermione. [5] Next to the men of Hermione were six hundred Eretrians and Styreans; next to them, four hundred Chalcidians; next again, five hundred Ampraciots. After these stood eight hundred Leucadians and Anactorians, and next to them two hundred from Pale in Cephallenia; [6] after them in the array, five hundred Aeginetans; by them stood three thousand men of Megara, and next to these six hundred Plataeans. At the end, and first in the line, were the Athenians who held the left wing. They were eight thousand in number, and their general was Aristides son of Lysimachus. 29.

All these, except the seven appointed to attend each Spartan, were men-at-arms, and the whole sum of them was thirty-eight thousand and seven hundred. This was the number of men-at-arms that

mustered for war against the barbarian; as regards the number of the light-armed men, there were in the Spartan array seven for each man-at-arms, that is, thirty-five thousand, and every one of these was equipped for war. [2] The light-armed from the rest of Lacedaemon and Hellas were as one to every man-at-arms, and their number was thirty-four thousand and five hundred. 30.

So the total of all the light-armed men who were fighters was sixty-nine thousand and five hundred, and of the whole Greek army mustered at Plataea, men-at-arms and light-armed fighting men together, eleven times ten thousand less eighteen hundred. The Thespians who were present were one hundred and ten thousand in number, for the survivors^{13*} of the Thespians were also present with the army, eighteen hundred in number. These then were arrayed and encamped by the Asopus. 31.

When Mardonius' barbarians had finished their mourning for Masistius and heard that the Greeks were at Plataea, they also came to the part of the Asopus river nearest to them. When they were there, they were arrayed for battle by Mardonius as I shall show. He posted the Persians facing the Lacedaemonians. [2] Seeing that the Persians by far outnumbered the Lacedaemonians, they were arrayed in deeper ranks and their line ran opposite the Tegeans also. In his arraying of them he chose out the strongest part of the Persians to set it over against the Lacedaemonians, and posted the weaker by them facing the Tegeans; this he did being so informed and taught by the Thebans. [3] Next to the Persians he posted the Medes opposite the men of Corinth, Potidaea, Orchomenus, and Sicyon; next to the Medes, the Bactrians, opposite the men of Epidaurus, Troezen, Lepreum, Tiryns, Mycenae, and Phlius. [4] After the Bactrians he set the Indians, opposite the men of Hermione and Eretria and Styra and Chalcis. Next to the Indians he posted the Sacae, opposite the Ampraciot, Anactorians, Leucadians, Paleans, and Aeginetans; [5] next to the Sacae, and opposite the Athenians, Plataeans, Megarians, the Boeotians, Locrians, Malians, Thessalians, and the thousand that came from Phocis; for not all the Phocians took the Persian side, but some of them gave their aid to the Greek cause; these had been besieged on Parnassus, and issued out from there to harry Mardonius' army and the Greeks who were with him. Beside these,

he arrayed the Macedonians also and those who lived in the area of Thessaly opposite the Athenians. 32.

These which I have named were the greatest of the nations set in array by Mardonius, but there was also in the army a mixture of Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Paeonians, and the rest, besides Ethiopians and the Egyptian swordsmen called Hermotybies and Calasiries,^{14*} who are the only fighting men in Egypt. [2] These had been fighters on shipboard, till Mardonius while yet at Phalerum disembarked them from their ships; for the Egyptians were not appointed to serve in the land army which Xerxes led to Athens. Of the barbarians, then, there were three hundred thousand, as I have already shown. As for the Greek allies of Mardonius, no one knows the number of them (for they were not counted), I suppose them to have been mustered to the number of fifty thousand. These were the footmen that were set in array; the cavalry were separately ordered.

33.

On the second day after they had all been arrayed according to their nations and their battalions, both armies offered sacrifice. It was Tisamenus who sacrificed for the Greeks, for he was with their army as a diviner; he was an Elean by birth, a Clytiad of the Iamid clan,^{15*} and the Lacedaemonians gave him the freedom of their city. [2] This they did, for when Tisamenus was inquiring of the oracle at Delphi concerning offspring, the priestess prophesied to him that he should win five great victories. Not understanding that oracle, he engaged in bodily exercise, thinking that he would then be able to win in similar sports. When he had trained himself for the Five Contests,^{16*} he came within one wrestling bout of winning the Olympic prize, in a match with Hieronymus of Andros. [3] The Lacedaemonians, however, perceived that the oracle given to Tisamenus spoke of the lists not of sport but of war, and they attempted to bribe Tisamenus to be a leader in their wars jointly with their kings of Heracles' line. [4] When he saw that the Spartans set great store by his friendship, he set his price higher, and made it known to them that he would do what they wanted only in exchange for the gift of full citizenship and all of the citizen's rights. [5] Hearing that, the Spartans at first were angry and completely abandoned their request; but when the dreadful menace of this Persian host hung over them, they consented and granted his

demand. When he saw their purpose changed, he said that he would not be content with that alone; his brother Hegias too must be made a Spartan on the same terms as himself. 34.

By so saying he imitated Melampus, in so far as one may compare demands for kingship with those for citizenship. For when the women of Argos had gone mad, and the Argives wanted him to come from Pylos and heal them of that madness,^{17*} Melampus demanded half of their kingship for his wages. [2] This the Argives would not put up with and departed. When, however, the madness spread among their women, they promised what Melampus demanded and were ready to give it to him. Thereupon, seeing their purpose changed, he demanded yet more and said that he would not do their will except if they gave a third of their kingship to his brother Bias; now driven into dire straits, the Argives consented to that also. 35.

The Spartans too were so eagerly desirous of winning Tisamenus that they granted everything that he demanded. When they had granted him this also, Tisamenus of Elis, now a Spartan, engaged in divination for them and aided them to win five very great victories. No one on earth save Tisamenus and his brother ever became citizens of Sparta. [2] Now the five victories were these: one, the first, this victory at Plataea; next, that which was won at Tegea over the Tegeans and Argives; after that, over all the Arcadians save the Mantineans at Dipaea; next, over the Messenians at Ithome; lastly, the victory at Tanagra over the Athenians and Argives, which was the last won of the five victories.^{18*} 36.

This Tisamenus had now been brought by the Spartans and was the diviner of the Greeks at Plataea. The sacrifices boded good to the Greeks if they would just defend themselves, but evil if they should cross the Asopus and be the first to attack. 37.

Mardonius' sacrifices also foretold an unfavorable outcome if he should be zealous to attack first, and good if he should but defend himself. He too used the Greek manner of sacrifice, and Hegesistratus of Elis was his diviner, the most notable of the sons of Tellias. This man had been put in prison and condemned to die by the Spartans for the great harm which he had done them. [2] Being in such bad shape inasmuch as he was in peril of his life and was likely to be very grievously maltreated before his death, he did something

which was almost beyond belief; made fast in iron-bound stocks, he got an iron weapon which was brought in some way into his prison, and straightway conceived a plan of such courage as we have never known; reckoning how best the rest of it might get free, he cut off his own foot at the instep. [3] This done, he tunneled through the wall out of the way of the guards who kept watch over him, and so escaped to Tegea. All night he journeyed, and all day he hid and lay hidden in the woods, till on the third night he came to Tegea, while all the people of Lacedaemon sought him. The latter were greatly amazed when they saw the half of his foot which had been cut off and lying there but not were unable to find the man himself. [4] This, then, is the way in which he escaped the Lacedaemonians and took refuge in Tegea, which at that time was unfriendly to Lacedaemon. After he was healed and had made himself a foot of wood, he declared himself an open enemy of the Lacedaemonians. Yet the enmity which he bore them brought him no good at the last, for they caught him at his divinations in Zacynthus and killed him. 38.

The death of Hegesistratus, however, took place after the Plataean business. At the present he was by the Asopus, hired by Mardonius for no small wage, where he sacrificed and worked zealously, both for the hatred he bore the Lacedaemonians and for gain. [2] When no favorable omens for battle could be won either by the Persians themselves or by the Greeks who were with them (for they too had a diviner of their own, Hippomachus of Leucas), and the Greeks kept flocking in and their army grew, Timagenides son of Herpys, a Theban, advised Mardonius to guard the outlet of the pass over Cithaeron, telling him that the Greeks were coming in daily and that he would thereby cut off many of them. 39.

The armies had already lain hidden opposite each other for eight days when he gave this counsel. Mardonius perceived that the advice was good, and when night had fallen, he sent his horsemen to the outlet of the pass over Cithaeron which leads towards Plataea. This pass the Boeotians call the Three Heads, and the Athenians the Oak's Heads. The horsemen who were sent out did not go in vain, [2] for they caught both five hundred beasts of burden which were going into the low country, bringing provisions from the Peloponnese for the army, and men who came with the wagons. When they had taken

this quarry, the Persians killed without mercy, sparing neither man nor beast. When they had their fill of slaughter, they encircled the rest and drove them to Mardonius and his camp. 40.

After this deed they waited two days more, neither side desiring to begin the battle, for although the barbarians came to the Asopus to test the Greeks intent, neither army crossed it. Mardonius' cavalry, however, kept pressing upon and troubling the Greeks, for the Thebans, in their zeal for the Persian part, waged war heartily, and kept on guiding the horsemen to the encounter; thereafter it was the turn of the Persians and Medes, and they and none other would do deeds of valor. 41.

Until ten days had passed, no more was done than this. On the eleventh day from their first encampment opposite each other, the Greeks growing greatly in number and Mardonius being greatly vexed by the delay, there was a debate held between Mardonius son of Gobryas and Artabazus son of Pharnaces, who stood as high as only few others in Xerxes' esteem. [2] Their opinions in council were as I will show. Artabazus thought it best that they should strike their camp with all speed and lead the whole army within the walls of Thebes. Here there was much food stored and fodder for their beasts of burden; furthermore, they could sit at their ease here and conclude the business by doing as follows: [3] they could take the great store they had of gold, minted and other, and silver drinking-cups, and send all this to all places in Hellas without stint, excepting none, but especially to the chief men in the cities of Hellas. Let them do this (he said) and the Greeks would quickly surrender their liberty; but do not let the Persians risk the event of a battle. [4] This opinion of his was the same as the Thebans, inasmuch as he too had special foreknowledge. Mardonius' counsel, however, was more vehement and intemperate and not at all leaning to moderation. He said that he thought that their army was much stronger than the Greeks and that they should give battle with all speed so as not to let more Greeks muster than were mustered already. As for the sacrifices of Hegesistratus, let them pay no heed to these, nor seek to wring good from them,^{19*} but rather give battle after Persian custom. 42.

No one withstood this argument, and his opinion accordingly prevailed; for it was he and not Artabazus who was commander of

the army by the king's commission. He therefore sent for the leaders of the battalions and the generals of those Greeks who were with him and asked them if they knew any oracle which prophesied that the Persians should perish in Hellas. [2] Those who were summoned said nothing, some not knowing the prophecies, and some knowing them but thinking it perilous to speak, and then Mardonius himself said: "Since you either have no knowledge or are afraid to declare it, hear what I tell you based on the full knowledge that I have. [3] There is an oracle that Persians are fated to come to Hellas and all perish there after they have plundered the temple at Delphi. Since we have knowledge of this same oracle, we will neither approach that temple nor attempt to plunder it; in so far as destruction hinges on that, none awaits us. [4] Therefore, as many of you as wish the Persian well may rejoice in that we will overcome the Greeks." Having spoken in this way, he gave command to have everything prepared and put in good order for the battle which would take place early the next morning. 43.

Now for this prophecy, which Mardonius said was spoken of the Persians, I know it to have been made concerning not them but the Illyrians and the army of the Enchelees.^{20*} There is, however, a prophecy made by Bacis concerning this battle: [2] "By Thermodon's stream and the grass-grown banks of Asopus, Will be a gathering of Greeks for fight and the ring of the barbarian's war-cry;

Many a Median archer, by death untimely overtaken will fall
There in the battle when the day of his doom is upon him.

"I know that these verses and others very similar to them from Musaeus referred to the Persians. As for the river Thermodon, it flows between Tanagra and Glisas.^{21*} 44.

After this inquiry about oracles and Mardonius' exhortation, night fell, and the armies posted their sentries. Now when the night was far advanced and it seemed that all was still in the camps and the men were sleeping deeply, at that hour Alexander son of Amyntas, the general and king of the Macedonians, rode up to the Athenian outposts and wanted to speak to their generals. [2] The greater part of the sentries remained where they were, but the rest ran to their generals and told them that a horseman had ridden in from the Persian camp, imparting no other word save that he desired to speak

to the generals and called them by their names. 45.

Hearing that, the generals straightway went with the men to the outposts. When they had come, Alexander said to them: "Men of Athens, I give you this message in trust as a secret which you must reveal to no one but Pausanias, or else you will be responsible for my undoing. In truth I would not tell it to you if I did not care so much for all Hellas; [2] I myself am by ancient descent a Greek, and I would not willingly see Hellas change her freedom for slavery. I tell you, then, that Mardonius and his army cannot get omens to his liking from the sacrifices. Otherwise you would have fought long before this. Now, however, it is his purpose to pay no heed to the sacrifices, and to attack at the first glimmer of dawn, for he fears, as I surmise, that your numbers will become still greater. Therefore, I urge you to prepare, and if (as may be) Mardonius should delay and not attack, wait patiently where you are; for he has but a few days' provisions left. [3] If, however, this war ends as you wish, then must you take thought how to save me too from slavery, who have done so desperate a deed as this for the sake of Hellas in my desire to declare to you Mardonius' intent so that the barbarians may not attack you suddenly before you yet expect them. I who speak am Alexander the Macedonian." With that he rode away back to the camp and his own station there. 46.

The Athenian generals went to the right wing and told Pausanias what they had heard from Alexander. At the message Pausanias was terrified by the Persians, and said: [2] "Since, therefore, the battle is to begin at dawn, it is best that you Athenians should take your stand opposite the Persians, and we opposite the Boeotians and the Greeks who are posted opposite you; for you have fought with the Medes at Marathon and know them and their manner of fighting while we have no experience or knowledge of those men. We Spartans have experience of the Boeotians and Thessalians, but not one of us has experience with the Medes. [3] No, rather let us take up our equipment and change places, you to this wing and we to the left." "We, too," the Athenians answered, "even from the moment when we saw the Persians posted opposite you, had it in mind to make that suggestion which now has first come from you. We feared, however, that we would displease you by making it. But since you have spoken the

wish yourselves, we too hear your words very gladly and are ready to do as you say. 47.

Since both were satisfied with this, they exchanged their places in the ranks at the first light of dawn. The Boeotians noticed that and made it known to Mardonius. When he heard this, he straight away attempted to make a change for himself also, by moving the Persians opposite the Lacedaemonians. When Pausanias perceived what was being done, he saw that his action had been discovered and led the Spartans back to the right wing; Mardonius did the same thing on the left of his army. 48.

When all were at their former posts again, Mardonius sent a herald to the Lacedaemonians with this message: “Men of Lacedaemon, you are said by the people of these parts to be very brave men. It is their boast of you that you neither flee from the field nor leave your post, but remain there and either slay your enemies or are yourselves killed. It would seem, however, that there is no truth in all this, [2] for before we could attack and fight hand to hand, we saw you even now fleeing and leaving your station, using Athenians for the first trial of your enemy and arraying yourselves opposite those who are but our slaves. [3] This is not the action of brave men. No, we have been grievously mistaken about you, for in accordance with what we heard about you, we expected that you would send us a herald challenging the Persians and none other to fight with you. That we were ready to do; but we find you making no such offer, but rather quailing before us. Now, therefore, since the challenge comes not from you, take it from us instead. [4] What is there to prevent us from fighting with equal numbers on both sides, you for the Greeks (since you have the reputation of being their best), and we for the barbarians? If it is desirable that the others fight also, let them fight after us, but if, on the contrary the opinion prevails that we alone suffice, then let us fight it out. Let the winner in this contest determine victory for the whole army.” 49.

This is the proclamation made by the herald; and when he had waited a while and no one answered him, he went back again, and at his return told what had happened to him. Mardonius was overjoyed and proud of this semblance of victory, and sent his cavalry to attack the Greeks. [2] The horsemen rode at them and shot arrows and

javelins among the whole Greek army to its great hurt, since they were mounted archers and difficult to deal with in an encounter; they spoiled and blocked the Gargaphian spring, from which the entire Greek army drew its water. [3] None indeed but the Lacedaemonians were posted near the spring, and it was far from the several stations of the other Greeks, whereas the Asopus was near; nevertheless, they would always go to the spring, since they were barred from the Asopus, not being able to draw water from that river because of the horsemen and the arrows. 50.

When this happened, seeing that their army was cut off from water and thrown into confusion by the horsemen, the generals of the Greeks went to Pausanias on the right wing, and debated concerning this and other matters; for there were other problems which troubled them more than what I have told. They had no food left, and their followers whom they had sent into the Peloponnese to bring provisions had been cut off by the horsemen and could not make their way to the army. 51.

So they resolved in their council that if the Persians held off through that day from giving battle, they would go to the Island.^{22*} This is ten furlongs distant from the Asopus and the Gargaphian spring, near which their army then lay, and in front of the town of Plataea. [2] It is like an island on dry land because the river in its course down from Cithaeron into the plain is parted into two channels, and there is about three furlongs space in between till presently the two channels unite again, and the name of that river is Oeroe, who (as the people of the country say) was the daughter of Asopus. [3] To that place then they planned to go so that they might have plenty of water for their use and not be harmed by the horsemen, as now when they were face to face with them; and they resolved to change places in the second watch of the night, lest the Persians should see them setting forth and the horsemen press after them and throw them into confusion. [4] Furthermore, they resolved that when they had come to that place, which is encircled by the divided channels of Asopus' daughter Oeroe as she flows from Cithaeron, they would in that night send half of their army to Cithaeron, to remove their followers who had gone to get the provisions; for these were cut off from them on Cithaeron. 52.

Having made this plan, all that day they suffered constant hardship from the cavalry which continually pressed upon them. When the day ended, however, and the horsemen stopped their onslaught, then at that hour of the night at which it was agreed that they should depart, most of them rose and departed, not with intent to go to the place upon which they had agreed. Instead of that, once they were on their way, they joyfully shook off the horsemen and escaped to the town of Plataea. In the course of their flight they came to the temple of Hera which is outside of that town, twenty furlongs distant from the Gargaphian spring and piled their arms in front of the temple. 53.

So they encamped around the temple of Hera. Pausanias, however, seeing their departure from the camp, gave orders to the Lacedaemonians to take up their arms likewise and follow the others who had gone ahead, supposing that these were making for the place where they had agreed to go. [2] Thereupon, all the rest of the captains being ready to obey Pausanias, Amompharetus son of Poliades, the leader of the Pitane^{23*} battalion, refused to flee from the barbarians or (save by compulsion) bring shame on Sparta; the whole business seemed strange to him, for he had not been present in the council recently held. [3] Pausanias and Euryanax were outraged that Amompharetus disobeyed them. Still more, however, they disliked that his refusing would compel them to abandon the Pitane battalion, for they feared that if they fulfilled their agreement with the rest of the Greeks and abandoned him, Amompharetus and his men would be left behind to perish. [4] Bearing this in mind, they kept the Laconian army where it was and tried to persuade Amompharetus that he was in the wrong. 54.

So they reasoned with Amompharetus, he being the only man left behind of all the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans. As for the Athenians, they stood unmoved at their post, well aware that the purposes and the promises of Lacedaemonians were not alike. [2] But when the army left its station, they sent a horseman of their own to see whether the Spartans were attempting to march or whether they were not intending to depart, and to ask Pausanias what the Athenians should do. 55.

When the messenger arrived among the Lacedaemonians, he saw

them arrayed where they had been, and their chief men by now in hot dispute. For though Euryanax and Pausanias reasoned with Amompharetus, that the Lacedaemonians should not be endangered by remaining there alone, they could in no way prevail upon him. At last, when the Athenian messenger came among them, angry words began to pass. [2] In this wrangling Amompharetus took up a stone with both hands and threw it down before Pausanias' feet, crying that it was the pebble with which he voted against fleeing from the strangers (meaning thereby the barbarians). Pausanias called him a madman; then when the Athenian messenger asked the question with which he had been charged, Pausanias asked the man to tell the Athenians of his present condition, and begged them to join themselves to the Lacedaemonians and, as for departure, to do as they did. 56.

The messenger then went back to the Athenians. When dawn found the dispute still continuing, Pausanias, who had up to this point kept his army where it was, now gave the word and led all the rest away between the hillocks, the Tegeans following, for he supposed that Amompharetus would not stay behind when the rest of the Lacedaemonians left him; this was in fact exactly what happened. [2] The Athenians marshalled themselves and marched, but not by the same way as the Lacedaemonians, who stayed close to the broken ground and the lower slopes of Cithaeron in order to stay clear of the Persian horse. The Athenians marched down into the plain instead. 57.

Now Amompharetus at first supposed that Pausanias would never have the heart to leave him and his men, and he insisted that they should remain where they were and not leave their post. When Pausanias' men had already proceeded some distance, he thought that they had really left him. He accordingly bade his battalion take up its arms and led it in marching step after the rest of the column, [2] which after going a distance of ten furlongs, was waiting for Amompharetus by the stream Molois and the place called Argiopium, where there is a shrine of Eleusinian Demeter. The reason for their waiting was that, if Amompharetus and his battalion should not leave the place where it was posted but remain there, they would then be able to assist him. [3] No sooner had Amompharetus' men come up than the barbarians' cavalry attacked the army, for the

horsemen acted as they always had. When they saw no enemy on the ground where the Greeks had been on the days before this, they kept riding forward and attacked the Greeks as soon as they overtook them. 58.

When Mardonius learned that the Greeks had departed under cover of night and saw the ground deserted, he called to him Thorax of Larissa and his brothers Eurypylus and Thrasydeius and said: [2] “What will you say now, sons of Aleuas, when you see this place deserted? For you, who are their neighbors, kept telling me that Lacedaemonians fled from no battlefield and were the masters of warfare. These same men, however, you just saw changing their post, and now you and all of us see that they have fled during the night. The moment they had to measure themselves in battle with those that are in very truth the bravest on earth, they plainly showed that they are men of no account, and all other Greeks likewise. [3] Now you, for your part, were strangers to the Persians, and I could readily pardon you for praising these fellows, who were in some sort known to you; but I marvelled much more that Artabazus, be he ever so frightened, should give us a coward’s advice to strike our camp, and march away to be besieged in Thebes. Of this advice the king will certainly hear from me, but it will be discussed elsewhere. [4] Now we must not permit our enemies to do as they want; they must be pursued till they are overtaken and pay the penalty for all the harm they have done the Persians.” 59.

With that, he led the Persians with all speed across the Asopus in pursuit of the Greeks, supposing that they were in flight; it was the army of Lacedaemon and Tegea alone which was his goal, for the Athenians marched another way over the broken ground, and were out of his sight. [2] Seeing the Persians setting forth in pursuit of the Greeks, the rest of the barbarian battalions straightway raised their standards and also gave pursuit, each at top speed, no battalion having order in its ranks nor place assigned in the line. 60.

So they ran pell-mell and shouting, as though they would utterly make an end of the Greeks. Pausanias, however, when the cavalry attacked him, sent a horseman to the Athenians with this message: “Men of Athens, in this great contest which must give freedom or slavery to Hellas, we Lacedaemonians and you Athenians have been

betrayed by the flight of our allies in the night that is past. [2] I have accordingly now resolved what we must do; we must protect each other by fighting as best we can. If the cavalry had attacked you first, it would have been the duty of both ourselves and the Tegeans, who are faithful to Hellas, to aid you; but now, seeing that the whole brunt of their assault falls on us, it is right that you should come to the aid of that division which is hardest pressed. [3] But if, as may be, anything has befallen you which makes it impossible for you to aid us, do us the service of sending us your archers. We are sure that you will obey us, as knowing that you have been by far more zealous than all others in this present war.” 61.

When the Athenians heard that, they attempted to help the Lacedaemonians and defend them with all their might. But when their march had already begun, they were set upon by the Greeks posted opposite them, who had joined themselves to the king. For this reason, being now under attack by the foe which was closest, they could at the time send no aid. [2] The Lacedaemonians and Tegeans accordingly stood alone, men-at-arms and light-armed together; there were of the Lacedaemonians fifty thousand and of the Tegeans, who had never been parted from the Lacedaemonians, three thousand. These offered sacrifice so that they would fare better in battle with Mardonius and the army which was with him. [3] They could get no favorable omen from their sacrifices, and in the meanwhile many of them were killed and by far more wounded (for the Persians set up their shields for a fence, and shot showers of arrows). Since the Spartans were being hard-pressed and their sacrifices were of no avail, Pausanias lifted up his eyes to the temple of Hera at Plataea and called on the goddess, praying that they might not be disappointed in their hope. 62.

While he was still in the act of praying, the men of Tegea leapt out before the rest and charged the barbarians, and immediately after Pausanias' prayer the sacrifices of the Lacedaemonians became favorable. Now they too charged the Persians, and the Persians met them, throwing away their bows. [2] First they fought by the fence of shields, and when that was down, there was a fierce and long fight around the temple of Demeter itself, until they came to blows at close quarters. For the barbarians laid hold of the spears and broke them

short. [3] Now the Persians were neither less valorous nor weaker, but they had no armor; moreover, since they were unskilled and no match for their adversaries in craft, they would rush out singly and in tens or in groups great or small, hurling themselves on the Spartans and so perishing. 63.

Where Mardonius was himself, riding a white horse in the battle and surrounded by a thousand picked men who were the flower of the Persians, there they pressed their adversaries hardest. So long as Mardonius was alive the Persians stood their ground and defended themselves, overthrowing many Lacedaemonians. [2] When, however, Mardonius was killed and his guards, who were the strongest part of the army, had also fallen, then the rest too yielded and gave ground before the men of Lacedaemon. For what harmed them the most was the fact that they wore no armor over their clothes and fought, as it were, naked against men fully armed. 64.

On that day the Spartans, as the oracle had foretold, gained from Mardonius their full measure of vengeance for the slaying of Leonidas, and the most glorious of victories of all which we know was won by Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, who was the son of Anaxandrides. [2] (I have named the rest of Pausanias' ancestors in the lineage of Leonidas, for they are the same for both.) As for Mardonius, he was killed by Aeimnestus, a Spartan of note who long after the Persian business led three hundred men to battle at Stenyclerus against the whole army of Messenia, and was there killed, he and his three hundred. 65.

At Plataea, however, the Persians, routed by the Lacedaemonians, fled in disorder to their own camp and inside the wooden walls which they had made in the territory of Thebes. [2] It is indeed a marvel that although the battle was right by the grove of Demeter, there was no sign that any Persian had been killed in the precinct or entered into it; most of them fell near the temple in unconsecrated ground. I think — if it is necessary to judge the ways of the gods — that the goddess herself denied them entry, since they had burnt her temple, the shrine at Eleusis. 66.

This, then, is what happened in this battle. But Artabazus son of Pharnaces had from the very first disapproved of the king's leaving Mardonius, and now all his counselling not to join battle had been of

no avail. In his displeasure at what Mardonius was doing, he himself did as I will show. [2] He had with him a great army, as many as forty thousand men. He knew full well what the outcome of the battle would be, and no sooner had the Greeks and Persians met than he led these with a fixed purpose, telling them to follow him all together wherever he should lead them, whatever they thought his intent might be. [3] With that command he pretended to lead them into battle. As he came farther on his way, he saw the Persians already fleeing and accordingly led his men, no longer in the same array, but took to his heels and fled with all speed not to the wooden fort nor to the walled city of Thebes, but to Phocis, so that he might make his way with all haste to the Hellespont. 67.

So Artabazus and his army turned that way. All the rest of the Greeks who were on the king's side fought badly on purpose, but not so the Boeotians; they fought for a long time against the Athenians. For those Thebans who were on the Persian side had great enthusiasm in the battle, and did not want to fight in a cowardly manner. As a result of this, three hundred of their first and best were killed there by the Athenians. At last, however, the Boeotians too yielded and they fled to Thebes, but not by the way which the Persians had fled and the multitude of the allies which had fought no fight to the end nor achieved any feat of arms. 68.

This flight of theirs which took place before the actual closing of battle and was prompted because they saw the Persians flee, proves to me that it was on the Persians that the fortune of the barbarians hung. They accordingly all fled, save the cavalry, Boeotian and other; this helped the fleeing men in so far as it remained between them and their enemies and shielded its friends from the Greeks in their flight. 69.

So the Greeks, now having the upper hand, followed Xerxes' men, pursuing and slaying. During this steadily growing rout there came a message to the rest of the Greeks, who were by the temple of Hera and had stayed out of the fighting, that there had been a battle and that Pausanias' men were victorious. When they heard this, they set forth in no ordered array, those who were with the Corinthians keeping to the spurs of the mountain and the hill country, by the road that led upward straight to the temple of Demeter, and those who

were with the Megarians and Philasians taking the most level route over the plain. [2] However, when the Megarians and Philasians had come near the enemy, the Theban horsemen (whose captain was Asopodorus son of Timander) caught sight of them approaching in haste and disorder, and rode at them; in this attack they trampled six hundred of them, and pursued and drove the rest to Cithaeron. 70.

So these perished without anyone noticing. But when the Persians and the rest of the multitude had fled within the wooden wall, they managed to get up on the towers before the coming of the Lacedaemonians; then they strengthened the wall as best they could. When the Athenians arrived, an intense battle for the wall began. [2] For as long as the Athenians were not there, the barbarians defended themselves and had a great advantage over the Lacedaemonians who had no skill in the assault of walls. When the Athenians came up, however, the fight for the wall became intense and lasted for a long time. In the end the Athenians, by valor and constant effort, scaled the wall and breached it. The Greeks poured in through the opening they had made; [3] the first to enter were the Tegeans, and it was they who plundered the tent of Mardonius, taking from it besides everything else the feeding trough of his horses which was all of bronze and a thing well worth looking at. The Tegeans dedicated this feeding trough of Mardonius in the temple of Athena Alea. Everything else which they took they brought into the common pool, as did the rest of the Greeks. [4] As for the barbarians, they did not form a unified body again once the wall was down, nor did anyone think of defense because the terrified men in the tiny space and the many myriads herded together were in great distress. [5] Such a slaughter were the Greeks able to make, that of two hundred and sixty thousand who remained after Artabazus had fled with his forty thousand, scarcely three thousand were left alive. Of the Lacedaemonians from Sparta ninety-one all together were killed in battle; of the Tegeans, seventeen and of the Athenians, fifty-two.^{24*} 71.

Among the barbarians, the best fighters were the Persian infantry and the cavalry of the Sacae, and of men, it is said, the bravest was Mardonius. Among the Greeks, the Tegeans and Athenians conducted themselves nobly, but the Lacedaemonians excelled all in valor. [2] Of this my only clear proof is (for all these conquered the

foes opposed to them) the fact that the Lacedaemonians fought with the strongest part of the army, and overcame it. According to my judgment, the bravest man by far was Aristodemus, who had been reviled and dishonored for being the only man of the three hundred that came alive from Thermopylae;^{25*} next after him in valor were Posidonius, Philocyon, and Amompharetus. [3] Nevertheless, when there was a general discussion about who had borne himself most bravely, those Spartans who were there judged that Aristodemus, who plainly wished to die because of the reproach hanging over him and so rushed out and left the battle column behind, had achieved great deeds, but that Posidonius, who had no wish to die, proved himself a courageous fighter, and so in this way he was the better man. [4] This they may have said merely out of jealousy, but all the aforesaid who were killed in that fight received honor, save Aristodemus; he, because he desired death because of the reproach previously mentioned, received none. 72.

These won the most renown of all who fought at Plataea. For Callicrates, who, when he came to the army, was the finest not only of the Lacedaemonians, but also of all the other Greeks, died away from the battle. Callicrates, who was sitting in his place when Pausanias was offering sacrifice, was wounded in the side by an arrow. [2] While his comrades were fighting, he was carried out of the battle and died a lingering death, saying to Arimnestus, a Plataean, that it was not a source of grief to him to die for Hellas' sake; his sorrow was rather that he had struck no blow and achieved no deed worthy of his merit, despite all his eager desire to do so. 73.

Of the Athenians, Sophanes son of Eutychides is said to have won renown, a man from the town of Decelea, whose people once did a deed that was of eternal value, as the Athenians themselves say. [2] For in the past when the sons of Tyndarus were trying to recover Helen,^{26*} after breaking into Attica with a great host, they turned the towns upside down because they did not know where Helen had been hidden, then (it is said) the Deceleans (and, as some say, Decelus himself, because he was angered by the pride of Theseus and feared for the whole land of Attica) revealed the whole matter to the sons of Tyndarus, and guided them to Aphidnae, which Titacus, one of the autochthonoi, handed over to the Tyndaridae. [3] For that deed the

Deceleans have always had and still have freedom at Sparta from all dues and chief places at feasts. In fact, even as recently as the war which was waged many years after this time between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, the Lacedaemonians laid no hand on Decelea when they harried the rest of Attica.^{27*} 74.

From that town was Sophanes, who now was the best Athenian fighter in the battle, and about him two tales are told. According to the first, he bore an iron anchor attached to the belt of his cuirass with a chain of bronze. He would cast this anchor whenever he approached his enemies in an attack so that the enemy, as they left their ranks, might not be able to move him from his place. When they were put to flight, it was his plan that he would pull up his anchor and so pursue them. [2] So runs this tale. The second which contradicts with the first and relates that he wore no iron anchor attached to his cuirass, but that his shield, which he constantly whirled round and never held still, had on it an anchor as a device. 75.

There is yet another glorious deed which Sophanes did; when the Athenians were besieging Aegina, he challenged and killed Eurybates the Argive, a victor in the Five Contests. Long after this, Sophanes met his death when he was general of the Athenians with Leagrus, son of Glaucon. He was killed at Datus^{28*} by the Edonians in a battle for the gold-mines. 76.

Immediately after the Greeks had devastated the barbarians at Plataea, a woman, who was the concubine of Pharandates a Persian, son of Teaspis, deserting from the enemy, came to them. She, learning that the Persians were ruined and the Greeks victorious, decked herself (as did also her attendants) with many gold ornaments and the fairest clothing that she had, and alighting thus from her carriage came to the Lacedaemonians while they were still in the midst of slaughtering. When she saw Pausanias, whose name and country she had often heard of, directing everything, she knew that it was he, and supplicated him clasping his knees: [2] "Save me, your suppliant, O king of Sparta, from captive slavery, for you have aided me till now, by making an end of those men who hold sacred nothing of the gods or of any divinities. Coan I am by birth, the daughter of Hegetorides, son of Antagoras; in Cos the Persian seized me by force and held me prisoner." [3] "Take heart, lady," Pausanias answered,

“for you are my suppliant, and furthermore if you are really the daughter of Hegetorides of Cos, he is my closest friend of all who dwell in those lands.” For the present, he then entrusted her to those of the ephors who were present. Later he sent her to Aegina, where she herself desired to go. 77.

Immediately after the arrival of this woman, the men of Mantinea came when everything was already over. Upon learning that they had come too late for the battle, they were extremely upset and said that they ought to punish themselves for that. [2] When they heard that those Medes with Artabazus were fleeing, they would have pursued them as far as Thessaly. The Lacedaemonians, however, would not permit them to pursue the fleeing men. [3] So when they returned to their own land, the Mantineans banished the leaders of their army from the country. After the Mantineans came the men of Elis, who also went away extremely upset, and after their departure, they too banished their leaders. Such were the doings of the Mantineans and Eleans. 78.

There was at Plataea in the army of the Aeginetans one Lampon, son of Pytheas, a leading man of Aegina. He hastened to Pausanias with really outrageous counsel and coming upon him, said to him: [2] “son of Cleombrotus, you have done a deed of surpassing greatness and glory; the god has granted to you in saving Hellas to have won greater renown than any Greek whom we know. But now you must finish what remains for the rest, so that your fame may be greater still and so that no barbarian will hereafter begin doing reckless deeds against the Greeks. [3] When Leonidas was killed at Thermopylae, Mardonius and Xerxes cut off his head and set it on a pole; make them a like return, and you will win praise from all Spartans and the rest of Hellas besides. For if you impale Mardonius, you will be avenged for your father’s brother Leonidas.” 79.

This is what Lampon, thinking to please, said. Pausanias, however, answered him as follows: “Aeginetan, I thank you for your goodwill and forethought, but you have missed the mark of right judgment. First you exalt me and my fatherland and my deeds, yet next you cast me down to mere nothingness when you advise me to insult the dead, and say that I shall win more praise if I do so. That would be an act more proper for barbarians than for Greeks and one

that we consider worthy of censure even in barbarians. [2] No, as for myself, I would prefer to find no favor either with the people of Aegina or anyone else who is pleased by such acts. It is enough for me if I please the Spartans by righteous deeds and speech. As for Leonidas, whom you would have me avenge, I think that he has received a full measure of vengeance; the uncounted souls of these that you see have done honor to him and the rest of those who died at Thermopylae. But to you this is my warning: do not come again to me with words like these nor give me such counsel. Be thankful now that you go unpunished.”⁸⁰.

With that Lampon departed. Then Pausanias made a proclamation that no man should touch the spoils, and ordered the helots to gather all the stuff together. They, spreading all over the camp, found there tents adorned with gold and silver, and couches gilded and silver-plated, and golden bowls and cups and other drinking-vessels; [2] and sacks they found on wagons, in which were seen cauldrons of gold and silver. They stripped from the dead who lay there their armlets and torques, and golden daggers; as for the embroidered clothing, it was disregarded. [3] Much of all this the helots showed, as much as they could not conceal, but much they stole and sold to the Aeginetans. As a result the Aeginetans laid the foundation of their great fortunes by buying gold from the helots as though it were bronze.⁸¹.

Having brought all the loot together, they set apart a tithe for the god of Delphi. From this was made and dedicated that tripod which rests upon the bronze three-headed serpent,^{29*} nearest to the altar; another they set apart for the god of Olympia, from which was made and dedicated a bronze figure of Zeus, ten cubits high; and another for the god of the Isthmus, from which was fashioned a bronze Poseidon seven cubits high. When they had set all this apart, they divided what remained, and each received, according to his worth, concubines of the Persians and gold and silver, and all the rest of the stuff and the beasts of burden. [2] How much was set apart and given to those who had fought best at Plataea, no man says. I think that they also received gifts, but tenfold of every kind, women, horses, talents, camels, and all other things also, was set apart and given to Pausanias.⁸².

This other story is also told. When Xerxes fled from Hellas, he left to Mardonius his own establishment. Pausanias, seeing Mardonius' establishment with its display of gold and silver and gaily colored tapestry, ordered the bakers and the cooks to prepare a dinner such as they were accustomed to do for Mardonius. [2] They did his bidding, but Pausanias, when he saw golden and silver couches richly covered, and tables of gold and silver, and all the magnificent service of the banquet, was amazed at the splendor before him, and for a joke commanded his own servants to prepare a dinner in Laconian fashion. When that meal, so different from the other, was ready, Pausanias burst out laughing and sent for the generals of the Greeks. [3] When these had assembled, Pausanias pointed to the manner in which each dinner was served and said: "Men of Hellas, I have brought you here because I desired to show you the foolishness of the leader of the Medes who, with such provisions for life as you see, came here to take away from us our possessions which are so pitiful." In this way, it is said, Pausanias spoke to the generals of the Greeks. 83.

Long after these events many of the Plataeans also found chests full of gold and silver and other things. [2] Moreover, when their bodies (which the Plataeans gathered into one place) were laid bare of flesh, a skull was found of which the bone was all of one piece without suture. A jawbone also came to light in which the teeth of the upper jaw were one whole, a single bone, front teeth and grinders, and one could see the body of a man of five cubits stature. 84.

As for the body of Mardonius, it was removed on the day after the battle; by whom, I cannot with certainty say. I have, however, heard of very many countries that buried Mardonius, and I know of many that were richly rewarded for that act by Mardonius' son Artontes. [2] Which of them it was that stole and buried the body of Mardonius I cannot learn for certain. Some report that it was buried by Dionysophanes, an Ephesian. Such was the manner of Mardonius' burial. 85.

But the Greeks, when they had divided the spoils at Plataea, buried each contingent of their dead in a separate place. The Lacedaemonians made three tombs; there they buried their "irens,"^{30*}

among whom were Posidonius, Amompharetus, Philocyon, and Callicrates. [2] In one of the tombs, then, were the “irens,” in the second the rest of the Spartans, and in the third the helots. This, then is how the Lacedaemonians buried their dead. The Tegeans, however, buried all theirs together in a place apart, and the Athenians did similarly with their own dead. So too did the Megarians and Phliasians with those who had been killed by the horsemen. [3] All the tombs of these peoples were filled with dead; but as for the rest of the states whose tombs are to be seen at Plataeae, their tombs are but empty barrows that they built for the sake of men that should come after, because they were ashamed to have been absent from the battle. There is one there called the tomb of the Aeginetans, which, as I learn by inquiry, was built as late as ten years after, at the Aeginetans’ desire, by their patron and protector Cleades son of Autodicus, a Plataean. 86.

As soon as the Greeks had buried their dead at Plataea, they resolved in council that they would march against Thebes and demand surrender of those who had taken the Persian side — particularly of Timagenidas and Attaginus, who were chief among their foremost men. If these men were not delivered to them, they would not withdraw from the area in front of the city till they had taken it. [2] They came with this purpose on the eleventh day after the battle and laid siege to the Thebans, demanding the surrender of the men. When the Thebans refused this surrender, they laid waste to their lands and assaulted the walls. 87.

Seeing that the Greeks would not cease from their harrying and nineteen days had passed, Timagenidas spoke as follows to the Thebans: “Men of Thebes, since the Greeks have resolved that they will not raise the siege till Thebes is taken or we are delivered to them, do not let the land of Boeotia increase the measure of its ills for our sake. [2] No, rather if it is money they desire and their demand for our surrender is but a pretext, let us give them money out of our common treasury (for it was by the common will and not ours alone that we took the Persian side). If, however, they are besieging the town for no other reason than to have us, then we will give ourselves up to be tried by them.” This seemed to be said well and at the right time, and the Thebans immediately sent a herald to Pausanias,

offering to surrender the men. 88.

On these terms they made an agreement, but Attaginus escaped from the town. His sons were seized, but Pausanias held them free of guilt, saying that the sons were not accessory to the treason. As for the rest of the men whom the Thebans surrendered, they supposed that they would be put on trial, and were confident that they would defeat the impeachment by bribery. Pausanias, however, had that very suspicion of them, and when they were put into his hands he sent away the whole allied army and carried the men to Corinth, where he put them to death. This is what happened at Plataea and Thebes. 89.

Artabazus the son of Pharnaces was by now far on his way in his flight from Plataea. The Thessalians, when he came among them, entertained him hospitably and inquired of him concerning the rest of the army, knowing nothing of what had happened at Plataea. [2] Artabazus understood that if he told them the whole truth about the fighting, he would endanger his own life and the lives of all those with him, for he thought that every man would set upon him if they heard the story. Therefore, although he had revealed nothing to the Phocians, he spoke as follows to the Thessalians: [3] "I myself, men of Thessaly, am pressing on with all speed and diligence to march into Thrace, being despatched from the army for a certain purpose with the men whom you see. Mardonius and his army are expected marching close on my heels. It is for you to entertain him, and show that you do him good service, for if you so do, you will not afterwards regret it." [4] So saying, he used all diligence to lead his army away straight towards Thrace through Thessaly and Macedonia without any delay, following the shortest inland road. So he came to Byzantium, but he left behind many of his army who had been cut down by the Thracians or overcome by hunger and weariness. From Byzantium he crossed over in boats. In such a way Artabazus returned to Asia. 90.

Now on the same day when the Persians were so stricken at Plataea, it so happened that they suffered a similar fate at Mykale in Ionia. When the Greeks who had come in their ships with Leutychides the Lacedaemonian were encamped at Delos, certain messengers came to them there from Samos, Lampon of Thrasykles,

Athenagoras son of Archestratides, and Hegesistratus son of Aristagoras. The Samians had sent these, keeping their despatch secret from the Persians and the tyrant Theomestor son of Androdamas, whom the Persians had made tyrant of Samos. [2] When they came before the generals, Hegesistratus spoke long and vehemently: "If the Ionians but see you," he said, "they will revolt from the Persians, and the barbarians will not remain; but if they do remain, you will have such a prey as never again. " He begged them in the name of the gods of their common worship to deliver Greeks from slavery and drive the barbarian away. [3] That, he said, would be an easy matter for them, "for the Persian ships are unseaworthy and no match for yours; and if you have any suspicion that we may be tempting you deceitfully, we are ready to be taken in your ships as hostages." 91.

As the Samian stranger was pleading so earnestly, Leutychides asked him (whether it was that he desired to know for the sake of a presage, or through some happy chance of a god), "Samian stranger, what is your name?" "Hegesistratus,"^{31*} he replied. [2] Then Leutychides cut short whatever else Hegesistratus had begun to say, and cried: "I accept the omen of your name, Samian stranger; now see to it that before you sail from here you and those who are with you pledge that the Samians will be our zealous allies." 92.

He said this and added deed to word. For straightway the Samians bound themselves by pledge and oath to alliance with the Greeks. [2] This done, the rest sailed away, but Leutychides bade Hegesistratus to sail with the Greeks because of the good omen of his name. The Greeks waited through that day, and on the next they sought and received favorable augury; their diviner was Deiphonus son of Evenius, a man of that Apollonia which is in the Ionian gulf. This man's father Evenius had once fared as I will now relate. 93.

There is at Apollonia a certain flock sacred to the Sun, which in the daytime is pastured beside the river Chon, which flows from the mountain called Lacmon through the lands of Apollonia and empties into the sea by the harbor of Oricum. By night, those townsmen who are most notable for wealth or lineage are chosen to watch it, each man serving for a year, for the people of Apollonia set great store by this flock, being so taught by a certain oracle. It is kept in a cave far

distant from the town. [2] Now at the time of which I speak, Evenius was the chosen watchman. But one night he fell asleep, and wolves, coming past his guard into the cave, killed about sixty of the flock. When Evenius was aware of it, he held his peace and told no man, intending to restore what was lost by buying others. [3] This matter was not, however, hidden from the people of Apollonia, and when it came to their knowledge they brought him to judgment and condemned him to lose his eyesight for sleeping at his watch. So they blinded Evenius, but from the day of their so doing their flocks bore no offspring, nor did their land yield fruit as before. [4] Furthermore, a declaration was given to them at Dodona and Delphi, when they inquired of the prophets what might be the cause of their present ill: the gods told them by their prophets that they had done unjustly in blinding Evenius, the guardian of the sacred flock, “for we ourselves” (they said) “sent those wolves, and we will not cease from avenging him until you make him such restitution for what you did as he himself chooses and approves; when that is fully done, we ourselves will give Evenius such a gift as will make many men consider him happy.”⁹⁴

This was the oracle given to the people of Apollonia. They kept it secret and charged certain of their townsmen to carry the business through; they acted as I will now show. Coming and sitting down by Evenius at the place where he sat, they spoke of other matters, till at last they fell to commiserating his misfortune. Guiding the conversation in this way, they asked him what compensation he would choose, if the people of Apollonia should promise to requite him for what they had done. [2] He, knowing nothing of the oracle, said he would choose for a gift the lands of certain named townsmen whom he thought to have the two fairest estates in Apollonia, and a house besides which he knew to be the fairest in the town; let him (he said) have possession of these, and he would lay aside his anger, and be satisfied with that by way of restitution. [3] So he said this, and those who were sitting beside him said in reply: “Evenius, the people of Apollonia hereby make you that restitution for the loss of your sight, obeying the oracle given to them.” At that he was very angry, for he learned through this the whole story and saw that they had cheated him. They did, however, buy from the possessors and give

him what he had chosen, and from that day he had a natural gift of divination, through which he won fame. 95.

Deiphonus, the son of this Evenius, had been brought by the Corinthians, and was the army's prophet. But I have heard it said before now, that Deiphonus was not the son of Evenius, but made a wrongful use of that name and worked for wages up and down Hellas. 96.

Having won favorable omens, the Greeks put out to sea from Delos for Samos. When they were now near Calamisa in the Samian territory, they anchored there near the temple of Hera which is in those parts, and prepared for a sea-fight. The Persians, learning of their approach, also put out to sea and made for the mainland with all their ships save the Phoenicians, whom they sent sailing away. It was determined by them in council that they would not do battle by sea, [2] for they thought themselves overmatched; the reason of their making for the mainland was that they might be under the shelter of their army at Mykale, which had been left by Xerxes' command behind the rest of his host to hold Ionia. There were sixty thousand men in it, and Tigranes, the noblest and tallest man in Persia, was their general. [3] It was the design of the Persian admirals to flee to the shelter of that army, and there to beach their ships and build a fence round them which should be a protection for the ship and a refuge for themselves. 97.

With this design they put to sea. So when they came past the temple of the Goddesses^{32*} at Mykale to the Gaeson and Scolopois,^{33*} where there is a temple of Eleusinian Demeter (which was built by Philistus son of Pasicles when he went with Nileus son of Codrus to the founding of Miletus), they beached their ships and fenced them round with stones and the trunks of orchard trees which they cut down; they drove in stakes around the fence and prepared for siege or victory, making ready, after consideration, for either event. 98.

When the Greeks learned that the barbarians had gone off to the mainland, they were not all pleased that their enemy had escaped them, and did not know whether to return back or set sail for the Hellespont. At last they resolved that they would do neither, but sail to the mainland. [2] Equipping themselves for this with gangways and

everything else necessary for a sea-fight, they held their course for Mykale. When they approached the camp, no one put out to meet them. Seeing the ships beached within the wall and a great host of men drawn up in array along the strand, Leutychides first sailed along in his ship, keeping as near to the shore as he could, and made this proclamation to the Ionians by the voice of a herald: [3] “Men of Ionia, you who hear us, understand what I say, for by no means will the Persians understand anything I charge you with when we join battle; first of all it is right for each man to remember his freedom and next the battle-cry ‘Hebe’: and let him who hears me tell him who has not heard it.” [4] The purpose of this act was the same as Themistocles’ purpose at Artemisium;^{34*} either the message would be unknown to the barbarians and would prevail with the Ionians, or if it were thereafter reported to the barbarians, it would cause them to mistrust their Greek allies. 99.

After this counsel of Leutychides, the Greeks brought their ships to land and disembarked on the beach, where they formed a battle column. But the Persians, seeing the Greeks prepare for battle and exhort the Ionians, first of all took away the Samians’ armor, suspecting that they would aid the Greeks; [2] for indeed when the barbarian’s ships brought certain Athenian captives, who had been left in Attica and taken by Xerxes’ army, the Samians had set them all free and sent them away to Athens with provisions for the journey; for this reason in particular they were held suspect, as having set free five hundred souls of Xerxes’ enemies. [3] Furthermore, they appointed the Milesians to guard the passes leading to the heights of Mykale, alleging that they were best acquainted with the country. Their true reason, however, for so doing was that the Milesians should be separate from the rest of their army. In such a manner the Persians safeguarded themselves from those Ionians who (they supposed) might turn against them if opportunity were given for themselves: they set their shields close to make a barricade. 100.

The Greeks, having made all their preparations advanced their line against the barbarians. As they went, a rumor spread through the army, and a herald’s wand was seen lying by the water-line. The rumor that ran was to the effect that the Greeks were victors over

Mardonius' army at a battle in Boeotia. [2] Now there are many clear indications of the divine ordering of things, seeing that a message, which greatly heartened the army and made it ready to face danger, arrived amongst the Greeks the very day on which the Persians' disaster at Plataea and that other which was to befall them at Mykale took place. 101.

Moreover, there was the additional coincidence, that there were precincts of Eleusinian Demeter on both battlefields; for at Plataea the fight was near the temple of Demeter, as I have already said, and so it was to be at Mykale also. [2] It happened that the rumor of a victory won by the Greeks with Pausanias was true, for the defeat at Plataea happened while it was yet early in the day, and the defeat of Mykale in the afternoon. That the two fell on the same day of the same month was proven to the Greeks when they examined the matter not long afterwards. [3] Now before this rumor came they had been faint-hearted, fearing less for themselves than for the Greeks with Pausanias, that Hellas should stumble over Mardonius. But when the report sped among them, they grew stronger and swifter in their onset. So Greeks and barbarians alike were eager for battle, seeing that the islands and the Hellespont were the prizes of victory. 102.

As for the Athenians and those whose place was nearest them, that is, for about half of the line, their way lay over the beach and level ground; for the Lacedaemonians and those that were next to them, their way lay through a ravine and among hills. While the Lacedaemonians were making a circuit, those others on the other wing were already fighting. [2] As long as the Persians' shields stood upright, they defended themselves and held their own in the battle, but when the Athenians and their neighbors in the line passed the word and went more zealously to work, that they and not the Lacedaemonians might win the victory, immediately the face of the fight changed. [3] Breaking down the shields they charged all together into the midst of the Persians, who received the onset and stood their ground for a long time, but at last fled within their wall. The Athenians and Corinthians and Sicyonians and Troezenians, who were next to each other in the line, followed close after and rushed in together. But when the walled place had been razed, the barbarians

made no further defense, but took to flight, all save the Persians, [4] who gathered into bands of a few men and fought with whatever Greeks came rushing within the walls. Of the Persian leaders two escaped by flight and two were killed; Artayntes and Ithanitres, who were admirals of the fleet, escaped; Mardontes and Tigranes, the general of the land army, were killed fighting. 103.

While the Persians still fought, the Lacedaemonians and their comrades came up and finished what was left of the business. The Greeks too lost many men there, notably the men of Sicyon and their general Perilaus. [2] As for the Samians who served in the Median army and had been disarmed, they, seeing from the first that victory hung in the balance,^{35*} did what they could in their desire to aid the Greeks. When the other Ionians saw the Samians set the example, they also abandoned the Persians and attacked the foreigners. 104.

The Persians had for their own safety appointed the Milesians to watch the passes, so that if anything should happen to the Persian army such as did happen to it, they might have guides to bring them safely to the heights of Mykale. This was the task to which the Milesians were appointed for the reason mentioned above and so that they might not be present with the army and so turn against it. They acted wholly contrary to the charge laid upon them; they misguided the fleeing Persians by ways that led them among their enemies, and at last they themselves became their worst enemies and killed them. In this way Ionia revolted for the second time from the Persians. 105.

In that battle those of the Greeks who fought best were the Athenians, and the Athenian who fought best was one who practised the pancratium,^{36*} Hermolycus son of Euthoenus. This Hermolycus on a later day met his death in a battle at Cynus in Carystus during a war between the Athenians and Carystians, and lay dead on Geraestus. Those who fought best after the Athenians were the men of Corinth and Troezen and Sicyon. 106.

When the Greeks had made an end of most of the barbarians, either in battle or in flight, they brought out their booty onto the beach, and found certain stores of wealth. Then after burning the ships and the whole of the wall, they sailed away. [2] When they had arrived at Samos, they debated in council over the removal of all Greeks from Ionia, and in what Greek lands under their dominion it

would be best to plant the Ionians, leaving the country itself to the barbarians; for it seemed impossible to stand on guard between the Ionians and their enemies forever. If, however, they should not so stand, they had no hope that the Persians would permit the Ionians to go unpunished. [3] In this matter the Peloponnesians who were in charge were for removing the people from the lands of those Greek nations which had sided with the Persians and giving their land to the Ionians to dwell in. The Athenians disliked the whole plan of removing the Greeks from Ionia, or allowing the Peloponnesians to determine the lot of Athenian colonies, and as they resisted vehemently, the Peloponnesians yielded. [4] It accordingly came about that they admitted to their alliance the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and all other islanders who had served with their forces, and bound them by pledge and oaths to remain faithful and not desert their allies. When the oaths had been sworn, the Greeks set sail to break the bridges, supposing that these still held fast. So they laid their course for the Hellespont. 107.

The few barbarians who escaped were driven to the heights of Mykale, and made their way from there to Sardis. While they were making their way along the road, Masistes son of Darius, who happened to have been present at the Persian disaster, reviled the admiral Artayntes very bitterly, telling him (with much beside) that such generalship as his proved him worse than a woman, and that no punishment was too severe for the harm he had done the king's estate. Now it is the greatest of all taunts in Persia to be called worse than a woman. [2] These many insults angered Artayntes so much that he drew his sword upon Masistes to kill him, but Xenagoras son of Praxilaus of Halicarnassus, who stood behind Artayntes himself saw him run at Masistes, and caught him round the middle and lifted and hurled him to the ground. In the meantime Masistes' guards had also come between them. [3] By doing so Xenagoras won the gratitude of Masistes himself and Xerxes, for saving the king's brother. For this deed he was made ruler of all Cilicia by the king's gift. Then they went on their way without anything further happening and came to Sardis. 108.

Now it happened that the king had been at Sardis ever since he came there in flight from Athens after his overthrow in the sea-fight.

Being then at Sardis he became enamored of Masistes' wife, who was also there. But as all his messages could not bring her to yield to him, and he would not force her to his will, out of regard for his brother Masistes (which indeed counted with the woman also, for she knew well that no force would be used against her), Xerxes found no other way to accomplish his purpose than that he should make a marriage between his own son Darius and the daughter of this woman and Masistes, for he thought that by doing so he would be most likely to win her. [2] So he betrothed them with all due ceremony and rode away to Susa. But when he had come and had taken Darius' bride into his house, he thought no more of Masistes' wife, but changed his mind and wooed and won this girl Artaynte, Darius' wife and Masistes' daughter. 109.

As time went on, however, the truth came to light, and in such manner as I will show. Xerxes' wife, Amestris, wove and gave to him a great gaily-colored mantle, marvellous to see. Xerxes was pleased with it, and went to Artaynte wearing it. [2] Being pleased with her too, he asked her what she wanted in return for her favors, for he would deny nothing at her asking. Thereupon — for she and all her house were doomed to evil — she said to Xerxes, "Will you give me whatever I ask of you?" He promised this, supposing that she would ask anything but that; when he had sworn, she asked boldly for his mantle. [3] Xerxes tried to refuse her, for no reason except that he feared that Amestris might have clear proof of his doing what she already guessed. He accordingly offered her cities instead and gold in abundance and an army for none but herself to command. Armies are the most suitable of gifts in Persia. But as he could not move her, he gave her the mantle; and she, rejoicing greatly in the gift, went flaunting her finery. 110.

Amestris heard that she had the mantle, but when she learned the truth, it was not the girl with whom she was angry. She supposed rather that the girl's mother was guilty and that this was her doing, and so it was Masistes' wife whom she plotted to destroy. [2] She waited therefore till Xerxes her husband should be giving his royal feast. This banquet is served once a year, on the king's birthday; the Persian name for it is "tukta," which is in the Greek language "perfect." On that day (and none other) the king anoints his head and

makes gifts to the Persians. Waiting for that day, Amestris then asked of Xerxes that Masistes' wife should be given to her. [3] Xerxes considered it a terrible and wicked act to give up his brother's wife, and that too when she was innocent of the deed; for he knew the purpose of the request. 111.

Nevertheless, since Amestris was insistent and the law compelled him (for at this royal banquet in Persia every request must of necessity be granted), he unwillingly consented, and delivered the woman to Amestris. Then, bidding her do what she wanted, he sent for his brother and spoke as follows: [2] "Masistes, you are Darius' son and my brother, and a good man; hear me then. You must no longer live with her who is now your wife. I give you my daughter in her place. Take her for your own, but do away with the wife that you have, for it is not my will that you should have her." [3] At that Masistes was amazed; "Sire," he said, "what is this evil command that you lay upon me, telling me to deal with my wife in this way? I have by her young sons and daughters, of whom you have taken a wife for your own son, and I am very content with her herself. Yet you are asking me to get rid of my wife and wed your daughter? [4] Truly, O king, I consider it a great honor to be accounted worthy of your daughter, but I will do neither the one nor the other. No, rather, do not force me to consent to such a desire. You will find another husband for your daughter as good as I, but permit me to keep my own wife." [5] This was Masistes' response, but Xerxes was very angry and said: "You have come to this pass, Masistes. I will give you no daughter of mine as a wife, nor will you any longer live with her whom you now have. In this way you will learn to accept that which is offered you." Hearing that, Masistes said "No, sire, you have not destroyed me yet!" and so departed. 112.

In the meantime, while Xerxes talked with his brother, Amestris sent for Xerxes' guards and treated Masistes' wife very cruelly; she cut off the woman's breasts and threw them to dogs, and her nose and ears and lips also, and cut out her tongue. Then she sent her home after she had undergone this dreadful ordeal. 113.

Knowing nothing of this as yet, but fearing evil, Masistes ran home. Seeing what had been done to his wife, he immediately took counsel with his children and set out for Bactra with his own sons

(and others too), intending to raise the province of Bactra in revolt and do the king the greatest of harm. [2] This he would have done, to my thinking, had he escaped to the country of the Bactrians and Sacae. They were fond of him, and he was viceroy over the Bactrians. But it was of no use, for Xerxes learned what he intended and sent against him an army which killed him on his way, and his sons and his army. Such is the story of Xerxes' love and Masistes' death. 114.

The Greeks who had set out from Mykale for the Hellespont first anchored off Lectum^{37*} having been stopped by contrary winds, and came from there to Abydos, where they found the bridges broken which they thought would still be in place; these were in fact the chief cause of their coming to the Hellespont. [2] The Peloponnesians then who were with Leutychides decided to sail away to Hellas, but the Athenians, with Xanthippus their general, that they would remain there and attack the Chersonesus. So the rest sailed away, but the Athenians crossed over to the Chersonesus and laid siege to Sestus. 115.

Now when the Persians heard that the Greeks were at the Hellespont, they had come in from the neighboring towns and assembled at this same Sestus, seeing that it was the strongest walled place in that region. Among them there was a Persian named Oeobazus from Cardia, and he had carried the equipment of the bridges there. Sestus was held^{38*} by the Aeolians of the country, but with him were Persians and a great multitude of their allies. 116.

This province was ruled by Xerxes' viceroy Artayctes, a cunning man and a wicked one; witness the deceit that he practised on the king in his march to Athens, how he stole away from Elaeus the treasure of Protesilaus^{39*} son of Iphiclus. [2] This was the way of it; there is at Elaeus in the Chersonesus the tomb of Protesilaus, and a precinct around it, which contained much treasure: vessels of gold and silver, bronze, clothing, and other dedications; all of which Artayctes carried off by the king's gift. [3] "Sire," he said deceitfully to Xerxes, "there is here the house of a certain Greek, who met a just death for invading your territory with an army; give me this man's house, so that all may be taught not to invade your territory." One would think that this plea would easily persuade Xerxes to give him

a man's house, since the latter had no suspicion of Artayctes' meaning. His reason for saying that Protesilaus had invaded the king's territory was that the Persians believe all Asia to belong to themselves and whoever is their king. So when the treasure was given to him, he carried it away from Elaeus to Sestus, and planted and farmed the precinct. He would also come from Elaeus and have intercourse with women in the shrine. Now, when the Athenians laid siege to him, he had made no preparation for it; he did not think that the Greeks would come, and he had no way of escaping from their attack. 117.

Since the siege continued into the late autumn, the Athenians grew weary of their absence from home and their lack of success at taking the fortress. They accordingly entreated their generals to lead them away again, but the generals refused to do that till they should take the place or be recalled by the Athenian state. At that the men endured their plight patiently. 118.

But those who were within the walls were by now reduced to the last extremity, so much so that they boiled the thongs of their beds for food. At last, however, even these failed them, and Artayctes and Oeobazus and all the Persians made their way down from the back part of the fortress, where the fewest of their enemies were, and fled at nightfall. [2] When morning came, the people of the Chersonese signified from their towers to the Athenians what had happened, and opened their gates. The greater part of the Athenians then went in pursuit, while the rest stayed to hold the town. 119.

As Oeobazus was making his escape into Thrace, the Apsinthians of that country caught and sacrificed him in their customary manner to Plistorus the god of their land; as for his companions, they did away with them by other means. [2] Artayctes and his company had begun their flight later, and were overtaken a little way beyond the Goat's Rivers,^{40*} where after they had defended themselves a long time, some of them were killed and the rest taken alive. The Greeks bound them and carried them to Sestus, and together with them Artayctes and his son also in bonds. 120.

It is related by the people of the Chersonese that a marvellous thing happened one of those who guarded Artayctes. He was frying dried fish, and these as they lay over the fire began to leap and writhe

as though they had just been caught. [2] The rest gathered around, amazed at the sight, but when Artayctes saw this strange thing, he called the one who was frying the fish and said to him: "Athenian, do not be afraid of this portent, for it is not to you that it has been sent; it is to me that Protesilaus of Elaeus is trying to signify that although he is dead and dry, he has power given him by the god to take vengeance on me, the one who wronged him. [3] Now therefore I offer a ransom, the sum of one hundred talents to the god for the treasure that I took from his temple. I will also pay to the Athenians two hundred talents for myself and my son, if they spare us." [4] But Xanthippus the general was unmoved by this promise, for the people of Elaeus desired that Artayctes should be put to death in revenge for Protesilaus, and the general himself was so inclined. So they carried Artayctes away to the headland where Xerxes had bridged the strait (or, by another story, to the hill above the town of Madytus), and there nailed him to boards and hanged him. As for his son, they stoned him to death before his father's eyes. 121.

This done, they sailed away to Hellas, carrying with them the cables of the bridges to be dedicated in their temples, and all sorts of things in addition. This, then, is all that was done in this year. 122.

This Artayctes who was crucified was the grandson of that Artembares^{41*} who instructed the Persians in a design which they took from him and laid before Cyrus; this was its purport: [2] "Seeing that Zeus grants lordship to the Persian people, and to you, Cyrus, among them, let us, after reducing Astyages, depart from the little and rugged land which we possess and occupy one that is better. There are many such lands on our borders, and many further distant. If we take one of these, we will all have more reasons for renown. It is only reasonable that a ruling people should act in this way, for when will we have a better opportunity than now, when we are lords of so many men and of all Asia?" [3] Cyrus heard them, and found nothing to marvel at in their design; "Go ahead and do this," he said; "but if you do so, be prepared no longer to be rulers but rather subjects. Soft lands breed soft men; wondrous fruits of the earth and valiant warriors grow not from the same soil." [4] The Persians now realized that Cyrus reasoned better than they, and they departed, choosing rather to be rulers on a barren mountain side than dwelling

in tilled valleys to be slaves to others.

FOOTNOTES: BOOK IX

- 1 In the summer of 479. Mardonius occupied Athens in July.
- 2 A festival said to be of pre-Dorian origin, commemorating the killing of Hyacinthus by Apollo.
- 3 cp. Hdt. 8.135
- 4 His cousin; Euryanax was son of Dorieus, who was a brother of Pausanias father Cleombrotus.
- 5 Other references place Orestheum N.W. of Sparta, therefore hardly on the direct route to the Isthmus.
- 6 Inhabitants of the country districts of Laconia, not enjoying the full privileges of Spartans.
- 7 He would have to retreat into Boeotia by way of the pass over Cithaeron.
- 8 That is, serve us and we will serve you.
- 9 That is, the wing which was not held by the Lacedaemonians themselves.
- 10 son of Hercules.
- 11 Hyllus, pursued by his enemy Eurystheus, took refuge with the Athenians, and with their aid defeated and killed Eurystheus and his sons.
- 12 When Polynices tried to recover Thebes from his brother Eteocles; see Aeschylus “Seven against Thebes”
- 13 That is, who had not fallen at Thermopylae.
- 14 The Egyptian military classes mentioned in Hdt. 2.164.
- 15 The Iamidae were a priestly family, the members of which were found in all parts of Hellas. The Clytiadae were also Elean priests, but quite separate from the Iamidae; so Stein is probably right in bracketing Κλυτιάδην.
- 16 The five events of the Pentathlum were running, jumping, wrestling, and throwing of the spear and the discus.
- 17 According to the legend, the Argive women were driven mad by Dionysus for refusing to take part in his orgies, and cured by Melampus. Many Greek authors refer to it, with varying details.
- 18 The battle at Ithome was apparently in the third Messenian war; that at Tanagra, in 457 B.C. (Thuc. 1.107). Nothing is known of the battles at Tegea and Dipaea.
- 19 Lit. to do violence, compel the gods, like “superos votis fatigare” in Latin.
- 20 Referring to a legendary expedition of these northwestern tribes, directed against Hellas and Delphi in particular.
- 21 A little to the northwest of Thebes.
- 22 Several streams flow north or northwest from Cithaeron, and unite eventually form the small river Oeroe. Between two of these there is a long strip of land, which is perhaps the νῆσος; but it is not now actually surrounded by water, as Herodotus describes it.
- 23 Thucydides (Thuc. 1.20) denies the existence of a Πιτανάτης λόχος as a formal part of the Spartan army; it is not clear what Herodotus means. For Pitana, see Hdt. 3.55.

24 These figures must refer to the ὅπλιται alone, leaving out of account the Laconian περίουκοι and the rest of the light-armed troops. Plutarch says that 60,300 Greeks fell at Plataea.

25 Cp. Hdt. 7.231.

26 According to legend, the Dioscuri came to recover their sister Helen, who had been carried off to Aphidnae in Attica by Theseus and Pirithous.

27 But in the later part of the Peloponnesian war the Lacedaemonians established themselves at Decelea and held it as a menace to Athens (413 B.C.).

28 In the attempt to establish an Athenian settlement at Amphipolis in 465 (Thuc. 1.100, Thuc. 5.102). Datus was on the Thracian seaboard opposite Thasos.

29 The bronze three-headed serpent supporting the cauldron was intended apparently to commemorate the whole Greek alliance against Persia. The serpent pedestal still exists, in the Atmeidan (formerly Hippodrome) at Constantinople, whither it was transported by Constantine; it has been fully exposed and its inscription deciphered since 1856. The names of thirty-one Greek states are incised on eleven spirals, from the third to the thirteenth. For a fuller account see How and Wells' note ad loc.

30 Spartan young men between the ages of twenty and thirty.

31 Hegesistratus = Army-leader.

32 Demeter and Persephone.

33 The Gaeson was probably a stream running south of the hill called Mykale; Scolopis, a place on its east bank (How and Wells).

34 Cp. Hdt. 8.22.

35 ἐτερολκής here probably means "doubtful," giving victory to one side or the other; cp. Hdt. 7.11; in Homer it means "decisive," giving victory to one side as opposed to the other.

36 The "pancratium" was a mixture of boxing and wrestling.

37 At the western end of the bay of Adramyttium.

38 At the western end of the bay of Adramyttium.

39 The first Greek to fall in the Trojan war, νηὶς ἀποθρόσκων (Hom. Il. 2.701).

40 A roadstead opposite Lampsacus; the rivers were probably two small streams that flow into the sea there (How and Wells).

41 There is an Artembares in Hdt. 1.114; but he is a Mede, and so can hardly be meant here.

SYNOPTIC OUTLINE OF ‘THE HISTORIES’

Book I Clio

Book II Euterpe

Book III Thalia

Book IV Melpomene

Book V Terpsichore

Book VI Erato

Book VII Polymnia

Book VIII Urania

Book IX Calliope

Book I Clio

The rapes of Io, Europa, and Medea, which motivated Paris to abduct Helen. The subsequent Trojan War is marked as a precursor to later conflicts between peoples of Asia and Europe. (1.1–5)

The rulers of Lydia (on the west coast of modern Turkey): Candaules, Gyges, Sadyattes, Alyattes, Croesus (1.6–7)

How Gyges took the kingdom from Candaules (1.8–13)

The singer Arion’s ride on the dolphin (1.23–24)

Solon’s answer to Croesus’s question that Tellus was the happiest person in the world (1.29–33)

Croesus’s efforts to protect his son Atys, his son’s accidental death by Adrastus (1.34–44)

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The answer from the Oracle of Delphi concerning whether Croesus should attack the Persians (famous for its ambiguity): If you attack you will destroy a great empire (1.55–56)

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The rise of Darius I of Persia.

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The small Greek force (approx. 6000) led by Leonidas I, sent to Thermopylae to delay the Persian army (~5,283,220 (Herodotus))

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The secret pass divulged by Ephialtes of Trachis in which Hydarnes uses to lead forces around the mountains to encircle the Greeks

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The Greek Text



Tachara palace in Persepolis, the ceremonial Persian capital of the Achaemenid Empire — Herodotus' great work charts the development of the mighty Empire.

PRONOUNCING ANCIENT GREEK



This is a brief guide to pronouncing Ancient Greek, allowing readers to voice aloud Herodotus' original text. You may wish to bookmark this page for future reference.

The Letters

Like the Roman alphabet, Greek has separate capital and lowercase letters, which are all provided here with their Roman equivalents.

A, α	a
B, β	b
Γ, γ	g
Δ, δ	d
E, ε	e
Z, ζ	z
H, η	ê
Θ, θ	th
I, ι	i
K, κ	k
Λ, λ	l
M, μ	m
N, ν	n
Ξ, ξ	x
O, ο	o
Π, π	p
P, ρ	r
Σ, σ, ς	s
T, τ	t
Υ, υ	y
Φ, φ	ph
X, χ	ch

Ψ, ψ ps
Ω, ω ô

Consonants

Most of the consonants are pronounced exactly as in English, except for:

The g is always hard as in ‘golf’, never soft.

z is pronounced zd.

x is pronounced with a ks sound.

r is rolled as in Spanish or Italian.

ps is always pronounced as two sounds

With aspirated consonants ph, th, ch and rh, ignore the h.

The ch should be pronounced the same as a k.

Diphthongs

ai as in aisle

ei as in vein

oi as in oil

au as ow in cow

eu as e of get followed by oo

ou as in soup

CONTENTS OF GREEK TEXT



In this section of the eBook, readers can view the original Greek text of Herodotus' work. You may wish to Bookmark this page for future reference.

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Βιβλίο Ζ - Πολύμνια
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Βιβλίο Α - Κλειώ

Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησσεὸς ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἦδε, ὥς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωमाστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

1

1 Περσέων μὲν νυν οἱ λόγοι Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασὶ γενέσθαι τῆς διαφορῆς. τούτους γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ οἰκήσαντας τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον τὸν καὶ νῦν οἰκεῖουσιν, αὐτίκα ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι ἐπιθέσθαι, ἀπαγινέοντας δὲ φορτία Αἰγύπτια τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ἐσαπικνέεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἄργος. 2 τὸ δὲ Ἄργος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον προεῖχε ἅπασιν τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι καλεομένη χωρῇ. ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος τοῦτο διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον. 3 πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἕκτη ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ἀπίκοντο, ἐξεμπολημένων σφισχεδὸν πάντων, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν γυναῖκας ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα· τὸ δὲ οἱ οὖνομα εἶναι, κατὰ τὸντὸ τὸ καὶ Ἑλληνέες λέγουσι, Ἰοῦν τὴν Ἰνάχου· 4 ταύτας στάσας κατὰ πρύμνην τῆς νεὸς ὠνέεσθαι τῶν φορτίων τῶν σφιν ἦν θυμὸς μάλιστα· καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας διακελευσαμένους ὀρμῆσαι ἐπ' αὐτάς. τὰς μὲν δὴ πλεῦνας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγεῖν, τὴν δὲ Ἰοῦν σὺν ἄλλῃσι ἀρπασθῆναι. ἐσβαλομένους δὲ ἐς τὴν νέα οἴχεσθαι ἀποπλέοντας ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου.

2

1 Οὕτω μὲν Ἰοῦν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι Πέρσαι, οὐκ ὡς Ἕλληνες, καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων πρῶτον τοῦτο ἄρξαι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἑλλήνων τινάς (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τοῦνομα ἀπηγήσασθαι) φασὶ τῆς Φοινίκης ἐς Τύρον προσσχόντας ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα Εὐρώπην. εἶψαν δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτες. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα σφιν γενέσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἕλληνας αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρης ἀδικίης γενέσθαι· 2 καταπλώσαντας γὰρ μακρῇ νηὶ ἐς Αἴαν τε τὴν Κολχίδα καὶ ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμόν, ἐνθεῦτεν, διαπρηξαμένους καὶ τᾶλλα τῶν εἵνεκεν ἀπίκατο, ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα Μηδεῖην. 3

πέμψαντά δὲ τὸν Κόλχων βασιλέα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυκα αἰτέειν τε δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀπαιτέειν τὴν θυγατέρα. τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὥς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι Ἰοῦς τῆς Ἀργείης ἔδοσαν σφι δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς· οὐδὲ ὧν αὐτοὶ δώσειν ἐκείνοισι.

3

1 Δευτέρῃ δὲ λέγουσι γενεῇ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πριάμου, ἀκηκοότα ταῦτα, ἐθελῆσαι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος δι' ἀρπαγῆς γενέσθαι γυναῖκα, ἐπιστάμενον πάντως ὅτι οὐ δώσει δίκας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνους διδόναι. 2 οὕτω δὲ ἀρπάσαντος αὐτοῦ Ἑλένην, τοῖσι Ἕλλησι δόξαι πρῶτον πέμψαντας ἀγγέλους ἀπαιτέειν τε Ἑλένην καὶ δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς αἰτέειν. τοὺς δὲ προῖσχομένων ταῦτα, προφέρειν σφι Μηδεῖης τὴν ἀρπαγὴν, ὥς οὐ δόντες αὐτοὶ δίκας οὐδὲ ἐκδόντες ἀπαιτεόντων βουλοίατό σφι παρ' ἄλλων δίκας γίνεσθαι.

4

1 Μέχρι μὲν ὧν τούτου ἀρπαγὰς μούνας εἶναι παρ' ἀλλήλων, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου Ἕλληνας δὴ μεγάλως αἰτίους γενέσθαι· προτέρους γὰρ ἄρξαι στρατεῦεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίην ἢ σφέας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην. 2 τὸ μὲν νυν ἀρπάζειν γυναῖκας ἀνδρῶν ἀδίκων νομίζειν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀρπασθαισέων σπουδὴν ποιήσασθαι τιμωρέειν ἀνοήτων, τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὥρην ἔχειν ἀρπασθαισέων σωφρόνων· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβούλοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἠρπάζοντο. 3 σφέας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀρπαζομένων τῶν γυναικῶν λόγον οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι, Ἕλληνας δὲ Λακεδαιμονίης εἵνεκεν γυναικὸς στόλον μέγαν συναγεῖραι καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν Ἀσίην τὴν Πριάμου δύναμιν κατελεῖν. 4 ἀπὸ τούτου αἰεὶ ἠγγήσασθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι πολέμιον. τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ ἐνοικέοντα ἔθνεα βάρβαρα οἰκηεῦνται οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Εὐρώπην καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἠγνεται κεχωρίσθαι.

5

1 Οὕτω μὲν Πέρσαι λέγουσι γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν εὐρίσκουσι σφίσι εἶδεναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐχθρῆς τῆς εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. 2 περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰοῦς οὐκ ὁμολογεῖν Πέρσῃσι οὕτω Φοῖνικες· οὐ γὰρ ἀρπαγὴ σφέας χρησαμένους λέγουσι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐν τῷ Ἄργει ἐμίσγετο τῷ ναυκλήρῳ τῆς νέος·

ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμαθε ἔγκυος ἐοῦσα, αἰδεομένη τοὺς τοκέας οὕτω δὴ ἐθελοντὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Φοῖνιξι συνεκπλῶσαι, ὥς ἂν μὴ κατάδηλος γένηται. 3 ταῦτα μὲν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοῖνικες λέγουσι· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὥς οὕτω ἢ ἄλλως κως ταῦτα ἐγένετο, τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, τοῦτον σημήνας προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ λόγου, ὁμοίως σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἄστεα ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξιὼν. 4 τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλα ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ σμικρὰ αὐτῶν γέγονε· τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ ἦν μεγάλα, πρότερον ἦν σμικρὰ. τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ὧν ἐπιστάμενος εὐδαιμονίην οὐδαμὰ ἐν τούτῳ μένουσαν, ἐπιμνήσομαι ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως.

6

1 Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττεω, τύραννος δὲ ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλως ποταμοῦ, ὃς ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσαμβρίας μεταξὺ Συρίων τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων ἐξιεῖ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλεόμενον πόντον. 2 οὗτος ὁ Κροῖσος βαρβάρων πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν τοὺς μὲν κατεστρέψατο Ἑλλήνων ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους προσεποιήσατο. κατεστρέψατο μὲν Ἰωνᾶς τε καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ Δωριέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, φίλους δὲ προσεποιήσατο Λακεδαιμονίους. 3 πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροίσου ἀρχῆς πάντες Ἕλληνες ἦσαν ἐλεύθεροι· τὸ γὰρ Κιμμερίων στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀπικόμενον, Κροίσου ἐὼν πρεσβύτερον, οὐ καταστροφή ἐγένετο τῶν πολιῶν ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγῇ.

7

1 Ἡ δὲ ἡγεμονία οὕτω περιῆλθε, ἐοῦσα Ἡρακλειδέων, ἐς τὸ γένος τὸ Κροίσου, καλεομένους δὲ Μερμνάδας. 2 ἦν Κανδαύλης, τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Μυρσίλον ὀνομάζουσι, τύραννος Σαρδίων, ἀπόγονος δὲ Ἀλκαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. Ἄγρων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Νίνου τοῦ Βήλου τοῦ Ἀλκαίου πρῶτος Ἡρακλειδέων βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο Σαρδίων, Κανδαύλης δὲ ὁ Μύρσου ὕστατος. 3 οἱ δὲ πρότερον Ἄγρωνος βασιλεύσαντες ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἦσαν ἀπόγονοὶ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄττος, ἀπ' ὅτεν ὁ δῆμος Λύδιος ἐκλήθη ὁ πᾶς οὗτος, πρότερον Μηίων καλεόμενος. 4 παρὰ τούτων Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπιτραφθέντες ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ θεοπροπίου, ἐκ δούλης τε τῆς Ἰαρδάνου γεγονότες καὶ Ἡρακλέος, ἄρξαντες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι γενεᾶς ἀνδρῶν ἕτεα

πέντε τε καὶ πεντακόσια, παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν, μέχρι Κανδαύλεω τοῦ Μύρσου.

8

¹ οὗτος δὴ ὢν ὁ Κανδαύλης ἠράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικός, ἐρασθεῖς δὲ ἐνόμιζέ οἱ εἶναι γυναῖκα πολλὸν πασέων καλλίστην. ὥστε δὲ ταῦτα νομίζων, ἦν γάρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα, τούτῳ τῷ Γύγῃ καὶ τὰ σπουδαιότερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ὑπερετίθετο ὁ Κανδαύλης καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς γυναικός ὑπερεπαινέων. ² χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος (χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς) ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Γύγην τοιάδε. “Γύγη, οὐ γὰρ σε δοκέω πείθεσθαι μοι λέγοντι περὶ τοῦ εἶδεος τῆς γυναικός (ὧτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν), ποίειε ὅπως ἐκείνην θεήσεται γυμνήν.” ³ ὁ δ’ ἀμβώσας εἶπε “δέσποτα, τίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγίεια, κελεύων με δέσποιναν τὴν ἐμὴν θεήσασθαι γυμνήν; ἅμα δὲ κιθῶν ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή. ⁴ πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξεύρηται, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνειν δεῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἐν τῷδε ἐστί, σκοπέειν τινὰ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων γυναικῶν καλλίστην, καὶ σέο δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι ἀνόμων.”

9

¹ Ὁ μὲν δὴ λέγων τοιαῦτα ἀπεμάχετο, ἀρρώδεων μὴ τί οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν γένηται κακόν, ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “θάρσее, Γύγη, καὶ μὴ φοβεῦ μήτε ἐμέ, ὡς σέο πειρώμενος λέγω λόγον τόνδε, μήτε γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμήν, μὴ τί τοι ἐξ αὐτῆς γένηται βλάβος. ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ μηχανήσομαι οὕτω ὥστε μηδὲ μαθεῖν μιν ὀφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ σεῦ. ² ἐγὼ γάρ σε ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἐν τῷ κοιμώμεθα ὀπισθε τῆς ἀνοιγομένης θύρης στήσω. μετὰ δ’ ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἐμὴ ἐς κοῖτον. κεῖται δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῆς ἐσόδου θρόνος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἱματίων κατὰ ἕνα ἕκαστον ἐκδύνουσα θήσει, καὶ κατ’ ἡσυχίην πολλὴν παρέξει τοι θεήσασθαι. ³ ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου στείχῃ ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνὴν κατὰ νότου τε αὐτῆς γένη, σοὶ μελέτω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ὅπως μὴ σε ὄψεται ἰόντα διὰ θυρέων.”

10

¹ Ὁ μὲν δὴ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο διαφυγεῖν, ἦν ἔτοιμος· ὁ δὲ

Κανδαύλης, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκεε ὥρῃ τῆς κοίτης εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύγεα ἐς τὸ οἶκημα. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα παρῆν καὶ ἡ γυνή. ἐσελθοῦσαν δὲ καὶ τιθεῖσαν τὰ εἴματα ἐθηεῖτο ὁ Γύγης. ² ὥς δὲ κατὰ νώτου ἐγένετο ἰούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκδὺς ἐχώρεε ἔξω, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορᾷ μιν ἐξίοντα. μαθοῦσά δὲ τὸ ποιηθέν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὔτε ἀνέβωσε αἰσχυνθεῖσα οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθεῖν, ἐν νοῶ ἔχουσα τίσεσθαι τὸν Κανδαύλεα. ³ παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροις καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθῆναι γυμνὸν ἐς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει.

11

¹ τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω οὐδὲν δηλώσασα ἡσυχίην εἶχε. ὥς δὲ ἡμέρῃ τάχιστα ἐγεγόνεε, τῶν οἰκετέων τοὺς μάλιστα ὥρα πιστοὺς ἐόντας ἐωυτῇ, ἐτοίμους ποιησαμένη ἐκάλεε τὸν Γύγεα. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν δοκέων αὐτὴν τῶν πρηχθέντων ἐπίστασθαι ἤλθε καλεόμενος· ἐώθεε γὰρ καὶ πρόσθε, ὅπως ἡ βασιλεία καλέοι, φοιτᾶν. ² ὥς δὲ ὁ Γύγης ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. “νῦν τοί δυὼν ὁδῶν παρεουσέων Γύγῃ δίδωμί αἶρεσιν, ὁκοτέρην βούλει τραπέσθαι. ἡ γὰρ Κανδαύλεα ἀποκτείνας ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν βασιληίην ἔχε τὴν Λυδῶν, ἡ αὐτὸν σε αὐτίκα οὕτω ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ, ὥς ἂν μὴ πάντα πειθόμενος Κανδαύλῃ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἴδῃς τὰ μὴ σε δεῖ. ³ ἀλλ’ ἦτοι κεῖνόν γε τὸν ταῦτα βουλευσάντα δεῖ ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἡ σε τὸν ἐμέ γυμνὴν θεησάμενον καὶ ποιήσαντα οὐ νομιζόμενα.” ὁ δὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν ἀπεθώμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα, μετὰ δὲ ἰκέτευε μὴ μιν ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδέειν διακρίναι τοιαύτην αἶρεσιν. ⁴ οὐκὼν δὴ ἔπειθε, ἀλλ’ ὥρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθέως προκειμένην ἢ τὸν δεσπότεα ἀπολλύναι ἢ αὐτὸν ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι· αἰρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι. ἐπειρώτα δὴ λέγων τάδε. “ἐπεὶ με ἀναγκάζεις δεσπότεα τὸν ἐμὸν κτείνειν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα, φέρε ἀκούσω τέφῃ καὶ τρόπῳ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτῷ.” ⁵ ἡ δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα ἔφη “ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χωρίου ἡ ὁρμή ἔσται ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμέ ἐπεδέξατο γυμνὴν, ὑπνωμένῳ δὲ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἔσται.”

12

¹ ὥς δὲ ἤρτυσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, νυκτὸς γενομένης (οὐ γὰρ ἐμετίετο ὁ Γύγης, οὐδέ οἱ ἦν ἀπαλλαγὴ οὐδεμία, ἀλλ’ ἔδεε ἡ αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι ἢ Κανδαύλεα) εἶπετο ἐς τὸν θάλαμον τῇ γυναικί, καὶ μιν ἐκείνῃ, ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα, κατακρύπτει ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην. ²

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναπαυομένου Κανδαύλεω ὑπεκδύς τε καὶ ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν ἔσχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιλὴν Γύγης τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενος ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ ἐπεμνήσθη.

13

¹ ἔσχε δὲ τὴν βασιλὴν καὶ ἐκρατύνθη ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίου. ὥς γὰρ δὴ οἱ Λυδοὶ δεινὸν ἐποιεῦντο τὸ Κανδαύλεω πάθος καὶ ἐν ὅπλοισι ἦσαν, συνέβησαν ἐς τὸντο οἱ τε τοῦ Γύγεω στασιῶται καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λυδοί, ἦν μὲν τὸ χρηστήριον ἀνέλη μιν βασιλέα εἶναι Λυδῶν, τὸν δὲ βασιλεύειν, ἦν δὲ μή, ἀποδοῦναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἡρακλείδας τὴν ἀρχήν. ² ἀνεῖλέ τε δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ ἐβασίλευσε οὕτω Γύγης. τοσόνδε μέντοι εἶπε ἡ Πυθίη, ὥς Ἡρακλείδῃσι τίσις ἦξει ἐς τὸν πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγεω. τούτου τοῦ ἔπεος Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ βασιλέες αὐτῶν λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιεῦντο, πρὶν δὴ ἐπετελέσθῃ.

14

¹ τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα οὕτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαι τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἀπελόμενοι, Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου ἀναθήματα, ἔστι οἱ πλεῖστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι, πάρεξ δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἀνέθηκε ἄλλον τε καὶ τοῦ μάλιστα μνήμην ἄξιον ἔχειν ἐστί, κρητῆρες οἱ ἀριθμὸν ἕξ χρύσειοι ἀνακέαται. ² ἐστᾶσι δὲ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τριήκοντα τάλαντα· ἀληθεὶ δὲ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ οὐ Κορινθίων τοῦ δημοσίου ἐστὶ ὁ θησαυρός, ἀλλὰ Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἡετίωνος. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδῖεω Φρυγίης βασιλέα. ³ ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον· κεῖται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος ἔνθα περ οἱ τοῦ Γύγεω κρητῆρες. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὗτος καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος τὸν ὁ Γύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλέεται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην.

15

¹ ἐσέβαλε μὲν νυν στρατιὴν καὶ οὗτος ἐπεῖτε ἤρξε ἕξ τε Μίλητον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην, καὶ Κολοφῶνος τὸ ἄστυ εἶλε· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ μέγα

ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ἔργον ἐγένετο βασιλεύσαντος δυῶν δέοντα τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα, τοῦτον μὲν παρήσομεν τοσαῦτα ἐπιμνησθέντες, Ἄρδου δὲ τοῦ Γύγεω μετὰ Γύγην βασιλεύσαντος μνήμην ποιήσομαι. οὗτος δὲ Πριηνέας τε εἶλε ἐς Μίλητόν τε ἐσέβαλε, ἐπὶ τούτου τε τυραννεύοντος Σαρδίῳν Κιμμέριοι ἐξ ἡθέων ὑπὸ Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων ἐξαναστάντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ Σάρδις πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος εἶλον.

16

1 Ἄρδου δὲ βασιλεύσαντος ἐνὸς δέοντα πεντήκοντα ἔτεα ἐξεδέξατο Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδου, καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ἔτεα δυώδεκα, Σαδυάττειο δὲ Ἀλυάττης. 2 οὗτος δὲ Κυαξάρη τε τῷ Δηϊόκεω ἀπογόνῳ ἐπολέμησε καὶ Μήδοισι, Κιμμερίους τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐξήλασε, Σμύρνην τε τὴν ἀπὸ Κολοφῶνος κτισθεῖσαν εἶλε, ἐς Κλαζομενάς τε ἐσέβαλε. ἀπὸ μὲν νυν τούτων οὐκ ὥς ἤθελε ἀπήλλαξε, ἀλλὰ προσπταίσας μεγάλως· ἄλλα δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο ἐὼν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀξιαπηγητότατα τάδε.

17

1 ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίοισι, παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. ἐπελαύνων γὰρ ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Μίλητον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ὅκως μὲν εἶη ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸς ἄδρός, τηνικαῦτα ἐσέβαλλε τὴν στρατιήν· ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ πηκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικίου τε καὶ ἀνδρηίου. 2 ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην ἀπίκειτο, οἰκήματα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οὔτε κατέβαλλε οὔτε ἐνεπίμπρη οὔτε θύρας ἀπέσπα, ἔα δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἐστάναι· ὁ δὲ τὰ τε δένδρεα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὅκως διαφθείρειε, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω. 3 τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐπεκράτεον, ὥστε ἐπέδρης μὴ εἶναι ἔργον τῇ στρατῇ. τὰς δὲ οἰκίας οὐ κατέβαλλε ὁ Λυδὸς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅκως ἔχοιεν ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμώμενοι τὴν γῆν σπεῖρειν τε καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οἱ Μιλήσιοι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκείνων ἐργαζομένων ἔχοι τι καὶ σίνεσθαι ἐσβάλλων.

18

1 ταῦτα ποιέων ἐπολέμεε ἔτεα ἔνδεκα, ἐν τοῖσι τρώματα μέγала διφάσια Μιλησίων ἐγένετο, ἐν τε Λιμενιῷ χώρῃ τῆς σφετέρης μαχεσαμένων καὶ ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ. 2 τὰ μὲν νυν ἐξ ἔτεα τῶν

ἑνδεκα Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδουος ἔτι Λυδῶν ἥρχε, ὁ καὶ ἐσβάλλων
τηνικαῦτα ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην τὴν στρατιήν· Σαδυάττης οὗτος γὰρ καὶ
ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἦν συνάψας· τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἐτέων τὰ ἐπόμενα τοῖσι
ἐξ Ἀλυάττης ὁ Σαδυάττεω ἐπολέμεε, ὃς παραδεξάμενος, ὥς καὶ
πρότερον μοι δεδήλωται, παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν πόλεμον προσεῖχε
ἐντεταμένως. ³ τοῖσι δὲ Μιλησίοισι οὐδαμοὶ Ἴωνων τὸν πόλεμον
τοῦτον συνεπελάφρυνον ὅτι μὴ Χῖοι μοῦνοι. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ ὅμοιον
ἀνταποδιδόντες ἐτιμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον οἱ Μιλήσιοι τοῖσι
Χίοισι τὸν πρὸς Ἐρυθραίους πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν.

19

¹ τῷ δὲ δυωδεκάτῳ ἔτει ληίου ἐμπιπραμένου ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς
συνηνείχθη τι τοιόνδε γενέσθαι πρῆγμα· ὥς ἄφθῃ τάχιστα τὸ λήιον,
ἀνέμῳ βιώμενον ἄγατο νηοῦ Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἀσσησίης, ἀφθεῖς
δὲ ὁ νηὸς κατεκαύθη. ² καὶ τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐγένετο,
μετὰ δὲ τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπικομένης ἐς Σάρδεις ἐνόησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης.
μακροτέρης δέ οἱ γινομένης τῆς νούσου πέμπει ἐς Δελφοὺς
θεοπρόπους, εἴτε δὴ συμβουλευσαντός τευ, εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἔδοξε
πέμψαντα τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρῆσθαι περὶ τῆς νούσου. ³ τοῖσι δὲ ἡ Πυθίη
ἀπικομένοισι ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ἔφη χρῆσιν πρὶν ἢ τὸν νηὸν τῆς
Ἀθηναίης ἀνορθώσωσι, τὸν ἐνέπρησαν χώρας τῆς Μιλησίης ἐν
Ἀσσησῶ.

20

¹ Δελφῶν οἶδα ἐγὼ οὕτω ἀκούσας γενέσθαι· Μιλήσιοι δὲ τάδε
προστιθεῖσι τούτοις, Περίανδρον τὸν Κυψέλου ἐόντα Θρασυβούλῳ
τῷ τότε Μιλήτου τυραννεύοντι ξεῖνον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, πυθόμενον τὸ
χρηστήριον τὸ τῷ Ἀλυάττῃ γενόμενον, πέμψαντα ἄγγελον κατεπειν,
ὅκως ἂν τι προειδὼς πρὸς τὸ παρεὸν βουλευῇται.

21

¹ Μιλήσιοι μὲν νυν οὕτω λέγουσι γενέσθαι. Ἀλυάττης δέ, ὥς οἱ
ταῦτα ἐξαγγέλθη, αὐτίκα ἔπεμπε κήρυκα ἐς Μίλητον βουλόμενος
σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι Θρασυβούλῳ τε καὶ Μιλησίοισι χρόνον ὅσον
ἂν τὸν νηὸν οἰκοδομήῃ. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν,
Θρασύβουλος δὲ σαφέως προπετυσμένος πάντα λόγον, καὶ εἰδὼς τὰ
Ἀλυάττης μέλλοι ποιήσιν, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε· ² ὅσος ἦν ἐν τῷ ἄστει

σῖτος καὶ ἑωυτοῦ καὶ ιδιωτικός, τοῦτον πάντα συγκομίσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν προεῖπε Μιλησίοισι, ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς σημήνη, τότε πίνειν τε πάντας καὶ κώμῳ χρᾶσθαι ἐς ἀλλήλους.

22

¹ ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίεε τε καὶ προηγόρευε Θρασύβουλος τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅκως ἂν δὴ ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς ἰδὼν τε σωρὸν μέγαν σίτου κεχυμένον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι ἐόντας ἀγγεῖλη Ἀλυάττῃ· ² τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἰδὼν τε ἐκεῖνα ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ εἶπας πρὸς Θρασύβουλον τοῦ Λυδοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐγένετο ἢ διαλλαγή. ³ ἐλπίζων γὰρ ὁ Ἀλυάττης σιτοδεῖν τε εἶναι ἰσχυρὴν ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ καὶ τὸν λεὼν τετρῦσθαι ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ, ἤκουε τοῦ κήρυκος νοστήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τοὺς ἐναντίους λόγους ἢ ὥς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε. ⁴ μετὰ δὲ ἢ τε διαλλαγή σφι ἐγένετο ἐπ' ᾧ τε ξείνους ἀλλήλοισι εἶναι καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ δύο τε ἀντὶ ἐνὸς νηοὺς τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ οἰκοδόμησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐν τῇ Ἀσσησῶ, αὐτὸς τε ἐκ τῆς νούσου ἀνέστη. κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον πόλεμον Ἀλυάττῃ ᾧδε ἔσχε.

23

¹ Περίανδρος δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς οὗτος ὁ τῷ Θρασυβούλῳ τὸ χρηστήριον μηνύσας· ἐτυράννευε δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος Κορίνθου· τῷ δὴ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι (ὁμολογέουσι δέ σφι Λέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βίῳ θῶμα μέγιστον παραστῆναι, Ἀρίονα τὸν Μηθυμαῖον ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐξενειχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταίναρον, ἐόντα κιθαρωδὸν τῶν τότε ἐόντων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον, καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

24

¹ τοῦτον τὸν Ἀρίονα λέγουσι, τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου διατρίβοντα παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ ἐπιθυμῆσαι πλῶσαι ἐς Ἰταλίην τε καὶ Σικελίην, ἐργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα θελῆσαι ὀπίσω ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι. ² ὁρμᾶσθαι μὲν νυν ἐκ Τάραντος, πιστεύοντα δὲ οὐδαμοῖσι μᾶλλον ἢ Κορινθίοισι μισθώσασθαι πλοῖον ἀνδρῶν Κορινθίων. τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγῃ ἐπιβουλεύειν τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐκβαλόντας ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα. τὸν δὲ συνέντα τοῦτο λίσσεσθαι,

χρήματα μὲν σφι προϊέντα, ψυχὴν δὲ παραιτούμενον. 3 οὐκὼν δὴ πείθειν αὐτὸν τούτοις, ἀλλὰ κελεύειν τοὺς πορθμέας ἢ αὐτὸν διαχρᾶσθαι μιν, ὥς ἂν ταφῆς ἐν γῇ τύχη, ἢ ἐκπηδᾷ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ταχίστην· 4 ἀπειληθέντα δὴ τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐς ἀπορίην παραιτήσασθαι, ἐπειδὴ σφι οὕτω δοκέοι, περιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοις αἰεῖσαι· αἰέσας δὲ ὑπεδέκετο ἑωυτὸν κατεργάσασθαι. 5 καὶ τοῖσι ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ ἡδονὴν εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀκούσεσθαι τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνθρώπων αἰδοῦ, ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης ἐς μέσσην νέα. τὸν δὲ ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν καὶ λαβόντα τὴν κιθάρην, στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοις διεξελεθεῖν νόμον τὸν ὄρθιον, τελευτῶντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου ῥῖψαί μιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἑωυτὸν ὥς εἶχε σὺν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ. 6 καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποπλέειν ἐς Κόρινθον, τὸν δὲ δελφῖνα λέγουσι ὑπολαβόντα ἐξενεῖκαι ἐπὶ Ταίναρον. ἀποβάντα δὲ αὐτὸν χωρέειν ἐς Κόρινθον σὺν τῇ σκευῇ, καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἀπηγέεσθαι πᾶν τὸ γεγονός. 7 Περιάνδρον δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας Ἀρίονα μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν οὐδαμῇ μετιέντα, ἀνακῶς δὲ ἔχειν τῶν πορθμέων. ὥς δὲ ἄρα παρεῖναι αὐτούς, κληθέντας ἱστορέεσθαι εἴ τι λέγοιεν περὶ Ἀρίονος. φαμένων δὲ ἐκείνων ὥς εἶη τε σῶς περὶ Ἰταλίην καὶ μιν εὖ πρήσσοντα λίποιεν ἐν Τάραντι, ἐπιφανῆναί σφι τὸν Ἀρίονα ὥσπερ ἔχων ἐξεπήδησε· καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλαγέντας οὐκ ἔχειν ἔτι ἐλεγχομένους ἀρνέεσθαι. 8 ταῦτα μὲν νυν Κορίνθιοι τε καὶ Λέσβιοι λέγουσι, καὶ Ἀρίονος ἐστὶ ἀνάθημα χάλκεον οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ, ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἐπέων ἀνθρώπος.

25

1 Ἀλυάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους πόλεμον διενείκας μετέπειτα τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας ἕτεα ἐπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα. 2 ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐκφυγὼν τὴν νοῦσον δευτέρος οὗτος τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης ἐς Δελφοὺς κρητῆρά τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδήρεον κολλητόν, θέης ἄξιον διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀναθημάτων, Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου ποίημα, ὃς μόνος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων σιδήρου κόλλησιν ἐξεῦρε.

26

1 τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλυάττεω ἐξεδέξατο τὴν βασιληίην Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω, ἐτέων ἐὼν ἡλικίην πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα· ὃς δὴ Ἑλλήνων πρῶτοις ἐπεθήκατο Ἑφεσίοις. 2 ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ἑφέσιοι πολιορκεόμενοι

ὕπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνέθεσαν τὴν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἐξάψαντες ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ σχοινίον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ἔστι δὲ μεταξὺ τῆς τε παλαιῆς πόλιος, ἥ τότε ἐπολιορκέετο, καὶ τοῦ νηοῦ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι. 3 πρῶτοισι μὲν δὴ τούτοισι ἐπεχείρησε ὁ Κροῖσος, μετὰ δὲ ἐν μέρει ἐκάστοισι Ἰώνων τε καὶ Αἰολέων, ἄλλοισι ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων, τῶν μὲν ἐδύνατο μέζονας παρευρίσκειν, μέζονα ἐπαιτιώμενος, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φαῦλα ἐπιφέρων.

27

1 ὥς δὲ ἄρα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἕλληνες κατεστράφατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπενόεε νέας ποιησάμενος ἐπιχειρέειν τοῖσι νησιώτησι. 2 ἐόντων δὲ οἱ πάντων ἐτοιμῶν ἐς τὴν ναυπηγίην, οἱ μὲν Βίαντα λέγουσι τὸν Πριηνέα ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σάρδεις, οἱ δὲ Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναῖον, εἰρομένου Κροίσου εἴ τι εἴη νεώτερον περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰπόντα τάδε καταπαῦσαι τὴν ναυπηγίην· 3 “ὦ βασιλεῦ, νησιῶται ἵππον συνωνέονται μυρίην, ἐς Σάρδεις τε καὶ ἐπὶ σὲ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες στρατεύεσθαι.” Κροῖσον δὲ ἐλπίσαντα λέγειν ἐκεῖνον ἀληθέα εἰπεῖν “αἱ γὰρ τοῦτο θεοὶ ποιήσειαν ἐπὶ νόον νησιώτησι, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Λυδῶν παῖδας σὺν ἵπποισι. 4 τὸν δὲ ὑπολαβόντα φάναι “ὦ βασιλεῦ, προθύμως μοι φαίνεαι εὐξασθαι νησιώτας ἵππευομένους λαβεῖν ἐν ἡπείρῳ, οἰκότα ἐλπίζων. νησιώτας δὲ τί δοκέεις εὐχεσθαι ἄλλο ἢ, ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντό σε μέλλοντα ἐπὶ σφίσι ναυπηγέεσθαι νέας, λαβεῖν ἀρώμενοι Λυδοὺς ἐν θαλάσσῃ, ἵνα ὑπερ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ οἰκημένων Ἑλλήνων τίσωνταί σε, τοὺς σὺ δουλῶσας ἔχεις ;” 5 κάρτα τε ἡσθῆναι Κροῖσον τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ καὶ οἱ, προσφνέως γὰρ δόξαι λέγειν, πειθόμενον παύσασθαι τῆς ναυπηγίης. καὶ οὕτω τοῖσι τὰς νήσους οἰκημένοισι Ἴωσι ξεινίην συνεθήκατο.

28

1 χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγινομένου καὶ κατεστραμμένων σχεδὸν πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλυος ποταμοῦ οἰκημένων· πλὴν γὰρ Κιλικῶν καὶ Λυκίων τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ εἶχε καταστρεψάμενος ὁ Κροῖσος. εἰσὶ δὲ οἶδε, Λυδοί, Φρύγες, Μυσοί, Μαριανδυνοί, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, Θρήκες οἱ Θυνοί τε καὶ Βιθυνοί, Κᾶρες, Ἴωνες, Δωριεῖς, Αἰολεῖς, Πάμφυλοι κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων καὶ προσεπικτωμένου Κροίσου Λυδοῖσι,

¹ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ ἄλλοι τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταί, οἱ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτύγγανον ἐόντες, ὥς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀπικνέοιτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ Σόλων ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύσασι ποιήσας ἀπεδήμησε ἔτεα δέκα κατὰ θεωρίας πρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας, ἵνα δὴ μὴ τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῇ, λῦσαι τῶν ἔθετο. ² αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἴοι τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναῖοι· ὀρκίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι κατείχοντο δέκα ἔτεα χρήσεσθαι νόμοισι τοὺς ἄν σφι Σόλων θῆται.

¹ αὐτῶν δὴ ὧν τούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίας ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων εἶνεκεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο παρὰ Ἄμασιν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδεις παρὰ Κροῖσον. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐξεινίζετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιληίοισι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κροίσου· μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρη τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ κελεύσαντος Κροίσου τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες περιῆγον κατὰ τοὺς θησαυρούς, καὶ ἐπεδείκνυσαν πάντα ἐόντα μεγάλα τε καὶ ὄλβια. ² θεησάμενον δέ μιν τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεψάμενον ὥς οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν, εἶρετο ὁ Κροῖσος τάδε. “ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, παρ’ ἡμέας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγος ἀπῖκται πολλὸς καὶ σοφίης εἶνεκεν τῆς σῆς καὶ πλάνης, ὥς φιλοσοφῶν γῆν πολλὴν θεωρίας εἶνεκεν ἐπελήλυθας· νῦν ὧν ἐπειρέσθαι με ἵμερος ἐπῆλθέ σε εἴ τινα ἤδη πάντων εἶδες ὀλβιώτατον.” ³ ὁ μὲν ἐλπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλβιώτατος ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα· Σόλων δὲ οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐόντι χρησάμενος λέγει “ὦ βασιλεῦ, Τέλλον Ἀθηναῖον.” ⁴ ἀποθωμάσας δὲ Κροῖσος τὸ λεχθὲν εἶρετο ἐπιστρεφῶς· “κοίη δὴ κρίνεις Τέλλον εἶναι ὀλβιώτατον ;” ὁ δὲ εἶπε “Τέλλῳ τοῦτο μὲν τῆς πόλιος εὖ ἡκούσης παῖδες ἦσαν καλοί τε κἀγαθοί, καὶ σφι εἶδε ἅπασι τέκνα ἐκγενόμενα καὶ πάντα παραμείναντα· τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ βίου εὖ ἦκοντι, ὥς τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν, τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτῃ ἐπεγένετο· ⁵ γενομένης γὰρ Ἀθηναίοισι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι, βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα, καὶ μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίῃ τε ἔθαψαν αὐτοῦ τῇ περ ἔπεσε καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως.”

¹ ὥς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον προετρέψατο ὁ Σόλων τὸν Κροῖσον

εἶπας πολλά τε καὶ ὀλβία, ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτερον μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἴδοι, δοκέων πάγχυ δευτερεῖα γῶν οἴσεσθαι. ὁ δ' εἶπε “Κλέοβίν τε καὶ Βίτωνα. 2 τούτοισι γὰρ ἐοῦσι γένος Ἀργείοισι βίος τε ἀρκέων ὑπῆν, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ ῥώμη σώματος τοιήδε· ἀεθλοφόροι τε ἀμφότεροι ὁμοίως ἦσαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος. ἐούσης ὀρτῆς τῇ Ἥρῃ τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι ἔδεδε πάντως τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν ζευγεῖ κομισθῆναι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν, οἱ δέ σφι βόες ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ οὐ παρεγίνοντο ἐν ὥρῃ· ἐκκλησιόμενοι δὲ τῇ ὥρῃ οἱ νεηνῖαι ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ζεύγλην εἵλκον τὴν ἄμαξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης δέ σφι ὠχέετο ἡ μήτηρ· σταδίους δὲ πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα διακομίσαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἱρόν. 3 ταῦτα δέ σφι ποιήσασι καὶ ὀφθεῖσι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου ἀρίστη ἐπεγένετο, διέδεξε τε ἐν τούτοισι ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἄμεινον εἶη ἀνθρώπῳ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν γὰρ περιστάντες ἐμακάριζον τῶν νεηνιέων τὴν ῥώμην, αἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖαι τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν, οἶων τέκνων ἐκύρησε· 4 ἡ δὲ μήτηρ περιχαρὴς ἐοῦσα τῷ τε ἔργῳ καὶ τῇ φήμῃ, στᾶσα ἀντίον τοῦ ἀγάλματος εὐχετο Κλέοβι τε καὶ Βίτωνι τοῖσι ἐωυτῆς τέκνοισι, οἳ μιν ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως, τὴν θεὸν δοῦναι τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ τυχεῖν ἄριστον ἐστί. 5 μετὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ὡς ἔθυσάν τε καὶ εὐωχῆθησαν, κατακοιμηθέντες ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱρῷ οἱ νεηνῖαι οὐκέτι ἀνέστησαν ἄλλ' ἐν τέλει τούτῳ ἔσχοντο. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ σφέων εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὡς ἀριστῶν γενομένων.”

32

1 Σόλων μὲν δὴ εὐδαιμονίης δευτερεῖα ἔνεμε τούτοισι, Κροῖσος δὲ σπερχθεὶς εἶπε “ὦ ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ἡ δ' ἡμετέρη εὐδαιμονίη οὕτω τοι ἀπερρίπτει ἐς τὸ μηδὲν ὥστε οὐδὲ ιδιωτέων ἀνδρῶν ἀξίους ἡμέας ἐποίησας;” ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὼν φθονερόν τε καὶ παραχῶδες ἐπειρωτᾶς ἀνθρωπῶν πρηγμάτων πέρι. 2 ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μὲν ἐστὶ ἰδεῖν τὰ μὴ τις ἐθέλει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθεῖν. ἐς γὰρ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτα οὖρον τῆς ζῆς ἀνθρώπῳ προτίθημι. 3 οὗτοι ἐόντες ἐνιαυτοὶ ἐβδομήκοντα παρέχονται ἡμέρας δικησίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας καὶ δισμυρίας, ἐμβολίμου μηνὸς μὴ γινομένου· εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐθελήσει τοῦτερον τῶν ἐτέων μηνὶ μακρότερον γίνεσθαι, ἵνα δὴ αἱ ὥραι συμβαίνωσι παραγινόμεναι ἐς τὸ δέον, μῆνες μὲν παρὰ τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτα οἱ ἐμβόλιμοι γίνονται τριήκοντα πέντε, ἡμέραι δὲ ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν τούτων

χίλια πεντήκοντα. 4 τουτέων τῶν ἀπασέων ἡμερέων τῶν ἐς τὰ
 ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα, ἐουσέων πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκοσιέων καὶ
 ἑξακισχιλιέων καὶ δισμυριέων, ἡ ἑτέρη αὐτέων τῇ ἑτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὸ
 παράπαν οὐδὲν ὅμοιον προσάγει πρῆγμα. οὕτω ὧν Κροῖσε πᾶν ἐστὶ
 ἄνθρωπος συμφορῇ. 5 ἐμοὶ δὲ σὺ καὶ πλουτέειν μέγα φαίναται καὶ
 βασιλεὺς πολλῶν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων· ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ εἶρεό με, οὐκω σε
 ἐγὼ λέγω, πρὶν τελευτήσαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα πύθωμαι. οὐ γάρ τι ὁ
 μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ’ ἡμέρην ἔχοντος ὀλβιώτερος ἐστὶ, εἰ
 μὴ οἱ τύχῃ ἐπίσποιτο πάντα καλὰ ἔχοντα εὖ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον.
 πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ζάπλουτοι ἀνθρώπων ἀνόλβιοι εἰσὶ, πολλοὶ δὲ
 μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου εὐτυχέες. 6 ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγα πλούσιος ἀνόλβιος δὲ
 δυοῖσι προέχει τοῦ εὐτυχέος μοῦνον, οὗτος δὲ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ
 ἀνόλβου πολλοῖσι· ὁ μὲν ἐπιθυμίην ἐκτελέσαι καὶ ἄτην μεγάλην
 προσπεσοῦσαν ἐνεῖκαι δυνατώτερος, ὁ δὲ τοῖσιδε προέχει ἐκείνου·
 ἄτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμίην οὐκ ὁμοίως δυνατὸς ἐκείνῳ ἐνεῖκαι, ταῦτα δὲ
 ἡ εὐτυχίῃ οἱ ἀπερύκει, ἄπηρος δὲ ἐστὶ, ἄνουσος, ἀπαθὴς κακῶν,
 εὖπαις, εὐειδής. 7 εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον εὖ,
 οὗτος ἐκεῖνος τὸν σὺ ζητέεις, ὁ ὀλβιος κεκλησθαι ἄξιος ἐστὶ· πρὶν δ’
 ἂν τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχεῖν, μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὀλβιον ἀλλ’ εὐτυχέα. 8 τὰ
 πάντα μὲν νυν ταῦτα συλλαβεῖν ἄνθρωπον ἐόντα ἀδύνατον ἐστὶ,
 ὥσπερ χωρὶ οὐδεμία καταρκεῖ πάντα ἐωυτῇ παρέχουσα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλο
 μὲν ἔχει ἐτέρου δὲ ἐπιδέεται· ἡ δὲ ἂν τὰ πλεῖστα ἔχῃ, αὕτη ἀρίστη.
 ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα ἐν οὐδὲν αὐταρκες ἐστὶ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει,
 ἄλλου δὲ ἐνδεές ἐστὶ· 9 ὃς δ’ ἂν αὐτῶν πλεῖστα ἔχων διατελέῃ καὶ
 ἔπειτα τελευτήσῃ εὐχαρίστως τὸν βίον, οὗτος παρ’ ἐμοὶ τὸ οὐνομα
 τοῦτο ὧ βασιλεῦ δίκαιος ἐστὶ φέρεσθαι. σκοπέειν δὲ χρὴ παντὸς
 χρήματος τὴν τελευτὴν, κῇ ἀποβήσεται· πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας
 ὄλβον ὁ θεὸς προρρρίζους ἀνέτρεψε.”

33

1 ταῦτα λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ οὐ πως οὔτε ἐχαρίζετο, οὔτε λόγου μιν
 ποιησάμενος οὐδενὸς ἀποπέμπεται, κάρτα δόξας ἀμαθέα εἶναι, ὃς τὰ
 παρῶντα ἀγαθὰ μετεῖς τὴν τελευτὴν παντὸς χρήματος ὁρᾶν ἐκέλευε.

34

1 μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον ἔλαβέ ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη
 Κροῖσον, ὥς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἐωυτὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων

ὀλβιώτατον. αὐτίκα δέ οἱ εὖδοντι ἐπέστη ὄνειρος, ὅς οἱ τὴν ἀληθείην ἔφαινε τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι κακῶν κατὰ τὸν παῖδα. ² ἦσαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσῳ δύο παῖδες, τῶν οὐτερος μὲν διέφθαρτο, ἦν γὰρ δὴ κωφός, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος τῶν ἡλικίων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα πρῶτος· οὐνομα δέ οἱ ἦν Ἄτυς. τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἄτυν σημαίνει τῷ Κροίσῳ ὁ ὄνειρος, ὡς ἀπολέει μιν αἰχμῇ σιδηρῇ βληθέντα. ³ ὁ δ' ἐπεῖτε ἐξηγέρθη καὶ ἐωυτῷ λόγον ἔδωκε, καταρρώδΗΣας τὸν ὄνειρον ἄγεται μὲν τῷ παιδὶ γυναῖκα, ἐωθότα δὲ στρατηγέειν μιν τῶν Λυδῶν οὐδαμῇ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρῆγμα ἐξέπεμπε· ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δοράτια καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα τοῖσι χρέωνται ἐς πόλεμον ἄνθρωποι, ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρεώνων ἐκκομίσας ἐς τοὺς θαλάμους συνένησε, μή τί οἱ κρεμάμενον τῷ παιδὶ ἐμπέση.

35

¹ ἔχοντι δέ οἱ ἐν χερσὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν γάμον, ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ἀνὴρ συμφορῇ ἐχόμενος καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χειρας, ἐὼν Φρυξ μὲν γενεῇ, γένεος δὲ τοῦ βασιλίου. παρελθὼν δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὰ Κροῖσου οἰκία κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθαρσίου ἐδέετο κυρῆσαι, Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἐκάθηρε. ² ἔστι δὲ παραπλησίη ἡ κάθαρσις τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι. ἐπεῖτε δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν τε καὶ τίς εἴη, λέγων τάδε· ³ “ὦνθρωπε, τίς τε ἐὼν καὶ κόθεν τῆς Φρυγίης ἦκων ἐπίστίός μοι ἐγένεο ; τίνα τε ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν ἐφόνευσας ;” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο “ὦ βασιλεῦ, Γορδίεω μὲν τοῦ Μίδεω εἰμὶ παῖς, ὀνομάζομαι δὲ Ἄδρηστος, φονεύσας δὲ ἀδελφεὸν ἐμεωυτοῦ ἀέκων πάρειμι ἐξεληλαμένος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐστερημένος πάντων.” ⁴ Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε· “ἀνδρῶν τε φίλων τυγχάνεις ἔκγονος ἐὼν καὶ ἐλήλυθας ἐς φίλους, ἔνθα ἀμηχανήσεις χρήματος οὐδενὸς μένων ἐν ἡμετέρου, συμφορὴν τε ταύτην ὡς κουφότατα φέρων κερδανέεις πλεῖστον.”

36

¹ ὁ μὲν δὴ δίαιταν εἶχε ἐν Κροίσῳ. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Ὀλύμπῳ υἱὸς χρῆμα γίνεται μέγα· ὁρμώμενος δὲ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ ὄρεος τούτου τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα διαφθείρεσκε. πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Μυσοὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξελθόντες ποιέεσκον μὲν κακὸν οὐδέν, ἔπασχον δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. ² τέλος δὲ ἀπικόμενοι παρὰ τὸν Κροῖσον τῶν Μυσῶν ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον τάδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, υἱὸς χρῆμα μέγιστον ἀνεφάνη ἡμῖν

ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὃς τὰ ἔργα διαφθείρει. τοῦτον προθυμεόμενοι ἐλεῖν οὐ δυνάμεθα. νῦν ὦν προσδεόμεθά σευ τὸν παῖδα καὶ λογάδας νεηνίας καὶ κύνας συμπέμψαι ἡμῖν, ὥς ἂν μιν ἐξέλωμεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας.” ³ οἱ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐδέοντο, Κροῖσος δὲ μνημονεύων τοῦ ὀνείρου τὰ ἔπεα ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. “παιδὸς μὲν περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ μὴ μνησθῆτε ἔτι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν συμπέμψαιμι· νεόγαμός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτά οἱ νῦν μέλει. Λυδῶν μέντοι λογάδας καὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον πᾶν συμπέμψω, καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοῖσι ἰοῦσι εἶναι ὥς προθυμοτάτοισι συνεξελεῖν ὑμῖν τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χώρας.”

37

¹ ταῦτα ἀμείψατο· ἀποχρεωμένων δὲ τούτοισι τῶν Μυσῶν, ἐπεσέρχεται ὁ τοῦ Κροῖσου παῖς ἀκηκοὺς τῶν ἐδέοντο οἱ Μυσοί. οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κροῖσου τόν γε παῖδά σφι συμπέμψειν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νεηνίης τάδε. ² “ὦ πάτερ, τὰ κάλλιστα πρότερον κοτὲ καὶ γενναιότατα ἡμῖν ἦν ἔς τε πολέμους καὶ ἐς ἄγρας φοιτέοντας εὐδοκιμῶμεν· νῦν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων με τούτων ἀποκλήσας ἔχεις, οὔτε τινὰ δειλίην μοι παριδὼν οὔτε ἀθυμίην νῦν τε τέοισί με χρὴ ὄμμασι ἔς τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα φαίνεσθαι ; ³ κοῖος μὲν τις τοῖσι πολίτησι δόξω εἶναι, κοῖος δὲ τις τῇ νεογάμῳ γυναικί ; κοίῳ δὲ ἐκείνῃ δόξει ἀνδρὶ συνοικεῖν ; ἐμὲ ὦν σὺ ἢ μέτεος ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήρην, ἢ λόγῳ ἀνάπεισον ὅκως μοι ἀμείνω ἐστὶ ταῦτα οὕτω ποιεόμενα.”

38

¹ ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος τοῖσιδε. “ὦ παῖ, οὔτε δειλίην οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παριδὼν, τοι ποιέω ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ μοι ὄψις ὀνείρου ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐπιστᾶσα ἔφη σε ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἔσεσθαι· ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης ἀπολέεσθαι. ² πρὸς ὦν τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην τόν τε γάμον τοι τοῦτον ἔσπευσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα οὐκ ἀποπέμπω, φυλακὴν ἔχων, εἴ κως δυνάμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σε ζόης διακλέψαι. εἷς γὰρ μοι μῦθος τυγχάνεις ἑὼν παῖς· τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοὴν οὐκ εἶναι μοι λογίζομαι.”

39

¹ ἀμείβεται ὁ νεηνίης τοῖσιδε. “συγγνώμη μὲν ὦ πάτερ τοι, ἰδόντι γε ὄψιν τοιαύτην, περὶ ἐμὲ φυλακὴν ἔχειν· τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις ἀλλὰ

λέληθέ σε τὸ ὄνειρον, ἐμέ τοί δίκαιον ἐστί φράζειν. 2 φῆς τοι τὸ ὄνειρον ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς σιδηρῆς φάναι ἐμέ τελευτήσειν. ὕδς δὲ κοῖται μὲν εἰσὶ χεῖρες, κοίη δὲ αἰχμὴ σιδηρὴ τὴν σὺ φοβέαι ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀδόντος τοι εἶπε τελευτήσειν με, ἢ ἄλλου τευ ὃ τι τούτῳ ἔοικε, χρῆν δὴ σε ποιεῖν τὰ ποιέεις· νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς. ἐπεῖτε ὧν οὐ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἡμῖν γίνεται ἡ μάχη, μέτεες με.”

40

1 ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος “ὦ παῖ, ἔστι τῇ με νικᾷς γνώμην ἀποφαίνων περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου. ὥς ὧν νενικημένος ὑπὸ σέο μεταγινώσκω, μετήμῃ τε σὲ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγρην.”

41

1 εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος μεταπέμπεται τὸν Φρύγα Ἄδρηστον, ἀπικομένῳ δέ οἱ λέγει τάδε. “Ἄδρηστε, ἐγὼ σε συμφορῇ, πεπληγμένον ἀχάρι, τήν τοι οὐκ ὀνειδίζω, ἐκάθηρα καὶ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος ἔχω, παρέχων πᾶσαν δαπάνην. 2 νῦν ὧν (ὀφείλεις γὰρ ἐμοῦ προποιήσαντος χρηστὰ ἐς σὲ χρηστοῖσί με ἀμείβεσθαι) φύλακα παιδός σε τοῦ ἐμοῦ χρηρίζω γενέσθαι ἐς ἄγρην ὀρμωμένου, μὴ τινες κατ’ ὁδὸν κλῶπες κακοῦργοι ἐπὶ δηλήσι φανέωσι ὑμῖν. 3 πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ σὲ τοι χρεόν ἐστί ἰέναι ἔνθα ἀπολαμπρυνέαι τοῖσι χρεόν πατρῷόν τε γάρ τοι ἐστί καὶ προσέτι ῥώμη ὑπάρχει.”

42

1 ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἄδρηστος “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἄλλως μὲν ἔγωγε ἂν οὐκ ἦα ἐς ἄεθλον τοιόνδε· οὔτε γὰρ συμφορῇ τοιῇδε κεχρημένον οἶκός ἐστί ἐς ὁμήλικας εὖ πρήσσοντας ἰέναι, οὔτε τὸ βούλεσθαι πάρα, πολλὰ χῆ τε ἂν ἴσχον ἐμεωυτόν. 2 νῦν δέ, ἐπεῖτε σὺ σπεύδεις καὶ δεῖ τοί χαρίζεσθαι (ὀφείλω γάρ σε ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῖσι), ποιεῖν εἰμὶ ἕτοιμος ταῦτα, παῖδα τε σόν, τὸν διακελεύεαι φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα τοῦ φυλάσσοντος εἵνεκεν προσδόκα τοι ἀπονοστήσειν.”

43

1 τοιούτοις ἐπεῖτε οὗτος ἀμείψατο Κροῖσον, ἦσαν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηρτυμένοι λογάσι τε νεηνίησι καὶ κυσί. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὀλυμπον τὸ ὄρος ἐζήτηον τὸ θηρίον, εὐρόντες δὲ καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ ἐσηκόντιζον. 2 ἔνθα δὴ ὁ ξεῖνος, οὗτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεὶς τὸν φόνον, καλεόμενος δὲ Ἄδρηστος, ἀκοντίζων τὸν ὕν τοῦ μὲν

ἀμαρτάνει, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου παιδός. ³ ὁ μὲν δὴ βληθεὶς τῇ αἰχμῇ ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ὀνείρου τὴν φήμην, ἔθεε δέ τις ἀγγελέων τῷ Κροίσῳ τὸ γεγονός, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδις τὴν τε μάχην καὶ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς μόνον ἐσήμηνέ οἱ.

44

¹ ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ παιδὸς συντεταραγμένος μᾶλλον τι ἐδεινολογέετο ὅτι μιν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αὐτὸς φόνου ἐκάθηρε· ² περιημεκτέων δὲ τῇ συμφορῇ δεινῶς ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία καθάρσιον μαρτυρόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου πεπονθῶς εἶη ἐκάλεε δὲ ἐπίστιόν τε καὶ ἐταιρήιον, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζων θεόν, τὸν μὲν ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι δὴ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξεῖνον φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε βόσκων, τὸν δὲ ἐταιρήιον, ὡς φύλακα συμπέμψας αὐτὸν εὐρήκοι πολεμιώτατον.

45

¹ παρῆσαν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Λυδοὶ φέροντες τὸν νεκρόν, ὅπισθε δὲ εἵπετό οἱ ὁ φονεὺς. στὰς δὲ οὗτος πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρεδίδου ἐωυτὸν Κροίσῳ προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπικατασφάζει μιν κελεύων τῷ νεκρῷ, λέγων τὴν τε προτέρην ἐωυτοῦ συμφορὴν, καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκῶς εἶη, οὐδέ οἱ εἶη βιώσιμον. ² Κροῖσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας τὸν τε Ἄδρηστον κατοικτεῖρει, καίπερ ἔων ἐν κακῷ οἰκίῳ τοσούτῳ καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν “ἔχω ᾧ ξεῖνε παρὰ σεῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην, ἐπειδὴ σεωυτοῦ καταδικάζεις θάνατον. εἷς δὲ οὐ σύ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴτιος, εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἀέκων ἐξεργάσαιο, ἀλλὰ θεῶν κού τις, ὅς μοι καὶ πάλαι προεσήμεινε τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι.” ³ Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ἔθαψε ὡς οἶκός ἦν τὸν ἐωυτοῦ παῖδα· Ἄδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδίῳ τοῦ Μίδεω, οὗτος δὴ ὁ φονεὺς μὲν τοῦ ἐωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ γενόμενος φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος, ἐπεῖτε ἡσυχίῃ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ σῆμα, συγγινωσκόμενος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τῶν αὐτὸς ἦδε βαρυσυμφορώτατος, ἐπικατασφάζει τῷ τύμβῳ ἐωυτόν.

46

¹ Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτεα ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ κατῆστο τοῦ παιδὸς ἐστερημένος. μετὰ δὲ ἡ Ἀστυάγειος τοῦ Κυαζάρεω ἡγεμονίῃ καταيرهθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσέων πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα πένθεος μὲν Κροῖσον ἀπέπαυσε, ἐνέβησε δὲ

ἐς φροντίδα, εἴ κως δύναιτο, πρὶν μεγάλους γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν. ² μετὰ ὧν τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην αὐτίκα ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῶν μαντείων τῶν τε ἐν Ἑλληνσι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ, διαπέμψας ἄλλους ἄλλη, τοὺς μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἰέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Ἄβας τὰς Φωκέων, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Δωδώνην· οἱ δὲ τινὲς ἐπέμποντο παρὰ τε Ἀμφιάρεων καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον, οἱ δὲ τῆς Μιλησίης ἐς Βραγχίδας. ³ ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μαντήια ἐς τὰ ἀπέπεμψε μαντευσόμενος Κροῖσος· Λιβύης δὲ παρὰ Ἄμμωνα ἀπέστελλε ἄλλους χρησομένους. διέπεμπε δὲ πειρώμενος τῶν μαντήιων ὃ τι φρονόειεν, ὥς εἰ φρονέοντα τὴν ἀληθείην εὑρεθείη, ἐπείρηται σφέα δεύτερα πέμπων εἰ ἐπιχειρέοι ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύεσθαι.

47

¹ ἐντειλάμενος δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι τάδε ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν διάπειραν τῶν χρηστηρίων, ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης ὀρμηθέωσι ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμερολογέοντας τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἑκατοστῇ ἡμέρῃ χρᾶσθαι τοῖσι χρηστηρίοις, ἐπειρωτῶντας ὃ τι ποιέων τυγχάνοι ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω· ἄσσα δ' ἂν ἕκαστα τῶν χρηστηρίων θεσπίσῃ, συγγραψάμενους ἀναφέρειν παρ' ἐωυτόν. ² ὃ τι μὲν νυν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐθέσπισε, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς σὺδαμῶν· ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖσι ὥς ἐσῆλθον τάχιστα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον οἱ Λυδοὶ χρησόμενοι τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐπειρώτων τὸ ἐντεταλμένον, ἡ Πυθίη ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ λέγει τάδε.

*3 οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμου τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης,
καὶ κωφοῦ συνήμι, καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντος ἀκούω.
ὁδμή μ' ἐς φρένας ἦλθε κραταιρίνοιο χελώνης
ἐπομένης ἐν χαλκῷ ἅμ' ἀρνείοισι κρέεσσιν,
ἦ χαλκὸς μὲν ὑπέστρωται, χαλκὸν δ' ἐπίεσται.*

48

¹ ταῦτα οἱ Λυδοὶ θεσπισάσης τῆς Πυθίης συγγραψάμενοι οἷχοντο ἀπίοντες ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις. ὥς δὲ καὶ ὄλλοι οἱ περιπεμφθέντες παρήσαν φέροντες τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος ἕκαστα ἀναπτύσσων ἐπώρα τῶν συγγραμμάτων, τῶν μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν προσιέτό μιν· ὁ δὲ ὥς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα προσεῦχετό τε καὶ προσεδέξατο, νομίσας μῶνον εἶναι μαντήιον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ὅτι οἱ ἐξευρήκεε τὰ

αὐτὸς ἐποίησε. 2 ἐπεῖτε γὰρ δὴ διέπεμψε παρὰ τὰ χρηστήρια τοὺς θεοπρόπους, φυλάξας τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερέων ἐμηχανᾶτο τοιάδε· ἐπινοήσας τὰ ἦν ἀμήχανον ἐξευρεῖν τε καὶ ἐπιφράσασθαι, χελώνην καὶ ἄρνα κατακόψας ὁμοῦ ἦψε αὐτὸς ἐν λέβητι χαλκῷ, χάλκεον ἐπίθημα ἐπιθείς.

49

1 τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὕτω τῷ, Κροίσῳ ἐχρήσθη· κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμφιάρεω τοῦ μαντηίου ὑπόκρισιν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὅ τι τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἔχρησε ποιήσας περὶ τὸ ἰρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα (οὐ γὰρ ὧν οὐδὲ τοῦτο λέγεται), ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο ἐνόμισε μαντήιον ἀψευδὲς ἐκτῆσθαι.

50

1 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεὸν ἰλάσκετο· κτήνεά τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια ἔθυσσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας καὶ εἴματα πορφύρεα καὶ κιθῶνας, νήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, κατέκαιε, ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλον τι τούτοις ἀνακτήσεσθαι· Λυδοῖσι τε πᾶσι προεῖπε θύειν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τούτῳ ὅ τι ἔχοι ἕκαστος. 2 ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλανε, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιέων ἐξαπάλαιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα τριπάλαιστα, ὕψος δὲ παλαιστιαῖα. ἀριθμὸν δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τούτων ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ τέσσερα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον ἕκαστον ἔλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. 3 ἐποιέετο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου ἔλκουσαν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα. οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπεῖτε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι νηὸς, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἱδρυτο), καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν ἑβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον· ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον.

51

1 ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφούς, καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἅμα τοῖσι, κρητῆρας δύο μεγάλῃ μεγάλους, χρύσειον καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσειος ἔκειτο ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ ἐσιόντι ἐς τὸν νηόν, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ' ἀριστερά. 2 μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τὸν

νηὸν κατακαέντα καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσεος κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν εἵνατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἔτι δυνάδεκα μνέας, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηίου τῆς γωνίης, χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἑξακοσίους· ἐπικίρνεται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Θεοφανίοισι. 3 φασι δὲ μιν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω· οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ πίθους τε ἀργυρέους τέσσαρας ἀπέπεμψε, οἱ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ ἐστῆσι, καὶ περιῤῥαντήρια δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεόν τε καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν τῷ χρυσῷ ἐπιγέγραπται Λακεδαιμονίων φαμένων εἶναι ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες· 4 ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροίσου, ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὔνομα οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς, δι' οὗ τῆς χειρὸς ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστί, οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιῤῥαντηρίων οὐδέτερον. 5 ἄλλα τε ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἅμα τούτοις ὁ Κροῖσος, καὶ χεύματα ἀργύρεα κυκλοτερέα, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἰδωλον χρύσειον τρίπηχυ, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ τὰς ζώνας.

52

1 ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψε, τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεω, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσειον πᾶν ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν πᾶσαν χρυσῆν, τὸ ξυστὸν τῇσι λόγχῃσι ἐὸν ὁμοίως χρύσειον· τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβῃσι καὶ Θηβέων ἐν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Απόλλωνος.

53

1 τοῖσι δὲ ἄγειν μέλλουσι τῶν Λυδῶν ταῦτα τὰ δῶρα ἐς τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπειρωτᾶν τὰ χρηστήρια εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροῖσος καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο φίλον, 2 ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὰ ἀπεπέμφθησαν, οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι λέγοντες “Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεὺς, νομίσας τάδε μαντήια εἶναι μούνα ἐν ἀνθρώποισι, ὑμῖν τε ἄξια δῶρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων, καὶ νῦν ὑμέας ἐπειρωτᾶ εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο σύμμαχον.” 3 οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτων,

τῶν δὲ μαντήϊων ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὸν αἰ γινῶμαι συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαι Κροίσῳ, ἣν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μιν καταλύσειν· τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους συνεβούλευόν οἱ ἐξευρόντα φίλους προσθέσθαι.

54

1 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀνενειχθέντα τὰ θεοπρόπια ἐπύθετο ὁ Κροῖσος, ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι, πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιληὴν, πέμψας αὐτὶς ἐς Πυθῶ Δελφοὺς δωρέεται, πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, κατ' ἄνδρα δύο στατήρσι ἕκαστον χρυσοῦ. 2 Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδοσαν Κροίσῳ καὶ Λυδοῖσι προμαντήϊν καὶ ἀτελείην καὶ προεδρίην, καὶ ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον.

55

1 δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφοὺς ὁ Κροῖσος ἐχρηστηρίαζέτο τὸ τρίτον· ἐπεῖτε γὰρ δὴ παρέλαβε τοῦ μαντείου ἀληθείην, ἐνεφορέετο αὐτοῦ. ἐπειρώτα δὲ τάδε χρηστηριαζόμενος, εἴ οἱ πολυχρόνιος ἔσται ἡ μουναρχίη. 2 ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ τάδε.

*ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μῆδοισι γένηται,
καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρέ, πολυψήφίδα παρ' Ἑρμον
φεύγειν μηδὲ μένειν μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι.*

56

1 τούτοισι ἐλθοῦσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ὁ Κροῖσος πολλόν τι μάλιστα πάντων ἦσθη, ἐλπίζων ἡμίονον οὐδαμὰ ἀντ' ἄνδρὸς βασιλεύσειν Μήδων, οὐδ' ὧν αὐτὸς οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ παύσεσθαι κοτὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων τοὺς ἂν Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους ἐόντας προσκτῆσαιτο φίλους, 2 ἱστορέων δὲ εὔρισκε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους προέχοντας τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένους τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα, ἐόντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῇ κω ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. 3 ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλείας οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον χώραν, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰστιαίωτιν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδνὸν καλεόμενον· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὶς ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη

καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτω ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἔλθον Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη.

57

¹ ἦντινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἴεσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν. εἰ δὲ χρεὸν ἐστὶ τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἐτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν οἰκεόντων, οἱ ὅμουροι κοτὲ ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι (οἴκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην), ² καὶ τῶν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκησάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἐόντα πολίσματα τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλε· εἰ τοῦτοισι τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἰέντες. ³ εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος ἐὸν Πελασγικὸν ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλλήνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνιῆται οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν νῦν σφέας περιοικεόντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι οὔτε οἱ Πλακιηνοί, σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι· δηλοῦσί τε ὅτι τὸν ἡνείκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ.

58

¹ τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν γλώσση μὲν ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο αἰεὶ κοτὲ τῇ αὐτῇ διαχρᾶται, ὥς ἐμοὶ καταφαίνεται εἶναι· ἀποσχισθὲν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ ἐὸν ἀσθενές, ἀπὸ σμικροῦ τεο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁρμώμενον αὐξῆται ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνέων, Πελασγῶν μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βαρβάρων συχνῶν. πρόσθε δὲ ὧν ἔμοιγε δοκέει οὐδὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὸν βάρβαρον, οὐδαμὰ μεγάλως αὐξήθη.

59

¹ τούτων δὲ ὧν τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενόν τε καὶ διεσπασμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ Ἰπποκράτεος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυραννεύοντος Ἀθηναίων. Ἰπποκράτει γὰρ ἐόντι ιδιώτῃ καὶ θεωρέοντι τὰ Ὀλύμπια τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα· θύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱρά οἱ λέβητες ἐπεστεῶτες καὶ κρεῶν τε ἐόντες ἔμπλεοι καὶ ὕδατος ἄνευ πυρὸς ἔξεσαν καὶ ὑπερέβαλον. ² Χίλων δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος παρατυχὼν καὶ

θεησάμενος τὸ τέρας συνεβούλευε Ἴπποκράτει πρῶτα μὲν γυναῖκα
 μὴ ἄγεσθαι τεκνοποιὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκία, εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων, δευτέρα τὴν
 γυναῖκα ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ εἴ τις οἱ τυγχάνει ἐὼν παῖς, τοῦτον
 ἀπείπασθαι. ³ οὐκὼν ταῦτα παραινέσαντος Χίλωνος πείθεσθαι θέλιν
 τὸν Ἴπποκράτεα· γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισίστρατον τοῦτον,
 ὃς στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων, καὶ
 τῶν μὲν προεστεῶτος Μεγακλέος τοῦ Ἀλκμέωνος, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ
 πεδίου Λυκούργου Ἀριστολαΐδεω, καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα
 ἤγειρε τρίτην στάσιν· συλλέξας δὲ στασιώτας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν
 ὑπερακρίων προστὰς μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. ⁴ τρωματίσας ἐαυτὸν τε καὶ
 ἡμιόνους ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν τὸ ζεῦχος ὥς ἐκπεφευγὼς τοὺς
 ἐχθρούς, οἳ μιν ἐλαύνοντα ἐς ἀγρὸν ἠθέλησαν ἀπολέσαι δῆθεν,
 ἐδέετό τε τοῦ δήμου φυλακῆς τινος πρὸς αὐτοῦ κυρῆσαι, πρότερον
 εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας γενομένη στρατηγίῃ, Νίσαιάν τε
 ἐλὼν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποδεξάμενος μεγάλα ἔργα. ⁵ ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν
 Ἀθηναίων ἐξαπατηθεὶς ἔδωκε οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέξας ἄνδρας
 τούτους οἱ δορυφόροι μὲν οὐκ ἐγένοντο Πεισιστράτου, κορυνηφόροι
 δέ· ξύλων γὰρ κορύνας ἔχοντες εἶποντό οἱ ὀπισθε. ⁶
 συνεπαναστάντες δὲ οὗτοι ἅμα Πεισιστράτῳ ἔσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.
 ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἦρχε Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε τιμὰς τὰς ἐούσας
 συνταράξας οὔτε θέσμια μεταλλάξας, ἐπὶ τε τοῖσι κατεστεῶσι ἔνεμε
 τὴν πόλιν κοσμέων καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ.

60

¹ μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τῶντὸ φρονήσαντες οἳ τε τοῦ
 Μεγακλέος στασιῶται καὶ οἱ τοῦ Λυκούργου ἐξελαύνουσί μιν. οὕτω
 μὲν Πεισίστρατος ἔσχε τὸ πρῶτον Ἀθήνας, καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα οὐκὼ
 κάρτα ἐρρίζωμένην ἔχων ἀπέβαλε. οἳ δὲ ἐξελάσαντες Πεισίστρατον
 αὐτίς ἐκ νέης ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐστασίασαν. ² περιελαυνόμενος δὲ τῇ
 στάσι ὁ Μεγακλῆς ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισιστράτῳ, εἰ βούλοιτό οἱ τὴν
 θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι. ³ ἐνδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον
 καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος ἐπὶ τούτοις Πεισιστράτου, μηχανῶνται δὴ ἐπὶ
 τῇ κατόδῳ πρῆγμα εὐηθέστατον, ὥς ἐγὼ εὐρίσκω, μακρῷ, ἐπεὶ γε
 ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνεος τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὼν καὶ
 δεξιώτερον καὶ εὐηθείης ἡλιθίου ἀπηλλαγμένον μᾶλλον, εἰ καὶ τότε
 γε οὗτοι ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι τοῖσι πρώτοις λεγομένοις εἶναι Ἑλλήνων
 σοφὴν μηχανῶνται τοιάδε. ⁴ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Παιανίῃ ἦν γυνὴ τῇ

οὐνομα ἦν Φύη, μέγαθος ἀπὸ τεσσέρων πηχέων ἀπολείπουσα τρεῖς δακτύλους καὶ ἄλλως εὐειδής· ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα σκευάσαντες πανοπλίῃ, ἐς ἄρμα ἐσβιβάσαντες καὶ προδέξαντες σχῆμα οἷόν τι ἔμελλε εὐπρεπέστατον φανέσθαι ἔχουσα, ἤλαυνον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, προδρόμους κήρυκας προπέμπαντες· οἱ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἠγόρευον ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, λέγοντες τοιάδε· 5 “ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, δέκεσθε ἀγαθῷ νόφ Πεισίστρατον, τὸν αὐτὴ ἡ Ἀθηναίη τιμήσασα ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα κατάγει ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῆς ἀκρόπολιν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διαφοιτέοντες ἔλεγον· αὐτίκα δὲ ἔς τε τοὺς δήμους φάτις ἀπίκετο ὡς Ἀθηναίη Πεισίστρατον κατάγει, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ πειθόμενοι τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι αὐτὴν τὴν θεὸν προσεύχοντό τε τὴν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐδέκοντο Πεισίστρατον.

61

1 ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίην τὴν πρὸς Μεγακλέα γενομένην γαμέει τοῦ Μεγακλέος τὴν θυγατέρα. οἷα δὲ παίδων τέ οἱ ὑπαρχόντων νεηνιέων καὶ λεγομένων ἐναγέων εἶναι τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδέων, οὐ βουλόμενός οἱ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς νεογάμου γυναικὸς τέκνα ἐμίσγετό οἱ οὐ κατὰ νόμον. 2 τὰ μὲν νυν πρῶτα ἔκρυπτε ταῦτα ἡ γυνή, μετὰ δὲ εἴτε ἱστορεύσῃ εἴτε καὶ οὐ φράζει τῇ ἐωυτῆς μητρί, ἢ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρί. ὀργῇ δὲ ὡς εἶχε καταλλάσσετο τὴν ἔχθρην τοῖσι στασιώτησι. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Πεισίστρατος τὰ ποιεύμενα ἐπ’ ἐωυτῷ ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας τὸ παράπαν, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἑρέτριαν ἐβουλευέτο ἅμα τοῖσι παισὶ. 3 Ἰππίεω δὲ γνώμῃ νικήσαντος ἀνακτᾶσθαι ὀπίσω τὴν τυραννίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ἡγειρον δωτίνας ἐκ τῶν πολίων αἰτινές σφι προαιδέοντό κού τι. πολλῶν δὲ μεγάλα παρασχόντων χρήματα, Θηβαῖοι ὑπερεβάλλοντο τῇ δόσι τῶν χρημάτων. 4 μετὰ δέ, οὐ πολλῷ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, χρόνος διέφυ καὶ πάντα σφι ἐξήρτυτο ἐς τὴν κάτοδον· καὶ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μισθωτοὶ ἀπίκοντο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, καὶ Νάξιός σφι ἀνὴρ ἀπιγμένος ἐθέλοντής, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Λύγδαμης, προθυμῇν πλείστην παρείχετο, κομίσας καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνδρας.

62

1 ἐξ Ἑρετρίης δὲ ὀρμηθέντες διὰ ἑνδεκάτου ἔτεος ἀπίκοντο ὀπίσω, καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἴσχουσι Μαραθῶνα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ σφι στρατοπεδευομένοισι οἱ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἁστεος στασιῶται

ἀπίκοντο ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν δήμων προσέρρεον, τοῖσι ἡ τυραννὶς πρὸ ἐλευθερίας ἦν ἀσπαστότερον. 2 οὗτοι μὲν δὴ συνηλίζοντο, Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, ἕως μὲν Πεισίστρατος τὰ χρήματα ἤγειρε, καὶ μεταῦτις ὥς ἔσχε Μαραθῶνα, λόγον οὐδένα εἶχον· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τοῦ Μαραθῶνος αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, οὕτω δὴ βοηθέουσι ἐπ’ αὐτόν. 3 καὶ οὗτοί τε πανστρατιῇ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατιόντας καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον, ὥς ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Μαραθῶνος ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ συνιόντες ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἱρόν, καὶ ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα. 4 ἐνθαῦτα θεῖη πομπὴ χρεώμενος παρίσταται Πεισιστράτῳ Ἀμφίλυτος ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν χρησμολόγος ἀνὴρ, ὃς οἱ προσίων χρᾶ ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε λέγων·

*“ἔρρίπται δ’ ὁ βόλος, τὸ δὲ δίκτυον ἐκπεπέτασται,
θύννοι δ’ οἰμήσουσι σεληναίης διὰ νυκτός.”*

63

1 ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐνθεάζων χρᾶ τάδε, Πεισίστρατος δὲ συλλαβὼν τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ φᾶς δέκεσθαι τὸ χρησθὲν ἐπῆγε τὴν στρατιήν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος πρὸς ἄριστον τετραμμένοι ἦσαν δὴ τηνικαῦτα, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν πρὸς κύβους οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὕπνον. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον ἐσπεσόντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τρέπουσι. 2 φευγόντων δὲ τούτων βουλὴν ἐνθαῦτα σοφωτάτην Πεισίστρατος ἐπιτεχνᾶται, ὅπως μῆτε ἀλισθεῖεν ἔτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διεσκεδασμένοι τε εἶεν· ἀναβιβάσας τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ ἵππους προέπεμπε, οἱ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς φεύγοντας ἔλεγον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου, θαρσέειν τε κελεύοντες καὶ ἀπιέναι ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ.

64

1 πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὕτω δὴ Πεισίστρατος τὸ τρίτον σχὼν Ἀθήνας ἐρρίζωσε τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπικούροισι τε πολλοῖσι καὶ χρημάτων συνόδοισι, τῶν μὲν αὐτόθεν τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ συνιόντων, ὁμήρους τε τῶν παραμεινάντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ μὴ αὐτίκα φευγόντων παῖδας λαβὼν καὶ καταστήσας ἐς Νάξον 2 (καὶ γὰρ ταύτην ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατεστρέψατο πολέμῳ καὶ ἐπέτρεψε Λυγδάμῳ) πρὸς τε ἔτι τούτοις τὴν νῆσον Δῆλον καθήρας ἐκ τῶν

λογίων καθήρας δὲ ὧδε· ἐπ’ ὅσον ἔποψις τοῦ ἱροῦ εἶχε, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου παντὸς ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς μετεφόρεε ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον τῆς Δήλου. ³ καὶ Πεισίστρατος μὲν ἐτυράννευε Ἀθηνέων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν μετ’ Ἀλκμεωνιδέων ἔφευγον ἐκ τῆς οἰκίης.

65

¹ τοὺς μὲν νυν Ἀθηναίους τοιαῦτα τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος κατέχοντα, τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ κακῶν τε μεγάλων πεφευγότας καὶ ἐόντας ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ κατυπερτέρους Τεγεατέων. ἐπὶ γὰρ Λέοντος βασιλεύοντος καὶ Ἥγησικλέος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὐτυχεόντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Τεγεήτας μούνους προσέπταιον. ² τὸ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τούτων καὶ κακονομώτατοι ἦσαν σχεδὸν πάντων Ἑλλήνων κατὰ τε σφέας αὐτοὺς καὶ ξεῖνοισι ἀπρόσμικτοι· μετέβαλον δὲ ὧδε ἐς εὐνομίην. Λυκούργου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων δοκίμου ἀνδρὸς ἐλθόντος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὡς ἐσήιε ἐς τὸ μέγαρον, εὐθύς ἡ Πυθίη λέγει τάδε.

³ “ἦκεις ὦ Λυκόοργε ἐμὸν ποτὶ πίονα νηὸν
Ζηνὶ φίλος καὶ πᾶσιν Ὀλύμπια δώματ’ ἔχουσι.
δίξω ἢ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι ἢ ἄνθρωπον.
ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεὸν ἔλπομαι, ὦ Λυκόοργε.”

⁴ οἱ μὲν δὴ τινες πρὸς τούτοις λέγουσι καὶ φράσαι αὐτῷ τὴν Πυθίην τὸν νῦν κατεστεῶτα κόσμον Σπαρτιήτησι. ὡς δ’ αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λυκοῦργον ἐπιτροπεύσαντα Λεωβώτῳ, ἀδελφιδέῳ μὲν ἐωυτοῦ βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτιητέων, ἐκ Κρήτης ἀγαγέσθαι ταῦτα. ⁵ ὡς γὰρ ἐπετρόπευσε τάχιστα, μετέστησε τὰ νόμιμα πάντα, καὶ ἐφύλαξε ταῦτα μὴ παραβαίνειν· μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐνωμοτίας καὶ τριηκάδας καὶ συσσίτια, πρὸς τε τούτοις τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας ἔστησε Λυκοῦργος.

66

¹ οὕτω μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν, τῷ δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἱρὸν εἰσάμενοι σέβονται μεγάλως. οἷα δὲ ἐν τε χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ καὶ πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ

εὐθηνήθησαν, καὶ δὴ σφι οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι ἐχρηστηρίαζοντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χωρῇ. 2 ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι χρᾶ τάδε.

*“Ἀρκαδίην μ’ αἰτεῖς· μέγα μ’ αἰτεῖς· οὐ τοι δώσω .
πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν ,
οἳ σ’ ἀποκωλύσουσιν . ἐγὼ δὲ τοι οὔτι μεγαίρω·
δώσω τοί Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι
καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι .”*

3 ταῦτα ὥς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀρκάδων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείχοντο, οἳ δὲ πέδας φερόμενοι ἐπὶ Τεγεήτας ἐστρατεύοντο, χρησμῷ κιβδήλῳ πίσυνοι, ὥς δὴ ἐξανδραποδιούμενοι τοὺς Τεγεήτας. 4 ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐζωγρήθησαν, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέροντο αὐτοὶ καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδίον τὸ Τεγεητέων ἐργάζοντο. αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὗται ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέατο ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σόαι ἐν Τεγέῃ περὶ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης κρεμάμεναι.

67

1 κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον συνεχέως αἰεὶ κακῶς ἀέθλεον πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροῖσον χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἀναξανδρίδεω τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιληίῃ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἤδη οἱ Σπαρτιῆται κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγεγόνεσαν, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε γενόμενοι. 2 ἐπειδὴ αἰεὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐσσοῦντο ὑπὸ Τεγεητέων, πέμψαντες θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τίνα ἂν θεῶν ἱλασάμενοι κατύπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγεητέων γενοίαιτο. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε τὰ Ὁρέστεω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὅστέα ἐπαγαγομένους. 3 ὥς δὲ ἀνευρεῖν οὐκ οἶοι τε ἐγίνοντο τὴν θήκην τοῦ Ὁρέστεω ἔπεμπον αὐτῖς τὴν ἐς θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ κέοιτο Ὁρέστης. εἰρωτῶσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι λέγει ἡ Πυθίη τάδε.

4 *“ἔστι τις Ἀρκαδίας Τεγέῃ λευρῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ,
ἐνθ’ ἄνεμοι πνείουσι δύω κρατερῆς ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης,
καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ’ ἐπὶ πῆματι κεῖται.
ἐνθ’ Ἀγαμεμνονίδην κατέχει φυσίζοος αἴᾶ,
τὸν σὺ κομισσάμενος Τεγέης ἐπιτάρροθος ἔσση .”*

5 ὥς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀπεῖχον τῆς ἐξευρέσιος οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, πάντα διζήμενοι, ἐς οὗ δὴ Λίχης τῶν ἀγαθοεργῶν καλεομένων Σπαρτιητέων ἀνεῦρε, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοεργοὶ εἰσὶ τῶν ἀστών, ἐξιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων αἰεὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, πέντε ἔτεος ἐκάστου· τοὺς δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, τὸν ἂν ἐξιώσι ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων, Σπαρτιητέων τῷ κοινῷ διαπεμπομένους μὴ ἐλινύειν ἄλλους ἄλλη.

68

1 τούτων ὧν τῶν ἀνδρῶν Λίχης ἀνεῦρε ἐν Τεγέῃ καὶ συντυχίῃ χρησάμενος καὶ σοφίῃ. εὐούσης γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιμιξίης πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, ἐλθὼν ἐς χαλκήιον ἐθηεῖτο σίδηρον ἐξελαυνόμενον, καὶ ἐν θῶματι ἦν ὀρέων τὸ ποιεόμενον. 2 μαθὼν, δέ μιν ὁ χαλκεὺς ἀποθωμάζοντα εἶπε παυσάμενος τοῦ ἔργου “ἦ κου ἄν, ὦ ξεῖνε Λάκων εἴ περ εἶδες τό περ ἐγώ, κάρτα ἂν ἐθώμαζες, ὅκου νῦν οὕτω τυγχάνεις θῶμα ποιεύμενος τὴν ἐργασίην τοῦ σιδήρου. 3 ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῇδε θέλῶν τῇ αὐλῇ φρέαρ ποιήσασθαι, ὀρύσσων ἐπέτυχον σορῶ ἑπταπῆχεϊ· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπιστίας μὴ μὲν γενέσθαι μηδαμὰ μέζονας ἀνθρώπους τῶν νῦν ἄνοιξα αὐτὴν καὶ εἶδον τὸν νεκρὸν μήκει ἴσον ἐόντα τῇ σορῶ· μετρήσας δὲ συνέχονσα ὀπίσω.” ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἔλεγε τά περ ὀπώπεε, ὁ δὲ ἐννώσας τὰ λεγόμενα συνεβάλλετο τὸν Ὀρέστεα κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τοῦτον εἶναι, τῇδε συμβαλλόμενος· 4 τοῦ χαλκέος δύο ὀρέων φύσας τοὺς ἀνέμους εὔρισκε ἐόντας, τὸν δὲ ἄκμονα καὶ τὴν σφῦραν τὸν τε τύπον καὶ τὸν ἀντίτυπον, τὸν δὲ ἐξελαυνόμενον σίδηρον τὸ πῆμα ἐπὶ πῆματι κείμενον, κατὰ τοιόνδε τι εἰκάζων, ὥς ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνεύρηται. 5 συμβαλόμενος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐς Σπάρτην ἔφραζε Λακεδαιμονίοισι πᾶν τὸ πρῆγμα. οἱ δὲ ἐκ λόγου πλαστοῦ ἐπενείκαντες οἱ αἰτίην ἐδίωξαν. ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Τεγέην καὶ φράζων τὴν ἐωυτοῦ συμφορὴν πρὸς τὸν χαλκέα ἐμισθοῦτο παρ’ οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος τὴν αὐλήν· 6 χρόνῳ δὲ ὥς ἀνέγνωσε, ἐνοικίσθη, ἀνορύξας δὲ τὸν τάφον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα συλλέξας οἶχeto φέρων ἐς Σπάρτην. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου, ὅκως πειρώατο ἀλλήλων, πολλῶ κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἤδη δέ σφι καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦν κατεστραμμένη.

69

1 ταῦτα δὴ ὧν πάντα πυνθανόμενος ὁ Κροῖσος ἔπεμπε ἐς Σπάρτην

ἀγγέλους δῶρά τε φέροντας καὶ δεησομένους συμμαχίης, ἐντειλάμενός τε τὰ λέγειν χρῆν. οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον ² “ἔπεμψε ἡμέας Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεύς, λέγων τάδε. ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ἑλληνα φίλον προσθέσθαι, ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὑμέας ὦν κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον προσκαλέομαι φίλος τε θέλων γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης.” ³ Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα δι’ ἀγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀκηκοότες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τὸ Κροίσῳ γενόμενον ἤσθησάν τε τῇ ἀπίξιν τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἐποιήσαντο ὄρκια ξεινῆς πέρι καὶ συμμαχίης· καὶ γὰρ τινὲς αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίαι εἶχον ἐκ Κροίσου πρότερον ἔτι γεγονυῖαι. ⁴ πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς Σάρδις χρυσὸν ὠνέοντο, ἐς ἄγαλμα βουλόμενοι χρήσασθαι τοῦτο τὸ νῦν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρνακι ἰδρυταὶ Ἀπόλλωνος· Κροῖσος δὲ σφι ὠνεομένοισι ἔδωκε δωτίνην.

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¹ τούτων τε ὦν εἵνεκεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν συμμαχίην ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ πάντων σφέας προκρίνας Ἑλλήνων αἰρέετο φίλους. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι ἐπαγγεῖλαντι, τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάμενοι κρητῆρα χάλκεον ζῳδίων τε ἔξωθεν πλήσαντες περὶ τὸ χεῖλος καὶ μεγάλῃ τριηκοσίους ἀμφορέας χωρέοντα ἤγον, δῶρον βουλόμενοι ἀντιδοῦναι Κροίσῳ. ² οὗτος ὁ κρητῆρ οὐκ ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάρδις δι’ αἰτίας διφασίας λεγομένας τάσδε· οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι ὡς ἐπεῖτε ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ὁ κρητῆρ ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὴν Σαμίην, πυθόμενοι Σάμιοι ἀπελοίατο αὐτὸν νηυσὶ μακρῇσι ἐπιπλώσαντες· ³ αὐτοὶ δὲ Σάμιοι λέγουσι ὡς ἐπεῖτε ὑστέρησαν οἱ ἄγοντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸν κρητῆρα, ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ Σάρδις τε καὶ Κροῖσον ἠλωκέναι, ἀπέδοντο τὸν κρητῆρα ἐν Σάμῳ, ιδιώτας δὲ ἄνδρας πριαμένους ἀναθεῖναι μιν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον. τάχα δὲ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Σπάρτην ὡς ἀπαιρεθείησαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων. κατὰ μὲν νυν τὸν κρητῆρα οὕτω ἔσχε.

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¹ Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησιμοῦ ἐποιέετο στρατήϊν ἐς Καππαδοκίην, ἐλπίσας καταιρήσειν Κῦρόν τε καὶ τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν. ² παρασκευαζομένου δὲ Κροίσου στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας,

τῶν τις Λυδῶν νομιζόμενος καὶ πρόσθε εἶναι σοφός, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ κάρτα οὔνομα ἐν Λυδοῖσι ἔχων, συνεβούλευσε Κροίσῳ τάδε· οὔνομά οἱ ἦν Σάνδανις. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπ’ ἄνδρας τοιούτους στρατεύεσθαι παρασκευάζει, οἱ σκυτίνας μὲν ἀναξυρίδας σκυτίνην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἐσθῆτα φορέουσι, σιτέονται δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἐθέλουσι ἀλλ’ ὅσα ἔχουσι, χώρην ἔχοντες τρηχέαν. ³ πρὸς δὲ οὐκ οἶνω διαχρέωνται ἀλλὰ ὑδροποτεύουσι, οὐ σῦκα δὲ ἔχουσι τρώγειν, οὐκ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν. τοῦτο μὲν δῆ, εἰ νικήσεις, τί σφέας ἀπαιρήσει, τοῖσί γε μὴ ἔστι μηδέν ; τοῦτο δέ, ἢν νικηθῇς, μάθε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἀποβαλέεις· γευσάμενοι γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν περιέξονται οὐδὲ ἀπωστοὶ ἔσονται. ⁴ ἐγὼ μὲν νυν θεοῖσι ἔχω χάριν, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον ποιεοῦσι Πέρσῃσι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Λυδοῦς.” ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Κροῖσον. Πέρσῃσι γάρ, πρὶν Λυδοὺς καταστρέψασθαι, ἦν οὔτε ἀβρὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν.

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¹ οἱ δὲ Καππαδόκαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σύριοι ὀνομάζονται· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Σύριοι οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἢ Πέρσας ἄρξαι Μήδων κατήκοοι, τότε δὲ Κύρου. ² ὁ γὰρ οὔρος ἦν τῆς τε Μηδικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς Λυδικῆς ὁ Ἄλυς ποταμός, ὃς ῥέει ἐξ Ἀρμενίου ὄρεος διὰ Κιλικῶν, μετὰ δὲ Ματινηοὺς μὲν ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχει ῥέων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου Φρύγας· παραμειβόμενος δὲ τούτους καὶ ῥέων ἄνω πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἔνθεν μὲν Συρίους Καππαδόκας ἀπέργει, ἐξ εὐωνύμου δὲ Παφλαγόνας. ³ οὕτω ὁ Ἄλυς ποταμὸς ἀποτάμνει σχεδὸν πάντα τῆς Ἀσίης τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἀντίον Κύπρου ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον. ἔστι δὲ αὐχὴν οὗτος τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπάσης· μῆκος ὁδοῦ εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ πέντε ἡμέραι ἀναισιμοῦνται.

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¹ ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίην τῶνδε εἵνεκα, καὶ γῆς ἱμέρῳ προσκτήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ μοῖραν βουλόμενος, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πίσυνος ἐὼν καὶ τίσασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ Ἀστυάγεος Κύρον. ² Ἀστυάγεα γὰρ τὸν Κυαξάρεω, ἐόντα Κροίσου μὲν γαμβρὸν Μήδων δὲ βασιλέα, Κύρος ὁ Καμβύσεω καταστρεψάμενος εἶχε, γενόμενον γαμβρὸν Κροίσῳ ᾧδε. ³ Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων εἴλη ἀνδρῶν στασιάσασα ὑπεξῆλθε ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν· ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Μήδων Κυαξάρης ὁ

Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηϊόκεω, ὃς τοὺς Σκύθας τούτους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περιεῖπε εὖ ὥς ἐόντας ἰκέτας· ὥστε δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος αὐτούς, παῖδάς σφι παρέδωκε τὴν γλῶσσάν τε ἐκμαθεῖν καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων. ⁴ χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, καὶ αἰεὶ φοιτεόντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπ' ἄγρην καὶ αἰεὶ τι φερόντων, καὶ κοτε συνήνεικε ἐλεῖν σφεας μηδέν· νοστήσαντας δὲ αὐτοὺς κεινῇσι χερσὶ ὁ Κυαζάρης (ἦν γάρ, ὥς διέδεξε, ὀργὴν ἄκρος) τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε ἀεικείη. ⁵ οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Κυαζάρεω παθόντες, ὥστε ἀνάξια σφέων αὐτῶν πεπονθότες, ἐβούλευσαν τῶν παρὰ σφίσι διδασκομένων παίδων ἓνα κατακόψαι, σκευάσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἐώθεσαν καὶ τὰ θηρία σκευάζειν, Κυαζάρη δοῦναι φέροντες ὥς ἄγρην δῆθεν, δόντες δὲ τὴν ταχίστην κομίζεσθαι παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα τὸν Σαδυάττεω ἐς Σάρδεις. ⁶ ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ Κυαζάρης καὶ οἱ παρεόντες δαιτυμόνες τῶν κρεῶν τούτων ἐπάσαντο, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ταῦτα ποιήσαντες Ἀλυάττεω ἰκέται ἐγένοντο.

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¹ μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐξεδίδου τοὺς Σκύθας ἐξαίτεοντι Κυαζάρη, πόλεμος τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Μήδοις ἐγεγόνεε ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε, ἐν τοῖσι πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Μῆδοι τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐνίκησαν, πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ τοὺς Μήδους, ἐν δὲ καὶ νυκτομαχίην τινὰ ἐποιήσαντο· ² διαφέρουσι δέ σφι ἐπὶ ἴσης τὸν πόλεμον τῷ ἔκτῳ ἔτει συμβολῇς γενομένης συνήνεικε ὥστε τῆς μάχης συνεστεώσης τὴν ἡμέρην ἐξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύτην τῇ ἡμέρῃς Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖσι Ἴωσι προηγόρευσε ἔσεσθαι, οὗρον προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον ἐν τῷ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολή. ³ οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι ἐπεῖτε εἶδον νύκτα ἀντὶ ἡμέρῃς γενομένην, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπαύσαντο καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἔσπευσαν καὶ ἀμφοτέροι εἰρήνην ἐωυτοῖσι γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ συμβιβάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἦσαν οἶδε, Σύνεννεσίς τε ὁ Κίλιξ καὶ Λαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος. ⁴ οὗτοί σφι καὶ τὸ ὄρκιον οἱ σπεύσαντες γενέσθαι ἦσαν καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγὴν ἐποίησαν· Ἀλυάττεα γὰρ ἔγνωσαν δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀρύνην Ἀστυάγει τῷ Κυαζάρεω παιδί· ἄνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαίης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσεως ἰσχυραὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συμμένειν. ⁵ ὄρκια δὲ ποιέεται ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα τὰ πέρ τε Ἕλληνες, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ἐπεὰν τοὺς βραχίονας ἐπιτάμωνται ἐς τὴν ὁμοχροίην, τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων.

1 τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἀστυάγεα Κῦρος ἐόντα ἐωυτοῦ μητροπάτορα καταστρεψάμενος ἔσχε δι' αἰτίην τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπίσω λόγοισι σημανέω· 2 τὰ Κροῖσος ἐπιμεμφόμενος τῷ Κύρῳ ἔς τε τὰ χρηστήρια ἔπεμπε εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπικομένου χρησμοῦ κιβδήλου, ἐλπίσας πρὸς ἐωυτοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι, ἐστρατεύετο ἐς τὴν Περσέων μοῖραν. 3 ὥς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω, κατὰ τὰς ἐούσας γεφύρας διεβίβασε τὸν στρατόν, ὥς δὲ ὁ πολλὸς λόγος Ἑλλήνων, Θαλῆς οἱ ὁ Μιλήσιος διεβίβασε. 4 ἀπορέοντος γὰρ Κροίσου ὅκως οἱ διαβήσεται τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ στρατός (οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἶναι κω τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰς γεφύρας ταύτας) λέγεται παρεόντα τὸν Θαλῆν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ῥέοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥεῖν, ποιῆσαι δὲ ὧδε· 5 ἄνωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀρξάμενον διώρυχα βαθέαν ὀρύσσειν, ἄγοντα μηνοειδέα, ὅκως ἂν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἰδρυμένον κατὰ νότου λάβοι, ταύτη κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα ἐκτραπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥέεθρων, καὶ αὐτὶς παραμειβόμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐσβάλλοι· ὥστε ἐπεῖτε καὶ ἐσχίσθη τάχιστα ὁ ποταμός, ἀμφοτέρῃ διαβατὸς ἐγένετο, 6 οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ παράπαν λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηρανθῆναι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσίεμαι· κῶς γὰρ ὀπίσω πορευόμενοι διέβησαν αὐτόν ;

1 Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπεῖτε διαβάς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀπίκετο τῆς Καππαδοκίης ἐς τὴν Πτερίην καλεομένην (ἢ δὲ Πτερίη ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης τὸ ἰσχυρότατον, κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν τὴν ἐν Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ μάλιστά κη κειμένη), ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύετο φθειρών τῶν Συρίων τοὺς κλήρους· 2 καὶ εἴλε μὲν τῶν Πτερίων τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἠνδραποδίσατο, εἴλε δὲ τὰς περιοικίδας αὐτῆς πάσας, Συρίους τε οὐδὲν ἐόντας αἰτίους ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε. Κῦρος δὲ ἀγείρας τὸν ἐωυτοῦ στρατὸν καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς μεταξὺ οἰκέοντας πάντας ἠγτιοῦτο Κροίσῳ. 3 πρὶν δὲ ἐξελαύνειν ὀρμῆσαι τὸν στρατόν, πέμψας κήρυκας ἐς τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐπειρᾶτο σφέας ἀπὸ Κροίσου ἀπιστάναι. Ἴωνες μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο. Κῦρος δὲ ὥς ἀπίκετο καὶ ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο Κροίσῳ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ χωρῇ ἐπειρῶντο κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἀλλήλων. 4 μάχης δὲ καρτερῆς γενομένης

καὶ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, τέλος οὐδέτεροι νικήσαντες διέστησαν νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατόπεδα ἀμφοτέρα οὕτω ἡγωνίσατο.

77

1 Κροῖσος δὲ μεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἐωυτοῦ στράτευμα (ἦν γάρ οἱ ὁ συμβαλὼν στρατὸς πολλὸν ἐλάσσων ἢ ὁ Κύρου), τοῦτο μεμφθεὶς, ὡς τῇ ὑστεραίῃ οὐκ ἐπειρᾶτο ἐπιὼν ὁ Κῦρος, ἀπήλαυνε ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ἐν νόφῃ ἔχων παρακαλέσας μὲν Αἰγυπτίους κατὰ τὸ ὄρκιον 2 (ἐποιήσατο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Ἄμασιν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου συμμαχίην πρότερον ἢ περ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους), μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους (καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τούτους αὐτῷ ἐπεποιήτο συμμαχίῃ, ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῶν Βαβυλωνίων Λαβύνητος), 3 ἐπαγγείλας δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι παρεῖναι ἐς χρόνον ῥητὸν ἀλίσας τε δὴ τούτους καὶ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ συλλέξας στρατιὴν ἐνένωτο τὸν χειμῶνα παρεῖς, ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. 4 καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα φρονέων, ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ἔπεμπε κήρυκας κατὰ τὰς συμμαχίας προερέοντας ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδεις· τὸν δὲ παρεόντα καὶ μαχεσάμενον στρατὸν Πέρσησι, ὅς ἦν αὐτοῦ ξεινικός, πάντα ἀπείς διεσκέδασε οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίσας μὴ κοτε ἄρα ἀγωνισάμενος οὕτω παραπλησίως Κῦρος ἐλάσῃ ἐπὶ Σάρδεις.

78

1 ταῦτα ἐπιλεγομένῳ Κροίσῳ τὸ προάστειον πᾶν ὀφίων ἐνεπλήσθη· φανέντων δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ ἵπποι μετιέντες τὰς νομὰς νέμεσθαι φοιτέοντες κατήσθιον. ἰδόντι δὲ τοῦτο Κροίσῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν ἔδοξε τέρας εἶναι· 2 αὐτίκα δὲ ἔπεμπε θεοπρόπους ἐς τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι καὶ μαθοῦσι πρὸς Τελμησσέων τὸ θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἐξεγένετο Κροίσῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ ὀπίσω σφέας ἀναπλῶσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ἦλω ὁ Κροῖσος. 3 Τελμησσέες μέντοι τάδε ἔγνωσαν, στρατὸν ἀλλόθροον προσδόκιμον εἶναι Κροίσῳ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, ἀπικόμενον δὲ τοῦτον καταστρέψεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, λέγοντες ὄφιν εἶναι γῆς παῖδα, ἵππον δὲ πολέμιόν τε καὶ ἐπήλυδα. Τελμησσέες μὲν νυν ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο Κροίσῳ ἤδη ἡλωκότι, οὐδὲν κω εἰδότες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδεις τε καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον.

¹ Κῦρος δὲ αὐτίκα ἀπελαύνοντος Κροΐσου μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ, μαθὼν ὡς ἀπελάσας μέλλοι Κροΐσος διασκεδᾶν τὸν στρατόν, βουλευόμενος εὕρισκε πρῆγμά οἱ εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ὡς δύναιτο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις, πρὶν ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ἀλισθῆναι τῶν Λυδῶν τὴν δύναμιν. ² ὡς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίηε κατὰ τάχος· ἐλάσας γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Λυδίην αὐτὸς ἄγγελος Κροΐσῳ ἐληλύθεε. ἐνθαῦτα Κροΐσος ἐς ἀπορίην πολλὴν ἀπιγμένος, ὡς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν ἔσχε τὰ πρήγματα ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε, ὅμως τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐξῆγε ἐς μάχην. ³ ἦν δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ οὔτε ἀνδριώτερον οὔτε ἀλκιμώτερον τοῦ Λυδίου. ἡ δὲ μάχη σφέων ἦν ἀπ' ἵππων, δόρατά τε ἐφόρεον μεγάλα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἱπεύεσθαι ἀγαθοί.

¹ ἐς τὸ πεδίον δὲ συνελθόντων τοῦτο τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἐστὶ τοῦ Σαρδιηνοῦ, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ψιλὸν (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποταμοὶ ῥέοντες καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Ὑλλος συρρήγνῳσι ἐς τὸν μέγιστον, καλεόμενον δὲ Ἑρμον, ὃς ἐξ ὄρεος ἱροῦ μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φωκαίην πόλιν), ² ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ὡς εἶδε τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐς μάχην τασσομένους, καταρρώδησας τὴν ἵππον ἐποίησε Ἀρπάγου ὑποθεμένου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου τοιόνδε· ὅσαι τῷ στρατῷ τῷ ἐωυτοῦ εἶποντο σιτοφόροι τε καὶ σκευοφόροι κάμηλοι, ταύτας πάσας ἀλίσας καὶ ἀπελὼν τὰ ἄχθεια ἄνδρας ἐπ' αὐτάς ἀνέβησε ἱππάδα στολὴν ἐνεσταλμένους, σκευάσας δὲ αὐτοὺς προσέταξε τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς προΐεναι πρὸς τὴν Κροΐσου ἵππον, τῇ δὲ καμήλῳ ἔπεσθαι τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλευσε, ὅπισθε δὲ τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐπέταξε τὴν πᾶσαν ἵππον. ³ ὡς δὲ οἱ πάντες διετετάχατο, παραίνεσε τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Λυδῶν μὴ φειδομένους κτείνειν πάντα τὸν ἐμποδῶν γινόμενον, Κροΐσον δὲ αὐτὸν μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἦν συλλαμβανόμενος ἀμύνηται. ⁴ ταῦτα μὲν παραίνεσε, τὰς δὲ καμήλους ἔταξε ἀντία τῆς ἵππου τῶνδε εἶνεκεν· κάμηλον ἵππος φοβέται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὔτε τὴν ιδίην αὐτοῦ ὀρέων οὔτε τὴν ὁδμὴν ὀσφραινόμενος. αὐτοῦ δὴ ὢν τούτου εἶνεκεν ἐσεσφόριστο, ἵνα τῷ Κροΐσῳ ἄχρηστον ἦ τὸ ἱππικόν, τῷ δὲ τι καὶ ἐπεῖχε ἐλλάμψεσθαι ὁ Λυδός. ⁵ ὡς δὲ καὶ συνήισαν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ὠσφροντο τάχιστα τῶν καμήλων οἱ ἵπποι καὶ εἶδον αὐτάς, ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον, διέφθαρτό τε τῷ Κροΐσῳ ἡ ἐλπίς. ⁶ οὐ

μέντοι οἱ γε Λυδοὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δειλοὶ ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον, ἀποθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων πεζοὶ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συνέβαλλον. χρόνῳ δὲ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν ἐτράποντο οἱ Λυδοί, κατειληθέντες δὲ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπολιορκέοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων.

81

¹ τοῖσι μὲν δὴ κατεστήκεε πολιορκίη. Κροῖσος δὲ δοκέων οἱ χρόνον ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἔσεσθαι τὴν πολιορκίην ἔπεμπε ἐκ τοῦ τεύχεος ἄλλους ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς συμμαχίας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρότεροι διεπέμποντο ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα προερέοντες συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδεις, τούτους δὲ ἐξέπεμπε τὴν ταχίστην δέεσθαι βοηθεῖν ὥς πολιορκεομένου Κροίσου.

82

¹ ἐς τε δὴ ὧν τὰς ἄλλας ἔπεμπε συμμαχίας καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. τοῖσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον συνεπεπτάκεε ἕρις ἐοῦσα πρὸς Ἀργεῖους περὶ χώρου καλεομένου Θυρέης· ² τὰς γὰρ Θυρέας ταύτας ἐοῦσα τῆς Ἀργολίδος μοίρης ἀποταμόμενοι ἔσχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ μέχρι Μαλέων ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέρην Ἀργείων, ἡ τε ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ χώρῃ καὶ ἡ Κυθηρίῃ νῆσος καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν νήσων. ³ βοηθησάντων δὲ Ἀργείων τῇ σφετέρῃ ἀποταμνομένη, ἐνθαῦτα συνέβησαν ἐς λόγους συνελθόντες ὥστε τριηκοσίους ἑκατέρων μαχέσασθαι, ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν περιγένωνται, τούτων εἶναι τὸν χῶρον· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἑκάτερον ἐς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ μηδὲ παραμένειν ἀγωνιζομένων, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν ἵνα μὴ παρεόντων τῶν στρατοπέδων ὁρῶντες οἱ ἕτεροι ἐσσουνέμους τοὺς σφετέρους ἀπαμύνειν. ⁴ συνθέμενοι ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο, λογάδες δὲ ἑκατέρων ὑπολειφθέντες συνέβαλον. μαχομένων δὲ σφέν καὶ γινομένων ἰσοπαλέων ὑπελείποντο ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων τρεῖς, Ἀργείων μὲν Ἀλκίηνωρ τε καὶ Χρομῖος, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ Ὀθρυάδης· ὑπελείφθησαν δὲ οὗτοι νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. ⁵ οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν Ἀργείων ὥς νενικηκότες ἔθειον ἐς τὸ Ἄργος, ὁ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ὀθρυάδης σκυλεύσας τοὺς Ἀργείων νεκροὺς καὶ προσφορήσας τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τὸ ἐωυτοῦ στρατόπεδον ἐν τῇ τάξιν εἶχε ἐωυτόν. ἡμέρῃ δὲ δευτέρῃ παρῆσαν πυνθανόμενοι ἀμφοτέρω. ⁶ τέως

μὲν δὴ αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔφασαν νικᾶν, λέγοντες οἱ μὲν ὡς ἑωυτῶν πλεῦνες περιγεγόνασι, οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀποφαίνοντες πεφευγότας, τὸν δὲ σφέτερον παραμείναντα καὶ σκυλεύσαντα τοὺς ἐκείνων νεκρούς· 7 τέλος δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔριδος συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, πεσόντων δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν νυν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου κατακειράμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς, πρότερον ἐπάναγκες κομῶντες, ἐποιήσαντο νόμον τε καὶ κατάρην μὴ πρότερον θρέψειν κόμην Ἀργείων μηδένα, μηδὲ τὰς γυναῖκάς σφι χρυσοφορήσειν, πρὶν Θυρέας ἀνασώσωνται. 8 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἔθεντο νόμον· οὐ γὰρ κομῶντες πρὸ τούτου ἀπὸ τούτου κομᾶν. τὸν δὲ ἓνα λέγουσι τὸν περιλειφθέντα τῶν τριηκοσίων Ὀθρυάδην, αἰσχυνόμενον ἀπονοστέειν ἐς Σπάρτην τῶν οἱ συλλοχιτέων διεφθαρμένων, αὐτοῦ μιν ἐν τῇσι Θυρέῃσι καταχρήσασθαι ἑωυτόν.

83

1 τοιούτων δὲ τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἐνεστεώτων πρηγμάτων ἦκε ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς κῆρυξ δεόμενος Κροίσῳ βοηθέειν πολιορκεομένῳ. οἱ δὲ ὁμῶς, ἐπεῖτε ἐπύθοντο τοῦ κήρυκος, ὁρμέατο βοηθέειν. καὶ σφι ἤδη παρεσκευασμένοισι καὶ νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐτοίμων ἦλθε ἄλλη ἀγγελίη, ὡς ἡλώκοι τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἔχοιτο Κροῖσος ζωγρηθείς. οὕτω δὴ οὗτοι μὲν συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι μεγάλῃν ἐπέπαινοντο.

84

1 Σάρδιες δὲ ἡλώσαν ὧδε. ἐπειδὴ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ ἐγένετο ἡμέρῃ πολιορκεομένῳ Κροίσῳ, Κῦρος τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ διαπέμψας ἱππέας προεῖπε τῷ πρώτῳ ἐπιβάντι τοῦ τεύχεος δῶρα δώσειν. 2 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πειρησαμένης τῆς στρατιῆς ὡς οὐ προεχώρει, ἐνθαῦτα τῶν ἄλλων πεπαυμένων ἀνὴρ Μάρδος ἐπειράτο προσβαίνων, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ὑροιάδης, κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τῇ οὐδεὶς ἐτέτακτο φύλακος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δεινὸν κατὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἀλῶ κοτέ. 3 ἀπότομός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ \ ταύτῃ ἡ ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἄμαχος· τῇ οὐδὲ Μήλης ὁ πρότερον βασιλεὺς Σαρδίων μούνη οὐ περιήνεικε τὸν λέοντα τὸν οἱ ἡ παλλακὴ ἔτεκε, Τελμησσέων δικασάντων ὡς περιενειχθέντος τοῦ λέοντος τὸ τεῖχος ἔσονται Σάρδιες ἀνάλωτοι. ὁ δὲ Μήλης κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τεῖχος περιενείκας, τῇ ἦν ἐπίμαχον τὸ χωρίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, κατηλόγησε τοῦτο ὡς ἐὸν ἄμαχόν τε καὶ ἀπότομον·

ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου τετραμμένον τῆς πόλιος. 4 ὁ ὢν δὴ Ὑροιάδης οὗτος ὁ Μάρδος ἰδὼν τῇ προτεραίῃ τῶν τινα Λυδῶν κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καταβάντα ἐπὶ κυνέην ἄνωθεν κατακυλισθεῖσαν καὶ ἀνελόμενον, ἐφράσθη καὶ ἐς θυμὸν ἐβάλετο· 5 τότε δὲ δὴ αὐτός τε ἀναβεβήκεε καὶ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Περσέων ἀνέβαινον· προσβάντων δὲ συγχῶν οὕτω δὴ Σάρδιές τε ἠλώκεσαν καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορθέετο.

85

1 κατ’ αὐτὸν δὲ Κροῖσον τάδε ἐγίνετο. ἦν οἱ παῖς, τοῦ καὶ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικῆς, ἄφωνος δέ. ἐν τῇ ὣν παρελθούσῃ εὖεστοι ὁ Κροῖσος τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεποιήκεε, ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεπόμενε χρησομένους. 2 ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ εἶπε τάδε.

*Λυδὲ γένος, πολλῶν βασιλεῦ, μέγα νήπιε Κροῖσε,
μὴ βούλου πολύευκτον ἰὴν ἀνὰ δώματ’ ἀκούειν
παιδὸς φθεγγομένου. τὸ δέ σοι πολὺ λώιον ἀμφὶς
ἔμμεναι· αὐδήσει γὰρ ἐν ἡματι πρῶτον ἀνόλβῳ.*

3 ἀλίσκομένου δὴ τοῦ τείχεος, ἦε γὰρ τῶν τις Περσέων ἀλλογνώσας Κροῖσον ὥς ἀποκτενέων, Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ὀρέων ἐπιόντα ὑπὸ τῆς παρεούσης συμφορῆς παρημελήκεε, οὐδὲ τί οἱ διέφερε πληγέντι ἀποθανεῖν· 4 ὁ δὲ παῖς οὗτος ὁ ἄφωνος ὥς εἶδε ἐπιόντα τὸν Πέρσῃν, ὑπὸ δέους τε καὶ κακοῦ ἔρρηξε φωνήν, εἶπε δὲ “ὦνθρώπε, μὴ κτεῖνε Κροῖσον.” οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐφθέγγετο, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη ἐφώνεε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζῆς.

86

1 οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τὰς τε δὴ Σάρδις ἔσχον καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον ἐζώγρησαν, ἄρξαντα ἔτεα τεσσερεσκαίδεκα καὶ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα ἡμέρας πολιορκηθέντα, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν τε καταπαύσαντα τὴν ἐωυτοῦ μεγάλην ἀρχήν. λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Πέρσαι ἤγαγον παρὰ Κῦρον. 2 ὁ δὲ συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην ἀνεβίβασε ἐπ’ αὐτὴν τὸν Κροῖσόν τε ἐν πέδησι δεδεμένον καὶ δις ἑπτὰ Λυδῶν παρ’ αὐτὸν παῖδας, ἐν νόφ’ ἔχων εἶτε δὴ ἀκροθίνια ταῦτα καταγιεῖν θεῶν ὅτεφ’ δὴ, εἶτε καὶ εὐχὴν ἐπιτελέσαι θέλων, εἶτε καὶ τυθόμενος τὸν Κροῖσον

εἶναι θεοσεβέα τοῦδε εἵνεκεν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι εἴ τίς μιν δαιμόνων ρύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζῶντα κατακαυθῆναι. ³ τὸν μὲν δὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα· τῷ δὲ Κροίσῳ ἐστεῶτι ἐπὶ τῆς πυρῆς ἐσελθεῖν, καίπερ ἐν κακῷ ἐόντι τοσοῦτῳ, τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὥς οἱ εἶη σὺν θεῷ εἰρημένον, τὸ μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ζώντων ὄλβιον. ὥς δὲ ἄρα μιν προσστίηαι τοῦτο, ἀνενεικάμενόν τε καὶ ἀναστενάξαντα ἐκ πολλῆς ἡσυχίης ἐς τρίς ὀνομάσαι “Σόλων.” ⁴ καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα κελεῦσαι τοὺς ἐρμηνέας ἐπειρέσθαι τὸν Κροῖσον τίνα τοῦτον ἐπικαλέοιτο, καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας ἐπειρωτᾶν· Κροῖσον δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴν ἔχειν εἰρωτώμενον, μετὰ δὲ ὥς ἠναγκάζετο, εἰπεῖν “τὸν ἂν ἐγὼ πᾶσι τυράννοισι προετίμησα μεγάλων χρημάτων ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν.” ὥς δὲ σφί ἄσημα ἔφραζε, πάλιν ἐπειρώτων τὰ λεγόμενα. ⁵ λιπαρεόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὄχλον παρεχόντων, ἔλεγε δὴ ὥς ἦλθε ἀρχὴν ὁ Σόλων ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ θεησάμενος πάντα τὸν ἐωυτοῦ ὄλβον ἀποφλαυρίσειε οἷα δὴ εἶπας, ὥς τε αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποβεβήκοι τῇ περ ἐκεῖνος εἶπε, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐς ἐωυτὸν λέγων ἢ οὐκ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ὀλβίους δοκέοντας εἶναι. τὸν μὲν Κροῖσον ταῦτα ἀπηγέεσθαι, τῆς δὲ πυρῆς ἤδη ἀμμένης καίεσθαι τὰ περιέσχατα. ⁶ καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα τῶν ἐρμηνέων τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε, μεταγνόντα τε καὶ ἐννῶσαντα ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον, γενόμενον ἐωυτοῦ εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐλάσσῳ, ζῶντα πυρὶ διδοίη, πρὸς τε τούτοις δείσαντα τὴν τίσιν καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενον ὥς οὐδὲν εἶη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀσφαλέως ἔχον, κελεύειν σβεννύναι τὴν ταχίστην τὸ καιόμενον πῦρ καὶ καταβιβάζειν Κροῖσόν τε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Κροίσου. καὶ τοὺς πειρωμένους οὐ δύνασθαι ἔτι τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπικρατῆσαι.

¹ ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν Κροῖσον μαθόντα τὴν Κύρου μετάγνωσιν, ὥς ὥρα πάντα μὲν ἄνδρα σβεννύντα τὸ πῦρ, δυναμένους δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν, ἐπιβώσασθαι τὸν Απόλλωνα ἐπικαλούμενον, εἴ τί οἱ κεχαρισμένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήθη, παραστήναι καὶ ρύσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ. ² τὸν μὲν δακρύοντα ἐπικαλέεσθαι τὸν θεόν, ἐκ δὲ αἰθρίας τε καὶ νηνεμῆς συνδραμεῖν ἐξαπίνης νέφεα καὶ χειμῶνά τε καταρράγῃναι καὶ ὕσαι ὕδατι λαβροτάτῳ, κατασβεσθῆναι τε τὴν πυρὴν. οὕτω δὴ μαθόντα τὸν Κῦρον ὥς εἶη ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ θεοφιλὴς καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, καταβιβάσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ

τῆς πυρῆς εἰρέσθαι τάδε. 3 “Κροῖσε, τίς σε ἀνθρώπων ἀνέγνωσε ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν ἐμὴν στρατευσάμενον πολέμιον ἀντὶ φίλου ἐμοὶ καταστῆναι; ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἔπραξα τῇ σῇ μὲν εὐδαιμονίῃ, τῇ ἐμεωυτοῦ δὲ κακοδαιμονίῃ, αἴτιος δὲ τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Ἑλλήνων θεὸς ἐπαείρας ἐμὲ στρατεύεσθαι. 4 οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω ἀνόητος ἐστὶ ὅστις πόλεμον πρὸ εἰρήνης αἰρέεται· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ οἱ παῖδες τοὺς πατέρας θάπτουσι, ἐν δὲ τῷ οἱ πατέρες τοὺς παῖδας· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δαίμοσί κου φίλον ἦν οὕτω γενέσθαι.”

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1 ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Κῦρος δὲ αὐτὸν λύσας κατεῖσε τε ἐγγὺς ἐωυτοῦ καὶ κάρτα ἐν πολλῇ προμηθίῃ εἶχε, ἀπεθώμαζε τε ὀρέων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἔοντες πάντες. ὁ δὲ συννοίῃ ἐχόμενος ἥσυχος ἦν· 2 μετὰ δὲ ἐπιστραφεῖς τε καὶ ιδόμενος τοὺς Πέρσας τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἄστει κερααῖζοντας εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, κότερον λέγειν πρὸς σὲ τὰ νοέων τυγχάνω ἢ σιγᾶν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι χρή;” Κῦρος δὲ μιν θαρσέοντα ἐκέλευε λέγειν ὃ τι βούλοιο. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰρώτα λέγων 3 “οὗτος ὁ πολλὸς ὄμιλος τί ταῦτα πολλῇ σπουδῇ ἐργάζεται;” ὁ δὲ εἶπε “πόλιν τε τὴν σὴν διαρπάζει καὶ χρήματα τὰ σὰ διαφορέει.” Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμείβετο “οὔτε πόλιν τὴν ἐμὴν οὔτε χρήματα τὰ ἐμὰ διαρπάζει· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἔτι τούτων μέτα· ἀλλὰ φέρουσί τε καὶ ἄγουσι τὰ σά.”

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1 Κύρῳ δὲ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε· μεταστησάμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, εἶρετο Κροῖσον ὃ τι οἱ ἐνορώη ἐν τοῖσι ποιευμένοισι. ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ἐπεῖτε με θεοὶ ἔδωκαν δοῦλον σοί, δικαίῳ, εἴ τι ἐνορέω πλέον, σημαίνειν σοί. 2 Πέρσαι φύσιν ἔοντες ὕβρισται εἰσὶ ἀχρήματοι. ἦν ὧν σὺ τούτους περιίδης διαρπάσαντας καὶ κατασχόντας χρήματα μεγάλα, τάδε τοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίδοξα γενέσθαι. ὃς ἂν αὐτῶν πλεῖστα κατάσχη, τοῦτον προσδέκεσθαι τοὶ ἐπαναστησόμενον. νῦν ὧν ποίησον ὧδε, εἴ τοι ἀρέσκει τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω· 3 κάτισον τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπὶ πάσῃσι τῇσι πύλῃσι φυλάκου, οἱ λεγόντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐκφέροντας τὰ χρήματα ἀπαιρεόμενοι ὥς σφέα ἀναγκαίως ἔχει δεκατευθῆναι τῷ Δίῃ. καὶ σύ τέ σφι οὐκ ἀπεχθήσαιο βίῃ ἀπαιρεόμενος τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι συγγνόντες ποιέειν σε δίκαια ἐκόντες προήσουσι.”

1 ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Κῦρος ὑπερήδετο, ὥς οἱ ἐδόκεε εὖ ὑποτίθεσθαι· αἰνέσας δὲ πολλά, καὶ ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι δορυφόροισι τὰ Κροῖσος ὑπεθήκατο ἐπιτελέειν, εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε. “Κροῖσε, ἀναρτημένου σεῦ ἄνδρὸς βασιλέος χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ποιέειν, αἰτέο δόσιν ἥντινα βούλεαί τοι γενέσθαι παραυτίκα.” 2 ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ δέσποτα, ἔασας με χαριεῖ μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὸν ἐγὼ ἐτίμησα θεῶν μάλιστα, ἐπειρέσθαι πέμπσαντα τάσδε τὰς πέδας, εἰ ἔξαπατᾶν τοὺς εὖ ποιεῦντας νόμος ἐστί οἱ.” Κῦρος δὲ εἶρετο ὃ τι οἱ τοῦτο ἐπιγορεύων παραιτέοιτο. 3 Κροῖσος δὲ οἱ ἐπαλλογήσῃ παῖσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ διάνοιαν καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων τὰς ὑποκρίσιας καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἀναθήματα, καὶ ὥς ἐπαερθεῖς τῷ μαντήϊῳ ἐστρατεύσατο ἐπὶ Πέρσας· λέγων δὲ ταῦτα κατέβαινε αὐτῖς παραιτεόμενος ἐπεῖναι οἱ τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο ὀνειδίσαι. Κῦρος δὲ γελάσας εἶπε “καὶ τούτου τεύξεαι παρ’ ἐμεῦ, Κροῖσε, καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς τοῦ ἂν ἐκάστοτε δέῃ.” 4 ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε ὁ Κροῖσος, πέμπων τῶν Λυδῶν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐνετέλλετο τιθέντας τὰς πέδας ἐπὶ τοῦ νηοῦ τὸν οὐδὸν εἰρωτᾶν εἰ οὐ τι ἐπαισχύνεται τοῖσι μαντήϊοισι ἐπαείρας Κροῖσον στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας ὥς καταπαύσοντα τὴν Κύρου δύναμιν, ἀπ’ ἧς οἱ ἀκροθίνια τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι, δεικνύντας τὰς πέδας· ταῦτά τε ἐπειρωτᾶν, καὶ εἰ ἀχαρίστοισι νόμος εἶναι τοῖσι Ἑλληνικοῖσι θεοῖσι.

1 ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ λέγουσι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τὴν Πυθίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν τάδε. “τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατα ἐστὶ ἀποφυγεῖν καὶ θεῷ· Κροῖσος δὲ πέμπτου γονέος ἀμαρτάδα ἐξέπλησε, ὃς ἐὼν δορυφόρος Ἡρακλειδέων, δόλῳ γυναικίῳ ἐπισπόμενος ἐφόνευσε τὸν δεσπότεα καὶ ἔσχε τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν οὐδὲν οἱ προσήκουσαν. 2 προθυμομένου δὲ Λοξίῳ ὅκως ἂν κατὰ τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ Κροῖσου γένοιτο τὸ Σαρδίῳ πάθος καὶ μὴ κατ’ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον, οὐκ οἶόν τε ἐγένετο παραγαγεῖν μοίρας. 3 ὅσον δὲ ἐνέδωκαν αὐται, ἥνυσέ τε καὶ ἐχαρίσατό οἱ· τρία γὰρ ἔτεα ἐπανεβάλετο τὴν Σαρδίῳ ἄλωσιν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιστάσθω Κροῖσος ὥς ὕστερον τοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτοις ἀλούς τῆς πεπρωμένης. δευτέρα δὲ τούτων καιομένων αὐτῷ ἐπῆρκεσε. 4 κατὰ δὲ τὸ μαντήιον τὸ γενόμενον οὐκ ὀρθῶς Κροῖσος μέμφεται. προηγόρευε γὰρ οἱ Λοξίης, ἣν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν καταλύσειν. τὸν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα χρῆν

εὖ μέλλοντα βουλευέσθαι ἐπειρέσθαι πέμψαντα κότερα τὴν ἐωυτοῦ ἢ τὴν Κύρου λέγοι ἀρχὴν. οὐ συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ῥηθὲν οὐδ' ἐπανειρόμενος ἐωυτὸν αἴτιον ἀποφαινέτω· 5 τῷ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον χρηστηριαζομένῳ εἶπε Λοξίης περὶ ἡμίονου, οὐδὲ τοῦτο συνέλαβε. ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κῦρος οὗτος ἡμίονος· ἐκ γὰρ δυῶν οὐκ ὁμοεθνέων ἐγεγόνεε, μητρὸς ἀμείνωνος, πατρὸς δὲ ὑποδεεστέρου· 6 ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἦν Μηδὶς καὶ Ἀστυάγεος θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μήδων βασιλέως, ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τε ἦν καὶ ἀρχόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνοισι καὶ ἔνερθε ἐὼν τοῖσι ἅπασι δεσποίνῃ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ συνοίκεε.” ταῦτα μὲν ἡ Πυθίη ὑπεκρίνατο τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, οἱ δὲ ἀνῆνικαν ἐς Σάρδις καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν Κροίσῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας συνένγω ἐωυτοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα καὶ οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν Κροίσου τε ἀρχὴν καὶ Ἰωνίης τὴν πρώτην καταστροφὴν ἔσχε οὕτω.

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1 Κροίσῳ δὲ ἐστὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πολλὰ καὶ οὐ τὰ εἰρημένα μοῦνα. ἐν μὲν γὰρ Θήβῃσι τῇσι Βοιωτῶν τρίπους χρύσεος, τὸν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ, ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ αἱ τε βόες αἱ χρύσειαι καὶ τῶν κιόνων αἱ πολλαί, ἐν δὲ Προνηΐης τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἁσπὶς χρυσῆ μεγάλη. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν περιέοντα, τὰ δ' ἐξαπόλωλε τῶν ἀναθημάτων· 2 τὰ δ' ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι τῇσι Μιλησίων ἀναθήματα Κροίσῳ, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἴσα τε σταθμὸν καὶ ὅμοια τοῖσι ἐν Δελφοῖσι.... τὰ μὲν νυν ἐς τε Δελφοὺς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω ἀνέθηκε οἰκίᾳ τε ἐόντα καὶ τῶν πατρώϊων χρημάτων ἀπαρχήν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἐγένετο οὐσίης ἐχθροῦ, ὅς οἱ πρὶν ἢ βασιλεῦσαι ἀντιστασιώτης κατεστήκεε, συσπεύδων Πανταλέοντι γενέσθαι τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχήν. 3 ὁ δὲ Πανταλέων ἦν Ἀλυάττεω μὲν παῖς, Κροίσου δὲ ἀδελφεὸς οὐκ ὁμομήτριος· Κροῖσος γὰρ ἐκ Καείρης ἦν γυναικὸς Ἀλυάττη, Πανταλέων δὲ ἐξ Ἰάδος. 4 ἐπεῖτε δὲ δόντος τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἀντιπρήσσοντα ἐπὶ κνάφου ἔλκων διέφθειρε, τὴν δὲ οὐσίην αὐτοῦ ἔτι πρότερον κατιρώσας τότε τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὰ εἴρηται. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

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1 θώματα δὲ γῆ (ἡ) Λυδία ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἷά τε καὶ ἄλλη χώρα, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου καταφερομένου ψήγματος. 2

ἐν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον παρέχεται χωρὶς τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων· ἔστι αὐτόθι Ἀλυάττεω τοῦ Κροίσου πατρὸς σῆμα, τοῦ ἡ κρηπὶς μὲν ἐστὶ λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χῶμα γῆς. ἐξεργάσαντο δὲ μιν οἱ ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ χειρώνακτες καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι. 3 οὗροι δὲ πέντε ἐόντες ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω, καὶ σφι γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο τὰ ἕκαστοι ἐξεργάσαντο, καὶ ἐφαίνετο μετρεόμενον τὸ τῶν παιδισκέων ἔργον ἐὼν μέγιστον. 4 τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πᾶσαι, συλλέγουσαι σφίσι φερνάς, ἐς ὃ ἂν συνοικήσωσι τοῦτο ποιεῖν· ἐκδίδουσι δὲ αὐταὶ ἐωυτάς. 5 ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος τοῦ σήματός εἰσι στάδιοι ἕξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα, τὸ δὲ εὖρος ἐστὶ πλέθρα τρία καὶ δέκα. λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος μεγάλη, τὴν λέγουσι Λυδοὶ ἀείναον εἶναι· καλέεται δὲ αὕτη Γυγαίη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο ἐστί.

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1 Λυδοὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν παραπλησίοισι χρέωνται καὶ Ἕλληνές, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι τὰ θήλεα τέκνα καταπορνεύουσι, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοινάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο. 2 φασὶ δὲ αὐτοῖ Λυδοὶ καὶ τὰς παιγνίας τὰς νῦν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἕλλησι κατεστεῶσας ἐωυτῶν ἐξεύρημα γενέσθαι· ἅμα δὲ ταύτας τε ἐξευρεθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσι καὶ Τυρσηνὴν ἀποικίσαι, ὧδε περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντες. 3 ἐπὶ Ἄττος τοῦ Μάνεω βασιλέος σιτοδεῖν ἰσχυρὴν ἀνὰ τὴν Λυδίην πᾶσαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς τέως μὲν διάγειν λιπαρέοντας, μετὰ δὲ ὥς οὐ παύεσθαι, ἅκεα δίζησθαι, ἄλλον δὲ ἄλλο ἐπιμηχανᾶσθαι αὐτῶν. ἐξευρεθῆναι δὲ ὧν τότε καὶ τῶν κύβων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων καὶ τῆς σφαίρης καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων πασέων παιγνιέων τὰ εἶδεα, πλὴν πεσσῶν τούτων γὰρ ὧν τὴν ἐξεύρεσιν οὐκ οἰκιοῦνται Λυδοί. 4 ποιεῖν δὲ ὧδε πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν ἐξευρόντας, τὴν μὲν ἐτέρην τῶν ἡμερέων παίζειν πᾶσαν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ζητέοιεν σιτία, τὴν δὲ ἐτέρην σιτέεσθαι παυομένους τῶν παιγνιέων. τοιοῦτω τρόπῳ διάγειν ἐπ' ἔτεα δυὼν δέοντα εἴκοσι. 5 ἐπεῖτε δὲ οὐκ ἀνίεναι τὸ κακὸν ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐπὶ μᾶλλον βιάζεσθαι οὕτω δὴ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν δύο μοίρας διελόντα Λυδῶν πάντων κληρῶσαι τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ μόνη τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ μένειν αὐτοῦ λαγχανούσῃ τῶν μοιρέων ἐωυτὸν τὸν βασιλέα προστάσσειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ

ἀπαλλασσομένη τὸν ἐωυτοῦ παῖδα, τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Τυρσηνόν. 6 λαχόντας δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας καταβῆναι ἐς Σμύρνην καὶ μηχανήσασθαι πλοῖα, ἐς τὰ ἐσθεμένους τὰ πάντα ὅσα σφι ἦν χρηστὰ ἐπίπλοα, ἀποπλέειν κατὰ βίου τε καὶ γῆς ζήτησιν, ἐς ὃ ἔθνεα πολλὰ παραμειναμένους ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ὀμβρικούς, ἔνθα σφέας ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιας καὶ οἰκέειν τὸ μέχρι τοῦδε. 7 ἀντὶ δὲ Λυδῶν μετονομασθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ παιδός, ὃς σφεας ἀνήγαγε, ἐπὶ τούτου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιευμένου ὀνομασθῆναι Τυρσηνούς. Λυδοὶ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι ἐδεδούλωντο.

95

1 ἐπιδίξεται δὲ δὴ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τὸν τε Κῦρον ὅστις ἐὼν τὴν Κροίσου ἀρχὴν κατεῖλε, καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὅτεω τρόπῳ ἡγήσαντο τῆς Ἀσίης. ὥς ὢν Περσέων μετεξέτεροι λέγουσι, οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ περὶ Κῦρον ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐόντα λέγειν λόγον, κατὰ ταῦτα γράψω, ἐπιστάμενος περὶ Κύρου καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας λόγων ὁδοὺς φῆναι. 2 Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχόντων τῆς ἄνω Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἔτεα εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακόσια, πρῶτοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν Μῆδοι ἥρξαντο ἀπίστασθαι, καὶ κως οὗτοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας μαχεσάμενοι τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, καὶ ἀπωσάμενοι τὴν δουλοσύνην ἐλευθερώθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνεα ἐποίηε τῷτὸ τοῖσι Μήδοισι.

96

1 ἐόντων δὲ αὐτονόμων πάντων ἀνὰ τὴν ἥπειρον, ὧδε αὖτις ἐς τυραννίδα περιῆλθον. ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἐγένετο σοφὸς τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Δηϊόκης, παῖς δ' ἦν Φραόρτεω. 2 οὗτος ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐρασθεὶς τυραννίδος ἐποίηε τοιάδε. κατοικημένων τῶν Μήδων κατὰ κώμας, ἐν τῇ ἐωυτοῦ ἐὼν καὶ πρότερον δόκιμος καὶ μᾶλλον τι καὶ προθυμότερον δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἤσκεε· καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι ἐούσης ἀνομίης πολλῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐποίηε, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ ἄδικον πολέμιον ἐστί. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Μῆδοι ὀρῶντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους δικαστὴν μιν ἐωυτῶν αἰρέοντο. ὁ δὲ δὴ, οἷα μνώμενος ἀρχὴν, ἰθύς τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν, 3 ποιέων τε ταῦτα ἔπαινον εἶχε οὐκ ὀλίγον πρὸς τῶν πολιητέων, οὕτω ὥστε πυνθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι κώμησι ὡς Δηϊόκης εἶη ἀνὴρ μοῦνος κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν δικάζων, πρότερον περιπίπτοντες ἀδίκοισι γνώμησι,

τότε ἐπεῖτε ἤκουσαν ἄσμενοι, ἐφοίτων παρὰ τὸν Δηϊόκεα καὶ αὐτοὶ δικασόμενοι, τέλος δὲ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐπετράποντο.

97

1 πλεῦνος δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένου τοῦ ἐπιφοιτέοντος, οἷα πυνθανομένων τὰς δίκας ἀποβαίνειν κατὰ τὸ ἔόν, γνοὺς ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐς ἑωυτὸν πᾶν ἀνακείμενον οὔτε κατίζειν ἔτι ἤθελε ἔνθα περ πρότερον προκατίζων ἐδίκασε, οὔτ' ἔφη δίκαν ἔτι· οὐ γὰρ οἱ λυσιτελέειν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἐξημεληκότα τοῖσι πέλας δι' ἡμέρης δικάζειν. 2 εὐούσης ὧν ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀνομίας ἔτι πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀνὰ τὰς κώμας ἢ πρότερον ἦν, συνελέχθησαν οἱ Μῆδοι ἐς τῷτὸ καὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφίσι λόγον, λέγοντες περὶ τῶν κατηκόντων. ὥς δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω, μάλιστα ἔλεγον οἱ τοῦ Δηϊόκεω φίλοι 3 “οὐ γὰρ δὴ τρόπῳ τῷ παρεόντι χρεώμενοι δυνατοὶ εἰμὲν οἰκέειν τὴν χώραν, φέρε στήσωμεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα· καὶ οὕτω ἢ τε χωρῇ εὐνομήσεται καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἔργα τρεψόμεθα, οὐδὲ ὑπ' ἀνομίας ἀνάστατοι ἐσόμεθα.” ταῦτά κη λέγοντες πείθουσι ἑωυτοὺς βασιλεύεσθαι.

98

1 αὐτίκα δὲ προβαλλομένων ὄντινα στήσονται βασιλέα, ὁ Δηϊόκης ἦν πολλὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ προβαλλόμενος καὶ αἰνεόμενος, ἐς ὃ τοῦτον καταινέουσι βασιλέα σφίσι εἶναι. 2 ὁ δ' ἐκέλευε αὐτοὺς οἰκία τε ἑωυτῷ ἄξια τῆς βασιλείης οἰκοδομῆσαι καὶ κρατῦναι αὐτὸν δορυφόροις· ποιεῦσι δὴ ταῦτα οἱ Μῆδοι. οἰκοδομοῦσιν τε γὰρ αὐτῷ οἰκία μεγάλα τε καὶ ἰσχυρά, ἵνα αὐτὸς ἔφρασε τῆς χώρας, καὶ δορυφόρους αὐτῷ ἐπιτρέπουσι ἐκ πάντων Μήδων καταλέξασθαι. 3 ὁ δὲ ὥς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, τοὺς Μήδους ἠνάγκασε ἐν πόλισμα ποιήσασθαι καὶ τοῦτο περιστέλλοντας τῶν ἄλλων ἦσσαν ἐπιμέλεσθαι. πειθομένων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Μήδων οἰκοδομεῖ τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ καρτερὰ ταῦτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβάτανα κέκληται, ἕτερον ἐτέρῳ κύκλῳ ἐνεστεῶτα. 4 μεμηχάνηται δὲ οὕτω τοῦτο τὸ τεῖχος ὥστε ὁ ἕτερος τοῦ ἐτέρου κύκλος τοῖσι προμαχεῶσι μούνοισι ἐστὶ ὑψηλότερος. τὸ μὲν κού τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον συμμαχεῖ κολωνὸς ἐὼν ὥστε τοιοῦτο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἐπετηδεύθη. 5 κύκλων δ' ἐόντων τῶν συναπάντων ἐπτά, ἐν δὴ τῷ τελευταίῳ τὰ βασιλῆα ἐνεσσι καὶ οἱ θησαυροί. τὸ δ' αὐτῶν μέγιστον ἐστὶ τεῖχος κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηνέων κύκλον μάλιστα κη τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ πρώτου κύκλου

οἱ προμαχεῶνες εἰσὶ λευκοί, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου μέλανες, τρίτου δὲ κύκλου φοινίκεοι, τετάρτου δὲ κυάνεοι, πέμπτου δὲ σανδαράκινοι. 6 οὕτω τῶν πέντε κύκλων οἱ προμαχεῶνες ἡνθισμένοι εἰσὶ φαρμάκοισι· δύο δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι εἰσὶ ὃ μὲν καταργυρωμένους ὃ δὲ κατακεχυρωμένους ἔχων τοὺς προμαχεῶνας.

99

1 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐωυτῷ τε ἐτείχεε καὶ περὶ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον δῆμον πέριξ ἐκέλευε τὸ τεῖχος οἰκέειν. οἰκοδομηθέντων δὲ πάντων κόσμον τόνδε Δηϊόκης πρῶτος ἐστὶ ὁ καταστησάμενος, μήτε ἐσιέναι παρὰ βασιλέα μηδένα, δι' ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χρᾶσθαι, ὁρᾶσθαι τε βασιλέα ὑπὸ μηδενός, πρὸς τε τούτοισι ἔτι γελᾶν τε καὶ ἀντίον πτύειν καὶ ἅπασι εἶναι τοῦτό γε αἰσχρόν. 2 ταῦτα δὲ περὶ ἐωυτὸν ἐσέμνυνε τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ὀρῶντες οἱ ὁμήλικες, ἐόντες σύντροφοί τε ἐκείνῳ καὶ οἰκίῃς οὐ φλαυροτέρης οὐδὲ ἐς ἀνδραγαθίην λειπόμενοι, λυπεοίαιτο καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοιεν, ἀλλ' ἑτεροῖός σφι δοκέοι εἶναι μὴ ὀρῶσι.

100

1 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε καὶ ἐκράτυνε ἐωυτὸν τῇ τυραννίδι, ἦν τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσων χαλεπός· καὶ τάς τε δίκας γράφοντες ἔσω παρ' ἐκεῖνον ἐσπέμπεσκον, καὶ ἐκεῖνος διακρίνων τὰς ἐσφερομένας ἐκπέμπεσκε. 2 ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὰς δίκας ἐποίηε, τάδε δὲ ἄλλα ἐκεκοσμέατο οἱ· εἴ τινα πυνθάνοιτο ὑβρίζοντα, τοῦτον ὅπως μεταπέμψαιτο κατ' ἀξίην ἐκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίειν, καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποί τε καὶ κατήκοοι ἦσαν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν τῆς ἡρχε.

101

1 Δηϊόκης μὲν νυν τὸ Μηδικὸν ἔθνος συνέστρεψε μόνον καὶ τοῦτον ἥρξε· ἔστι δὲ Μήδων τοσάδε γένεα, Βοῦσαι Παρητακηνοὶ Στρούχατες Ἀριζαντοὶ Βούδιοι Μάγοι. γένεα μὲν δὴ Μήδων ἐστὶ τοσάδε.

102

1 Δηϊόκεω δὲ παῖς γίνεται Φραόρτης, ὃς τελευτήσαντος Δηϊόκεω, βασιλεύσαντος τρία καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτα, παρεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχήν, παραδεξάμενος δὲ οὐκ ἀπεχρᾶτο μούνων Μήδων ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας πρώτοισί τε τούτοισι ἐπεθήκατο

καὶ πρώτους Μήδων ὑπηκόους ἐποίησε. 2 μετὰ δὲ ἔχων δύο ταῦτα ἔθνεα καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ἰσχυρά, κατεστρέφετο τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπ' ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλο ἰὼν ἔθνος, ἐς ὃ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, τοὺτους οἱ Νίνον εἶχον καὶ ἦρχον πρότερον πάντων, τότε δὲ ἦσαν μεμουνωμένοι μὲν συμμάχων ἅτε ἀπεστεώτων, ἄλλως μέντοι ἐωυτῶν εὖ ἦκοντες, ἐπὶ τοὺτους δὴ στρατευσάμενος ὁ Φραόρτης αὐτὸς τε διεφθάρη, ἄρξας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός.

103

1 Φραόρτεω δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέξατο Κυαζάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηιόκεω παῖς. οὗτος λέγεται πολλὸν ἔτι γενέσθαι ἀλκιμώτερος τῶν προγόνων, καὶ πρῶτός τε ἐλόχισε κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν τῇ, Ἀσίῃ καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρὶς ἐκάστους εἶναι, τοὺς τε αἰχμοφόρους καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας· πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμιξῆ ἦν πάντα ὁμοίως ἀναπεφυρμένα. 2 οὗτος ὁ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἐστὶ μαχεσάμενος ὅτε νῦν ἡ ἡμέρη ἐγένετό σφι μαχομένοισι, καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἄλως ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίην πᾶσαν συστήσας ἐωυτῷ. συλλέξας δὲ τοὺς ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ἄρχομένους πάντας ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Νίνον, τιμωρέων τε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην θέλων ἐξελεῖν. 3 καὶ οἱ, ὥς συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, περικατημένῳ τὴν Νίνον ἐπῆλθε Σκυθέων στρατὸς μέγας, ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων Μαδύης Προτοθύεω παῖς· οἱ ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Κιμμερίους ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, τοῦτοισι δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι φεύγουσι οὕτω ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώραν ἀπίκοντο.

104

1 ἐστὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους τριήκοντα ἡμερῶν εὐζώνῳ ὁδός, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλὸν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ, Σάσπειρες, τοῦτο δὲ παραμειβομένοισι εἶναι ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ. 2 οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Σκύθαι ταύτῃ ἐσέβαλον, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατύπερθε ὁδὸν πολλῷ μακροτέρῃ ἐκτραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν Μῆδοι συμβαλόντες τοῖσι Σκύθησι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελύθησαν. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον.

1 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἦσαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. καὶ ἐπεῖτε ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ, Ψαμμήτιχος σφέας Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιάσας δώροισί τε καὶ λιτῇσι ἀποτράπει τὸ προσωτέρω μὴ πορεύεσθαι. 2 οἱ δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἀναχωρόντες ὀπίσω ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίας ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι πόλει, τῶν πλεόνων Σκυθέων παρεξελθόντων ἀσινέων, ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς οὐρανίης Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱρόν. 3 ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρόν, ὡς ἐγὼ πυθθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, πάντων ἀρχαιότατον ἱρῶν ὅσα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱρόν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθήροισι Φοινικὲς εἰσὶ οἱ ἰδρυσάμενοι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίας ἐόντες. 4 τοῖσι δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων συλήσασι τὸ ἱρόν τὸ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι καὶ τοῖσι τούτων αἰεὶ ἐκγόνοισι ἐνέσκηψε ὁ θεὸς θήλεαν νοῦσον· ὥστε ἅμα λέγουσί τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτο σφέας νοσέειν, καὶ ὁρᾶν παρ' ἐωυτοῖσι τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν χώραν ὡς διακέεται τοὺς καλέουσι Ἐνάρεας οἱ Σκύθαι.

1 ἐπὶ μὲν νυν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα ἦρχον τῆς Ἀσίης οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ τὰ πάντα σφι ὑπὸ τε ὕβριος καὶ ὀλιγορίας ἀνάστατα ἦν· χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ φόρον ἔπρησσον παρ' ἐκάστων τὸν ἐκάστοισι ἐπέβαλλον, χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ φόρου ἥρπαζον περιελαύνοντες τοῦτο ὃ τι ἔχοιεν ἕκαστοι. 2 καὶ τούτων μὲν τοὺς πλεῦνας Κυαζάρης τε καὶ Μῆδοι ξεινίσαντες καὶ καταμεθύσαντες κατεφόνευσαν, καὶ οὕτω ἀνέσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μῆδοι καὶ ἐπεκράτεον τῶν περ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τὴν τε Νίνον εἶλον (ὡς δὲ εἶλον ἐν ἐτέροισι λόγοισι δηλώσω) καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσαντο πλὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κυαζάρης μὲν, βασιλεύσας τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα σὺν τοῖσι Σκύθαι ἦρξαν, τελευτᾷ.

1 ἐκδέκεται δὲ Ἀστυάγης Κυαζάρῳ παῖς τὴν βασιληίην. καὶ οἱ ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ τῇ οὖνομα ἔθετο Μανδάνην· τὴν ἐδόκεε Ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ οὐρῆσαι τοσοῦτον ὥστε πληῖσαι μὲν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ πόλιν, ἐπικατακλύσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ὑπερθέμενος δὲ τῶν Μάγων τοῖσι ὄνειροπόλοισι τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ἐφοβήθη παρ' αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ἕκαστα μαθών. 2 μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μανδάνην ταύτην ἐοῦσαν ἤδη ἀνδρὸς ὥραϊν

Μήδων μὲν τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἀξίων οὐδενὶ διδοῖ γυναῖκα, δεδοικῶς τὴν ὄψιν· ὁ δὲ Πέρση διδοῖ τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Καμβύσης, τὸν εὔρισκε οἰκίης μὲν ἐόντα ἀγαθῆς τρόπου δὲ ἡσυχίου, πολλῶ ἔνερθε ἄγων αὐτὸν μέσου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου.

108

1 συνοικεούσης δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ τῆς Μανδάνης, ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει εἶδε ἄλλην ὄψιν, ἐδόκεε δέ οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς θυγατρὸς ταύτης φῦναι ἄμπελον, τὴν δὲ ἄμπελον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. 2 ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπερθέμενος τοῖσι ὄνειροπόλοισι, μετεπέμψατο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπίτεκα ἐοῦσαν, ἀπικομένην δὲ ἐφύλασσε βουλόμενος τὸ γενόμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς διαφθεῖραι· ἐκ γάρ οἱ τῆς ὄψιος οἱ τῶν Μάγων ὄνειροπόλοι ἐσήμαινον ὅτι μέλλοι ὁ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεύσειν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου. 3 ταῦτα δὴ ὢν φυλασσόμενος ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ὥς ἐγένετο ὁ Κῦρος, καλέσας Ἄρπαγον ἄνδρα οἰκίῃον καὶ πιστότατόν τε Μήδων καὶ πάντων ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἐωυτοῦ, ἔλεγε οἱ τοιάδε. 4 “Ἀρπαγε, πρῆγμα τὸ ἂν τοι προσθέω, μηδαμῶς παραχρήση, μηδὲ ἐμέ τε παραβάλη καὶ ἄλλους ἐλόμενος ἐξ ὑστέρης σοὶ αὐτῷ περιπέσης· λάβε τὸν Μανδάνη ἔτεκε παῖδα, φέρων δὲ ἐς σεωυτοῦ ἀπόκτεινον, μετὰ δὲ θάψον τρόπῳ ὅτεφ αὐτὸς βούλειαι.” 5 ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε ἄλλοτε κω παρεῖδες ἀνδρὶ τῷδε ἄχαρι οὐδέν, φυλασσόμεθα δὲ ἐς σὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτεῖν. ἀλλ’ εἰ τοι φίλον τοῦτο οὕτω γίνεσθαι, χρή δὴ τό γε ἐμὸν ὑπηρετέεσθαι ἐπιτηδέως.”

109

1 τούτοισι ἀμειννόμενος ὁ Ἄρπαγος, ὥς οἱ παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίον κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἦε κλαίων ἐς τὰ οἰκία· παρελθὼν δὲ ἔφραζε τῇ ἐωυτοῦ γυναικὶ τὸν πάντα Ἀστυάγεος ῥηθέντα λόγον. 2 ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει “νῦν ὢν τί σοὶ ἐν νόῳ ἐστὶ ποιέειν;” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται “οὐ τῇ ἐνετέλλετο Ἀστυάγης, οὐδ’ εἰ παραφρονήσει τε καὶ μανέεται κάκιον ἢ νῦν μαίνεται, οὐ οἱ ἔγωγε προσθήσομαι τῇ γνώμῃ οὐδὲ ἐς φόνον τοιοῦτον ὑπηρετήσω. 3 πολλῶν δὲ εἵνεκα οὐ φονεύσω μιν, καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μοι συγγενὴς ἐστὶ ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὅτι Ἀστυάγης μὲν ἐστὶ γέρων καὶ ἅπαις ἔρσενος γόνου· 4 εἰ δ’ ἐθελήσει τούτου τελευτήσαντος ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ἢ τυραννίς, τῆς νῦν

τὸν υἱὸν κτείνει δι' ἐμεῦ, ἄλλο τι ἢ λείπεται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ κινδύνων ὁ μέγιστος ; ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἀσφαλὲος εἵνεκα ἐμοὶ δεῖ τοῦτον τελευτᾶν τὸν παῖδα, δεῖ μέντοι τῶν τινα Ἀστυάγεος αὐτοῦ φονέα γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν.”

110

1 ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ αὐτίκα ἄγγελον ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ τῶν βουκόλων τῶν Ἀστυάγεος τὸν ἡπίστατο νομᾶς τε ἐπιτηδεοτάτας νέμοντα καὶ ὄρεα θηριωδέστατα· τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Μιτραδάτης, συνοίκεε δὲ ἐωυτοῦ συνδούλῃ, οὔνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ἦν τῇ συνοίκεε Κυνὼ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μηδικὴν Σπακὼ· τὴν γὰρ κύνα καλέουσι σπάκα Μῆδοι. 2 αἱ δὲ ὑπώρεαί εἰσὶ τῶν ὀρέων, ἔνθα τὰς νομᾶς τῶν βοῶν εἶχε οὗτος δὴ ὁ βουκόλος, πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν Ἀγβατάνων καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου· ταύτη μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μηδικὴ χωρὶ πρὸς Σασπείρων ὀρεινὴ ἐστὶ κάρτα καὶ ὑψηλὴ τε καὶ ἴδησι συνηρεφής, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη Μηδικὴ χωρὶ ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἄπεδος. 3 ἐπεὶ ὧν ὁ βουκόλος σπουδῇ πολλῇ καλεόμενος ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἄρπαγος τάδε. “κελεύει σε Ἀστυάγης τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο λαβόντα θεῖναι ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν ὀρέων, ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα διαφθαρεῖ· καὶ τάδε τοι ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν, ἦν μὴ ἀποκτείνῃς αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ τεῷ τρόπῳ περιποιήσης, ὀλέθρῳ τῷ κακίστῳ σε διαχρήσεσθαι. ἐποράν δὲ ἐκκείμενον τέταγμαί ἐγώ.”

111

1 ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον ἦε τὴν αὐτὴν ὀπίσω ὁδὸν καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὴν ἔπαυλιν. τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή, ἐπίτεξ ἐοῦσα πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, τότε κως κατὰ δαίμονα τίκτει οἰχομένου τοῦ βουκόλου ἐς πόλιν. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν φροντίδι ἀμφότεροι ἀλλήλων πέρι, ὁ μὲν τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρρώδεων, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ὅ τι οὐκ ἐωθὼς ὁ Ἄρπαγος μεταπέμψαιτο αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα. 2 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀπονοστήσας ἐπέστη, οἷα ἐξ ἀέλπτου ἰδοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ εἶρετο προτέρη ὅ τι μιν οὕτω προθύμως Ἄρπαγος μετεπέμψατο. ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ γύναι, εἰδὼν τε ἐς πόλιν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἤκουσα τὸ μῆτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον μῆτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι ἐς δεσπότης τοὺς ἡμετέρους. οἶκος μὲν πᾶς Ἀρπάγου κλαυθμῷ κατείχεται, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἦα ἔσω. 3 ὥς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσῆλθον, ὀρέω παιδίον προκείμενον ἀσπαῖρόν τε καὶ κραυγανόμενον, κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ.

Ἄρπαγος δὲ ὡς εἶδε με, ἐκέλευε τὴν ταχίστην ἀναλαβόντα τὸ παιδίον οἴχεσθαι φέροντα καὶ θεῖναι ἔνθα θηριωδέστατον εἴη τῶν ὀρέων, φὰς Ἀστυάγεα εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενόν μοι, πόλλ' ἀπειλήσας εἰ μὴ σφεα ποιήσαιμι. ⁴ καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναλαβὼν ἔφερον, δοκέων τῶν τινος οἰκετέων εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτὲ κατέδοξα ἔνθεν γε ἦν. ἐθάμβεον δὲ ὀρέων χρυσῷ τε καὶ εἵμασι κεκοσμημένον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κλαυθμὸν κατεστεῶτα ἐμφανέα ἐν Ἀρπάγου. ⁵ καὶ πρόκατε δὴ κατ' ὁδὸν πυνθάνομαι τὸν πάντα λόγον θεράποντος, ὃς ἐμὲ προπέμπων ἔξω πόλιος ἐνεχείρισε τὸ βρέφος, ὡς ἄρα Μανδάνης τε εἴη παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς καὶ Καμβύσειω τοῦ Κύρου, καὶ μιν Ἀστυάγης ἐντέλλεται ἀποκτεῖναι. νῦν τε ὁδε ἐστί·”

112

¹ ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγε ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἐκκαλύψας ἀπεδείκνυε. ἡ δὲ ὡς εἶδε τὸ παιδίον μέγα τε καὶ εὐειδὲς ἐόν, δακρύσασα καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐχρήιζε μηδεμιῇ τέχνῃ ἐκθεῖναί μιν. ² ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἷός τ' εἶναι ἄλλως αὐτὰ ποιέειν· ἐπιφοιτήσιν γὰρ κατασκόπους ἐξ Ἀρπάγου ἐποψομένους, ἀπολέεσθαι τε κάκιστα ἦν μὴ σφεα ποιήσῃ. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα, δευτέρα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐ δύναμαί σε πείθειν μὴ ἐκθεῖναι, σὺ δὲ ὧδε ποιήσον, εἰ δὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ὀφθῆναι ἐκκείμενον. τέτοκα γὰρ καὶ ἐγώ, τέτοκα δὲ τεθνεὸς. ³ τοῦτο μὲν φέρων πρόθεσ, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς παῖδα ὡς ἐξ ἡμέων ἐόντα τρέφωμεν. καὶ οὕτω οὔτε σὺ ἀλώσσαι ἀδικέων τοὺς δεσπότας οὔτε ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἔσται· ὃ τε γὰρ τεθνεὼς βασιληῆς ταφῆς κυρήσει καὶ ὁ περιεὼν οὐκ ἀπολέει τὴν ψυχὴν.”

113

¹ κάρτα τε ἔδοξε τῷ, βουκόλῳ πρὸς τὰ παρεόντα εὖ λέγειν ἢ γυνή, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐποίησε ταῦτα· τὸν μὲν ἔφερε θανατώσων παῖδα, τοῦτον μὲν παραδιδού τῇ ἐαυτοῦ γυναικί, τὸν δὲ ἐαυτοῦ ἐόντα νεκρὸν λαβὼν ἔθηκε ἐς τὸ ἄγγος ἐν τῷ ἔφερε τὸν ἕτερον· ² κοσμήσας δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου παιδός, φέρων ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν ὀρέων τίθει. ὡς δὲ τρίτῃ ἡμέρῃ τῷ παιδίῳ ἐκκειμένῳ ἐγένετο, ἦε ἐς πόλιν ὁ βουκόλος, τῶν τινα προβοσκῶν φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τοῦ Ἀρπάγου ἀποδεικνύει ἔφη ἔτοιμος εἶναι τοῦ παιδίου τὸν νέκυν. ³ πέμπας δὲ ὁ Ἄρπαγος τῶν ἐαυτοῦ δορυφόρων τοὺς

πιστοτάτους εἶδέ τε διὰ τούτων καὶ ἔθαψε τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐτέθαπτο, τὸν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Κῦρον ὀνομασθέντα παραλαβοῦσα ἔτρεφε ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ βουκόλου, οὐνομα ἄλλο κού τι καὶ οὐ Κῦρον θεμένη.

114

1 καὶ ὅτε ἦν δεκαέτης ὁ παῖς, πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιόνδε γενόμενον ἐξέφηνέ μιν. ἔπαιζε ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ ἐν τῇ ἥσαν καὶ αἱ βουκολίαι αὐται, ἔπαιζε δὲ μετ' ἄλλων ἡλίκων ἐν ὁδῷ. καὶ οἱ παῖδες παίζοντες εἵλοντο ἐωυτῶν βασιλέα εἶναι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπὶ κλησιν παῖδα. 2 ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν διέταξε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας οἰκοδομέειν, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους εἶναι, τὸν δὲ κου τινὰ αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέος εἶναι, τῷ δὲ τινὶ τὰς ἀγγελίας φέρειν ἐδίδου γέρας, ὡς ἐκάστω ἔργον προστάσσω. 3 εἷς δὴ τούτων τῶν παίδων συμπαίζων, ἐὼν Ἀρτεμβάρεος παῖς ἀνδρὸς δοκίμου ἐν Μήδοισι, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐποίησε τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου, ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν τοὺς ἄλλους παῖδας διαλαβεῖν, πειθομένων δὲ τῶν παίδων ὁ Κῦρος τὸν παῖδα τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε μαστιγέων. 4 ὁ δὲ ἐπεῖτε μετεῖθη τάχιστα, ὡς γε δὴ ἀνάξια ἐωυτοῦ παθὼν, μᾶλλον τι περιημέκτεε, κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς πόλιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀποικτίζετο τῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου ἦντησε, λέγων δὲ οὐ Κύρου (οὐ γάρ κω ἦν τοῦτο τοῦνομα), ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος παιδός. 5 ὁ δὲ Ἀρτεμβάρης ὀργῇ ὡς εἶχε ἐλθὼν παρὰ τὸν Ἀστυάγεα καὶ ἅμα ἀγόμενος τὸν παῖδα ἀνάρσια πρήγματα ἔφη πεπονθῆναι, λέγων “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ δούλου, βουκόλου δὲ παιδὸς ὧδε περιυβρίσμεθα,” δεικνὺς τοῦ παιδὸς τοὺς ὤμους.

115

1 ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ἰδὼν Ἀστυάγης, θέλων τιμωρῆσαι τῷ παιδί τιμῆς τῆς Ἀρτεμβάρεος εἵνεκα, μετεπέμπετο τόν τε βουκόλον καὶ τὸν παῖδα. ἐπεῖτε δὲ παρῆσαν ἀμφοτέρω, βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἔφη 2 “σὺ δὴ ἐὼν τοῦδε τοιούτου ἐόντος παῖς ἐτόλμησας τὸν τοῦδε παῖδα ἐόντος πρώτον παρ' ἐμοὶ ἀεικεῖν τοιῇδε περισπῆν;” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο ὧδε. “ὦ δέσποτα, ἐγὼ ταῦτα τοῦτον ἐποίησα σὺν δίκῃ. οἱ γάρ με ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες, τῶν καὶ ὁδε ἦν, παίζοντες σφέων αὐτῶν ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα· ἐδόκεον γὰρ σφι εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεότατος. 3 οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι παῖδες τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα

ἐπετέλεον, οὗτος δὲ ἀνηκούστεέ τε καὶ λόγον εἶχε οὐδένα, ἐς ὃ ἔλαβὲ τὴν δίκην. εἰ ὢν δὴ τοῦδε εἵνεκα ἄξιός τευ κακοῦ εἰμί, ὅδε τοὶ πάρειμι.”

116

1 ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν Ἀστυάγεα ἐσήιε ἀνάγνωσις αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ὃ τε χαρακτήρ τοῦ προσώπου προσφέρεσθαι ἐδόκεε ἐς ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἐλευθερωτέρη εἶναι, ὃ τε χρόνος τῆς ἐκθέσιος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐδόκεε συμβαίνειν. 2 ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ τούτοις ἐπὶ χρόνον ἄφθογγος ἦν· μόγισ δὲ δὴ κοτε ἀνενειχθεὶς εἶπε, θέλων ἐκπέμψαι τὸν Ἀρτεμβάρεα, ἵνα τὸν βουκόλον μοῦνον λαβὼν βασανίσῃ, “Ἀρτέμβαρεις, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ποιήσω ὥστε σὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν σὸν μηδὲν ἐπιμέμφεσθαι.” 3 τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀρτεμβάρεα πέμπει, τὸν δὲ Κῦρον ἦγον ἔσω οἱ θεράποντες κελεύσαντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπελέλειπτο ὁ βουκόλος μοῦνος μουνόθεν, τάδε αὐτὸν εἶρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγεος, κόθεν λάβοι τὸν παῖδα καὶ τίς εἴῃ ὁ παραδούς. 4 ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ τε ἔφη γεγονέναι καὶ τὴν τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἔτι παρ’ ἑωυτῷ. Ἀστυάγης δὲ μιν οὐκ εὖ βουλευέσθαι ἔφη ἐπιθυμέοντα ἐς ἀνάγκας μεγάλας ἀπικνέεσθαι, ἅμα τε λέγων ταῦτα ἐσήμαινε τοῖσι δορυφόροις λαμβάνειν αὐτόν. 5 ὁ δὲ ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας οὕτω δὴ ἔφαινε τὸν ἐόντα λόγον· ἀρχόμενος δὲ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς διεξῆγε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ χρεώμενος, καὶ κατέβαινε ἐς λιτάς τε καὶ συγγνώμην ἑωυτῷ κελεύων ἔχειν αὐτόν.

117

1 Ἀστυάγης δὲ τοῦ μὲν βουκόλου τὴν ἀληθείην ἐκφήναντος λόγον ἤδη καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο, Ἀρπάγῳ δὲ καὶ μεγάλως μεμφόμενος καλέειν αὐτὸν τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε. 2 ὥς δέ οἱ παρῆν ὁ Ἄρπαγος, εἶρετό μιν ὁ Ἀστυάγης “Ἄρπαγε, τέφω δὴ μόρῳ τὸν παῖδα κατεχρήσαο τόν τοι παρέδωκα ἐκ θυγατρὸς γεγονότα τῆς ἐμῆς ;” ὁ δὲ Ἄρπαγος ὥς εἶδε τὸν βουκόλον ἔνδον ἐόντα, οὐ τρέπεται ἐπὶ ψευδέα ὁδόν, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχόμενος ἀλίσκηται, ἀλλὰ λέγει τάδε. 3 “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπεῖτε παρέλαβον τὸ παιδίον, ἐβούλευον σκοπέων ὅπως σοὶ τε ποιήσω κατὰ νόον, καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σὲ γινόμενος ἀναμάρτητος μῆτε θυγατρὶ τῇ σῇ μῆτε αὐτῷ σοὶ εἶην αὐθέντης. 4 ποιέω δὴ ὧδε· καλέσας τὸν βουκόλον τόνδε παραδίδωμι τὸ παιδίον, φὰς σέ τε εἶναι τὸν κελεύοντα ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτό. καὶ λέγων τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἐψευδόμην· σὺ

γὰρ ἐνετέλλεο οὕτω. παραδίδωμι μέντοι τῷδε κατὰ τὰδε ἐντειλάμενος, θεῖναι μιν ἐς ἔρημον ὄρος καὶ παραμένοντα φυλάσσειν ἄχρι οὗ τελευτήσῃ, ἀπειλήσας παντοῖα τῷδε ἦν μὴ τὰδε ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ. ⁵ ἐπεῖτε δὲ ποιήσαντος τούτου τὰ κελευόμενα ἐτελεύτησε τὸ παιδίον, πέμψας τῶν εὐνούχων τοὺς πιστοτάτους καὶ εἶδον δι' ἐκείνων καὶ ἔθαψά μιν. οὕτω ἔσχε ὃ βασιλεὺς περὶ τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου, καὶ τοιούτῳ μὶ ὁρῶ ἐχρήσατο ὁ παῖς.”

118

¹ Ἄρπαγος μὲν δὴ τὸν ἰθὺν ἔφαινε λόγον· Ἀστυάγης δὲ κρύπτων τὸν οἱ ἐνεῖχε χόλον διὰ τὸ γεγονός, πρῶτα μὲν, κατὰ περ ἤκουσε αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ πρήγμα, πάλιν ἀπηγγέετο τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ, μετὰ δὲ ὥς οἱ ἐπαλιλλόγητο, κατέβαινε λέγων ὡς περίεστί τε ὁ παῖς καὶ τὸ γεγονός ἔχει καλῶς· ² “τῷ τε γὰρ πεποιημένῳ” ἔφη λέγων “ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ἔκαμνον μεγάλως, καὶ θυγατρὶ τῇ ἐμῇ διαβεβλημένος οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ἐποιεύμην. ὡς ὢν τῆς τύχης εὖ μετεστεώσης, τοῦτο μὲν τὸν σεωυτοῦ παῖδα ἀπόπεμψον παρὰ τὸν παῖδα τὸν νεήλυδα, τοῦτο δὲ (σῶστρα γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς μέλλω θύειν τοῖσι θεῶν τιμὴ αὕτη προσκέεται) πάρισθί μοι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον.”

119

¹ Ἄρπαγος μὲν ὥς ἤκουσε ταῦτα, προσκυνήσας καὶ μεγάλα ποιησάμενος ὅτι τε ἡ ἁμαρτὰς οἱ ἐς δέον ἐγγόνεε καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τύχησι χρηστῇσι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκέκλητο, ἦε ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ² ἐσελθὼν δὲ τὴν ταχίστην, ἦν γὰρ οἱ παῖς εἰς μῶνος ἕτα τρία καὶ δέκα κου μάλιστα γεγονώς, τοῦτον ἐκπέμπεν ἵεναι τε κελεύων ἐς Ἀστυάγεος καὶ ποιέειν ὃ τι ἂν ἐκεῖνος κελεύῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ περιχαρὴς ἐὼν φράζει τῇ γυναικὶ τὰ συγκυρήσαντα. ³ Ἀστυάγης δέ, ὥς οἱ ἀπύκετο ὁ Ἀρπάγου παῖς, σφάζας αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ μέλας διελὼν τὰ μὲν ὥπτησε τὰ δὲ ἤψησε τῶν κρεῶν, εὐτυχὰ δὲ ποιησάμενος εἶχε ἔτοιμα. ⁴ ἐπεῖτε δὲ τῆς ὥρης γινομένης τοῦ δείπνου παρῆσαν οἱ τε ἄλλοι δαιτυμόνες καὶ ὁ Ἄρπαγος, τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοισι καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀστυάγεϊ παρετιθέατο τράπεζαι ἐπίπλαι μηλέων κρεῶν, Ἀρπάγῳ δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ ἐωυτοῦ, πλὴν κεφαλῆς τε καὶ ἄκρων χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν, τᾶλλα πάντα· ταῦτα δὲ χωρὶς ἔκειτο ἐπὶ κανέῳ κατακεκαλυμμένα, ⁵ ὥς δὲ τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ ἐδόκεε ἄλις ἔχειν τῆς βορῆς, Ἀστυάγης εἵρετό μιν εἰ ἡσθεῖη τι τῇ θοίνῃ. φαμένου δὲ Ἀρπάγου καὶ κάρτα ἡσθῆναι,

παρέφερον τοῖσι προσέκειτο τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκαλυμμένην καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, Ἄρπαγον δὲ ἐκέλευον προσστάντες ἀποκαλύπτειν τε καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ βούλεται αὐτῶν. ⁶ πειθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἄρπαγος καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων ὁρᾷ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λείμματα, ἰδὼν δὲ οὔτε ἐξεπλάγη ἐντός τε ἑωυτοῦ γίνεται. εἶρετο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀστυάγης εἰ γινώσκουσι ὅτε θηρίου κρέα βεβρώκοι. ⁷ ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν ἔφη καὶ ἀρεστὸν εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἂν βασιλεὺς ἔρδῃ. τούτοισι δὲ ἀμειψάμενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν ἦε ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἔμελλε, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἀλίσις θάψειν τὰ πάντα.

120

¹ Ἀρπάγῳ μὲν Ἀστυάγης δίκην ταύτην ἐπέθηκε, Κύπου δὲ περὶ βουλευὼν ἐκάλεε τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν Μάγων οἱ τὸ ἐνύπνιον οἱ ταύτη ἔκριναν. ἀπικομένους δὲ εἶρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῇ ἔκρινάν οἱ τὴν ὄψιν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα εἶπαν λέγοντες ὥς βασιλεῦσαι χρῆν τὸν παῖδα, εἰ ἐπέζωσε καὶ μὴ ἀπέθανε πρότερον. ² ὁ δὲ ἀμειβεται αὐτοὺς τοῖσιδε. “ἔστι τε ὁ παῖς καὶ περίεστι, καὶ μιν ἐπ’ ἄγρου διαιτώμενον οἱ ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ πάντα ὅσα περ οἱ ἀληθεί λόγῳ βασιλέες ἐτελέωσε ποιήσας· καὶ γὰρ δορυφόρους καὶ θυρωροὺς καὶ ἀγγελιφόρους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διατάζας ἦρχε. ³ καὶ νῦν ἐς τί ὑμῖν ταῦτα φαίνεται φέρειν;” εἶπαν οἱ Μάγοι “εἰ μὲν περίεστί τε καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ὁ παῖς μὴ ἐκ προνοίης τινός, θάρσεέ τε τούτου εἵνεκα καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τὸ δευτερον ἄρχει. παρὰ σμικρὰ γὰρ καὶ τῶν λογίων ἡμῖν ἔνια κεχώρηκε, καὶ τά γε τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐχόμενα τελέως ἐς ἀσθενὲς ἔρχεται.” ⁴ ἀμειβεται ὁ Ἀστυάγης τοῖσιδε. “καὶ αὐτὸς ὦ Μάγοι ταύτη πλεῖστος γνώμην εἰμί, βασιλέος ὀνομασθέντος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξήκειν τε τὸν ὄνειρον καὶ μοι τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον εἶναι δεινὸν ἔτι οὐδέν. ὅμως μὲν γέ τοι συμβουλευσάτέ μοι εὖ περισκεψάμενοι τὰ μέλλει ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι οἴκῳ τε τῷ ἐμῷ καὶ ὑμῖν.” ⁵ εἶπαν πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Μάγοι “ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν περὶ πολλοῦ ἐστὶ κατορθοῦσθαι ἀρχὴν τὴν σὴν. κείνως μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοτριοῦται ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον περιουσα ἐόντα Πέρσῃ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐόντες Μῆδοι δουλούμεθα τε καὶ λόγου οὐδενὸς γινόμεθα πρὸς Περσέων, ἐόντες ξεῖνοι· σέο δ’ ἐνεστεῶτος βασιλέος, ἐόντος πολιήτεω, καὶ ἄρχομεν τὸ μέρος καὶ τιμὰς πρὸς σέο μεγάλας ἔχομεν. ⁶ οὕτω ὦν πάντως ἡμῖν σέο καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς προοπτεόν ἐστί. καὶ νῦν εἰ φοβερὸν τι ἐνωρῶμεν, πᾶν ἂν σοὶ προεφράζομεν. νῦν

δὲ ἀποσκήψαντος τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐς φαῦλον, αὐτοὶ τε θαρσέομεν καὶ σοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα παρακελευόμεθα. τὸν δὲ παῖδα τοῦτον ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπόπεμψαι ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς γειναμένους.”

121

1 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐχάρη τε καὶ καλέσας τὸν Κῦρον ἔλεγε οἱ τάδε. “ὦ παῖ, σὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ δι’ ὄψιν ὀνείρου οὐ τέλεην ἡδίκεον, τῇ σεωυτοῦ δὲ μοίρῃ περίεις· νῦν ὦν ἴθι χαίρων ἐς Πέρσας, πομποὺς δὲ ἐγὼ ἅμα πέμψω. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖ πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα εὐρήσεις οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην τε τὸν βουκόλον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ.”

122

1 ταῦτα εἶπας ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἀποπέμπει τὸν Κῦρον. νοστήσαντα δὲ μιν ἐς τοῦ Καμβύσεω τὰ οἰκία ἐδέξαντο οἱ γεινάμενοι, καὶ δεξάμενοι ὥς ἐπύθοντο, μεγάλως ἀσπάζοντο οἷα δὴ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτίκα τότε τελευτήσαι, ιστόρεόν τε ὅτεφ τρόπῳ περιγένοιτο. 2 ὁ δὲ σφι ἔλεγε, φὰς πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ εἰδέναι ἀλλ’ ἡμαρτηκέναι πλεῖστον, κατ’ ὁδὸν δὲ πυθέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ πάθην· ἐπίστασθαι μὲν γὰρ ὥς βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος εἴη παῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κειῖθεν ὁδοῦ τὸν πάντα λόγον τῶν πομπῶν πυθέσθαι. 3 τραφῆναι δὲ ἔλεγε ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βουκόλου γυναικός, ἥϊε τε ταύτην αἰνέων διὰ παντός, ἣν τέ οἱ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα ἡ Κυνώ. οἱ δὲ τοκέες παραλαβόντες τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο, ἵνα θειοτέρως δοκῇ τοῖσι Πέρσησι περιεῖναι σφι ὁ παῖς, κατέβαλον φάτιν ὥς ἐκκείμενον Κῦρον κύων ἐξέθρεψε.

123

1 ἐνθεῦτεν μὲν ἡ φάτις αὕτη κεχώρηκε. Κύρῳ δὲ ἀνδρευμένῳ καὶ ἐόντι τῶν ἡλικίων ἀνδρηνότατῳ καὶ προσφιλεστάτῳ προσέκειτο ὁ Ἄρπαγος δῶρα πέμπων, τίσασθαι Ἀστυάγεα ἐπιθυμέων· ἀπ’ ἐωυτοῦ γὰρ ἐόντος ιδιώτῳ οὐκ ἐνῶρα τιμωρίην ἐσομένην ἐς Ἀστυάγεα, Κῦρον δὲ ὀρέων ἐπιτρεφόμενον ἐποιέετο σύμμαχον, τὰς πάθας τὰς Κύρου τῇσι ἐωυτοῦ ὁμοιούμενος. 2 πρὸ δ’ ἔτι τούτου τάδε οἱ κατέργαστο· ἐόντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος πικροῦ ἐς τοὺς Μήδους, συμμίσγων ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ὁ Ἄρπαγος τῶν πρώτων Μήδων ἀνέπειθε ὥς χρή Κῦρον προστησαμένους Ἀστυάγεα παῦσαι τῆς βασιληΐας. 3 κατεργασμένου δὲ οἱ τούτου καὶ ἐόντος ἐτοίμου, οὕτῳ δὴ τῷ Κύρῳ

δαιτωμένῳ ἐν Πέρσῃσι βουλόμενος Ἄρπαγος δηλῶσαι τὴν ἐωυτοῦ γνώμην ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε ἅτε τῶν ὁδῶν φυλασσομενέων, ὁ δὲ ἐπιτεχνᾷται τοιόνδε· 4 λαγὸν μηχανησάμενος, καὶ ἀνασχίσας τοῦτου τὴν γαστέρα καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποτίλας, ὥς δὲ εἶχε οὕτω ἐσέθηκε βυβλίον, γράψας τὰ οἱ ἐδόκεε· ἀπορρήψας δὲ τοῦ λαγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ δίκτυα δοὺς ἅτε θηρευτῇ τῶν οἰκετέων τῷ πιστοτάτῳ, ἀπέστελλε ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ ἀπὸ γλώσσης διδόντα τὸν λαγὸν Κύρῳ ἐπειπεῖν αὐτοχειρὶ μιν διελεῖν καὶ μηδένα οἱ ταῦτα ποιεῦντι παρεῖναι.

124

1 ταῦτά τε δὴ ὧν ἐπιτελέα ἐγίνετο καὶ ὁ Κῦρος παραλαβὼν τὸν λαγὸν ἀνέσχισε· εὐρὼν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ βυβλίον ἐνεὸν λαβὼν ἐπελέγετο, τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔλεγε τάδε. “ὦ παῖ Καμβύσεω, σὲ γὰρ θεοὶ ἐπορῶσι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτὲ ἐς τοσοῦτο τύχης ἀπίκευ· σύ νυν Ἀστυάγεα τὸν σεωυτοῦ φονέα τίσαι. 2 κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τοῦτου προθυμίην τέθνηκας, τὸ δὲ κατὰ θεοῦς τε καὶ ἐμὲ περίεις· τὰ σε καὶ πάλαι δοκέω πάντα ἐκμεμαθηκέναι, σέο τε αὐτοῦ περὶ ὧς ἐπρήχθη, καὶ οἷα ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος πέπονθα, ὅτι σε οὐκ ἀπέκτεινα ἀλλὰ ἔδωκα τῷ βουκόλῳ. σύ νυν, ἣν βούλῃ ἐμοὶ πείθεσθαι, τῆς περ Ἀστυάγης ἄρχει χώρας, ταύτης ἀπάσης ἄρξεις. Πέρσας γὰρ ἀναπείσας ἀπίστασθαι στρατηλάτεε ἐπὶ Μήδους· 3 καὶ ἦν τε ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος ἀποδεχθῆω στρατηγὸς ἀντία σεῦ, ἔστι τοι τὰ σὺ βούλει, ἦν τε τῶν τις δοκίμων ἄλλος Μήδων· πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἀποστάντες ἀπ’ ἐκείνου καὶ γενόμενοι πρὸς σέο Ἀστυάγεα καταιρέειν πειρήσονται. ὥς ὧν ἐτοίμου τοῦ γε ἐνθάδε ἐόντος, ποίει ταῦτα καὶ ποίει κατὰ τάχος.”

125

1 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ἐφρόντιζε ὅτεω τρόπῳ σοφωτάτῳ Πέρσας ἀναπείσει ἀπίστασθαι, φροντίζων δὲ εὐρίσκεται ταῦτα καιριώτατα εἶναι· ἐποίησε δὴ ταῦτα. 2 γράψας ἐς βυβλίον τὰ ἐβούλετο, ἀλίην τῶν Περσέων ἐποιήσατο, μετὰ δὲ ἀναπτύξας τὸ βυβλίον καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἔφη Ἀστυαγέα μιν στρατηγὸν Περσέων ἀποδεικνύναι. “νῦν τε,” ἔφη λέγων, “ὦ Πέρσαι, προαγορεύω ὑμῖν παρεῖναι ἕκαστον ἔχοντα δρέπανον. Κῦρος μὲν ταῦτα προηγόρευσε. ἔστι δὲ Πέρσεων συχνὰ γένηα, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ Κῦρος συνάλισε καὶ ἀνέπεισε

ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ Μήδων. 3 ἔστι δὲ τάδε, ἐξ ὧν ὅλλοι πάντες ἀρτέαται
Πέρσαι, Πασαργάδαι Μαράφιοι Μάσπιοι. τούτων Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ
ἄριστοι, ἐν τοῖσι καὶ Ἀχαιμενίδαι εἰσὶ φρήτρη, ἔνθεν οἱ βασιλέες οἱ
Περσεῖδαι γεγόνασι. 4 ἄλλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἷδε, Πανθιαλαῖοι
Δηρουσιαῖοι Γερμάνιοι. οὗτοι μὲν πάντες ἀροτῆρες εἰσί, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι
νομάδες, Δάοι Μάρδοι Δροπικοὶ Σαγάρτιοι.

1 ὥς δὲ παρήσαν ἅπαντες ἔχοντες τὸ προειρημένον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος, ἦν γάρ τις χῶρος τῆς Περσικῆς ἀκανθώδης ὅσον τε ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα σταδίους ἢ εἴκοσι πάντη, τοῦτον σφι τὸν χῶρον προεῖπε ἐξημερῶσαι ἐν ἡμέρῃ. 2 ἐπιτελεσάντων δὲ τῶν Περσέων τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον, δεύτερα σφι προεῖπε ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίνην παρεῖναι λελουμένους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὰ τε αἰπόλια καὶ τὰς ποιμένας καὶ τὰ βουκόλια ὁ Κῦρος πάντα τοῦ πατρὸς συναλίσας ἐς τὸντο ἔθυσσε καὶ παρεσκεύαζε ὥς δεξόμενος τὸν Περσέων στρατόν, πρὸς δὲ οἶνω τε καὶ σιτίοισι ὥς ἐπιτηδεοτάτοισι. 3 ἀπικομένους δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τοὺς Πέρσας κατακλίνας ἐς λειμῶνα εὐώχεε. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, εἶρετο σφέας ὁ Κῦρος κότερα τὰ τῇ προτεραίῃ εἶχον ἢ τὰ παρεόντα σφι εἶη αἰρετώτερα. 4 οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν πολλὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον· τὴν μὲν γὰρ προτέρην ἡμέρην πάντα σφι κακὰ ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ τότε παρεούσαν πάντα ἀγαθὰ. παραλαβὼν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ Κῦρος παρεγύμνου τὸν πάντα λόγον, λέγων 5 “ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὕτω ὑμῖν ἔχει. βουλομένοισι μὲν ἐμέο πείθεσθαι ἔστι τάδε τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἀγαθὰ, οὐδένα πόνον δουλοπρεπέα ἔχουσι, μὴ βουλομένοισι δὲ ἐμέο πείθεσθαι εἰσὶ ὑμῖν πόνοι τῷ χθιζῷ παραπλήσιοι ἀναρίθμητοι. 6 νῦν ὧν ἐμέο πειθόμενοι γίνεσθε ἐλεύθεροι. αὐτός τε γὰρ δοκέω θεῇ τύχῃ γεγωνῶς τάδε ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι, καὶ ὑμέας ἡγῆμαι ἄνδρας Μήδων εἶναι οὐ φαυλοτέρους οὔτε τᾶλλα οὔτε τὰ πολέμια. ὥς ὧν ἐχόντων ὧδε, ἀπίστασθε ἀπ’ Ἀστυάγεος τὴν ταχίστην.”

1 Πέρσαι μὲν νυν προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι ἄσμενοι ἐλευθεροῦντο, καὶ πάλαι δεινὸν ποιούμενοι ὑπὸ Μήδων ἄρχεσθαι. Ἀστυάγης δὲ ὥς ἐπύθετο Κῦρον ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκάλεε αὐτόν. 2 ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκέλευε τὸν ἄγγελον ἀπαγγέλλειν ὅτι πρότερον ἤξι παρ’ ἐκεῖνον ἢ Ἀστυάγης αὐτὸς βουλήσεται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης Μήδους τε ὥπλισε πάντας, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ὥστε θεοβλαβῆς ἐὼν Ἄρπαγον ἀπέδεξε, λήθην ποιούμενος τὰ μιν ἐόργεε. 3 ὥς δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι στρατευσάμενοι τοῖσι Πέρσησι συνέμισγον, οἱ μὲν τινὲς αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, ὅσοι μὴ τοῦ λόγου μετέσχον, οἱ δὲ αὐτομόλεον πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἐθελοκάκεόν τε καὶ ἔφευγον.

¹ διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ. στρατεύματος αἰσχυρῶς, ὡς ἐπύθετο τάχιστα ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἔφη ἀπειλέων τῷ Κύρῳ “ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ὡς Κῦρός γε χαιρήσει.” ² τοσαῦτα εἶπας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν Μάγων τοὺς ὀνειροπόλους, οἳ μιν ἀνέγνωσαν μετεῖναι τὸν Κῦρον, τούτους ἀνεσκολόπισε, μετὰ δὲ ὥπλισε τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῷ ἄστει τῶν Μήδων, νέους τε καὶ πρεσβύτας ἄνδρας. ³ ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ τούτους καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖσι Πέρησι ἐσώθη, καὶ αὐτὸς τε Ἀστυάγης ἐξωγρήθη καὶ τοὺς ἐξήγαγε τῶν Μήδων ἀπέβαλε.

¹ ἐόντι δὲ αἰχμαλώτῳ τῷ Ἀστυάγει προσστὰς ὁ Ἄρπαγος κατέχειρέ τε καὶ κατεκερτόμεε, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων ἐς αὐτὸν θυμαλγέα ἔπεα, καὶ δὴ καὶ εἶρετό μιν πρὸς τὸ ἐωυτοῦ δεῖπνον, τὸ μιν ἐκεῖνος σαρξὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθοίνησε, ὃ τι εἶη ἢ ἐκείνου δουλοσύνη ἀντὶ τῆς βασιληΐης. ² ὁ δὲ μιν προσιδὼν ἀντείρετο εἰ ἐωυτοῦ ποιέεται τὸ Κύρου ἔργον. Ἄρπαγος δὲ ἔφη, αὐτὸς γὰρ γράψαι, τὸ πρῆγμα ἐωυτοῦ δὴ δικαίως εἶναι. ³ Ἀστυάγης δὲ μιν ἀπέφαινε τῷ λόγῳ σκαιότατόν τε καὶ ἀδικώτατον ἐόντα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, σκαιότατον μὲν γε, εἰ παρεὸν αὐτῷ βασιλέα γενέσθαι, εἰ δὴ δι’ ἐωυτοῦ γε ἐπρήχθη τὰ παρεόντα, ἄλλῳ περιέθηκε τὸ κράτος, ἀδικώτατον δέ, ὅτι τοῦ δείπνου εἵνεκεν Μήδους κατεδούλωσε. ⁴ εἰ γὰρ δὴ δεῖν πάντως περιθεῖναι ἄλλῳ τεῷ τὴν βασιληΐην καὶ μὴ αὐτὸν ἔχειν, δικαιότερον εἶναι Μήδων τεῷ περιβαλεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ Περσέων. νῦν δὲ Μήδους μὲν ἀναιτίους τούτου ἐόντας δούλους ἀντὶ δεσποτέων γεγονέναι, Πέρσας δὲ δούλους ἐόντας τὸ πρὶν Μήδων νῦν γεγονέναι δεσπότας.

¹ Ἀστυάγης μὲν νυν βασιλεύσας ἐπ’ ἔτεα πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα οὕτω τῆς βασιληΐης κατεπαύσθη, Μῆδοι δὲ ὑπέκυψαν Πέρσησι διὰ τὴν τούτου πικρότητα, ἄρξαντες τῆς ἄνω Ἄλως ποταμοῦ Ἀσίης ἐπ’ ἔτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δυῶν δέοντα, πάρεξ ἢ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἦρχον. ² ὑστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ μετεμέλησέ τέ σφι ταῦτα ποιήσασι καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου, ἀποστάντες δὲ ὀπίσω κατεστράφησαν μάχῃ νικηθέντες. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀστυάγεος οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἦρχον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς Ἀσίης. ³

Ἀστυάγεα δὲ Κῦρος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας εἶχε παρ' ἐωυτῷ, ἐς ὃ ἐτελεύτησε. [Οὕτω δὴ Κῦρος γενόμενός τε καὶ τραφεὶς καὶ ἐβασίλευσε καὶ Κροῖσον ὕστερον τούτων ἄρξαντα ἀδικίης κατεστρέψατο, ὥς εἴρηταί μοι πρότερον. Τοῦτον δὲ καταστρεψάμενος οὕτω πάσης τῆς Ἀσίας ἥρξε.]

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¹ Πέρσας δὲ οἶδα νόμοισι τοιοῖσιδε χρεωμένους, ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους ἰδρύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι ποιεῦσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρουσι, ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς κατὰ περ οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶναι· ² οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότετα τῶν ὁρέων ἀναβαίνοντες θυσίας ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες· θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γῇ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι. ³ τούτοις μὲν δὴ θύουσι μούνοισι ἀρχῆθεν, ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανῇ θύειν, παρὰ τε Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀραβίων. καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἀλιλάτ, Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν.

132

¹ θυσίῃ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι περὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους θεοὺς ἦδε κατέστηκε· οὔτε βωμοὺς ποιεῦνται οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι μέλλοντες θύειν, οὐ σπονδῇ χρέωνται, οὐκὶ αὐλῷ, οὐ στέμμασι, οὐκὶ οὐλῇσι· τῶν δὲ ὥς ἐκάστῳ θύειν θέλῃ, ἐς χώρον καθαρὸν ἀγαγὼν τὸ κτῆνος καλέει τὸν θεόν, ἐστεφανωμένος τὸν τιάραν μυρσίην μάλιστα. ² ἐωυτῷ μὲν δὴ τῷ θύοντι ἰδίῃ μούνῳ οὐ οἱ ἐγγίνεται ἀρᾶσθαι ἀγαθὰ, ὁ δὲ τοῖσι πᾶσι Πέρσησι κατεύχεται εὖ γίνεσθαι καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασι Πέρσησι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται. ἐπεὰν δὲ διαμιστύλας κατὰ μέλεα τὸ ἱρήιον ἐνήσῃ τὰ κρέα ὑποπάσας ποίην ὥς ἀπαλωτάτην, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τρίφυλλον, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔθηκε ὧν πάντα τὰ κρέα. ³ διαθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστὼς ἐπαεῖδει θεογονίην, οἷν δὴ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαοιδὴν· ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ Μάγου οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιέεσθαι. ἐπισχὼν δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀποφέρεται ὁ θύσας τὰ κρέα καὶ χρᾶται ὅ τι μιν λόγος αἰρέει.

133

¹ ἡμέρην δὲ ἀπασέων μάλιστα ἐκείνην τιμᾶν νομίζουσι τῇ

ἕκαστος ἐγένετο. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πλέω δαῖτα τῶν ἀλλέων δικαιοῦσι προτίθεσθαι· ἐν τῇ οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτῶν βοῦν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον προτιθέαται ὅλους ὀπτοὺς ἐν καμίνοις, οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων προτιθέαται. 2 σίτοις δὲ ὀλίγοις χρέωνται, ἐπιφορῆμασι δὲ πολλοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἀλέσι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασὶ Πέρσαι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας σιτεομένους πεινῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι σφι ἀπὸ δεῖπνου παραφορέεται οὐδὲν λόγου ἄξιον· εἰ δέ τι παραφέροιτο, ἐσθίοντας ἂν οὐ παύεσθαι. 3 οἶνῳ δὲ κάρτα προσκέεται, καὶ σφι οὐκ ἐμέσαι ἔξεστι, οὐκὶ οὐρῆσαι ἀντίον ἄλλου. ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω φυλάσσεται, μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ ἐώθασιν βουλευέσθαι τὰ σπουδαιέστατα τῶν πρηγμάτων· 4 τὸ δ' ἂν ἄδη σφι βουλευομένοις, τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραίῃ νήφουσι προτιθεὶ ὁ στέγάρχος, ἐν τοῦ ἂν ἐόντες βουλευόμενοι, καὶ ἦν μὲν ἄδη καὶ νήφουσι, χρέωνται αὐτῷ, ἦν δὲ μὴ ἄδη, μετιεῖσι. τὰ δ' ἂν νήφοντες προβουλευσονται, μεθυσκόμενοι ἐπιδιαγινώσκουσι.

134

¹ ἐντυγχάνοντες δ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι, τῷδε ἂν τις διαγνοίῃ εἰ ὅμοιοι εἰσὶ οἱ συντυγχάνοντες· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους φιλέουσι τοῖσι στόμασι· ἦν δὲ ἢ οὐτερος ὑποδεέστερος ὀλίγῳ, τὰς παρειὰς φιλέονται· ἦν δὲ πολλῷ ἢ οὐτερος ἀγεννέστερος, προσπίπτων προσκυνεῖ τὸν ἕτερον. 2 τιμῶσι δὲ ἐκ πάντων τοὺς ἄγχιστα ἐωυτῶν οἰκέοντας μετὰ γε ἐωυτούς, δευτέρα δὲ τοὺς δευτέρους· μετὰ δὲ κατὰ λόγον προβαίνοντες τιμῶσι· ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἐωυτῶν ἐκαστάτῳ οἰκημένους ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται, νομίζοντες ἐωυτούς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους κατὰ λόγον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκαστάτῳ οἰκέοντας ἀπὸ ἐωυτῶν κακίστους εἶναι. 3 ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδων ἀρχὸν τῶν καὶ ἥρχε τὰ ἔθνεα ἀλλήλων, συναπάντων μὲν Μῆδοι καὶ τῶν ἄγχιστα οἰκεόντων σφίσι, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁμούρων, οἱ δὲ μάλα τῶν ἐχομένων, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ λόγον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τιμῶσι· προέβαινε γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἔθνος ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεῦον.

135

¹ ξεινικὰ δὲ νόμια Πέρσαι προσίενται ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσθῆτα νομίσαντες τῆς ἐωυτῶν εἶναι καλλίω φορέουσι, καὶ ἔς τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θώρηκας· καὶ

εὐπαθείας τε παντοδαπὰς πυνθανόμενοι ἐπιτηδεύουσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παισὶ μίσγονται. γαμέουσι δὲ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας γυναικάς, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας παλλακὰς κτῶνται.

136

1 ἀνδραγαθίῃ δὲ αὕτῃ ἀποδέδεκται, μετὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἀγαθόν, ὃς ἂν πολλοὺς ἀποδέξῃ παῖδας· τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποδεικνύντι δῶρα ἐκπέμπει βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἡγέεται ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι. 2 παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος τρία μῶνα, ἰχνεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ ἢ πενταέτης γένηται, οὐκ ἀπικνέεται ἐς ὅσιν τῷ πατρί, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῇσι γυναιξὶ δίαιταν ἔχει. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα τοῦτο οὕτω ποιέεται, ἵνα ἦν ἀποθάνῃ τρεφόμενος, μηδεμίαν ἄσιν τῷ πατρὶ προσβάλλῃ.

137

1 αἰνέω μὲν νυν τόνδε τὸν νόμον, αἰνέω δὲ καὶ τόνδε, τὸ μὴ μιῆς αἰτίης εἵνεκα μήτε αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα φονεῦειν, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων μηδένα τῶν ἐωυτοῦ οἰκετέων ἐπὶ μιῇ αἰτίῃ ἀνήκεστον πάθος ἔρδειν· ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος ἦν εὐρίσκει πλέω τε καὶ μέζω τὰ ἀδικήματα ἐόντα τῶν ὑπουργημάτων, οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χρᾶται. 2 ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ οὐδένα κω λέγουσι τὸν ἐωυτοῦ πατέρα οὐδὲ μητέρα, ἀλλὰ ὅκόσα ἤδη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο, πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην φασὶ ἀναζητεόμενα ταῦτα ἀνευρεθῆναι ἤτοι ὑποβολιμαῖα ἐόντα ἢ μοιχίδια· οὐ γὰρ δὴ φασὶ οἶκος εἶναι τὸν γε ἀληθέως τοκέα ὑπὸ τοῦ, ἐωυτοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθνήσκειν.

138

1 ἄσσα δὲ σφὶ ποιέειν οὐκ ἔξεστι, ταῦτα οὐδὲ λέγειν ἔξεστι. αἰσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νενόμισται, δευτέρα δὲ τὸ ὀφείλειν χρέος, πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἵνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαίην φασὶ εἶναι τὸν ὀφείλοντα καὶ τι ψεῦδος λέγειν. ὃς ἂν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν λέπρην ἢ λεύκην ἔχῃ, ἐς πόλιν οὗτος οὐ κατέρχεται οὐδὲ συμμίσγεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Πέρσησι· φασὶ δὲ μιν ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἀμαρτόντα τι ταῦτα ἔχειν. 2 ξεῖνον δὲ πάντα τὸν λαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ τουτέων πολλοὶ ἐξελαύνουσι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καὶ τὰς λευκάς

περιστεράς, τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίην ἐπιφέροντες. ἐς ποταμὸν δὲ οὔτε ἐνουρέουσι οὔτε ἐμπύουσι, οὐ χειῖρας ἐναπονίζονται, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα περιορῶσι, ἀλλὰ σέβονται ποταμοὺς μάλιστα.

139

¹ καὶ τότε ἄλλο σφι ὧδε συμπέπτωκε γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέληθε, ἡμέας μέντοι οὐ· τὰ οὐνόματά σφι ἔοντα ὅμοια τοῖσι σώμασι καὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείῃ τελευτῶσι πάντα ἐς τὸν αὐτὸ γράμμα, τὸ Δωριέες μὲν σὰν καλέουσι, Ἴωνες δὲ σίγμα· ἐς τοῦτο διζήμενος εὐρήσεις τελευτῶντα τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ τὰ μὲν τὰ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως.

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¹ ταῦτα μὲν ἀτρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν εἰδὼς εἰπεῖν· τάδε μέντοι ὡς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται καὶ οὐ σαφηνέως περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, ὡς οὐ πρότερον θάπτεται ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω ὁ νέκυς πρὶν ἂν ὑπ' ὄρνιθος ἢ κυνὸς ἐλκυσθῇ. ² Μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως οἶδα ταῦτα ποιέοντας· ἐμφανέως γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦσι. κατακηρώσαντες δὲ ὦν τὸν νέκυν Πέρσαι γῇ κρύπτουσι. Μάγοι δὲ κεχωρίδαται πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱρέων. ³ οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνεύουσι ἔμψυχον μηδὲν κτείνειν, εἰ μὴ ὅσα θύουσι· οἱ δὲ δὴ Μάγοι αὐτοχειρίῃ πάντα πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου κτείνουσι, καὶ ἀγώνισμα μέγα τοῦτο ποιεῦνται, κτείνοντες ὁμοίως μύρμηκας τε καὶ ὄφεις καὶ τᾶλλα ἐρπετὰ καὶ πετεινά. καὶ ἀμφὶ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τοῦτ' ἐχέτω ὡς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐνομίσθη, ἄνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.

141

¹ Ἴωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολέες, ὡς οἱ Λυδοὶ τάχιστα κατεστράφατο ὑπὸ Περσέων, ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδεις παρὰ Κῦρον, ἐθέλοντες ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τοῖσι καὶ Κροίσῳ ἦσαν κατήκοοι. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὰ προΐσχοντο ἔλεξε σφι λόγον, ἄνδρα φὰς αὐλητὴν ἰδόντα ἰχθύς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ αὐλέειν, δοκέοντα σφέας ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἐς γῆν· ² ὡς δὲ ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος, λαβεῖν ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ περιβαλεῖν τε πλῆθος πολλὸν τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ ἐξειρῶσαι, ἰδόντα δὲ παλλομένους εἰπεῖν ἄρα αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθύς “παύεσθέ μοι ὀρχεόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμέο αὐλέοντος ἠθέλετε ἐκβαίνειν ὀρχεόμενοι.” ³ Κῦρος μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον τοῖσι Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰολεῦσι τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἔλεξε,

ὅτι δὴ οἱ Ἴωνες πρότερον αὐτοῦ Κύρου δεηθέντος δι' ἀγγέλων ἀπίστασθαι σφέας ἀπὸ Κροίσου οὐκ ἐπέθοντο, τότε δὲ κατεργασμένων τῶν πρηγμάτων ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι πείθεσθαι Κύρῳ. 4 ὁ μὲν δὴ ὀργῇ ἐχόμενος ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· Ἴωνες δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν τούτων ἀνενειχθέντων ἐς τὰς πόλεις, τείχεά τε περιεβάλοντο ἕκαστοι καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐς Πανιώνιον οἱ ἄλλοι, πλην Μιλησίων· πρὸς μούνους γὰρ τούτους ὄρκιον Κῦρος ἐποιήσατο ἐπ' οἷσι περ ὁ Λυδός. τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Ἴωσι ἔδοξε κοινῷ λόγῳ πέμπειν ἀγγέλους ἐς Σπάρτην δεησομένους Ἴωσι τιμωρέειν.

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1 οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες οὗτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἐστί, τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὥρέων ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτύγχανον ἰδρυσάμενοι πόλεις πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· 2 οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς χωρία τὸν ποιεῖ τῇ Ἰωνίῃ οὔτε τὰ κάτω οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ ὑγροῦ πιεζόμενα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ αὐχμώδους. 3 γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων. Μίλητος μὲν αὐτέων πρώτη κέεται πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, μετὰ δὲ Μυοῦς τε καὶ Πριήνη. 4 αὗται μὲν ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοίκηνται κατὰ ταῦτα διαλεγόμεναι σφίσι, αἶδε δὲ ἐν τῇ Λυδίῃ, Ἐφεσος Κολοφὼν Λέβεδος Τέως Κλαζομεναὶ Φώκαια· αὗται δὲ αἱ πόλεις τῇσι πρότερον λεχθείησι ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλῶσσαν οὐδέν, σφισι δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσι. ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι Ἰάδες πόλεις, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέεται, Σάμον τε καὶ Χίον, ἡ δὲ μία ἐν τῇ ἠπειρῷ ἵδρυται, Ἐρυθραί. Χῖοι μὲν νυν καὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι κατὰ τὸν ποιεῖν διαλέγονται, Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν μούνοι. οὗτοι χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης τέσσερες γίνονται.

143

1 τούτων δὴ ὧν τῶν Ἰόνων οἱ Μιλήσιοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ φόβου, ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν νησιώτησι ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὔτε γὰρ Φοίνικες ἦσαν κω Περσέων κατήκοοι οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ναυβάται. 2 ἀπεσχίσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰόνων οὗτοι κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἀσθενέος δὲ ἐόντος τοῦ παντός τότε Ἑλληνικοῦ γένους, πολλῷ δὴ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ Ἴωνικὸν καὶ λόγου ἐλαχίστου· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Ἀθῆναι, ἦν οὐδέν ἄλλο

πόλισμα λόγιμον. 3 οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ οὖνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἴωνες κεκληῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονται μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὐνόματι· αἱ δὲ δώδεκα πόλεις αὗται τῷ τε οὐνόματι ἡγάλλοντο καὶ ἱρὸν ἰδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτέων, τῷ οὖνομα ἔθεντο Πανιώνιον, ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἰώνων (οὐδ' ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ μετασχεῖν ὅτι μὴ Συμυρναῖοι)·

144

1 κατά περ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρας Δωριέες, πρότερον δὲ ἑξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται [ῶν] μηδαμοὺς ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοίκων Δωριέων ἐς τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱρὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήρισαν τῆς μετοχῆς, 2 ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖσι νικῶσι, καὶ τούτους χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. 3 ἀνὴρ ὢν Ἀλικαρνησσεύς, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀγασικλῆς, νικήσας τὸν νόμον κατηλόγησε, φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐσωτοῦ οἰκία προσεπασσάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἱ πέντε πόλεις, Λίνδος καὶ Ἰήλυσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος ἐξεκλήρισαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἑκτὴν πόλιν Ἀλικαρνησσόν. τούτοισι μὲν νυν οὗτοι ταύτην τὴν ζημίην ἐπέθηκαν.

145

1 δώδεκα δὲ μοι δοκέουσι πόλιας ποιήσασθαι οἱ Ἴωνες καὶ οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι πλεῦνας ἐσδέξασθαι τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἶκεον, δώδεκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρεα, κατά περ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἴωνας δώδεκα ἐστὶ μέρεα, Πελλήνη μὲν γε πρώτη πρὸς Σικυῶνος, μετὰ δὲ Αἰγείρα καὶ Αἰγαί, ἐν τῇ Κρᾶθις ποταμὸς ἀείναος ἐστὶ, ἀπ' ὅθεν ὁ ἐν Ἰταλίῃ ποταμὸς τὸ οὖνομα ἔσχε, καὶ Βοῦρα καὶ Ἑλίκη, ἐς τὴν κατέφυγον Ἴωνες ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες, καὶ Αἰγίον καὶ Ῥύπες καὶ Πατρές καὶ Φαρές καὶ Ὠλενος, ἐν τῷ Πεῖρος ποταμὸς μέγας ἐστὶ, καὶ Δύμη καὶ Τριταίεες, οἱ μούνοι τούτων μεσόγαιοι οἰκέουσι. ταῦτα δώδεκα μέρεα νῦν Ἀχαιῶν ἐστὶ καὶ τότε γε Ἰώνων ἦν.

146

1 τούτων δὴ εἵνεκα καὶ οἱ Ἴωνες δυώδεκα πόλιας ἐποίησαντο· ἐπεὶ ὥς γέ τι μᾶλλον οὗτοι Ἴωνες εἰσὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰόνων ἢ κάλλιον τι γεγόνاسι, μωρὴ πολλὴ λέγειν· τῶν Ἀβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίης εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἰωνῆς μέτα οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδέν, Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομένιοι σφι ἀναμεμίσχεται καὶ Καδμεῖοι καὶ Δρύοπες καὶ Φωκέες ἀποδάσμιοι καὶ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοὶ καὶ Δωριεὲς Ἐπιδαύριοι, ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμίσχεται· 2 οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανηίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὀρμηθέντες καὶ νομίζοντες γενναιότατοι εἶναι Ἰόνων, οὗτοι δὲ οὐ γυναικας ἠγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἀλλὰ Καείρας ἔσχον, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας. 3 διὰ τοῦτ' οὖν δὲ τὸν φόνον αἱ γυναῖκες αὗται νόμον θέμεναι σφίσι αὐτῇσι ὄρκους ἐπῆλασαν καὶ παρέδωκαν τῇσι θυγατράσι, μὴ κοτε ὁμοσιτῆσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι μηδὲ οὐνόματι βῶσαι τὸν ἐωυτῆς ἄνδρα, τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὅτι ἐφόνευσαν σφέων τοὺς πατέρας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἔπειτα ταῦτα ποιήσαντες αὐτῇσι συνοίκεον.

147

1 ταῦτα δὲ ἦν γινόμενα ἐν Μιλήτῳ· βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίους ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἱππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καύκωνας Πυλίους ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου, οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμφοτέρους· ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοῦ οὐνόματος μᾶλλον τι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰόνων, ἔστωσαν δὴ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἴωνες. 2 εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων γεγόνاسι καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὀρθήν· ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων· οὗτοι γὰρ μούνοι Ἰόνων οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπατούρια, καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φόνου τινὰ σκῆψιν.

148

1 τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χώρος ἱρὸς πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος, κοινῇ ἐξαραιρημένος ὑπὸ Ἰόνων Ποσειδέωνι Ἐλικωνίῳ· ἡ δὲ Μυκάλη ἐστὶ τῆς ἠπείρου ἄκρῃ πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον κατήκουσα Σάμφω καταντίον, ἐς τὴν συλλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων Ἴωνες ἄγεσκον ὀρθήν τῇ ἔθεντο οὐνομα Πανιώνια. 2 [πεπόνθασι δὲ οὔτι μούνοι αἱ Ἰόνων ὀρταὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλήνων πάντων ὁμοίως πᾶσαι ἐς τὠντὸ γράμμα τελευτῶσι, κατὰ περ τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα.]

¹ αὗται μὲν αἱ Ἰάδες πόλιες εἰσί, αἶδε δὲ αἱ Αἰολίδες, Κύμη ἡ Φρικωνίς καλεομένη, Λήρισαι, Νέον τεῖχος, Τῆμνος, Κίλλα, Νότιον, Αἰγιρόεσσα, Πιτάνη, Αἰγαῖαι, Μύρινα, Γρύνεια. αὗται ἔνδεκα Αἰολέων πόλιες αἱ ἀρχαῖαι· μία γὰρ σφέων παρελύθη Σμύρνη ὑπὸ Ἰώνων· ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ αὗται δωδέκα αἱ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ. ² οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Αἰολέες χώραν μὲν ἔτυχον κτίσαντες ἀμείνω Ἰώνων, ὥρέων δὲ ἦκουσαν οὐκ ὁμοίως.

¹ σμύρνην δὲ ὧδε ἀπέβαλον Αἰολέες. Κολοφωνίους ἄνδρας στάσι ἐσσωθέντας καὶ ἐκπεσόντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεδέξαντο. μετὰ δὲ οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὀρτὴν ἔξω τείχεος ποιευμένους Διονύσῳ, τὰς πύλας ἀποκληίσαντες ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν. ² βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων Αἰολέων, ὁμολογίῃ ἐχρήσαντο τὰ ἐπιπλα ἀποδόντων τῶν Ἰώνων ἐκλιπεῖν Σμύρνην Αἰολέας. ποιησάντων δὲ ταῦτα Σμυρναίων ἐπιδιείλοντο σφέας αἱ ἔνδεκα πόλιες καὶ ἐποίησαντο σφέων αὐτέων πολιήτας.

¹ αὗται μὲν νυν αἱ ἡπειρώτιδες Αἰολίδες πόλιες, ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ οἰκημενέων· κεχωρίδαται γὰρ αὗται. ² αἱ δὲ τὰς νήσους ἔχουσαι πέντε μὲν πόλιες τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται (τὴν γὰρ ἔκτην ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ οἰκημένην Ἀρίσβαν ἡνδραπόδισαν Μηθυμναῖοι ἐόντας ὁμαίμους), ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ μία οἴκηται πόλις, καὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἑκατὸν νήσοισι καλεομένησι ἄλλη μία. ³ Λεσβίοισι μὲν νῦν καὶ Τενεδίοισι, κατὰ περ Ἰώνων τοῖσι τὰς νήσους ἔχουσι, ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν· τῇσι δὲ λοιπῇσι πόλισι ἔαδε κοινῇ Ἴωσι ἔπεσθαι τῇ ἂν οὗτοι ἐξηγέωνται.

¹ ὥς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰολέων οἱ ἄγγελοι (κατὰ γὰρ δὴ τάχος ἦν ταῦτα πρησόμενα), εἶλοντο πρὸ πάντων λέγειν τὸν Φωκαέα, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Πύθερμος. ὁ δὲ πορφύρεόν τε εἶμα περιβαλόμενος, ὥς ἂν πυνθανόμενοι πλεῖστοι συνέλθοιεν Σπαρτητέων, καὶ καταστάς ἔλεγε πολλὰ τιμωρέειν ἐωυτοῖσι χρηρίζων. ² Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐ κως ἐσήκουον, ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξέ σφι μὴ τιμωρέειν Ἴωσι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσοντο,

Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀπώσάμενοι τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς ἀγγέλους ὁμῶς ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκοντέρῳ ἄνδρα, ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέει, κατασκόπους τῶν τε Κύρου πρηγμάτων καὶ Ἰωνίης. ³ ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔπεμπον ἐς Σάρδις σφέων αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Λακρίνης, ἀπερέοντα Κύρῳ Λακεδαιμονίων ῥήσιν, γῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιναμωρέειν, ὥς αὐτῶν οὐ περιορισμένων.

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¹ ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ κήρυκος, λέγεται Κῦρον ἐπειρέσθαι τοὺς παρεόντας οἱ Ἑλλήνων τινες ἐόντες ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κόσιοι πλῆθος ταῦτα ἐωυτῷ προαγορεύουσι· πυνθανόμενον δέ μιν εἰπεῖν ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κόσιοι “οὐκ ἔδειςά κω ἄνδρας τοιούτους, τοῖσι ἐστὶ χῶρος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει ἀποδεδεγμένος ἐς τὸν συλλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὁμνύντες ἐξαπατῶσι· τοῖσι, ἦν ἐγὼ ὑγιαίνω, οὐ τὰ Ἰώνων πάθεα ἔσται ἔλλεσχα ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκία.” ² ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας Ἑλληνας ἀπέρριψε ὁ Κῦρος τὰ ἔπεα, ὅτι ἀγορὰς στησάμενοι ὦνῃ τε καὶ πρήσι χρέωνται· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀγορῇσι οὐδὲν ἐώθασι χρᾶσθαι, οὐδέ σφι ἐστὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀγορή. ³ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψας τὰς μὲν Σάρδις Ταβάλῳ ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τόν τε Κροῖσου καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων Λυδῶν Πακτῆ ἀνδρὶ Λυδῷ κομίζειν, ἀπήλανε αὐτὸς ἐς Ἀγβάτανα, Κροῖσόν τε ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιησάμενος τὴν πρώτην εἶναι. ⁴ ἡ τε γὰρ Βαβυλὼν οἱ ἦν ἐμπόδιος καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἐπ’ οὓς ἐπεῖχε τε στρατηλατέειν αὐτός, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνας ἄλλον πέμπειν στρατηγόν.

154

¹ ὥς δὲ ἀπήλασε ὁ Κῦρος ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἀπέστησε ὁ Πακτῆς ἀπὸ τε Ταβάλου καὶ Κύρου, καταβάς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἅτε τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχων πάντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, ἐπικούρους τε ἐμισθοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐπιθαλασσίους ἀνθρώπους ἔπειθε σὺν ἐωυτῷ στρατεύεσθαι. ἐλάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις ἐπολιόρκεε Τάβαλον ἀπεργμένον ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει.

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¹ πυθόμενος δὲ κατ’ ὁδὸν ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε.

“Κροῖσε, τί ἔσται τέλος τῶν γινομένων τούτων ἐμοί ; οὐ παύσονται Λυδοί, ὥς οἴκασι, πρήγματα παρέχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχοντες. φροντίζω μὴ ἄριστον ἢ ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι σφέας. ὁμοίως γὰρ μοι νῦν γε φαίνομαι πεποικημένοι ὥς εἰ τις πατέρα ἀποκτείνας τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ φείσατο· 2 ὥς δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ Λυδῶν τὸν μὲν πλεον τι ἢ πατέρα ἐόντα σὲ λαβὼν ἄγω, αὐτοῖσι δὲ Λυδοῖσι τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκα, καὶ ἔπειτα θωμάζω εἰ μοι ἀπεστᾶσι.” ὁ μὲν δὴ τὰ περ ἐνόεε ἔλεγε, ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε, δείσας μὴ ἀναστάτους ποιήσῃ τὰς Σάρδεις. 3 “ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν οἰκότα εἴρηκας, σὺ μέντοι μὴ πάντα θυμῷ χρέο, μηδὲ πόλιν ἀρχαίην ἐξαναστήσης ἀναμάρτητον ἐοῦσαν καὶ τῶν πρότερον καὶ τῶν νῦν ἐστεῶτων. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐγὼ τε ἔπρηξα καὶ ἐγὼ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξας φέρω· τὰ δὲ νῦν παρεόντα Πακτύης γὰρ ἐστὶ ὁ ἀδικέων, τῷ σὺ ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδεις, οὗτος δότω τοι δίκην. 4 Λυδοῖσι δὲ συγγνώμην ἔχων τάδε αὐτοῖσι ἐπίταξον, ὥς μήτε ἀποστέωσι μήτε δεινοὶ τοι ἔωσι· ἅπειπε μὲν σφι πέμψας ὅπλα ἀρήια μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι, κέλευε δὲ σφέας κιθῶνάς τε ὑποδύνειν τοῖσι εἵμασι καὶ κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι, πρόειπε δ’ αὐτοῖσι κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ καπηλεύειν παιδεύειν τοὺς παῖδας. καὶ ταχέως σφέας ὃ βασιλεῦ γυναῖκας ἀντ’ ἀνδρῶν ὄψεαι γεγονότας, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεινοὶ τοι ἔσονται μὴ ἀποστέωσι.”

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1 Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτά οἱ ὑπετίθετο, αἰρετώτερα ταῦτα εὐρίσκων Λυδοῖσι ἢ ἀνδραποδισθέντας πρηθῆναι σφέας, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι ἦν μὴ ἀξιοχρεὸν πρόφασιν προτείνειν, οὐκ ἀναπαύσει μιν μεταβουλευσασθαι, ἀρρώδεων δὲ μὴ καὶ ὕστερον κοτὲ οἱ Λυδοί, ἦν τὸ παρεὸν ὑπεκδράμωσι, ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἀπόλονται. 2 Κῦρος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ καὶ ὑπεὶς τῆς ὀργῆς ἔφη οἱ πείθεσθαι. καλέσας δὲ Μαζάρεα ἄνδρα Μῆδον, ταῦτά τέ οἱ ἐντείλατο προειπεῖν Λυδοῖσι τὰ ὃ Κροῖσος ὑπετίθετο, καὶ πρὸς ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας οἱ μετὰ Λυδῶν ἐπὶ Σάρδεις ἐστρατεύσαντο, αὐτὸν δὲ Πακτύην πάντως ζῶντα ἀγαγεῖν παρ’ ἐωυτόν.

157

1 ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐντειλάμενος ἀπήλαυνε ἐς ἡθεα τὰ Περσέων, Πακτύης δὲ πυθόμενος ἀγχοῦ εἶναι στρατὸν ἐπ’ ἐωυτόν

ίόντα δείσας οἶχετο φεύγων ἐς Κύμην. 2 Μαζάρης δὲ ὁ Μῆδος ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις τοῦ Κύρου στρατοῦ μοῖραν ὅσην δὴ κοτε ἔχων, ὥς οὐκ εὗρε ἔτι ἐόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πακτὺν ἐν Σάρδισι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἠνάγκασε τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς ἐπιτελέειν, ἐκ τούτου δὲ κελευσμοσύνης Λυδοὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δίαιταν τῆς ζῆς μετέβαλον. 3 Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔπεμπε ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀγγέλους ἐκδιδόναι κελεύων Πακτὺν. οἱ δὲ Κυμαῖοι ἔγνωσαν συμβουλῆς περὶ ἐς θεὸν ἀνοῖσαι τὸν ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι· ἦν γὰρ αὐτόθι μαντήιον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰδρυμένον, τῷ Ἰωνέσι τε πάντες καὶ Αἰολέσι ἐώθεσαν χρᾶσθαι. ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὗτος ἐστὶ τῆς Μιλησίης ὑπὲρ Πανόρμου λιμένος.

158

1 πέμψαντες ὧν οἱ Κυμαῖοι ἐς τοὺς Βραγχίδας θεοπρόπους εἰρώτευν περὶ Πακτὺν ὁκοῖόν τι ποιέοντες θεοῖσι μέλλοιεν χαριεῖσθαι. ἐπειρωτῶσι δὲ σφι ταῦτα χρηστήριον ἐγένετο ἐκδιδόναι Πακτὺν Πέρσῃσι. ταῦτα δὲ ὥς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, ὁρμέατο ἐκδιδόναι· 2 ὁρμημένου δὲ ταύτῃ τοῦ πλήθους, Ἀριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλίδεω ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν ἐὼν δόκιμος ἔσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα Κυμαίους, ἀπιστέων τε τῷ χρησμῷ καὶ δοκέων τοὺς θεοπρόπους οὐ λέγειν ἀληθές, ἐς ὃ τὸ δεῦτερον περὶ Πακτύεω ἐπειρησόμενοι ἦσαν ἄλλοι θεοπρόποι, τῶν καὶ Ἀριστόδικος ἦν.

159

1 ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς Βραγχίδας ἐχρηστηριάζετο ἐκ πάντων Ἀριστόδικος ἐπειρωτῶν τάδε. “ὦναξ, ἦλθε παρ’ ἡμέας ἰκέτης Πακτύς ὁ Λυδός, φεύγων θάνατον βίαιον πρὸς Περσέων· οἱ δὲ μιν ἐξαιτέονται, προεῖναι Κυμαίους κελεύοντες. 2 ἡμεῖς δὲ δειμαίνοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν τὸν ἰκέτην ἐς τόδε οὐ τετολμήκαμεν ἐκδιδόναι, πρὶν ἂν τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ ἡμῖν δηλωθῇ ἀτρεκέως ὁκότερα ποιῶμεν.” ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, ὁ δ’ αὖτις τὸν αὐτόν σφι χρησμὸν ἔφαινε, κελεύων ἐκδιδόναι Πακτὺν Πέρσῃσι. 3 πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀριστόδικος ἐκ προνοίης ἐποίησε τάδε· περιῶν τὸν νηὸν κύκλῳ ἐξαίρει τοὺς στρουθοὺς καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἦν νενοσσευμένα ὀρνίθων γένηα ἐν τῷ νηῷ. ποιέοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγεται φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου γενέσθαι φέρουσιν μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόδικον, λέγουσαν δὲ τάδε “ἀνοσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τί τάδε τολμᾷς ποιεῖν; τοὺς ἰκέτας μου ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ κεραΐζεις;” 4 Ἀριστόδικον δὲ οὐκ ἀπορήσαντα πρὸς

ταῦτα εἰπεῖν “ὦναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν οὕτω τοῖσι ikήτησι βοηθεῖς, Κυμαῖους δὲ κελεύεις τὸν ikήτην ἐκδιδόναι ; τὸν δὲ αὖτις ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσιδε “ναὶ κελεύω, ἵνα γε ἀσεβήσαντες θᾶσσον ἀπόλησθε, ὥς μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ ikετεῶν ἐκδόσιος ἔλθῃτε ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον.”

160

1 ταῦτα ὥς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, οὐ βουλόμενοι οὔτε ἐκδόντες ἀπολέσθαι οὔτε παρ’ ἐωυτοῖσι ἔχοντες πολιορκέεσθαι, ἐκπέμπουσι αὐτὸν ἐς Μυτιλήνην. 2 οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπιτέμποντος τοῦ Μαζάρεος ἀγγελίας ἐκδιδόναι τὸν Πακτύν παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῳ δὴ· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τοῦτό γε εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως· οὐ γὰρ ἐτελεώθη. 3 Κυμαῖοι γὰρ ὥς ἔμαθον ταῦτα πρησόμενα ἐκ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, πέμψαντες πλοῖον ἐς Λέσβον ἐκκομίζουσι Πακτύν ἐς Χίον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐξ ἱροῦ Ἀθηναίης πολιούχου ἀποσπασθεὶς ὑπὸ Χίων ἐξεδόθη· ἐξέδοσαν δὲ οἱ Χῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀταρνέι μισθῷ· 4 τοῦ δὲ Ἀταρνέος τούτου ἐστὶ χώρος τῆς Μυσίης, Λέσβου ἀντίος. Πακτύν μὲν νυν παραδεξάμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, θέλοντες Κύρῳ ἀποδέξαι. 5 ἦν δὲ χρόνος οὗτος οὐκ ὀλίγος γινόμενος, ὅτε Χίων οὐδεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος τούτου οὔτε οὐλὰς κριθέων πρόχυσιν ἐποιέετο θεῶν οὐδενὶ οὔτε πέμματα ἐπέσσετο καρποῦ τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν, ἀπείχετο τε τῶν πάντων ἱρῶν τὰ πάντα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ταύτης γινόμενα.

161

1 Χῖοι μὲν νυν Πακτύν ἐξέδοσαν. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβαλον, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Πριηνέας ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, τοῦτο δὲ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον πᾶν ἐπέδραμε λήϊν ποιεύμενος τῷ στρατῷ, Μαγνησίην τε ὠσαύτως. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτίκα νούσῳ τελευτᾷ.

162

1 ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου, Ἄρπαγος κατέβη διάδοχος τῆς στρατηγίης, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μῆδος, τὸν ὁ Μήδων βασιλεὺς Ἀστυάγης ἀνόμῳ τραπέξῃ ἔδαισε, ὁ τῷ Κύρῳ τὴν βασιληίην συγκατεργασάμενος. 2 οὗτος ὠνήρ τότε ὑπὸ Κύρου στρατηγὸς ἀποδεχθεὶς ὥς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, αἴρεε τὰς πόλιας χώμασι· ὅκως γὰρ τειχίρεας ποιήσῃ, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν χώματα χῶν πρὸς τὰ τείχεα

ἐπόρθεε.

163

¹ πρώτη δὲ Φωκαίῃ Ἰωνίης ἐπεχείρησε. οἱ δὲ Φωκαιέες οὗτοι ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τὸν τε Ἀδρίην καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνὴν καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησσὸν οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες· ² ἐναυτίλλοντο δὲ οὐ στρογγύλῃσι νηυσὶ ἀλλὰ πεντηκοντέροισι. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησσὸν προσφιλέες ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ταρτησσίων, τῷ οὔνομα μὲν ἦν, Ἀργανθώνιος, ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὀγδώκοντα ἔτα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. ³ τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσφιλέες οἱ Φωκαιέες οὕτω δὴ τι ἐγένοντο ὥς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα σφέας ἐκλιπόντας Ἰωνίην ἐκέλευε τῆς ἐωυτοῦ χώρας οἰκῆσαι ὅκου βούλονται· μετὰ δέ, ὥς τοῦτο γε οὐκ ἔπειθε τοὺς Φωκαιέας, ὁ δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν Μῆδον παρ' αὐτῶν ὥς αὔξοιτο, ἐδίδου σφι χρήματα τεῖχος περιβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ⁴ ἐδίδου δὲ ἀφειδέως· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ περίοδος τοῦ τείχεος οὐκ ὀλίγοι στάδιοι εἰσὶ, τοῦτο δὲ πᾶν λίθων μεγάλων καὶ εὖ συναρμοσμένων.

164

¹ τὸ μὲν δὴ τεῖχος τοῖσι Φωκαιεῦσι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ἐξεποιήθη. ὁ δὲ Ἄρπαγος ὥς ἐπήλασε τὴν στρατιήν, ἐπολιόρκεε αὐτούς, προισχόμενος ἔπεα ὥς οἱ καταχρᾶ εἰ βούλονται Φωκαιέες προμαχεῶνα ἓνα μοῦνον τοῦ τείχεος ἐρεῖψαι καὶ οἶκημα ἐν κατιρῶσαι. ² οἱ δὲ Φωκαιέες περὶημεκτέοντες τῇ δουλοσύνῃ ἔφασαν θέλῃν βουλευσασθαι ἡμέρην μίαν καὶ ἔπειτα ὑποκρινέεσθαι· ³ ἐν ᾧ δὲ βουλευόνται αὐτοί, ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκείνον ἐκέλευον τὴν στρατιήν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος. ὁ δ' Ἄρπαγος ἔφη εἰδέναι μὲν εὖ τὰ ἐκείνοι μέλλοιεν ποιεῖν, ὅμως δὲ σφι παρίεναι βουλευσασθαι. ἐν ᾧ ὧν ὁ Ἄρπαγος ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἀπήγαγε τὴν, στρατιήν, οἱ Φωκαιέες ἐν τούτῳ κατασπάσαντες τὰς πεντηκοντέρους, ἐσθέμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἐπιπλα πάντα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐν τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, χωρὶς ὅ τι χαλκὸς ἢ λίθος ἢ γραφὴ ἦν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐσθέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰσβάντες ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Χίου. τὴν δὲ Φωκαίην ἐρημωθεῖσαν ἀνδρῶν ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι.

165

1 οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες, ἐπεῖτε σφι Χῖοι τὰς νήσους τὰς Οἰνούσας καλεομένας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ὠνευμένοισι πωλέειν, δειμαίνοντες μὴ αἱ μὲν ἐμπόριον γένωνται, ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν νῆσος ἀποκληισθῇ τούτου εἵνεκα, πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Φωκαῖες ἐστεύλλοντο ἐς Κύρνον· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Κύρνῳ εἴκοσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἀνεστήσαντο πόλιν, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀλαλίη. 2 Ἀργανθώνιος δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἤδη τετελευτήκεε. στελλόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, πρῶτα καταπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην κατεφόνευσαν τῶν Περσέων τὴν φυλακὴν, ἣ ἐφρούρεε παραδεξαμένη παρὰ Ἀρπάγου τὴν πόλιν. μετὰ δέ, ὥς τοῦτο σφι ἐξέργαστο, ἐποίησαντο ἰσχυρὰς κατάρας τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ ἑωυτῶν τοῦ στόλου, 3 πρὸς δὲ ταύτῃσι καὶ μύδρον σιδήρεον κατεπόντωσαν καὶ ὤμοσαν μὴ πρὶν ἐς Φωκαίην ἤξειν πρὶν ἢ τὸν μύδρον τοῦτον ἀναφανῆναι. στελλομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, ὑπερημίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν ἔλαβε πόθος τε καὶ οἶκτος τῆς πόλιος καὶ τῶν ἡθέων τῆς χώρας, ψευδόρκοι δὲ γενόμενοι ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ ὄρκιον ἐφύλασσαν, ἀερθέντες ἐκ τῶν Οἰνουσσέων ἔπλεον.

166

1 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐς τὴν Κύρνον ἀπίκοντο, οἶκεον κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν πρότερον ἀπικομένων ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε, καὶ ἱρὰ ἐνιδρύσαντο. καὶ ἦγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον τοὺς περιοίκους ἅπαντας, στρατεύονται ὧν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κοινῷ λόγῳ χρῆσάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, νηυσὶ ἐκάτεροι ἐξήκοντα. 2 οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες πληρώσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ἑόντα ἀριθμὸν ἐξήκοντα, ἀντίαζον ἐς τὸ Σαρδόνιον καλεόμενον πέλαγος. συμμिसγόντων δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Καδμεῖη τις νίκη τοῖσι Φωκαιεῦσι ἐγένετο· αἱ μὲν γὰρ τεσσεράκοντά σφι νέες διεφθάρησαν, αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι αἱ περιεοῦσαι ἦσαν ἄχρηστοι· ἀπεστράφατο γὰρ τοὺς ἐμβόλους. 3 καταπλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀλαλίην ἀνέλαβον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κτῆσιν ὅσῃν οἶαι τε ἐγίνοντο αἱ νέες σφι ἄγειν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπέντες τὴν Κύρνον ἔπλεον ἐς Ῥήγιον.

167

1 τῶν δὲ διαφθαρεισέων νεῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας οἱ τε Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ [διέλαχον, τῶν δὲ Τυρσηνῶν οἱ Ἀγυλλαῖοι] ἔλαχόν τε αὐτῶν πολλῷ πλείστους καὶ τούτους ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν. μετὰ

δὲ Ἀγυλλαίοισι πάντα τὰ παριόντα τὸν χώρον, ἐν τῷ οἱ Φωκαῖες καταλευσθέντες ἐκέατο, ἐγένετο διάστροφα καὶ ἔμπηρα καὶ ἀπόπληκτα, ὁμοίως πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἄνθρωποι. ² οἱ δὲ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον βουλόμενοι ἀκέσασθαι τὴν ἁμαρτάδα. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευσε ποιέειν τὰ καὶ νῦν οἱ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἔτι ἐπιτελέουσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐναγίζουσί σφι μεγάλως καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι. ³ καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Φωκαίων τοιοῦτῳ μὶθῳ διεχρήσαντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον καταφυγόντες ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμώμενοι ἐκτίσαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωπίας ταύτην ἣτις νῦν Ὑέλη καλεῖται· ⁴ ἔκτισαν δὲ ταύτην πρὸς ἀνδρὸς Ποσειδωνιῆτεω μαθόντες ὡς τὸν Κύρνον σφι ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε κτίσαι ἥρων ἐόντα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν νῆσον.

168

¹ Φωκαῖς μὲν νυν περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὕτῳ ἔσχε παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοις καὶ Τήιοι ἐποίησαν. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ σφέων εἴλε χῶματι τὸ τεῖχος Ἄρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα οἷχοντο πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Θρηίκης, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν Ἀβδήρα, τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαζομένιος Τιμήσιος κτίσας οὐκ ἀπόνητο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Θρηίκων ἐξελασθεὶς τιμὰς νῦν ὑπὸ Τηίων τῶν ἐν Ἀβδήροισι ὡς ἥρως ἔχει.

169

¹ οὗτοι μὲν νυν Ἰώνων μόνον τὴν δουλοσύνην οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι ἐξέλιπον τὰς πατρίδας· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἴωνες πλὴν Μιλησίων διὰ μάχης μὲν ἀπίκοντο Ἀρπάγῳ κατὰ περ οἱ ἐκλιπόντες, καὶ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ἑκάστος μαχόμενοι, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἀλόντες ἔμενον κατὰ χώραν ἑκάστοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον. ² Μιλήσιοι δέ, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι ἔρηται, αὐτῷ Κύρῳ ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι ἡσυχίην ἤγον. οὕτῳ δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίῃ ἐδεδούλωτο. ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Ἴωνας ἐχειρώσατο Ἄρπαγος, οἱ τὰς νήσους ἔχοντες Ἴωνες καταρρώδησαντες ταῦτα σφέας αὐτοὺς ἔδοσαν Κύρῳ.

170

¹ κεκακωμένων δὲ Ἰώνων καὶ συλλεγομένων οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἐς τὸ Πανιώνιον, πυνθάνομαι γνώμην βίαντα ἄνδρα Πριηνέα ἀποδέξασθαι Ἴωσι χρησιμωτάτην, τῇ εἰ ἐπείθοντο, παρεῖχε ἂν σφι εὐδαιμονέειν Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα· ² ὃς ἐκέλευε κοινῷ στόλῳ Ἴωνας ἀερθέντας

πλέειν ἐς Σαρδῶ καὶ ἔπειτα πόλιν μίαν κτίζειν πάντων Ἰώνων, καὶ οὕτω ἀπαλλαχθέντας σφέας δουλοσύνης εὐδαιμονήσειν, νήσων τε ἀπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἄλλων· μένουσι δέ σφι ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίῃ οὐκ ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι ἐσομένην. ³ αὕτη μὲν Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέος γνώμη ἐπὶ διεφθαρμένοισι Ἰωσι γενομένη, χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ διαφθαρῆναι Ἰωνίην Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἐόντος Φοίνικος, ὃς ἐκέλευε ἐν βουλευτήριον Ἰωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέῳ (Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἰωνίης), τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλιας οἰκεομένας μηδὲν ἥσσον νομίζεσθαι κατὰ περ ἐς δῆμοι εἶεν· οὗτοι μὲν δὴ σφι γνώμας τοιάσδε ἀπεδέξαντο.

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¹ Ἄρπαγος δὲ καταστρεψάμενος Ἰωνίην ἐποιέετο στρατήϊν ἐπὶ Κᾶρας καὶ Καυνίους καὶ Λυκίους, ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἰωνας καὶ Αἰολέας. ² εἰσὶ δὲ τούτων Κᾶρες μὲν ἀπιγμένοι ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκ τῶν νήσων. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἐόντες Μίνω κατήκοοι καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες εἶχον τὰς νήσους, φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ὑποτελέοντες, ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ δυνατός εἰμι ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐξικέσθαι ἀκοῇ· οἱ δέ, ὅκως Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουν οἱ τὰς νέας. ³ ἄτε δὲ Μίνω τε κατεστραμμένου γῆν πολλὴν καὶ εὐτυχέοντος τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ Καρικὸν ἦν ἔθνος λογιμώτατον τῶν ἐθνέων ἀπάντων κατὰ τοῦτον ἅμα τὸν χρόνον μακρῷ μάλιστα. ⁴ καὶ σφι τριζὰ ἐξευρήματα ἐγένετο, τοῖσι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐχρήσαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λόφους ἐπιδέεσθαι Κᾶρες εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ σημήια ποιέεσθαι, καὶ ὄχανα ἀσπίσι οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι· τέως δὲ ἄνευ ὀχάνων ἐφόρεον τὰς ἀσπίδας πάντες οἱ περ ἐώθεσαν ἀσπίσι χρᾶσθαι, τελαμῶσι σκυτίνοισι οἰηκίζοντες, περὶ τοῖσι αὐχέσι τε καὶ τοῖσι ἀριστεροῖσι ὥμοις περικείμενοι. ⁵ μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κᾶρας χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ Δωριέες τε καὶ Ἰωνες ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν νήσων, καὶ οὕτω ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀπίκοντο. κατὰ μὲν δὲ Κᾶρας οὕτω Κρηῖτες λέγουσι γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε ὁμολογεῖνσι τούτοις οἱ Κᾶρες, ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἐωυτοὺς εἶναι αὐτόχθονας ἡπειρώτας, καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ διαχρεωμένους τῷ περ νῦν. ⁶ ἀποδείκνυσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοις Διὸς Καρίου ἱρὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι ὥς κασιγνήτοις ἐοῦσι τοῖσι Καρσί· τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς

ἀδελφεούς. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ μέτεστι, ὅσοι δὲ ἐόντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος ὁμόγλωσσοι τοῖσι Καρσι ἐγένοντο, τούτοισι δὲ οὐ μέτα.

172

1 οἱ δὲ Καύνιοι αὐτόχθονες δοκέειν ἐμοὶ εἰσί, αὐτοὶ μέντοι ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶ εἶναι. προσκεχωρήκασι δὲ γλῶσσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸ Καρικὸν ἔθνος, ἢ οἱ Κᾶρες πρὸς τὸ Καυνικόν (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι), νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται κεχωρισμένοισι πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ Καρῶν. τοῖσι γὰρ κάλλιστον ἐστὶ κατ' ἡλικίην τε καὶ φιλότητα εἰλαδὸν συγγίνεσθαι ἐς πόσιν, καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ. 2 ἰδρυθέντων δὲ σφι ἱρῶν ξεινικῶν, μετέπειτα ὥς σφι ἀπέδοξε, ἔδοξέ δὲ τοῖσι πατρίοισι μοῦνον, χέασθαι θεοῖσι, ἐνδύντες τὰ ὄπλα ἅπαντες Καύνιοι ἠβηδόν, τύπτοντες δόρασι τὸν ἡέρα, μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Καλυνδικῶν εἶποντο, καὶ ἔφασαν ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς ξεινικοὺς θεούς.

173

1 καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τρόποισι τοιούτοισι χρέωνται, οἱ δὲ Λύκιοι ἐκ Κρήτης τῶρχαῖον γεγόνασι (τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν βάρβαροι)· 2 διενειχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιληΐας τῶν Εὐρώπης παίδων Σαρπηδόνοιο τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσι Μίνω, ἐξήλασε αὐτόν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτοῦ, οἳ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς γῆν τὴν Μιλυάδα· τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὕτη τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλύας, οἱ δὲ Μιλῦαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. 3 ἕως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδῶν ἦρχε, οἳ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο τό πέρ τε ἠνεύκοντο οὖνομα καὶ νυν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων οἱ Λύκιοι Τερμίλαι· ὡς δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Πανδίωνος, ἐξελασθεὶς καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ Αἰγέος, ἀπύκετο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα, οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τοῦ Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκλήθησαν. 4 νόμοισι δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖσι τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖσι χρέωνται. ἐν δὲ τόδε ἴδιον νενομίσασιν καὶ οὐδαμοῖσι ἄλλοις συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων· καλέουσι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἐωυτοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων· 5 εἰρομένου δὲ ἐτέρου τὸν πλησίον τίς εἴη, καταλέξει ἐωυτόν μητρόθεν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμέεται τὰς μητέρας. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε γυνὴ ἀστὴ δούλῳ συνοικήσῃ, γενναῖα τὰ τέκνα νενόμισται· ἦν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀστὸς καὶ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν γυναικα ξείνην ἢ παλλακὴν ἔχῃ, ἅτιμα τὰ τέκνα

γίνεται.

174

¹ οἱ μὲν νυν Κᾶρες οὐδὲν λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἀποδεξάμενοι ἐδουλώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀρπάγου, οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Κᾶρες ἀποδεξάμενοι οὐδέν, οὔτε ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων ταύτην τὴν χώραν οἰκέουσι· ² οἰκέουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι Κνίδιοι. οἱ τῆς χώρας τῆς σφετέρης τετραμμένης ἐς πόντον, τὸ δὴ Τριόπιον καλέεται, ἀργμένης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς Βυβασσίας, ἐούσης τε πάσης τῆς Κνιδίης πλὴν ὀλίγης περιῤῥόου ³ (τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ὁ Κεραμεικὸς κόλπος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἢ κατὰ Σύμην τε καὶ Ῥόδον θάλασσα), τὸ ὣν δὴ ὀλίγον τοῦτο, ἐὼν ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πέντε στάδια, ὥρυσσον οἱ Κνίδιοι ἐν ὅσῳ Ἄρπαγος τὴν Ἰωνίην κατεστρέφετο, βουλόμενοι νῆσον τὴν χώραν ποιῆσαι. ἐντὸς δὲ πᾶσά σφι ἐγίνετο· τῇ γὰρ ἡ Κνιδίη χώρα ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τελευτᾷ, ταύτῃ ὁ ἰσθμὸς ἐστὶ τὸν ὥρυσσον. ⁴ καὶ δὴ πολλῇ, χειρὶ ἐργαζομένων τῶν Κνιδίων, μᾶλλον γάρ τι καὶ θειότερον ἐφαίνοντο τιτρώσκεσθαι οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ οἰκότος τά τε ἄλλα τοῦ σώματος καὶ μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς θραυνομένης τῆς πέτρης, ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους ἐπειρησομένους τὸ ἀντίξουν. ⁵ ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι, ὥς αὐτοὶ Κνίδιοι λέγουσι, χρᾶ ἐν τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε.

Ἴσθμὸν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε μηδ' ὀρύσσετε·
Ζεὺς γάρ κ' ἔθηκε νῆσον, εἴ κ' ἐβούλετο.

⁶ Κνίδιοι μὲν ταῦτα τῆς Πυθίης χρησάσης τοῦ τε ὀρύγματος ἐπαύσαντο καὶ Ἀρπάγῳ ἐπιόντι σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀμαχητὶ σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν.

175

¹ ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέοντες ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησοῦ μεσόγαιαν· τοῖσι ὅκως τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδεον ἔσεσθαι, αὐτοῖσί τε καὶ τοῖσι περιοίκοις, ἡ ἱερίη τῆς Ἀθηναίης πώγωνα μέγαν ἴσχε. τρὶς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο. οὗτοι τῶν περὶ Καρίην ἀνδρῶν μούνοί τε ἀντέσχον χρόνον Ἀρπάγῳ καὶ πρήγματα παρέσχον πλεῖστα, ὅρος τειχίσαντες τῷ οὐνομα ἐστὶ Λίδη.

176

1 Πηδασέες μὲν νυν χρόνῳ ἐξαιρέθησαν. Λύκιοι δέ, ὥς ἐς τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδίον ἤλασε ὁ Ἄρπαγος τὸν στρατόν, ἐπεξιόντες καὶ μαχόμενοι ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀρετᾶς ἀπεδείκνυντο, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ κατεilhθέντες ἐς τὸ ἄστρῳ συνήλυσαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τάς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, καὶ ἔπειτα ὑπῆψαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πᾶσαν ταύτην καίεσθαι. 2 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ συνομόσαντες ὄρκους δεινούς, ἐπεξελθόντες ἀπέθανον πάντες Ξάνθιοι μαχόμενοι. 3 τῶν δὲ νῦν Λυκίων φαμένων Ξανθίων εἶναι οἱ πολλοί, πλὴν ὀγδῶκοντα ἰστιέων, εἰσὶ ἐπήλυδες· αἱ δὲ ὀγδῶκοντα ἰστίαι αὗται ἔτυχον τηνικαῦτα ἐκδημέουσι καὶ οὕτω περιεγένοντο. τὴν μὲν δὴ Ξάνθον οὕτω ἔσχε ὁ Ἄρπαγος, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Καῦνον ἔσχε· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καύνιοι τοὺς Λυκίους ἐμμήσαντο τὰ πλέω.

177

1 τὰ μὲν νυν κάτω τῆς Ἀσίας Ἄρπαγος ἀνάστατα ἐποίει, τὰ δὲ ἄνω αὐτῆς αὐτὸς Κῦρος, πᾶν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος καὶ οὐδὲν παριείς. τὰ μὲν νυν αὐτῶν πλέω παρήσομεν· τὰ δὲ οἱ παρέσχε τε πόνον πλεῖστον καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατα ἐστί, τούτων ἐπιμνήσομαι.

178

1 Κῦρος ἐπεῖτε τὰ πάντα τῆς ἡπείρου ὑποχείρια ἐποίησατο, Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐπετίθετο. τῆς δὲ Ἀσσυρίας ἐστὶ μὲν κου καὶ ἄλλα πόλιστα μεγάλα πολλά, τὸ δὲ ὀνομαστότατον καὶ ἰσχυρότατον καὶ ἔνθα σφι Νίνου ἀναστάτου γενομένης τὰ βασιλῆα κατεστήκεε, ἣν Βαβυλῶν, ἐοῦσα τοιαύτη δὴ τις πόλις. 2 κέεται ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ, μέγαθος ἐοῦσα μέτῳπον ἕκαστον εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίων, ἐούσης τετραγώνου· οὗτοι στάδιοι τῆς περιόδου τῆς πόλιος γίνονται συνάπαντες ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι, τὸ μὲν νυν μέγαθος τοσοῦτον ἐστὶ τοῦ ἄστεος τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου, ἐκεκόσμητο δὲ ὥς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. 3 τάφος μὲν πρῶτά μιν βαθέα τε καὶ εὐρέα καὶ πλὴν ὕδατος περιθέει, μετὰ δὲ τεῖχος πεντήκοντα μὲν πηγέων βασιλῆων ἐὸν τὸ εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ διηκοσίων πηγέων· ὁ δὲ βασιλῆος πῆχυς τοῦ μετρίου ἐστὶ πῆχεος μέζων τρισὶ δακτύλοισι.

179

1 δεῖ δὴ με πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι φράσαι ἵνα τε ἐκ τῆς τάφρου ἢ γῆ

ἀναισιμώθη, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὄντινα τρόπον ἔργαστο. ὀρύσσοντες ἅμα τὴν τάφρον ἐπλίνθευον τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἐκφερομένην, ἐλκύσαντες δὲ πλίνθους ἱκανὰς ὥπτησαν αὐτὰς ἐν καμίνοισι· 2 μετὰ δὲ τέλματι χρεώμενοι ἀσφάλτῳ θερμῇ καὶ διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων πλίνθου ταρσοὺς καλάμων διαστοιβάζοντες, ἔδειμαν πρῶτα μὲν τῆς τάφου τὰ χεῖλα, δευτέρα δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. 3 ἐπάνω δὲ τοῦ τείχεος παρὰ τὰ ἔσχατα οἰκήματα μουνόκωλα ἔδειμαν, τετραμμένα ἐς ἄλληλα· τὸ μέσον δὲ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἔλιπον τεθρίπῳ περιέλασιν. πύλαι δὲ ἐνεστᾶσι πέριξ τοῦ τείχεος ἑκατόν, χάλκεαι πᾶσαι, καὶ σταθμοὶ τε καὶ ὑπέρθυρα ὡσαύτως. 4 ἔστι δὲ ἄλλη πόλις ἀπέχουσα ὀκτὼ ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος· Ἴς οὖνομα αὐτῇ. ἔνθα ἐστὶ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας· Ἴς καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ οὖνομα· ἐσβάλλει δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον. οὗτος ὢν ὁ Ἴς ποταμὸς ἅμα τῷ, ὕδατι θρόμβους ἀσφάλτου ἀναδιδοῖ πολλοὺς, ἔνθεν ἢ ἀσφαλτος ἐς τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τεῖχος ἐκομίσθη.

180

1 ἐτετείχιστο μὲν νυν ἡ Βαβυλὼν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, ἔστι δὲ δύο φάρσεια τῆς πόλιος. τὸ γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ποταμὸς διέργει, τῷ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Εὐφρήτης· ῥέει δὲ ἐξ Ἀρμενίων, ἐὼν μέγας καὶ βαθὺς καὶ ταχύς· ἐξιεῖ δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. 2 τὸ ὢν δὴ τεῖχος ἐκάτερον τοὺς ἀγκῶνας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐλήλათ· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου αἱ ἐπικαμπαὶ παρὰ χεῖλος ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ αἵμασι πλίνθων ὀπτέων παρατείνει. 3 τὸ δὲ ἄστει αὐτό, ἐὼν πλήρες οἰκιέων τριωρόφων καὶ τετρωρόφων, κατατέμνεται τὰς ὁδοὺς ἰθέας τὰς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς ἐπικαρσίας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐχούσας. 4 κατὰ δὴ ὢν ἐκάστην ὁδὸν ἐν τῇ αἵμασι τῇ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδες ἐπῆσαν, ὅσαι περ αἱ λαῦραι, τοσαῦται ἀριθμόν· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὗται χάλκεαι.... φέρουσαι [καὶ αὐταὶ] ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμόν.

181

1 τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τεῖχος θώρηξ ἐστί, ἕτερον δὲ ἔσωθεν τεῖχος περιθεῖ, οὐ πολλῷ τεφρῷ ἀσθενέστερον τοῦ ἐτέρου τείχεος, στενότερον δέ. 2 ἐν δὲ φάρσει ἐκατέρῳ τῆς πόλιος ἐτετείχιστο ἐν μέσῳ ἐν τῷ μὲν τὰ βασιλῆα περιβόλῳ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ Διὸς Βήλου ἱερὸν χαλκόπυλον, καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι τοῦτο ἐόν, δύο σταδίων πάντῃ, ἐὼν τετράγωνον. 3 ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πύργος

στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρι οὗ ὅκτῳ πύργων. 4 ἀνάβασις δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα πεποιήται. μεσοῦντι δέ κου τῆς ἀναβάσιος ἐστὶ καταγωγή τε καὶ θῶκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖσι κατίζοντες ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες. 5 ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ νηὸς ἔπεστι μέγας· ἐν δὲ τῷ νηῷ κλίνη μεγάλη κέεται εὖ ἐστρωμένη, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα παρακέεται χρυσῇ. ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἔνι οὐδὲν αὐτόθι ἐνιδρυμένον, οὐδὲ νύκτα οὐδεὶς ἐναυλίζεται ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ γυνή μούνη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τὴν ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἔλῃται ἐκ πασέων, ὥς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐόντες ἰρέες τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ.

182

1 φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φοιτᾶν τε ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ ἀμπαύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, κατὰ περ ἐν Θήβησι τῇσι Αἰγυπτίησι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὥς λέγουσι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι· 2 καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖθι κοιμᾶται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Θηβαιέος γυνή, ἀμφοτέραι δὲ αὗται λέγονται ἀνδρῶν οὐδαμῶν ἐς ὁμιλίην φοιτᾶν· καὶ κατὰ περ ἐν Πατάροισι τῆς Λυκίης ἡ πρόμαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὰν γένηται· οὐ γὰρ ὧν αἰεὶ ἐστὶ χρηστήριον αὐτόθι· ἐπεὰν δὲ γένηται τότε ὧν συγκατακληίεται τὰς νύκτας ἔσω ἐν τῷ νηῷ.

183

1 ἔστι δὲ τοῦ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱεροῦ καὶ ἄλλος κάτω νηός, ἔνθα ἄγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Διὸς ἐνι κατήμενον χρύσειον, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα μεγάλη παρακέεται χρυσῇ, καὶ τὸ βᾶθρον οἱ καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρύσειος ἐστὶ· καὶ ὥς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων χρυσίου πεποιήται ταῦτα. 2 ἔξω δὲ τοῦ νηοῦ βωμός ἐστι χρύσειος, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς μέγας, ἐπ' οὗ θύεται τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ χρυσεοῦ βωμοῦ οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν ὅτι μὴ γαλαθηνὰ μούνα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέζονος βωμοῦ καὶ καταγίζουσι λιβανωτοῦ χίλια τάλαντα ἔτεος ἐκάστου οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τότε ἐπεὰν τὴν ὀρθὴν ἄγωσι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ. ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ ἔτι τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἀνδριάς δωδέκα πηγέων χρύσειος στερεός· 3 ἐγὼ μὲν μιν οὐκ εἶδον, τὰ δὲ λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων, ταῦτα λέγω. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδριάντι Δαρεῖος μὲν ὁ Ὑστάσπεος ἐπιβουλεύσας οὐκ ἐτόλμησε λαβεῖν, Χέρξης δὲ ὁ

Δαρείου ἔλαβε καὶ τὸν ἱρέα ἀπέκτεινε ἀπαγορεύοντα μὴ κινέειν τὸν ἀνδριάντα. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὕτω κεκόσμηται, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἴδια ἀναθήματα πολλά.

184

1 τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ταύτης πολλοὶ μὲν κου καὶ ἄλλοι ἐγένοντο βασιλεῖς, τῶν ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγοισι μνήμην ποιήσομαι, οἱ τὰ τείχεά τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες δύο. ἡ μὲν πρότερον ἄρξασα, τῆς ὕστερον γενεῆσι πέντε πρότερον γενομένη, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Σεμίραμις, αὕτη μὲν ἀπεδέξατο χώματα ἀνὰ τὸ πεδῖον ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητα· πρότερον δὲ ἐώθεε ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδῖον πᾶν πελαγίζειν.

185

1 ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύτερον γενομένη ταύτης βασιλεία, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Νίτωκρις, αὕτη δὲ συνετωτέρη γενομένη τῆς πρότερον ἀρξάσης τοῦτο μὲν μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν Μήδων ὀρῶσα ἀρχὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ οὐκ ἀτρεμίζουσαν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τε ἀραιρημένα ἄσπεα αὐτοῖσι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Νίνον, προεφυλάξατο ὅσα ἐδύνατο μάλιστα. 2 πρῶτα μὲν τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ῥέοντα πρότερον ἰθύν, ὅς σφι διὰ τῆς πόλιος μέσης ῥέει, τοῦτον ἄνωθεν διώρυχας ὀρύξασα οὕτω δὴ τι ἐποίησε σκολιὸν ὥστε δὴ τρεῖς ἐς τῶν τινα κωμέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίῃ ἀπικνέεται ῥέων· τῇ δὲ κώμῃ οὐνομα ἐστί, ἐς τὴν ἀπικνέεται ὁ Εὐφρήτης, Ἀρδέρικκα. καὶ νῦν οἱ ἂν κομίζονται ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυλῶνα, καταπλέοντες τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τρεῖς τε ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην κώμην παραγίνονται καὶ ἐν τρισὶ ἡμέρησι. 3 τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἐποίησε, χῶμα δὲ παρέχωσε παρ' ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χεῖλος ἄξιον θώματος μέγαθος καὶ ὕψος ὅσον τι ἐστί. 4 κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῶ Βαβυλῶνος ὥρυσσε ἔλυτρον λίμνη, ὀλίγον τι παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, βάθος μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰεὶ ὀρύσσουσα, εὖρος δὲ τὸ περίμετρον αὐτοῦ ποιεῦσα εἴκοσί τε καὶ τετρακοσίων σταδίων· τὸν δὲ ὀρυσσόμενον χοῦν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἀναισίμου παρὰ τὰ χεῖλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραχέουσα. 5 ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ ὀρώρυκτο, λίθους ἀγαγομένη κρηπίδα κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν ἤλασε. 6 ἐποίει δὲ ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα, τὸν τε ποταμὸν σκολιὸν καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα πᾶν ἔλος, ὥς ὃ τε ποταμὸς βραδύτερος εἶη περὶ καμπὰς πολλὰς ἀγνύμενος, καὶ οἱ

πλόοι ἔωσι σκολιοὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἔκ τε τῶν πλόων ἐκδέκεται περίοδος τῆς λίμνης μακρὴ. 7 κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἐργάζετο τῆς χώρας τῇ αἷ τε ἐσβολαὶ ἦσαν καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μήδων ὁδοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιμισγόμενοι οἱ Μῆδοι ἐκμανθάνοιεν αὐτῆς τὰ πρήγματα.

186

1 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐκ βάθεος περιεβάλετο, τοιήνδε δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν παρενθήκην ἐποιήσατο. τῆς πόλιος ἐούσης δύο φαρσέων, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσον ἔχοντος, ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων ὅπως τις ἐθέλοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐτέρου φάρσεος ἐς τοῦτερον διαβῆναι, χρῆν πλοίῳ διαβαίνειν, καὶ ἦν, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ὀχληρὸν τοῦτο. αὕτη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεῖδε. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ὥρυσσε τὸ ἔλυτρον τῇ λίμνῃ, μνημόσυνον τόδε ἄλλο ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου ἐλίπετο· 2 ἐτάμνετο λίθους περιμήκεας, ὥς δὲ οἱ ἦσαν οἱ λίθοι ἔτοιμοι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀρώρυκτο, ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥέεθρον πᾶν ἐς τὸ ὥρυσσε χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπίμπλατο τοῦτο, ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεξηρασμένου τοῦ ἀρχαίου ῥέεθρου τοῦτο μὲν τὰ χεῖλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς καταβάσις τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλίδων ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν φερούσας ἀνοικοδόμησε πλίνθοισι ὀπτῆσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ τείχεϊ, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ μέσσην κου μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν τοῖσι λίθοισι τοὺς ὠρύξατο οἰκοδόμει γέφυραν, δέουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδήρῳ τε καὶ μολύβδῳ. 3 ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὅπως μὲν ἡμέρη γίνοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπ' ὧν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῦντο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι· τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα ταῦτα ἀπαιρέεσκον τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφοιτέοντες τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παρ' ἀλλήλων. 4 ὥς δὲ τό τε ὀρυχθὲν λίμνη πλήρης ἐγεγόνει ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐκεκόσμητο, τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ῥέεθρα ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἐξήγαγε, καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὀρυχθὲν ἔλος γενόμενον ἐς δέον ἐδόκεε γεγονέναι καὶ τοῖσι πολιῆτησι γέφυρα ἦν κατεσκευασμένη.

187

1 ἡ δ' αὕτη αὕτη βασιλεία καὶ ἀπάτην τοιήνδε τινὰ ἐμηχανήσατο· ὑπερ τῶν μάλιστα λεωφόρων πυλέων τοῦ ἄστεος τάφον ἐωυτῇ κατεσκευάσατο μετέωρον ἐπιπολῆς αὐτέων τῶν πυλέων, ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. 2 “τῶν τις ἐμεῦ ὕστερον γινομένων Βαβυλῶνος βασιλέων ἦν σπανίση χρημάτων, ἀνοίξας τὸν τάφον λαβέτω ὅκόσα βούλεται χρήματα· μὴ μέντοι γε μὴ σπανίσας

γε ἄλλως ἀνοίξῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον·” 3 οὗτος ὁ τάφος ἦν ἀκίνητος μέχρι οὗ ἐς Δαρεῖον περιῆλθε ἡ βασιληΐη· Δαρείῳ δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐδόκεε εἶναι τῇσι πύλῃσι ταύτῃσι μηδὲν χρᾶσθαι, καὶ χρημάτων κειμένων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐπικαλομένων, μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά· 4 τῇσι δὲ πύλῃσι ταύτῃσι οὐδὲν ἐχρᾶτο τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι ὑπερκεφαλῆς οἱ ἐγίνετο ὁ νεκρὸς διεξελαύνοντι. 5 ἀνοίξας δὲ τὸν τάφον εὗρε χρήματα μὲν οὐ, τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· “εἰ μὴ ἅπληστός τε ἕας χρημάτων καὶ αἰσχροκερδῆς, οὐκ ἂν νεκρῶν θήκας ἀνέωγες.” αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ βασιλεια τοιαύτη τις λέγεται γενέσθαι.

188

1 ὁ δὲ δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα ἐστρατεύετο, ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐωυτοῦ τοῦνομα Λαβυνήτου καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχήν· στρατεύεται δὲ δὴ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐσκευασμένος ἐξ οἴκου καὶ προβάτοισι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεω ποταμοῦ ἅμα ἄγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα ρέοντος, τοῦ μούνου πίνει βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ποταμοῦ. 2 τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χοάσπεω τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπεψημένου πολλαὶ κάρτα ἅμαξαι τετράκυκλοι ἡμιόνεαι κομίζουσαι ἐν ἀγγηίοισι ἀργυρέοισι ἔπονται, ὅκη ἂν ἐλαύνη ἐκάστοτε.

189

1 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Γύνδῃ ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἰ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι ὄρεσι, ῥέει δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς ἕτερον ποταμὸν Τίγρην, ὁ δὲ παρὰ Ὠπιν πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὥς διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο ὁ Κῦρος ἐόντα νηυσιπέρητον, ἐνθαυτὰ οἱ τῶν τις ἱρῶν ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν ὑπὸ ὕβριος ἐσβὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο, ὁ δὲ μιν συμψήσας ὑποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων. 2 κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦτο ὑβρίσαντι, καὶ οἱ ἐπηπείλησε οὕτω δὴ μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσειν ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναῖκας μιν εὐπετέως τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας διαβήσεσθαι. 3 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπειλὴν μετεῖς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα στράτευσιν διαίρει τὴν στρατιὴν δίχα, διελὼν δὲ κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας ὑποδέξας διώρυχας ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παρ’ ἐκάτερον τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ Γύνδεω τετραμμένας πάντα τρόπον,

διατάξας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. 4 οἷα δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζομένου ἦγετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὅμως μέντοι τὴν θερείην πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διέτριψαν ἐργαζόμενοι.

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¹ ὥς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κῦρος ἐς τριηκοσίας καὶ ἐξήκοντα διώρυχάς μιν διαλαβὼν, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, οὕτω δὴ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ἐκστρατευσάμενοι ἔμενον αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐλαύνων ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλιος, συνέβαλόν τε οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. ² οἷα δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἔτι πρότερον τὸν Κῦρον οὐκ ἀτρεμίζοντα, ἀλλ' ὀρέοντες αὐτὸν παντὶ ἔθνεϊ ὁμοίως ἐπιχειρόντα, προσάξαντο σιτία ἐτέων κάρτα πολλῶν. ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν λόγον εἶχον τῆς πολιορκίης οὐδένα, Κῦρος δὲ ἀπορίῃσι ἐνείχετο, ἅτε χρόνου τε ἐγγινομένου συχνοῦ ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδὲν τῶν πρηγμάτων προκοπτομένων.

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¹ εἴτε δὴ ὧν ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορέοντι ὑπεθήκατο, εἴτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἦν, ἐποίησε δὴ τοιόνδε. ² τάξας τὴν στρατιὴν ἅπασαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσβάλλει, καὶ ὀπισθε αὐτὶς τῆς πόλιος τάξας ἐτέρους, τῇ ἐξιεὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλιος ὁ ποταμός, προεῖπε τῷ στρατῷ, ὅταν διαβατὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον ἴδωνται γενόμενον, ἐσιέναι ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω τε δὴ τάξας καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα παραινέσας ἀπήλαυνε αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ ἀχρηίῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ. ³ ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην, τὰ περ ἢ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεία ἐποίησε κατὰ τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἐποίησε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἕτερα τοιαῦτα· τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυχι ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐοῦσαν ἔλος, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε, ὑπονοστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ⁴ γενομένου δὲ τούτου τοιούτου, οἱ Πέρσαι οἱ περ ἐτετάχατο ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ῥέεθρον τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω ποταμοῦ ὑπονενοστηκότος ἀνδρὶ ὥς ἐς μέσον μηρὸν μάλιστά κη, κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσήμισαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. ⁵ εἰ μὲν νυν προεπύθοντο ἢ ἔμαθον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου ποιούμενον, οἱ δ' ἂν περιδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφθειραν ἂν κάκιστα· κατακλήσαντες γὰρ ἂν πάσας τὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδας ἐχούσας καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἵμασιās ἀναβάντες τὰς παρὰ τὰ χεῖλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐληλαμένους, ἔλαβον ἂν

σφέας ὥς ἐν κύρτη. 6 νῦν δὲ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκῆτου σφι παρέστησαν οἱ Πέρσαι. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῆς πόλιος, ὥς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτη οἰκημένων, τῶν περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς πόλιος ἐαλωκότων τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκέοντας τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὐ μανθάνειν ἐαλωκότας, ἀλλὰ τυχεῖν γάρ σφι ἐοῦσαν ὀρτὴν, χορεύειν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐν εὐπαθειῇσι εἶναι, ἐς ὃ δὴ καὶ τὸ κάρτα ἐπύθοντο.

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1 καὶ Βαβυλῶν μὲν οὕτω τότε πρῶτον ἀραίρητο. τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι δηλώσω ὅση τις ἐστί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε. βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς τροφὴν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιῆς διαραίρηται, πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου, γῆ πᾶσα ὅσης ἄρχει· δωδέκα ὧν μηνῶν ἐόντων ἐς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας τρέφει μιν ἡ Βαβυλωνίη χωρῇ, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἡ λοιπὴ πᾶσα Ἀσίῃ. 2 οὕτω τριτημορίῃ ἡ Ἀσσυρίη χώρα τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίας. καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, τὴν οἱ Πέρσαι σατραπήην καλέουσι, ἐστὶ ἀπασέων τῶν ἀρχέων πολλόν τι κρατίστη, ὅκου Τριτανταίχημ τῷ Ἀρταβάζου ἐκ βασιλέος ἔχοντι τὸν νομὸν τοῦτον ἀργυρίου μὲν προσήιε ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἀρτάβη μεστή. 3 ἡ δὲ ἀρτάβη, μέτρον ἐὼν Περσικόν, χωρέει μεδίμνου Ἀττικοῦ πλεον χοίνιξι τρισὶ Ἀττικῇσι, ἵπποι δὲ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ἰδίη, πάρεξ τῶν πολεμιστηρίων, οἱ μὲν ἀναβαίνοντες τὰς θηλέας ὀκτακόσιοι, αἱ δὲ βαινόμεναι ἑξακισχίλια καὶ μυρία· ἀνέβαινε γὰρ ἕκαστος τῶν ἐρσένων τούτων εἴκοσι ἵππους. 4 κυνῶν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν τοσοῦτο δὴ τι πλῆθος ἐτρέφετο ὥστε τέσσερες τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κῶμαι μεγάλαι, τῶν ἄλλων ἐοῦσαι ἀτελέες, τοῖσι κυσὶ προσετετάχατο σιτία παρέχειν. τοιαῦτα μὲν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ὑπῆρχε ἐόντα.

193

1 ἡ δὲ γῆ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ὕεται μὲν ὀλίγῳ, καὶ τὸ ἐκτρέφον τὴν ῥίζαν τοῦ σίτου ἐστὶ τοῦτο· ἀρδόμενον μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀδρύνεται τε τὸ λήιον καὶ παραγίνεται ὁ σῖτος, οὐ κατὰ περ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας, ἀλλὰ χερσὶ τε καὶ κηλωνηίοισι ἀρδόμενος. 2 ἡ γὰρ Βαβυλωνίη χώρα πᾶσα, κατὰ περ ἡ Αἰγυπτία, κατατέμνεται ἐς διώρυχας· καὶ ἡ μεγίστη τῶν διωρύχων ἐστὶ νησιπέρητος, πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένη τὸν χειμερινόν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς ἄλλον ποταμὸν ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω, ἐς τὸν Τίγρην, παρ’

ὄν Νίνος πόλις οἴκητο. ἔστι δὲ χωρέων αὕτη πασέων μακρῷ ἀρίστη τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν... 3 τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα δένδρεα οὐδὲ πειρᾶται ἀρχὴν φέρειν, οὔτε συκέην οὔτε ἄμπελον οὔτε ἐλαίην. τὸν δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καρπὸν ὧδε ἀγαθὴ ἐκφέρειν ἔστι ὥστε ἐπὶ διηκόσια μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀποδοιδῷ, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἄριστα αὐτὴ ἐωυτῆς ἐνείκη, ἐπὶ τριηκόσια ἐκφέρει. τὰ δὲ φύλλα αὐτόθι τῶν τε πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κριθέων τὸ πλάτος γίνεται τεσσέρων εὐπετέως δακτύλων. 4 ἐκ δὲ κέγχρου καὶ σησάμου ὅσον τι δένδρον μέγαθος γίνεται, ἐξεπιστάμενος μνήμην οὐ ποιήσομαι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῖσι μὴ ἀπιγμένοισι ἐς τὴν Βαβυλωνίην χώραν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν ἐχόμενα ἐς ἀπιστίην πολλὴν ἀπῖκται. χρέωνται δὲ οὐδὲν ἐλαίῳ ἄλλ' ἢ ἐκ τῶν σησάμων ποιεῦντες. εἰσὶ δὲ σφι φοίνικες πεφυκότες ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ πεδῖον, οἱ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν καρποφόροι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ σιτία καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέλι ποιεῦνται· 5 τοὺς συκέων τρόπον θεραπεύουσι τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ φοινίκων τοὺς ἔρσενας Ἑλληνὲς καλέουσι, τούτων τὸν καρπὸν περιδέουσι τῇσι βαλανηφόροισι τὸν φοινίκων, ἵνα πεπαίνη τε σφι ὁ ψὴν τὴν βάλανον ἐσδύνων καὶ μὴ ἀπορῥέῃ ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ φοίνικος· ψῆνας γὰρ δὴ φέρουσι ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες κατὰ περ δὴ οἱ ὄλυνθοι.

194

1 τὸ δὲ ἀπάντων θῶμα μέγιστόν μοι ἔστι τῶν ταύτη μετὰ γε αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ἔρχομαι φράσω· τὰ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἔστι τὰ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πορευόμενα ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἐόντα κυκλοτερέα, πάντα σκύτινα. 2 ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἀρμενίοισι τοῖσι κατύπερθε Ἀσσυρίων οἰκημένοισι νομέας ἰτέης ταμόμενοι ποιήσωνται, περιτείνουσι τούτοισι διφθέρας στεγαστρίδας ἔξωθεν ἐδάφους τρόπον, οὔτε πρύμνην ἀποκρίνοντες οὔτε πρόρην συνάγοντες, ἄλλ' ἀσπίδος τρόπον κυκλοτερέα ποιήσαντες καὶ καλάμης πλήσαντες πᾶν τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο ἀπιεῖσι κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν φέρεσθαι, φορτίων πλήσαντες· μάλιστα δὲ βίκους φοινικηίους κατάγουσι οἶνου πλέους. 3 ἰθύνεται δὲ ὑπὸ τε δύο πλῆκτρων καὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν ὀρθῶν ἐστεώτων, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔσω ἔλκει τὸ πλῆκτρον ὁ δὲ ἔξω ὠθέει. ποιέεται δὲ καὶ κάρτα μεγάλα ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐλάσσω· τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων γόμον ἔχει. ἐν ἐκάστῳ δὲ πλοίῳ ὄνος ζῶδς ἔνεστι, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι μέζοσι πλεῦνες. 4 ἐπεὰν ὧν ἀπῖκωνται πλέοντες ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα καὶ διαθέωνται τὸν φόρτον, νομέας μὲν τοῦ πλοίου

καὶ τὴν καλάμην πᾶσαν ἀπ' ὧν ἐκήρυξαν, τὰς δὲ διφθέρας ἐπιδάξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀπελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους. ⁵ ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ οὐκ οἶά τε ἐστὶ πλέειν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ὑπὸ τάχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐκ ξύλων ποιεῦνται τὰ πλοῖα ἀλλ' ἐκ διφθερέων. ἐπεὰν δὲ τοὺς ὄνους ἐλαύνοντες ἀπίκωνται ὀπίσω ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους, ἄλλα τρόπον τῷ αὐτῷ ποιεῦνται πλοῖα.

195

¹ τὰ μὲν δὴ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα· ἐσθῆτι δὲ τοιῆδε χρέωνται, κιθῶνι ποδηνεκὲί λινέῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἄλλον εἰρίνεον κιθῶνα ἐπενδύνει καὶ χλανίδιον λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενος, ὑποδήματα ἔχων ἐπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῇσι Βοιωτίῃσι ἐμβάσι. κομῶντες δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς μίτρῃσι ἀναδέονται, μεμυρισμένοι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα. ² σφρηγίδα δὲ ἕκαστος ἔχει καὶ σκῆπτρον χειροποίητον· ἐπ' ἐκάστῳ δὲ σκῆπτρῳ ἔπεστι πεποιημένον ἢ μῆλον ἢ ρόδον ἢ κρίνον ἢ αἰετὸς ἢ ἄλλο τι· ἄνευ γὰρ ἐπισήμου οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ ἔχειν σκῆπτρον.

196

¹ αὕτη μὲν δὴ σφι ἄρτισις περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐστί· νόμοι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὧδε κατεστάσι, ὁ μὲν σοφώτατος ὅδε κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέρην, τῷ καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν Ἐνετοὺς πυνθάνομαι χρᾶσθαι. κατὰ κώμας ἐκάστας ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτεος ἐκάστου ἐποιέετο τάδε· ὥς ἂν αἱ παρθέναι γενοῖατο γάμων ὥραῖαι, ταύτας ὅκως συναγάγοιεν πάσας, ἐς ἓν χωρίον ἐσάγεσκον ἀλέας, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὰς ἴστατο ὄμιλος ἀνδρῶν, ² ἀνιστάς δὲ κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην κῆρυξ πωλέεσκε, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν εὐειδεστάτην ἐκ πασέων· μετὰ δέ, ὅκως αὕτη εὐροῦσα πολλὸν χρυσίον πρηθεῖη, ἄλλην ἂν ἐκήρυσσε ἢ μετ' ἐκείνην ἔσκε εὐειδεστάτη· ἐπωλέοντο δὲ ἐπὶ συνοικίῃσι. ὅσοι μὲν δὴ ἔσκον εὐδαίμονες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐπίγαμοι, ὑπερβάλλοντες ἀλλήλους ἐξωνέοντο τὰς καλλιστευούσας· ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ δήμου ἔσκον ἐπίγαμοι, οὗτοι δὲ εἶδος μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο χρηστοῦ, οἱ δ' ἂν χρήματά τε καὶ αἰσχίονας παρθένους ἐλάμβανον. ³ ὥς γὰρ δὴ διεξέλθοι ὁ κῆρυξ πωλέων τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν παρθένων ἀνίστη ἂν τὴν ἀμορφεστάτην, ἢ εἴ τις αὐτέων ἔμπηρος εἴη, καὶ ταύτην ἂν ἐκήρυσσε, ὅστις θέλοι ἐλάχιστον χρυσίον λαβὼν συνοικέειν αὐτῇ, ἐς ὃ τῷ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὑπισταμένῳ προσέκειτο. τὸ δὲ ἂν χρυσίον ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ τῶν εὐειδέων παρθένων καὶ οὕτω αἱ εὐμορφοὶ τὰς ἀμόρφους καὶ ἐμπήρους ἐξεδίδοσαν. ἐκδοῦναι δὲ τὴν

έωυτοῦ θυγατέρα ὅτεω βούλοιτο ἕκαστος οὐκ ἐξῆν, οὐδὲ ἄνευ ἐγγυητέω ἀπάγεσθαι τὴν παρθένον πριάμενον, ἀλλ' ἐγγυητὰς χρῆν καταστήσαντα ἢ μὲν συνοικήσειν αὐτῇ, οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι. ⁴ εἰ δὲ μὴ συμφεροῖατο, ἀποφέρειν τὸ χρυσίον ἔκειτο νόμος. ἐξῆν δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλης ἐλθόντα κώμης τὸν βουλόμενον ὠνέεσθαι. ⁵ ὁ μὲν νυν κάλλιστος νόμος οὗτός σφι ἦν, οὐ μέντοι νῦν γε διατελέει ἑὼν, ἄλλο δέ τι ἐξευρήκασι νεωστὶ γενέσθαι [ἵνα μὴ ἀδικοῖεν αὐτὰς μηδ' εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν ἄγωνται]· ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ἀλόντες ἐκακώθησαν καὶ οἰκοφθορήθησαν, πᾶς τις τοῦ δήμου βίου σπανίζων καταπορννεύει τὰ θήλεα τέκνα.

197

¹ δεύτερος δὲ σοφίῃ ὅδε ἄλλος σφι νόμος κατέστηκε· τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἐκφορέουσι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ χρέωνται ἱητροῖσι. προσιόντες ὧν πρὸς τὸν κάμνοντα συμβουλευούσι περὶ τῆς νοῦσου, εἴ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτο ἔπαθε ὁκοῖον ἂν ἔχη ὁ κάμνων ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε παθόντα, ταῦτα προσιόντες συμβουλευούσι καὶ παραινέουσι ἅσσα αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἐξέφυγε ὁμοίην νοῦσον ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε ἐκφυγόντα. σιγῇ δὲ παρεξελθεῖν τὸν κάμνοντα οὐ σφι ἔξεστι, πρὶν ἂν ἐπείρηται ἦντινα νοῦσον ἔχει.

198

¹ ταφαὶ δὲ σφι ἐν μέλιτι, θρήνοι δὲ παραπλήσιοι τοῖσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ὁσάκις δ' ἂν μιχθῇ γυναικὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, περὶ θυμὴμα καταγιζόμενον ἵζει, ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἢ γυνὴ τῶντὸ τοῦτο ποιεῖ, ὀρθρου δὲ γενομένου λούνται καὶ ἀμφοτέροι· ἄγγεος γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄψονται πρὶν ἂν λούσωνται. ταῦτὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ἀράβιοι ποιεῦσι.

199

¹ ὁ δὲ δὴ αἰσχιστος τῶν νόμων ἐστὶ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ὅδε· δεῖ πᾶσαν γυναῖκα ἐπιχωρίην ἰζομένην ἐς ἱρὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἅπαξ ἐν τῇ ζόῃ μιχθῆναι ἀνδρὶ ξείνῳ. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀξιούμεναι ἀναμίσγεσθαι τῇσι ἄλλῃσι, οἷα πλούτῳ ὑπερφρονέουσai, ἐπὶ ζευγέων ἐν καμάρῃσι ἐλάσασαι πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν ἐστᾶσι· θεραπείῃ δὲ σφι ὀπισθε ἔπεται πολλή. ² αἱ δὲ πλεῦνες ποιεῦσι ὧδε· ἐν τεμένει Ἀφροδίτης κατέαται στέφανον περὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἔχουσαι θώμιγγος πολλὰι γυναικες· αἱ μὲν γὰρ προσέρχονται, αἱ δὲ ἀπέρχονται. σχοινοτενέες

δὲ διέξοδοι πάντα τρόπον ὁδῶν ἔχουσι διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, δι' ὧν οἱ
ξεῖνοι διεξιόντες ἐκλέγονται· ³ ἔνθα ἐπεὰν ἴζηται γυνή, οὐ πρότερον
ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἢ τίς οἱ ξείνων ἀργύριον ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὰ
γούνατα μιχθῇ ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ· ἐμβαλόντα δὲ δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοσόνδε·
“ἐπικαλέω τοι τὴν θεὸν Μύλιττα.” Μύλιττα δὲ καλέουσι τὴν
Ἀφροδίτην Ἀσσύριοι. ⁴ τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον μέγαθος ἐστὶ ὅσον ὦν· οὐ γὰρ
μὴ ἀπώσεται· οὐ γὰρ οἱ θέμις ἐστὶ· γίνεται γὰρ ἱρὸν τοῦτο τὸ
ἀργύριον. τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ ἐμβαλόντι ἔπεται οὐδὲ ἀποδοκιμᾶ οὐδένα.
ἐπεὰν δὲ μιχθῇ, ἀποσιωσαμένη τῇ θεῷ ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, καὶ
τῷ τούτου οὐκ οὕτω μέγα τί οἱ δώσεις ὥς μιν λάμψαι. ⁵ ὅσαι μὲν
νυν εἶδεός τε ἐπαμμέναι εἰσὶ καὶ μεγάθεος, ταχὺ ἀπαλλάσσονται,
ὅσαι δὲ ἄμορφοι αὐτέων εἰσὶ, χρόνον πολλὸν προσμένουσι οὐ
δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ τριέτεα καὶ τετραέτεα
μετεξέτεραι χρόνον μένουσι. ἐνιαχῇ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐστὶ
παραπλήσιος τούτῳ νόμος.

200

¹ νόμοι μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι οὗτοι κατεστᾶσι· εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῶν
πατριαὶ τρεῖς αἷ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σιτέονται εἰ μὴ ἰχθὺς μῦνον, τοὺς
ἐπεῖτε ἂν θηρεύσαντες αὐήνωσι πρὸς ἥλιον, ποιεῦσι τάδε·
ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς ὄλμον καὶ λειήναντες ὑπέροισι σῶσι διὰ σινδόνης, καὶ
ὅς μὲν ἂν βούληται αὐτῶν ἅτε μᾶζαν μαζάμενος ἔχει, ὁ δὲ ἄρτου
τρόπον ὀπτήσας.

201

¹ ὥς δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος κατέργαστο, ἐπεθύμησε
Μασσαγέτας ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο καὶ μέγα
λέγεται εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, οἰκημένον δὲ πρὸς ἠῷ τε καὶ ἡλίου
ἀνατολάς, πέρην τοῦ Ἀράξω ποταμοῦ, ἀντίον δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων
ἀνδρῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἵτινες καὶ Σκυθικὸν λέγουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι.

202

¹ ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ μέζων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ·
νήσους δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Λέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλησίας συχνὰς φασὶ εἶναι,
ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι ἀνθρώπους οἱ σιτέονται μὲν ρίζας τὸ θέρος ὀρύσσοντες
παντοίας· καρποὺς δὲ ἀπὸ δένδρεων ἐξευρημένους σφι ἐς φορβὴν
κατατίθεσθαι ὠραίους, καὶ τούτους σιτέεσθαι τὴν χειμερινήν. ² ἄλλα

δέ σφι ἐξευρῆσθαι δένδρεα καρποὺς τοιούσδε τινὰς φέροντα, τοὺς ἐπεῖτε ἂν ἐς τὸντὸ συνέλθωσι κατὰ εἶλας καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσωνται κύκλῳ περιζομένους ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, ὀσφραινομένους δὲ καταγιζομένου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὀσμῇ κατὰ περ Ἑλλήνας τῷ οἴνῳ πλεῖνος δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι, ἐς ὃ ἐς ὄρχησίν τε ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἐς αἰοδὴν ἀπικνέεσθαι. τούτων μὲν αὕτη λέγεται δίαίτη εἶναι. ³ ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Ματινηῶν, ὅθεν περ ὁ Γύνδης τὸν ἐς τὰς διώρυχας τὰς ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας διέλαβε ὁ Κῦρος, στόμασι δὲ ἐξερεύγεται τεσσεράκοντα, τῶν τὰ πάντα πλὴν ἑνὸς ἐς ἔλαά τε καὶ τενάγεια ἐκδίδοι· ἐν τοῖσι ἀνθρώπους κατοικῆσθαι λέγουσι ἰχθὺς ὠμοὺς σιτεομένους, ἐσθῆτι δὲ νομίζοντας χρᾶσθαι φωκέων δέρμασι. ⁴ τὸ δὲ ἐν τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Ἀράξεω ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ ἐς τὴν Κασπίην θάλασσαν. ἡ δὲ Κασπίη θάλασσα ἐστὶ ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς, οὐ συμμίσγουσα τῇ ἐτέρῃ θαλάσσῃ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνὲς ναυτίλλονται πᾶσα καὶ ἡ ἔξω στηλέων θάλασσα ἡ Ἀτλαντὶς καλεομένη καὶ ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ μία ἐοῦσα τυγχάνει.

203

¹ ἡ δὲ Κασπίη ἐστὶ ἐτέρῃ ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς, ἐοῦσα μῆκος μὲν πλόου εἰρεσίῃ χρεωμένῳ πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερέων, εὖρος δέ, τῇ εὐρυτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὕτη ἐωυτῆς, ὀκτὼ ἡμερέων. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην φέροντα τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ὁ Καύκασος παρατείνει, ἐὼν ὁρέων καὶ πλήθει μέγιστον καὶ μεγάλῃ ὑψηλότατον. ἔθνεα δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐν ἐωυτῇ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ' ὕλης ἀγρίης ζῶντα. ² ἐν τοῖσι καὶ δένδρεα φύλλα τοιῆσδε ἰδέης παρεχόμενα εἶναι λέγεται, τὰ τρίβοντάς τε καὶ παραμίσγοντας ὕδωρ ζῶα ἐωυτοῖσι ἐς τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐγγράφειν· τὰ δὲ ζῶα οὐκ ἐκπλύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συγκαταγερᾶσκειν τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰρίῳ κατὰ περ ἐνυφανθέντα ἀρχήν. μῖξιν δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι ἐμφανέα κατὰ περ τοῖσι προβάτοισι.

204

¹ τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς Κασπίης καλεομένης ὁ Καύκασος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἡῶ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πεδῖον ἐκδέκεται πλῆθος ἄπειρον ἐς ἄποψιν. τοῦ ὧν δὴ πεδίου τούτου τοῦ μεγάλου οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν μετέχουσι οἱ

Μασσαγέται, ἐπ' οὓς ὁ Κῦρος ἔσχε προθυμίην στρατεύσασθαι. ² πολλά τε γάρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαείροντα καὶ ἐποτρύνοντα ἦν, πρῶτον μὲν ἡ γένεσις, τὸ δοκέειν πλέον τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπου, δευτέρα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχία ἢ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γενομένη· ὅκη γὰρ ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι Κῦρος, ἀμήχανον ἦν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔθνος διαφυγεῖν.

205

¹ ἦν δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος γυνὴ τῶν Μασσαγετέων βασίλεια. Τόμυρις οἱ ἦν οὖνομα. ταύτην πέμπων ὁ Κῦρος ἐμῆτο τῷ λόγῳ θέλων γυναῖκα ἦν ἔχειν. ἡ δὲ Τόμυρις συνιῖσα οὐκ αὐτὴν μιν μνόμενον ἀλλὰ τὴν Μασσαγετέων βασιλῆην, ἀπείπατο τὴν πρόσδοτον. ² Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὥς οἱ δόλω οὐ προεχώρει, ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα ἐποιέετο ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας στρατήην, γεφύρας τε ζευγνύων ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβασιν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ πλοίων τῶν διαπορθμευόντων τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκοδομέμενος.

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¹ ἔχοντι δὲ οἱ τοῦτον τὸν πόνον πέμψασα ἡ Τόμυρις κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, παῦσαι σπεύδων τὰ σπεύδεις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰδείης εἴ τοι ἐς καιρὸν ἔσται ταῦτα τελεόμενα· παυσάμενος δὲ βασίλευε τῶν σεωυτοῦ, καὶ ἡμέας ἀνέχευ ὀρέων ἄρχοντας τῶν περ ἄρχομεν. ² οὐκὼν ἐθελήσεις ὑποθήκησι τῇσιδε χρᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ πάντως μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἡσυχίας εἶναι· σὺ δὴ εἰ μεγάλως προθυμέαι Μασσαγετέων πειρηθῆναι, φέρε μόχθον μὲν τὸν ἔχεις ζευγνὺς τὸν ποταμὸν ἄπες, σὺ δὲ ἡμέων ἀναχωρησάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν ἡμερέων ὁδὸν διάβαινε ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν· ³ εἰ δ' ἡμέας βούλει ἐσδέξασθαι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν, σὺ τὠν τοῦτο ποιεε. ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Κῦρος συνεκάλεσε Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, συναγείρας δὲ τούτους ἐς μέσον σφί προετίθεε τὸ πρῆγμα, συμβουλευόμενος ὁκότερα ποιέη. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὠν αἰ γνῶμαι συνεξέπιπτον κελευόντων ἐσδέκεσθαι Τόμυριν τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν χώραν.

207

¹ παρεὼν δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενος τὴν γνώμην ταύτην Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς ἀπεδείκνυτο ἐναντίην τῇ προκειμένη γνώμῃ, λέγων τάδε. “ὦ

βασιλεῦ, εἶπον μὲν καὶ πρότερόν τοι ὅτι ἐπεὶ με Ζεὺς ἔδωκε τοι, τὸ
 ἂν ὁρῶ σφάλμα ἐὸν οἴκῳ τῷ σῷ κατὰ δύναμιν ἀποτρέψειν· τὰ δὲ μοι
 παθήματα ἐόντα ἀχάρита μαθήματα γέγονε. ² εἰ μὲν ἀθάνατος δοκέεις
 εἶναι καὶ στρατιῆς τοιαύτης ἄρχειν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴῃ πρήγμα γνώμας ἐμὲ
 σοὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι· εἰ δ' ἔγνωκας ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ σὺ εἷς καὶ ἐτέρων
 τοιῶνδε ἄρχεις, ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον μάθε, ὥς κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν
 ἐστὶ πρηγμάτων, περιφερόμενος δὲ οὐκ ἐᾷ αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ;
 εὐτυχέειν. ³ ἤδη ὦν ἔχω γνώμην περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου πρήγματος τὰ
 ἔμπαλιν ἢ οὗτοι. εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσομεν ἐσδέξασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς
 τὴν χώραν, ὅδε τοι ἐν αὐτῷ κίνδυνος ἐνι· ἐσσωθεὶς μὲν
 προσπολλύεις πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχήν. δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι νικῶντες
 Μασσαγέται οὐ τὸ ὀπίσω φεύγονται ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀρχὰς τὰς σὰς ἐλῶσι. ⁴
 νικῶν δὲ οὐ νικᾷς τοσοῦτον ὅσον εἰ διαβὰς ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων, νικῶν
 Μασσαγέτας, ἔποιο φεύγουσι. τὴν γὰρ ἀντιθήσω ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι
 νικήσας τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ἐλᾷς ἰθὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Τομύριος. ⁵ χωρὶς
 τε τοῦ ἀπηγμημένου αἰσχροὺ καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν Κῦρόν γε τὸν
 Καμβύσεω γυναικὶ εἷξαντα ὑποχωρῆσαι τῆς χώρας. νῦν ὦν μοι
 δοκέει διαβάντας προελθεῖν ὅσον ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ὑπεξίωσι, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ
 τάδε ποιεῦντας πειρᾶσθαι ἐκείνων περιγενέσθαι. ⁶ ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ
 πυνθάνομαι, Μασσαγέται εἰσὶ ἀγαθῶν τε Περσικῶν ἄπειροι καὶ
 καλῶν μεγάλων ἀπαθές. τούτοισι ὦν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι τῶν προβάτων
 ἀφειδέως πολλὰ κατακόψαντας καὶ σκευάσαντας προθεῖναι ἐν τῷ
 στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δαῖτα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κρητῆρας ἀφειδέως
 οἴνου ἀκρήτου καὶ σιτία παντοῖα· ⁷ ποιήσαντας δὲ ταῦτα,
 ὑπολιπομένους τῆς στρατιῆς τὸ φλαυρότατον, τοὺς λοιποὺς αὐτῆς
 ἐξαναχωρέειν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν. ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ γνώμης μὴ ἀμάρτω,
 κεῖνοι ἰδόμενοι ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ τρέπονται τε πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ
 ἐνθεῦτεν λείπεται ἀποδέξις ἔργων μεγάλων.”

¹ γνῶμαι μὲν αὗται συνέστασαν· Κῦρος δὲ μετεῖς τὴν προτέρεην
 γνώμην, τὴν Κροΐσου δὲ ἐλόμενος, προηγόρευε Τομύρι
 ἐξαναχωρέειν ὥς αὐτοῦ διαβησομένου ἐπ' ἐκείνην. ἡ μὲν δὴ
 ἐξανεχώρει κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρῶτα· Κῦρος δὲ Κροΐσον ἐς τὰς χεῖρας
 ἐσθεὶς τῷ ἐωυτοῦ παιδὶ Καμβύσῃ, τῷ περ τὴν βασιληίην ἐδίδου, καὶ
 πολλὰ ἐντειλάμενός οἱ τιμᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν, ἦν ἡ διάβασις ἢ
 ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας μὴ ὀρθωθῇ, ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος καὶ ἀποστείλας

τούτους ἐς Πέρσας, αὐτὸς διέβαινε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ.

209

¹ ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν Ἀράξεα, νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης εἶδε ὄψιν εὐδῶν ἐν τῶν Μασσαγετέων τῇ χωρῇ τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Κῦρος ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ὁρᾶν τῶν Ὑστάσπεος παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. ² Ὑστάσπεϊ δὲ τῷ Ἀρσάμεος ἐόντι ἀνδρὶ Ἀχαιμενίδῃ ἦν τῶν παίδων Δαρεῖος πρεσβύτατος, ἐὼν τότε ἡλικίην ἐς εἴκοσὶ κου μάλιστα ἔτεα, καὶ οὗτος κατελέλειπτο ἐν Πέρσῃσι· οὐ γὰρ εἶχε κω ἡλικίην στρατεύεσθαι. ³ ἐπεὶ ὦν δὴ ἐξηγέρθη ὁ Κῦρος, ἐδίδου λόγον ἐωυτῷ περὶ τῆς ὀψιος. ὥς δὲ οἱ ἐδόκεε μεγάλη εἶναι ἡ ὄψις, καλέσας Ὑστάσπεα καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μῦθον εἶπε “Ὑστασπεες, παῖς σὸς ἐπιβουλεύων ἐμοί τε καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ ἐάλωκε. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀτρεκέως οἶδα, ἐγὼ σημανέω· ⁴ ἐμεῦ θεοὶ κήδονται καὶ μοι πάντα προδεικνύουσι τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα. ἤδη ὦν ἐν τῇ παροιχομένη νυκτὶ εὐδῶν εἶδον τῶν σῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. ⁵ οὐκὼν ἐστὶ μηχανὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία τὸ μὴ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί· σύ νυν τὴν ταχίστην πορεύεο ὀπίσω ἐς Πέρσας καὶ ποιεε ὅκως, ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ τάδε καταστρεψάμενος ἔλθω ἐκεῖ, ὥς μοι καταστήσεις τὸν παῖδα ἐς ἔλεγχον.”

210

¹ Κῦρος μὲν δοκέων οἱ Δαρεῖον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἔλεγε τάδε· τῷ δὲ ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε ὥς αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτήσειν αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ μέλλοι, ἡ δὲ βασιληὴ αὐτοῦ περιχωρεῖ ἐς Δαρεῖον. ² ἀμείβεται δὴ ὦν ὁ Ὑστάσπης τοῖσιδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ εἴῃ ἀνὴρ Πέρσης γεγωνὼς ὅστις τοὶ ἐπιβουλεύσειε, εἰ δ’ ἐστὶ, ἀπόλοιτο ὥς τάχιστα· ὅς ἀντὶ μὲν δούλων ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρους Πέρσας εἶναι, ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἄρχειν ἀπάντων. ³ εἰ δέ τις τοὶ ὄψις ἀπαγγέλλει παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν νεώτερα βουλεύειν περὶ σέο, ἐγὼ τοι παραδίδωμι χρᾶσθαι αὐτῷ τοῦτο ὃ τι σὺ βούλει.”

211

¹ Ὑστάσπης μὲν τούτοισι ἀμειψάμενος καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἀράξεα ἦμε

ἐς Πέρσας φυλάζων Κύρῳ τὸν παῖδα Δαρεῖον, Κῦρος δὲ προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ἡμέρης ὁδὸν ἐποίεε κατὰ τὰς Κροίσου ὑποθήκας. ² μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κύρου τε καὶ Περσέων τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ ἀπελάσαντος ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα, λειφθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀχρήιου, ἐπελθοῦσα τῶν Μασσαγετέων τριτημορις τοῦ στρατοῦ τοὺς τε λειφθέντας τῆς Κύρου στρατιῆς ἐφόνευε ἀλεξομένους καὶ τὴν προκειμένην ἰδόντες δαῖτα, ὥς ἐχειρώσαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους, κλιθέντες ἐδαίνυντο, πληρωθέντες δὲ φορβῆς καὶ οἶνου ἡῦδον. ³ οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μὲν σφέων ἐφόνευσαν, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας ἐζώγρησαν καὶ ἄλλους καὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖδα στρατηγέοντα Μασσαγετέων, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Σπαργαπίσης.

212

¹ ἡ δὲ πυθομένη τά τε περὶ τὴν στρατιὴν γεγονότα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν παῖδα, πέμπουσα κήρυκα παρὰ Κῦρον ἔλεγε τάδε. ² “ἅπληστε αἵματος Κῦρε, μηδὲν ἐπαερθῆς τῷ γεγονότι τῷδε πρήγματι, εἰ ἀμπελίνῳ καρπῷ, τῷ περ αὐτοὶ ἐμπιπλάμενοι μαίνεσθε οὕτω ὥστε κατιόντος τοῦ οἶνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπαναπλέειν ὑμῖν ἔπεα κακά, τοιοῦτῳ φαρμάκῳ δολώσας ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ μάχῃ κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν. ³ νῦν ὧν μευ εὖ παραινέουσας ὑπόλαβε τὸν λόγον· ἀποδοὺς μοι τὸν παῖδα ἅπιθι ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἀζήμιος, Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίδι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίσας. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσεις, ἥλιον ἐπόμενυμί τοι τὸν Μασσαγετέων δεσπότην, ἡ μὲν σε ἐγὼ καὶ ἅπληστον ἔοντα αἵματος κορέσω.”

213

¹ Κῦρος μὲν ἐπέων οὐδένα τούτων ἀνενειχθέντων ἐποιέετο λόγον· ὁ δὲ τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖς Σπαργαπίσης, ὥς μιν ὁ τε οἶνος ἀνῆκε καὶ ἔμαθε ἵνα ἦν κακοῦ, δεηθεὶς Κύρου ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθῆναι ἔτυχε, ὥς δὲ ἐλύθη τε τάχιστα καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκράτησε, διεργάζεται ἐωυτόν.

214

¹ καὶ δὴ οὗτος μὲν τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ τελευτᾷ· Τόμυρις δέ, ὥς οἱ Κῦρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε, συλλέξασα πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτῆς δύναμιν συνέβαλε Κύρῳ. ταύτην τὴν μάχην, ὅσαι δὴ βαρβάρων ἀνδρῶν μάχαι ἐγένοντο, κρίνω ἰσχυροτάτην γενέσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ πυνθάνομαι

οὕτω τοῦτο γινόμενον. 2 πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ λέγεται αὐτοὺς διαστάντας ἐς ἀλλήλους τοξεύειν, μετὰ δὲ ὥς σφι τὰ βέλεα ἐξετετόξευτο, συμπεσόντας τῇσι αἰχμῇσί τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐγχειριδίοισι συνέχεσθαι. χρόνον τε δὴ ἐπὶ πολλὸν συνεστάναι μαχομένους καὶ οὐδετέρους ἐθέλειν φεύγειν. τέλος δὲ οἱ Μασσαγέται περιεγένοντο, 3 ἥ τε δὴ πολλὴ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατιῆς αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διεφθάρη καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Κῦρος τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα ἔτεα. 4 ἄσκον δὲ πλῆσασα αἵματος ἀνθρωπείου Τόμυρις ἐδίζητο ἐν τοῖσι τεθνεῶσι τῶν Περσέων τὸν Κύρου νέκυν, ὥς δὲ εὔρε, ἐναπῆκε αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸν ἄσκον, λυμαιομένη δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπέλεγε τάδε· 5 “σὺ μὲν ἐμὲ ζῶσάν τε καὶ νικῶσάν σε μάχῃ ἀπώλεσας, παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν ἐλὼν δόλω· σὲ δ’ ἐγώ, κατὰ περ ἠπειλῆσα, αἵματος κορέσω.” τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Κύρου τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων, ὅδε μοι ὁ πιθανώτατος εἴρηται.

215

1 Μασσαγέται δὲ ἐσθῆτά τε ὁμοίην τῇ Σκυθικῇ φορέουσι καὶ δίαιταν ἔχουσι, ἱππῶται δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ ἄνιπποι (ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ μετέχουσι) καὶ τοξόται τε καὶ αἰχμοφόροι, σαγάρεις νομίζοντες ἔχειν. χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται· ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐς αἰχμὰς καὶ ἄρδεις καὶ σαγάρεις, χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται, ὅσα δὲ περὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ ζωστήρας καὶ μασχαλιστήρας, χρυσῷ κοσμέονται. 2 ὥς δ’ αὐτως τῶν ἵππων τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα χαλκέους θώρηκας περιβάλλουσι, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς χαλινοὺς καὶ στόμια καὶ φάλαρα χρυσῷ. σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδ’ ἀργύρῳ χρέωνται οὐδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ σφι ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χωρῇ, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς καὶ ὁ χαλκὸς ἄπλετος.

216

1 νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται τοιοῖσινδε. γυναῖκα μὲν γαμέει ἕκαστος, ταύτῃσι δὲ ἐπίκοινα χρέωνται· τὸ γὰρ Σκύθας φασὶ Ἕλληνες ποιεῖν, οὐ Σκύθαι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιέοντες ἀλλὰ Μασσαγέται· τῆς γὰρ ἐπιθυμῆσι γυναικὸς Μασσαγέτης ἀνὴρ, τὸν φαρετρεῶνα ἀποκρεμάσας πρὸ τῆς ἀμάξης μίσγεται ἀδεῶς. 2 οὔρος δὲ ἡλικίης σφι πρόκειται ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεῖς· ἐπεὰν δὲ γέρων γένηται κάρτα, οἱ προσήκοντές οἱ πάντες συνελθόντες θύουσὶ μιν καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα ἅμα αὐτῷ, ἐνήσαντες δὲ τὰ κρέα κατευχέονται. 3 ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ὀλβιώτατά σφι νενόμισται, τὸν δὲ νοῦσφ τελευτήσαντα οὐ κατασιτέονται ἀλλ’ γῇ κρύπτουσι,

συμφορὴν ποιούμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἴκετο εἰς τὸ τυθῆναι. σπείρουσι δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων ζώουσι καὶ ἰχθύων· οἱ δὲ ἄφθονοί σφι ἐκ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ παραγίνονται· 4 γαλακτοπόται δ' εἰσί. θεῶν δὲ μόνον ἥλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι ἵππους. νόος δὲ οὗτος τῆς θυσίης· τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχίστῳ πάντων τῶν θνητῶν τὸ τάχιστον δατέονται.

Βιβλίο Β - Ευτέρπη

1

1 τελευτήσαντος δὲ Κύρου παρέλαβε τὴν βασιληίην Καμβύσης, Κύρου ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Κασσανδράνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεω θυγατρὸς, τῆς προαποθανούσης Κύρος αὐτὸς τε μέγα πένθος ἐποιήσατο καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι προεῖπε πᾶσι τῶν ἤρχε πένθος ποιέεσθαι. 2 ταύτης δὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Κύρου Καμβύσης Ἴωνας μὲν καὶ Αἰολέας ὡς δούλους πατρῷους ἐόντας ἐνόμιζε, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἐποιέετο στρατηλασίην ἄλλους τε παραλαβὼν τῶν ἤρχε καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐπεκράτεε.

2

1 οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, πρὶν μὲν ἢ Ψαμμήτιχον σφέων βασιλεῦσαι, ἐνόμιζον ἐωυτοὺς πρώτους γενέσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ψαμμήτιχος βασιλεύσας ἠθέλησε εἰδέναι οἵτινες γενοίατο πρῶτοι, ἀπὸ τούτου νομίζουσι Φρύγας προτέρους γενέσθαι ἐωυτῶν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐωυτούς. 2 Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο πυνθανόμενος πόρον οὐδένα τούτου ἀνευρεῖν, οἱ γενοίατο πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιτεχνᾶται τοιόνδε. παιδία δύο νεογνὰ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων δίδωσι ποιμένι τρέφειν ἐς τὰ ποιμνία τροφήν τινα τοιήνδε, ἐντειλάμενος μηδένα ἀντίον αὐτῶν μηδεμίαν φωνὴν ἰέναι, ἐν στέγῃ δὲ ἐρήμῃ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν κέεσθαι αὐτά, καὶ τὴν ὥρην ἐπαγινέειν σφι αἶγας, πλήσαντα δὲ γάλακτος τᾶλλα διαπρήσσεσθαι· 3 ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίεε τε καὶ ἐνετέλλετο Ψαμμήτιχος θέλων ἀκοῦσαι τῶν παιδίων, ἀπαλλαχθέντων τῶν ἀσῆμων κνυζημάτων, ἥντινα φωνὴν ῥήξουσι πρώτην· τὰ περ ὧν καὶ ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ διέτης χρόνος ἐγεγόνεε ταῦτα τῷ ποιμένι πρήσσοντι, ἀνοίγοντι τὴν θύρην καὶ ἐσιόντι τὰ παιδία ἀμφοτέρα προσπίπτοντα βεκὸς ἐφώνεον, ὀρέγοντα τὰς χεῖρας. 4 τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ἀκούσας ἥσυχος ἦν ὁ ποιμήν· ὡς δὲ πολλάκις φοιτέοντι καὶ ἐπιμελομένῳ πολλὸν ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος, οὕτω δὴ σημήνας τῷ δεσπότῃ ἤγαγε τὰ παιδία κελεύσαντος ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐκείνου. ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος ἐπυνθάνετο οἵτινες ἀνθρώπων βεκὸς τι καλέουσι, πυνθανόμενος δὲ εὗρισκε Φρύγας καλέοντας τὸν ἄρτον. 5 οὕτω συνεχώρησαν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ τοιοῦτῳ σταθμησάμενοι πρήγματι τοὺς Φρύγας πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι ἐωυτῶν.

ὧδε μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱρέων τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τοῦ ἐν Μέμφι ἤκουον· Ἕλληνες δὲ λέγουσι ἄλλα τε μάταια πολλὰ καὶ ὥς γυναικῶν τὰς γλώσσας ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος ἐκταμὼν τὴν δίαίταν οὕτω ἐποίησατο τῶν παίδων παρὰ ταύτησι τῇσι γυναιξί.

3

1 κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν τροφήν τῶν παίδων τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον, ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν Μέμφι ἐλθὼν ἐς λόγους τοῖσι ἱρεῦσι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας τε καὶ ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν αὐτῶν τούτων εἵνεκεν ἐτραπόμην, ἐθέλων εἰδέναι εἰ συμβήσονται τοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι ἐν Μέμφι· οἱ γὰρ Ἡλιοπολῖται λέγονται Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι λογιώτατοι. 2 τὰ μὲν νυν θεῖα τῶν ἀπηγημάτων οἷα ἤκουον οὐκ εἰμι πρόθυμος ἐξηγέσθαι, ἔξω ἢ τὰ οὐνόματα αὐτῶν μοῦνον, νομίζων πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἴσον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπίστασθαι· τὰ δ' ἂν ἐπιμνησθῆναι αὐτῶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἐξανγκαζόμενος ἐπιμνησθήσομαι.

4

1 ὅσα δὲ ἀνθρωπία πρήγματα, ὧδε ἔλεγον ὁμολογέοντες σφίσι, πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἐξευρεῖν τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, δωδέκα μέρεα δασαμένους τῶν ὥρέων ἐς αὐτόν· ταῦτα δὲ ἐξευρεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀστέρων ἔλεγον· ἄγουσι δὲ τοσῶδε σοφώτερον Ἑλλήνων, ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅσῳ Ἕλληνες μὲν διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἐμβόλιμον ἐπεμβάλλουσι τῶν ὥρέων εἵνεκεν, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τριηκοντημέρους ἄγοντες τοὺς δωδέκα μῆνας ἐπάγουσι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πέντε ἡμέρας πάρεξ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, καὶ σφι ὁ κύκλος τῶν ὥρέων ἐς τούτῳ περιὼν παραγίνεται. 2 δωδέκ' αὖτε θεῶν ἐπωνυμίας ἔλεγον πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους νομίσαι καὶ Ἑλλήνας παρὰ σφέων ἀναλαβεῖν, βωμούς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς θεοῖσι ἀπονεῖμαι σφέας πρώτους καὶ ζῶα ἐν λίθοις ἐγγλύψαι. καὶ τούτων μὲν νυν τὰ πλεόν ἔργα ἐδήλουν οὕτω γινόμενα. βασιλεῦσαι δὲ πρῶτον Αἰγύπτου ἀνθρωπον ἔλεγον Μίνα· 3 ἐπὶ τούτῳ, πλην τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ νομοῦ, πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον εἶναι ἔλος, καὶ αὐτῆς εἶναι οὐδὲν ὑπερέχον τῶν νῦν ἔνερθε λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος ἐόντων, ἐς τὴν ἀνάπλοος ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἑπτὰ ἡμερέων ἐστὶ ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμόν.

5

1 καὶ εὖ μοι ἐδόκεον λέγειν περὶ τῆς χώρας· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ καὶ μὴ

προακούσαντι ἰδόντι δέ, ὅστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, ὅτι Αἴγυπτος, ἐς τὴν Ἑλληνες ναυτίλλονται, ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐπικτητός τε γῆ καὶ δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὰ κατύπερθε ἔτι τῆς λίμνης ταύτης μέχρι τριῶν ἡμερῶν πλόου, τῆς πέρι ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲν ἔτι τοιόνδε ἔλεγον, ἔστι δὲ ἕτερον τοιόνδε. 2 Αἰγύπτου γὰρ φύσις ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας τοιήδε. πρῶτα μὲν προσπλέων ἔτι καὶ ἡμέρης δρόμον ἀπέχων ἀπὸ γῆς, κατεῖς καταπειρητηρίην πηλόν τε ἀνοίσεις καὶ ἐν ἑνδεκα ὀργυῖσι ἔσσει. τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δηλοῖ πρόχυσιν τῆς γῆς ἐοῦσαν.

6

1 αὐτὶς δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστὶ Αἰγύπτου μῆκος τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἐξήκοντα σχοῖνοι, κατὰ ἡμεῖς διαιρέομεν εἶναι Αἴγυπτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλινθινήτεω κόλπου μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἣν τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει· ταύτης ὧν ἅπο οἱ ἐξήκοντα σχοῖνοι εἰσὶ. 2 ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ γεωπεῖναι εἰσὶ ἀνθρώπων, ὀργυῖσι μεμετρήκασι τὴν χώραν, ὅσοι δὲ ἦσσαν γεωπεῖναι, σταδίοισι, οἱ δὲ πολλὴν ἔχουσι, παρασάγγησι, οἱ δὲ ἄφθονον λίην, σχοῖνοισι. 3 δύναται δὲ ὁ παρασάγγης τριήκοντα στάδια, ὁ δὲ σχοῖνος, μέτρον ἐὼν Αἰγύπτιον, ἐξήκοντα στάδια.

7

1 οὕτω ἂν εἶησαν Αἰγύπτου στάδιοι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. ἐνθεῦτεν μὲν καὶ μέχρι Ἡλίου πόλιος ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἐστὶ εὐρέα Αἴγυπτος, ἐοῦσα πᾶσα ὑπὲρ τε καὶ ἑνυδρος καὶ ἰλύς. ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω ἰόντι παραπλησίη τὸ μῆκος τῇ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὁδῷ τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν δωδεκα θεῶν τοῦ βωμοῦ φερούσῃ ἐς τε Πῖσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν νηὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου. 2 σμικρόν τι τὸ διάφορον εὗροι τις ἂν λογιζόμενος τῶν ὁδῶν τουτέων τὸ μὴ ἴσας μῆκος εἶναι, οὐ πλέον πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἐς Πῖσαν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων καταδεῖ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων μὴ εἶναι πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, ἢ δὲ ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πληροῖ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον.

8

1 ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλίου πόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι στενὴ ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος. τῇ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀραβίης ὄρος παρατέταται, φέρον ἀπ' ἄρκτου πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον, αἰεὶ ἄνω τείνον ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην θάλασσαν· ἐν τῷ αἰ λίθοτομίαι ἔνεισι αἰ ἐς τὰς πυραμίδας

κατατμηθεῖσαι τὰς ἐν Μέμφι. ταύτη μὲν λῆγον ἀνακάμπει ἐς τὰ εἴρηται τὸ ὄρος· τῇ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐωυτοῦ ἐστὶ μακρότατον, ὥς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην, δύο μηνῶν αὐτὸ εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ ἡοῦς πρὸς ἐσπέρην, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ λιβανωτοφόρα αὐτοῦ τὰ τέρματα εἶναι. ² τοῦτο μὲν νυν τὸ ὄρος τοιοῦτο ἐστί, τὸ δὲ πρὸς Λιβύης τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὄρος ἄλλο πέτρινον τείνει, ἐν τῷ αἰ πυραμίδες ἔνεισι, ψάμμῳ κατελυμένον, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου τὰ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην φέροντα. ³ τὸ ὧν δὴ ἀπὸ Ἥλιου πόλις οὐκέτι πολλὸν χωρίον ὥς εἶναι Αἰγύπτου, ἀλλ' ὅσον τε ἡμερέων τεσσέρων καὶ δέκα ἀναπλόου ἐστὶ στενὴ Αἴγυπτος, ἐοῦσα τῶν ὁρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τὸ μεταξὺ πεδιάς μὲν γῆ, στάδιοι δὲ μάλιστα ἐδόκεόν μοι εἶναι, τῇ στενιότατον ἐστί, διηκοσίῳ οὐ πλέους ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου ὄρεος ἐς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλεόμενον. τὸ δ' ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτὶς εὐρέα Αἴγυπτος ἐστί. πέφυκε μὲν νυν ἡ χώρα αὕτη οὕτω.

9

¹ ἀπὸ δὲ Ἥλιου πόλις ἐς Θήβας ἐστὶ ἀνάπλους ἐννέα ἡμερέων, στάδιοι δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι, σχοίνων ἑνὸς καὶ ὀγδώκοντα ἐόντων. ² οὗτοι συντιθέμενοι οἱ στάδιοι Αἰγύπτου τὸ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἤδη μοι καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται ὅτι ἐξακοσίῳ τε ἐστὶ σταδίων καὶ τρισχιλίῳ, ὅσον δέ τι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγειαν μέχρι Θηβέων ἐστί, σημανέω· στάδιοι γὰρ εἰσὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐξακισχίλιοι. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Θηβέων ἐς Ἑλεφαντίνην καλεομένην πόλιν στάδιοι χίλιοι καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι εἰσὶ.

10

¹ ταύτης ὧν τῆς χώρας τῆς εἰρημένης ἢ πολλή, κατὰ περ οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον, ἐδόκεε καὶ αὐτῷ μοι εἶναι ἐπίκτητος Αἰγυπτίοισι. τῶν γὰρ ὁρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τῶν ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν πόλιν κειμένων τὸ μεταξὺ ἐφαίνεται μοι εἶναι κοτὲ κόλπος θαλάσσης, ὥσπερ γε τὰ περὶ Ἴλιον καὶ Τευθρανίην καὶ Ἑφεσὸν τε καὶ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον, ὥς γε εἶναι σμικρὰ ταῦτα μεγάλοισι συμβαλεῖν· ² τῶν γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία προσχωσάντων ποταμῶν ἐνὶ τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Νεῖλου, ἐόντος πενταστόμου, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν πλήθεος πέρι ἄξιος συμβληθῆναι ἐστί. ³ εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, οὐ κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ἐόντες μεγάλα, οἵτινες ἔργα ἀποδεξάμενοι μεγάλα εἰσὶ· τῶν ἐγὼ φράσαι ἔχω οὐνόματα καὶ ἄλλων καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα Ἀχελῷου, ὃς ῥέων δι'

Ἀκαρνανίης καὶ ἐξιεῖς ἐς θάλασσαν τῶν Ἑχινάδων νήσων τὰς ἡμισέας ἤδη ἤπειρον πεποίηκε.

11

¹ ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίης χώρας, Αἰγύπτου δὲ οὐ πρόσω, κόλπος θαλάσσης ἐσέχων ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης, μακρὸς οὕτω δὴ τι καὶ στεῖνός ὡς ἔρχομαι φράσω· ² μῆκος μὲν πλόου ἀρξαμένῳ ἐκ μυχοῦ διεκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν εὐρέαν θάλασσαν ἡμέραι ἀναισιμοῦνται τεσσεράκοντα εἰρεσίῃ χρεωμένῳ· εὐρος δέ, τῇ εὐρύτατος ἐστὶ ὁ κόλπος, ἡμισυ ἡμέρης πλόου. ῥηχὴ δ' ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄμπωτις ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. ³ ἕτερον τοιοῦτον κόλπον καὶ τὴν Αἶγυπτον δοκέω γενέσθαι κοτέ, τὸν μὲν ἐκ τῆς βορηίης θαλάσσης κόλπον ἐσέχοντα ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίης, τὸν δὲ Ἀράβιον, τὸν ἔρχομαι λέξων, ἐκ τῆς νοτίης φέροντα ἐπὶ Συρίης, σχεδὸν μὲν ἀλλήλοισι συντετραίνοντας τοὺς μυχοὺς, ὀλίγον δέ τι παραλλάσσοντας τῆς χώρας. ⁴ εἰ ὧν ἐθελήσει ἐκτρέψαι τὸ ῥέεθρον ὁ Νεῖλος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, τί μιν κωλύει ῥέοντος τούτου ἐκχωσθῆναι ἐντός γε δισμυρίων ἐτέων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἔλπομαί γε καὶ μυρίων ἐντός χωσθῆναι ἄν· κοῦ γε δὴ ἐν τῷ προαναισιμωμένῳ χρόνῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι οὐκ ἂν χωσθεῖη κόλπος καὶ πολλῷ μέζων ἔτι τούτου ὑπὸ τοσούτου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ οὕτω ἐργατικοῦ;

12

¹ τὰ περὶ Αἶγυπτον ὧν καὶ τοῖσι λέγουσι αὐτὰ πείθομαι καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτω κάρτα δοκέω εἶναι, ἰδὼν τε τὴν Αἶγυπτον προκειμένην τῆς ἐχομένης γῆς κογχύλιά τε φαινόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖσι ὄρεσι καὶ ἄλμην ἐπανθέουσαν, ὥστε καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας δηλέεσθαι, καὶ ψάμμον μόνον Αἰγύπτου ὅρος τοῦτο τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος ἔχον, ² πρὸς δὲ τῇ χώρῃ οὔτε τῇ Ἀραβίῃ προσοῦρῳ ἐούσῃ τὴν Αἶγυπτον προσεικέλην οὔτε τῇ Λιβύῃ, οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τῇ Συρίῃ (τῆς γὰρ Ἀραβίης τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν Σύροι νέμονται), ἀλλὰ μελάγγαιόν τε καὶ καταρρήγνυμένην, ὥστε ἐοῦσαν ἰλύν τε καὶ πρόχυσιν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίης κατενηνειγμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ³ τὴν δὲ Λιβύην ἴδμεν ἐρυθροτέρην τε γῆν καὶ ὑποψαμμοτέρην, τὴν δὲ Ἀραβίην τε καὶ Συρίην ἀργιλωδεστέρεν τε καὶ ὑπόπετρον ἐοῦσαν.

13

1 ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τότε μοι μέγα τεκμήριον περὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης οἱ ἱρέες, ὡς ἐπὶ Μοίριος βασιλέος, ὅκως ἔλθοι ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπὶ ὀκτῶ πήχεας τὸ ἐλάχιστον, ἄρδεσκε Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἔνερθε Μέμφιος· καὶ Μοίρι οὐκ ἦν ἔτεα εἰνακόσια τετελευτηκότι ὅτε τῶν ἱρέων ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἤκουον. νῦν δὲ εἰ μὴ ἐπ' ἐκκαίδεκα ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα πήχεας ἀναβῇ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὁ ποταμός, οὐκ ὑπερβαίνει ἐς τὴν χώραν. 2 δοκέουσὶ τέ μοι Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἔνερθε λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος οἰκέοντες τά τε ἄλλα χωρία καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Δέλτα, ἦν οὕτω ἡ χώρα αὕτη κατὰ λόγον ἐπιδιδῶ ἐς ὕψος καὶ τὸ ὅμοιον ἀποδιδῶ ἐς αὐξήσιν,¹ μὴ κατακλύζοντος αὐτὴν τοῦ Νείλου πείσεσθαι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τὸν ἐπίλοιπον Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ κοτὲ αὐτοὶ Ἑλληνας ἔφασαν πείσεσθαι. 3 πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς ὕεται πᾶσα ἡ χώρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀλλ' οὐ ποταμοῖσι ἄρδεται κατὰ περ ἢ σφετέρῃ, ἔφασαν Ἑλληνας ψευσθέντας κοτὲ ἐλπίδος μεγάλης κακῶς πεινήσειν. τὸ δὲ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐθέλει λέγειν ὡς, εἰ μὴ ἐθελήσει σφι ὕειν ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ αὐχμῶ διαχρᾶσθαι, λιμῶ οἱ Ἑλληνες αἰρεθήσονται· οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφι ἐστὶ ὕδατος οὐδεμία ἄλλη ἀποστροφή ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς μῶνον.

14

1 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Ἑλληνας Αἰγυπτίοισι ὀρθῶς ἔχοντα εἴρηται· φέρε δὲ νῦν καὶ αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι ὡς ἔχει φράσω· εἴ σφι θέλοι, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, ἡ χώρα ἢ ἔνερθε Μέμφιος (αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶ ἡ αὐξανομένη) κατὰ λόγον τοῦ παροιχομένου χρόνου ἐς ὕψος αὐξάνεσθαι, ἄλλο τι ἢ οἱ αὕτη οἰκέοντες Αἰγυπτίων πεινήσουσι; εἰ μήτε γε ὕσεται σφι ἡ χώρα μήτε ὁ ποταμὸς οἷός τ' ἔσται ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας ὑπερβαίνειν. 2 ἥ γὰρ δὴ νῦν γε οὗτοι ἀπονητότατα καρπὸν κομίζονται ἐκ γῆς τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων πάντων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Αἰγυπτίων· οἳ οὔτε ἀρότρῳ ἀναρρήγνυντες αὐλακὰς ἔχουσι πόνους οὔτε σκάλλοντες οὔτε ἄλλο ἐργαζόμενοι οὐδὲν τῶν οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι περὶ λήιον πονέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν σφι ὁ ποταμὸς αὐτόματος ἐπελθὼν ἄρσῃ τὰς ἀρούρας, ἄρσας δὲ ἀπολίπη ὀπίσω, τότε σπείρας ἕκαστος τὴν ἐωυτοῦ ἄρουραν ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτὴν ὕς, ἐπεὰν δὲ καταπατήσῃ τῇσι ὑσὶ τὸ σπέρμα, ἄμητον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου μένει, ἀποδινήσας δὲ τῇσι ὑσὶ τὸν σῖτον οὕτω κομίζεται.

15

1 εἰ ὧν βουλόμεθα γνώμησι τῇσι Ἰώνων χρᾶσθαι τὰ περὶ

Αἴγυπτον, οἱ φασὶ τὸ Δέλτα μόνον εἶναι Αἴγυπτον, ἀπὸ Περσέος καλεομένης σκοπιῆς λέγοντες τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν εἶναι αὐτῆς μέχρι Ταριχηίων τῶν Πηλουσιακῶν, τῇ δὴ τεσσεράκοντα εἰσὶ σχοῖνοι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεγόντων ἐς μεσόγαιαν τείνειν αὐτὴν μέχρι Κερκασώρου πόλιος, κατ' ἣν σχίζεται ὁ Νεῖλος ἐς τε Πηλούσιον ῥέων καὶ ἐς Κάνωβον, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα λεγόντων τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὰ μὲν Λιβύης τὰ δὲ Αραβίης εἶναι, ἀποδεικνύοιμεν ἂν τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ χρεώμενοι Αἰγυπτίοισι οὐκ ἐοῦσαν πρότερον χώραν. 2 ἤδη γάρ σφι τό γε Δέλτα, ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἐμοὶ δοκέει, ἐστὶ κατάρρυστον τε καὶ νεωστὶ ὥς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἀναπεφηνός. εἰ τοίνυν σφι χώρα γε μηδεμία ὑπῆρχε, τί περιεργάζοντο δοκέοντες πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων γεγενέσθαι; οὐδὲ ἔδει σφέας ἐς διάπειραν τῶν παιδίων ἰέναι, τίνα γλῶσσαν πρώτην ἀπήσουσι. 3 ἀλλ' οὔτε Αἰγυπτίους δοκέω ἅμα τῷ Δέλτα τῷ ὑπὸ Ἰώνων καλεομένῳ γενέσθαι αἰεὶ τε εἶναι ἐξ οὗ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐγένετο, προιούσης δὲ τῆς χώρας πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν γενέσθαι πολλοὺς δὲ τοὺς ὑποκαταβαίνοντας. τὸ δ' ὧν πάλαι αἱ Θῆβαι Αἴγυπτος ἐκαλέετο, τῆς τὸ περίμετρον στάδιοι εἰσὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι.

16

1 εἰ ὧν ἡμεῖς ὀρθῶς περὶ αὐτῶν γινώσκομεν, Ἴωνες οὐκ εὖ φρονέουσι περὶ Αἰγύπτου· εἰ δὲ ὀρθή ἐστὶ ἡ γνώμη τῶν Ἰώνων, Ἑλληνάς τε καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἴωνας ἀποδείκνυμι οὐκ ἐπισταμένους λογίζεσθαι, οἱ φασὶ τρία μόρια εἶναι γῆν πᾶσαν, Εὐρώπην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Λιβύην. 2 τέταρτον γὰρ δὴ σφέας δεῖ προσλογίζεσθαι Αἰγύπτου τὸ Δέλτα, εἰ μήτε γε ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσίας μήτε τῆς Λιβύης· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Νεῖλός γε ἐστὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὁ τὴν Ἀσίην οὐρίζων τῇ Λιβύῃ, τοῦ Δέλτα δὲ τούτου κατὰ τὸ ὀξὺ περιρρήγνυται ὁ Νεῖλος, ὥστε ἐν τῷ μεταξύ Ἀσίας τε καὶ Λιβύης γίνοιτ' ἂν.

17

1 καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰώνων γνώμην ἀπίεμεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὧδε καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγομεν, Αἴγυπτον μὲν πᾶσαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων οἰκομένην κατὰ περ Κιλικίην τὴν ὑπὸ Κιλικίων καὶ Ἀσσυρίην τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων, οὖρισμα δὲ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Λιβύῃ οἶδαμεν οὐδὲν ἐὼν ὀρθῶ λόγῳ εἰ μὴ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίων οὖρους. 2 εἰ δὲ τῷ ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων νενομισμένῳ χρησόμεθα, νομιοῦμεν Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν

ἀρξάμενην ἀπὸ Καταδούπων τε καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος δίχα διαιρέεσθαι καὶ ἀμφοτερέων τῶν ἐπωνυμιῶν ἔχεσθαι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς εἶναι τῆς Λιβύης τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας. ³ ὁ γὰρ δὴ Νεῖλος ἀρξάμενος ἐκ τῶν Καταδούπων ῥέει μέσσην Αἴγυπτον σχίζων ἐς θάλασσαν· μέχρι μὲν νυν Κερκασώρου πόλιος ῥέει εἰς ἑὸν ὁ Νεῖλος, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος σχίζεται τριφασίας ὁδοῦς. ⁴ καὶ ἡ μὲν πρὸς ἡῶν τρέπεται, τὸ καλέεται Πηλούσιον στόμα, ἡ δὲ ἐτέρη τῶν ὁδῶν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἔχει· τοῦτο δὲ Κανωβικὸν στόμα κέκληται. ἡ δὲ δὴ ἰθέα τῶν ὁδῶν τῷ Νεῖλῳ ἐστὶ ἥδε· ἄνωθεν φερόμενος ἐς τὸ ὄξυ τοῦ Δέλτα ἀπικνέεται, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου σχίζων μέσον τὸ Δέλτα ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξιεῖ, οὔτε ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν τοῦ ὕδατος παρεχόμενος ταύτην οὔτε ἥκιστα ὀνομαστήν· τὸ καλέεται Σεβεννυτικὸν στόμα. ⁵ ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερα διφάσια στόματα ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβεννυτικοῦ ἀποσχισθέντα, φέροντα ἐς θάλασσαν· τοῖσι οὐνόματα κέεται τάδε, τῷ μὲν Σαῖτικὸν αὐτῶν τῷ δὲ Μενδήσιον. ⁶ τὸ δὲ Βολβίτινον στόμα καὶ τὸ Βουκολικὸν οὐκ ἰθαγενέα στόματα ἐστὶ ἀλλ' ὀρυκτά.

18

¹ μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι τοσαύτη ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος ὅσην τινὰ ἐγὼ ἀποδείκνυμι τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ τὸ Ἄμμωνος χρηστήριον γενόμενον· τὸ ἐγὼ τῆς ἐμεωυτοῦ γνώμης ὕστερον περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐπυθόμην. ² οἱ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ Μαρέης τε πόλιος καὶ Ἄπιοις, οἰκέοντες Αἰγύπτου τὰ πρόσουρα Λιβύῃ, αὐτοὶ τε δοκέοντες εἶναι Λίβυες καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἀχθόμενοι τῇ περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ θρησκείῃ, βουλόμενοι θηλέων βοῶν μὴ ἔργεσθαι, ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ἄμμωνα φάμενοι οὐδὲν σφίσι τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι κοινὸν εἶναι· οἰκέειν τε γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμολογέειν αὐτοῖσι, βούλεσθαι τε πάντων σφίσι ἐξεῖναι γεύεσθαι. ³ ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφεας οὐκ ἔα ποιεῖν ταῦτα, φὰς Αἴγυπτον εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπιὼν ἄρδει, καὶ Αἰγυπτίους εἶναι τούτους οἱ ἔνερθε Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος οἰκέοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου πίνουσι. οὕτω σφι ταῦτα ἐχρήσθη.

19

¹ ἐπέρχεται δὲ ὁ Νεῖλος, ἐπεὰν πληθύῃ, οὐ μούνον τὸ Δέλτα ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ τε λεγομένου χωρίου εἶναι καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου ἐνιαχῇ καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἡμερέων ἐκατέρωθι ὁδόν, καὶ πλέον ἔτι τούτου καὶ ἔλασσον. τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ φύσις πέρι οὔτε τι τῶν ἰρέων οὔτε ἄλλου

οὐδενὸς παραλαβεῖν ἐδυνάσθην. 2 πρόθυμος δὲ ἔα τάδε παρ' αὐτῶν
πυθέσθαι, ὃ τι κατέρχεται μὲν ὁ Νεῖλος πληθύνων ἀπὸ τροπέων τῶν
θερινέων ἀρξάμενος ἐπὶ ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας, πελάσας δὲ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν
τουτέων τῶν ἡμερέων ὀπίσω ἀπέρχεται ἀπολείπων τὸ ρέεθρον, ὥστε
βραχὺς τὸν χειμῶνα ἅπαντα διατελεῖ ἐὼν μέχρι οὗ αὗτις τροπέων
τῶν θερινέων. 3 τούτων ὧν πέρι οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν οἶός τε ἐγενόμην
παραλαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἱστορέων αὐτοὺς ἦντινα δύναμιν
ἔχει ὁ Νεῖλος τὰ ἔμπαλιν πεφυκέναι τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν· ταῦτά τε
δὴ τὰ λελεγμένα βουλόμενος εἰδέναι ἱστόρεον καὶ ὃ τι αὔρας
ἀποπνεούσας μόνος ποταμῶν πάντων οὐ παρέχεται.

20

1 ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων μὲν τινὲς ἐπίσημοι βουλόμενοι γενέσθαι σοφίην
ἔλεξαν περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου τριφασίας ὁδοῦς· τῶν τὰς μὲν δύο
τῶν ὁδῶν οὐδ' ἀξιῶ μνησθῆναι εἰ μὴ ὅσον σημῆναι βουλόμενος
μοῦνον· 2 τῶν ἢ ἐτέρη μὲν λέγει τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀνέμους εἶναι αἰτίους
πληθύνειν τὸν ποταμὸν, κωλύοντας ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκρέειν τὸν Νεῖλον.
πολλάκις δὲ ἐτησίαι μὲν οὐκὼν ἔπνευσαν, ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος τῷ τὸ
ἐργάζεται. 3 πρὸς δέ, εἰ ἐτησίαι αἴτιοι ἦσαν, χρῆν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
ποταμούς, ὅσοι τοῖσι ἐτησίησι ἀντίοι ῥέουσι, ὁμοίως πάσχειν καὶ
κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Νεῖλῳ, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι τοσοῦτῳ ὅσῳ ἐλάσσονες
έόντες ἀσθενέστερα τὰ ρεύματα παρέχονται. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ
Συρίῃ ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, οἳ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο πάσχουσι
οἷόν τι καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος.

21

1 ἢ δ' ἐτέρη ἀνεπισημονεστέρα μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς λελεγμένης, λόγῳ δὲ
εἰπεῖν θωμασιωτέρα· ἢ λέγει ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ ῥέοντα αὐτὸν ταῦτα
μηχανᾶσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ὠκεανὸν γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ῥεειν.

22

1 ἢ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ὁδῶν πολλὸν ἐπιεικεστάτη ἐοῦσα μάλιστα
ἔψευσται· λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὐδ' αὕτη οὐδέν, φαμένη τὸν Νεῖλον ῥεειν
ἀπὸ τηκομένης χιόνος· ὃς ῥεει μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης διὰ μέσων Αἰθιοπῶν,
ἐκδιδόι δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. 2 κῶς ὧν δῆτα ῥεοὶ ἂν ἀπὸ χιόνος, ἀπὸ τῶν
θερμοτάτων ῥέων ἐς τὰ ψυχρότερα τὰ πολλὰ ἐστί; ἀνδρὶ γε
λογίζεσθαι τοιούτων πέρι οἷῳ τε ἐόντι, ὥς οὐδὲ οἶκός ἀπὸ χιόνος μιν

ρέειν, πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέγιστον μαρτύριον οἱ ἄνεμοι παρέχονται πνέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν χωρέων τουτέων θερμοί· ³ δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι ἄνομβρος ἢ χώρα καὶ ἀκρύσταλλος διατελέει ἐοῦσα, ἐπὶ δὲ χιόνι πεσοῦση πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ὕσαι ἐν πέντε ἡμέρησι, ὥστε, εἰ ἐχιόνιζε, ὕετο ἂν ταῦτα τὰ χωρία· τρίτα δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος μέλανες ἐόντες. ⁴ ἱκτῖνοι δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες δι' ἔτεος ἐόντες οὐκ ἀπολείπουσι, γέρανοι δὲ φεύγουσαι τὸν χειμῶνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ χώρῃ γινόμενον φοιτῶσι ἐς χειμασίην ἐς τοὺς τόπους τούτους. εἰ τοίνυν ἐχιόνιζε καὶ ὅσον ὦν ταύτην τὴν χώραν δι' ἧς τε ῥέει καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄρχεται ῥέων ὁ Νεῖλος, ἣν ἂν τούτων οὐδέν, ὥς ἡ ἀνάγκη ἐλέγχει.

23

¹ ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ λέξας ἐς ἀφανὲς τὸν μῦθον ἀνενείκας οὐκ ἔχει ἔλεγχον· οὐ γὰρ τινὰ ἔγωγε οἶδα ποταμὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἐόντα, Ὅμηρον δὲ ἢ τινὰ τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ποιητέων δοκέω τὸ οὔνομα εὐρόντα ἐς ποίησιν ἐσενείκασθαι.

24

¹ εἰ δὲ δεῖ μεμψάμενον γνώμας τὰς προκειμένας αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν ἀφανέων γνώμην ἀποδεξασθαι, φράσω δι' ὃ τι μοι δοκείει πληθύνεσθαι ὁ Νεῖλος τοῦ θέρεος· τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥρην ἀπελαυνόμενος ὁ ἥλιος ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίης διεξόδου ὑπὸ τῶν χειμῶνων ἔρχεται τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω. ² ὥς μὲν νυν ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ δηλῶσαι, πᾶν εἴρηται· τῆς γὰρ ἂν ἀγχοτάτῳ τε ἢ χώρας οὗτος ὁ θεὸς καὶ κατὰ ἥντινα, ταύτην οἶκός διψῇν τε ὑδάτων μάλιστα καὶ τὰ ἐγχώρια ῥεύματα μαραίνεσθαι τῶν ποταμῶν.

25

¹ ὥς δὲ ἐν πλέονι λόγῳ δηλῶσαι, ὧδε ἔχει. διεξιὼν τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω ὁ ἥλιος τάδε ποιεῖ· ἅτε διὰ παντός τοῦ χρόνου αἰθρίου τε ἐόντος τοῦ ἡέρος τοῦ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ ἀλεινῆς τῆς χώρας ἐούσης καὶ ἀνέμων ψυχρῶν, διεξιὼν ποιεῖ οἶόν περ καὶ τὸ θέρος ἔωθε ποιεῖν ἰὼν τὸ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· ² ἔλκει γὰρ ἐπ' ἐωυτὸν τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐλκυσας δὲ ἀπωθέει ἐς τὰ ἄνω χωρία, ὑπολαμβάνοντες δὲ οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ διασκιδνάντες τήκουσι· καὶ εἰσὶ οἰκότως οἱ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώρας πνέοντες, ὃ τε νότος καὶ ὁ λίψ, ἀνέμων πολλὸν τῶν

πάντων ὑετιώτατοι 3 δοκέει δέ μοι οὐδὲ πᾶν τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐπέτειον ἐκάστοτε ἀποπέμπεσθαι τοῦ Νείλου ὁ ἥλιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπολείπεσθαι περὶ ἑωυτόν. πρηϋνομένου δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀπέρχεται ὁ ἥλιος ἐς μέσον τὸν οὐρανὸν ὀπίσω, καὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ὁμοίως ἀπὸ πάντων ἔλκει τῶν ποταμῶν. 4 τέως δὲ οἱ μὲν ὀμβρίου ὕδατος συμμισγομένου πολλοῦ αὐτοῖσι, ἅτε ὑομένης τε τῆς χώρας καὶ κεχαδρωμένης, ῥέουσι μεγάλοι· τοῦ δὲ θέρεος τῶν τε ὀμβρῶν ἐπιλειπόντων αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐλκόμενοι ἀσθενέες εἰσί. 5 ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος ἐὼν ἄνομβρος, ἐλκόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μόνος ποταμῶν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, οἰκότως αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ ῥέει πολλῷ ὑποδεέστερος ἢ τοῦ θέρεος· τότε μὲν γὰρ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὑδάτων ἴσον ἔλκεται, τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα μόνος πιέζεται. οὕτω τὸν ἥλιον νενόμικα τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι.

26

1 αἴτιος δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὸν ἡέρα ξηρὸν τὸν ταύτη εἶναι, διακαίων τὴν διέξοδον ἑωυτοῦ· οὕτω τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω θέρος αἰεὶ κατέχει. 2 εἰ δὲ ἡ στάσις ἥλλακτο τῶν ὥρέων, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῇ μὲν νῦν ὁ βορέης τε καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐστᾶσι, ταύτη μὲν τοῦ νότου ἦν ἡ στάσις καὶ τῆς μεσαμβρίας, τῇ δὲ ὁ νότος νῦν ἔστηκε, ταύτη δὲ ὁ βορέης, εἰ ταῦτα οὕτω εἶχε, ὁ ἥλιος ἂν ἀπελαυνόμενος ἐκ μέσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τοῦ βορέω ἦε ἂν τὰ ἄνω τῆς Εὐρώπης κατὰ περ νῦν τῆς Λιβύης ἔρχεται, διεξιόντα δ' ἂν μιν διὰ πάσης <τῆς> Εὐρώπης ἔλπομαι ποιέειν ἂν τὸν Ἰστρον τά περ νῦν ἐργάζεται τὸν Νεῖλον.

27

1 τῆς αὔρης δὲ πέρι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀποπνέει, τήνδε ἔχω γνώμην, ὥς κάρτα ἀπὸ θερμῶν χωρέων οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι οὐδὲν ἀποπνέειν, αὔρη δὲ ἀπὸ ψυχροῦ τινος φιλέει πνέειν.

28

1 ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἔστω ὥς ἔστι τε καὶ ὥς ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο· τοῦ δὲ Νείλου τὰς πηγὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίων οὔτε Λιβύων οὔτε Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἀπικομένων ἐς λόγους οὐδεὶς ὑπέσχετο εἰδέναι, εἰ μὴ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν Σαί πόλει ὁ γραμματιστής τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων τῆς Αθηναίης. 2 οὗτος δ' ἔμοιγε παίζειν ἐδόκεε φάμενος εἰδέναι

ἀτρεκέως· ἔλεγε δὲ ὧδε, εἶναι δύο ὄρεα ἐς ὅξυ τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπηγμένα, μεταξὺ Συήνης τε πόλιος κείμενα τῆς Θηβαΐδος καὶ Ἑλεφαντίνης, οὐνόματα δὲ εἶναι τοῖσι ὄρεσι τῷ μὲν Κρῶφι τῷ δὲ Μῶφι· 3 τὰς ὧν δὴ πηγὰς τοῦ Νείλου ἐούσας ἀβύσσους ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τῶν ὀρέων τούτων ῥέειν, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ῥέειν καὶ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἡμισυ ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ νότου. 4 ὥς δὲ ἄβυσσοι εἰσι αἱ πηγαί, ἐς διάπειραν ἔφη τούτου Ψαμμήτιχον Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα ἀπικέσθαι· πολλέων γὰρ αὐτὸν χιλιάδων ὀργυιέων πλεξάμενον κάλον κατεῖναι ταύτη καὶ οὐκ ἐξικέσθαι ἐς βυσσόν. 5 οὕτω μὲν δὴ ὁ γραμματιστής, εἰ ἄρα ταῦτα γινόμενα ἔλεγε, ἀπέφαινε, ὥς ἐμὲ κατανοέειν, δίνας τινὰς ταύτη ἐούσας ἰσχυρὰς καὶ παλιρρόιην, οἷα δὲ ἐμβάλλοντος τοῦ ὕδατος τοῖσι ὄρεσι, μὴ δύνασθαι κατιεμένην καταπειρητηρίην ἐς βυσσὸν ἰέναι.

29

1 ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν ἐδυνάμην πυθέσθαι. ἀλλὰ τοσόνδε μὲν ἄλλο ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐπυθόμην, μέχρι μὲν Ἑλεφαντίνης πόλιος αὐτόπτης ἐλθὼν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀκοῇ ἤδη ἱστορέων. 2 ἀπὸ Ἑλεφαντίνης πόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι ἄναντες ἐστὶ χωρίον· ταύτη ὧν δεῖ τὸ πλοῖον διαδήσαντας ἀμφοτέρωθεν κατὰ περ βοῦν πορεύεσθαι· ἦν δὲ ἀπορῥαγῇ τὸ πλοῖον οἴχεται φερόμενον ὑπὸ ἰσχύος τοῦ ῥόου. 3 τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἐπ' ἡμέρας τέσσερας πλόος, σκολιὸς δὲ ταύτη κατὰ περ ὁ Μαϊάνδρος ἐστὶ ὁ Νεῖλος· σχοῖνοι δὲ δυνώδεκα εἰσὶ οὗτοι τοὺς δεῖ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διεκπλῶσαι. καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπίξεται ἐς πεδίον λεῖον, ἐν τῷ νῆσον περιρρέει ὁ Νεῖλος· Ταχομψὼ οὖνομα αὐτῇ ἐστι. 4 οἰκεῖουσιν δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ Ἑλεφαντίνης ἄνω Αἰθίοπες ἤδη καὶ τῆς νήσου τὸ ἡμισυ, τὸ δὲ ἡμισυ Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔχεται δὲ τῆς νήσου λίμνην μεγάλην, τὴν πέριξ νομάδες Αἰθίοπες νέμονται· τὴν διεκπλώσας ἐς τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ῥέεθρον ἤξεις, τὸ ἐς τὴν λίμνην ταύτην ἐκδιδοῖ. 5 καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβάς παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὁδοιπορίην ποιήσεται ἡμερέων τεσσεράκοντα· σκόπελοι/ τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Νεῖλῳ ὀξέες ἀνέχουσι καὶ χοιράδες πολλαὶ εἰσι, δι' ὧν οὐκ οἷά τε ἐστὶ πλέειν. 6 διεξελθὼν δὲ ἐν τῇσι τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρησι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, αὐτὶς ἐς ἕτερον πλοῖον ἐσβὰς δυνώδεκα ἡμέρας πλεύσει, καὶ ἔπειτα ἤξεις ἐς πόλιν μεγάλην τῇ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Μερὴ· λέγεται δὲ αὕτη ἡ πόλις εἶναι μητρόπολις τῶν ἄλλων Αἰθιόπων. 7 οἱ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ Δία θεῶν καὶ Διόνυσον

μούνους σέβονται, τούτους τε μεγάλως τιμῶσι, καὶ σφι μαντήιον Διὸς κατέστηκε· στρατεύονται δὲ ἐπεὰν σφεας ὁ θεὸς οὗτος κελεύῃ διὰ θεσπισμάτων, καὶ τῇ ἂν κελεύῃ [, ἐκεῖσε].

30

1 ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλέων ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ ἄλλῳ ἤξεις ἐς τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἐν ὧσιν περ ἐξ Ἑλεφαντίνης ἦλθες ἐς τὴν μητρόπολιν τὴν Αἰθιοπῶν. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτομόλοισι τούτοισι οὖνομα ἐστὶ Ἀσμάχ, δύναται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν οἱ ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς παριστάμενοι βασιλεί. 2 ἀπέστησαν δὲ αὗται τέσσερες καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες Αἰγυπτίων τῶν μαχίμων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας τούτους δι' αἰτίην τοιήνδε. ἐπὶ Ψαμμητίχου βασιλέος φυλακαὶ κατέστησαν ἐν τε Ἑλεφαντίνῃ πόλει πρὸς Αἰθιοπῶν καὶ ἐν Δάφνησι τῇσι Πηλουσίησι ἄλλῃ [δὲ] πρὸς Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ ἐν Μαρῇ πρὸς Λιβύης ἄλλῃ. 3 ἔτι δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ καὶ Περσέων κατὰ ταῦτα αἱ φυλακαὶ ἔχουσι ὥς καὶ ἐπὶ Ψαμμητίχου ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἑλεφαντίνῃ Πέρσαι φρουρέουσι καὶ ἐν Δάφνησι. τοὺς ὧν δὴ Αἰγυπτίους τρία ἔτεα φρουρήσαντας ἀπέλυε οὐδεὶς τῆς φρουρῆς· οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι καὶ κοινῶς λόγῳ χρησάμενοι πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ψαμμητίχου ἀποστάντες ἦσαν ἐς Αἰθιοπίην. 4 Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐδίωκε· ὥς δὲ κατέλαβε, ἐδέετο πολλὰ λέγων καὶ σφεας θεοὺς πατρώιους ἀπολιπεῖν οὐκ ἔα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας. τῶν δὲ τινὰ λέγεται δέξαντα τὸ αἰδοῖον εἰπεῖν, ἔνθα ἂν τοῦτο ἦ, ἔσσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι ἐνθαῦτα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας. 5 οὗτοι ἐπεῖτε ἐς Αἰθιοπίην ἀπίκοντο, διδοῦσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλεῖ, ὁ δὲ σφέας τῷδε ἀντιδωρέεται· ἦσαν οἱ διάφοροι τινὲς γεγονότες τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν· τούτους ἐκέλευε ἐξελόντας τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν οἰκέειν. τούτων δὲ ἐσοικισθέντων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας ἡμερώτεροι γεγόνασιν Αἰθίοπες, ἦθα μαθόντες Αἰγύπτια.

31

1 μέχρι μὲν νυν τεσσέρων μηνῶν πλόου καὶ ὁδοῦ γινώσκεται ὁ Νεῖλος πάρεξ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ρεύματος· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ συμβαλλομένῳ μῆνες εὐρίσκονται ἀναισιμούμενοι ἐξ Ἑλεφαντίνης πορευομένῳ ἐς τοὺς αὐτομόλους τούτους. ῥέει δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης τε καὶ ἡλίου δυσμέων. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οὐδεὶς ἔχει σαφέως φράσαι· ἔρημος γὰρ ἐστὶ ἡ χώρα αὕτη ὑπὸ καύματος.

¹ ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ἤκουσα ἀνδρῶν Κυρηναίων φαμένων ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμμωνος χρηστήριον καὶ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λόγους Ἐτεάρχῳ τῷ Ἀμμωνίων βασιλεί, καὶ κως ἐκ λόγων ἄλλων ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λέσχην περὶ τοῦ Νείλου, ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ οἶδε τὰς πηγὰς, καὶ τὸν Ἐτεάρχον φάναι ἐλθεῖν κοτε παρ' αὐτὸν Νασαμῶνας ἄνδρας. ² τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν Λιβυκόν, νέμεται δὲ τὴν Σύρτιν τε καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡῷ χώρην τῆς Σύρτιος οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλόν. ³ ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Νασαμῶνας καὶ εἰρωτωμένους εἴ τι ἔχουσι πλεον λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἐρήμων τῆς Λιβύης, φάναι παρὰ σφίσι γενέσθαι ἀνδρῶν δυναστέων παῖδας ὕβριστάς, τοὺς ἄλλα τε μηχανᾶσθαι ἀνδρωθέντας περισσὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀποκληρῶσαι πέντε ἐωυτῶν ὀψομένους τὰ ἔρημα τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ εἴ τι πλεον ἴδοιεν τῶν τὰ μακρότατα ἰδομένων. ⁴ τῆς γὰρ Λιβύης τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν βορήνην θάλασσαν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι Σολόεντος ἄκρης, ἥ τελευτᾷ τῆς Λιβύης, παρήκουσι παρὰ πᾶσαν Λίβυες καὶ Λιβύων ἔθνεα πολλά, πλὴν ὅσον Ἕλληνες καὶ Φοίνικες ἔχουσι· τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης τε καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατηκόντων ἀνθρώπων, τὰ κατύπερθε θηριώδης ἐστὶ ἡ Λιβύη· τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε τῆς θηριώδους ψάμμος τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἄνυδρος δεινῶς καὶ ἔρημος πάντων. ⁵ εἶπαι ὦν τοὺς νεηνίας ἀποπεμπομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἡλικῶν, ὕδασι τε καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐξηρτυμένους, ἰέναι τὰ πρῶτα μὲν διὰ τῆς οἰκεομένης, ταύτην δὲ διεξελθόντας ἐς τὴν θηριώδεα ἀπικέσθαι, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τὴν ἔρημον διεξίεναι, τὴν ὁδὸν ποιευμένους πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον, ⁶ διεξελθόντας δὲ χῶρον πολλὸν ψαμμώδεα καὶ ἐν πολλῇσι ἡμέρησι ἰδεῖν δὴ κοτε δένδρεα ἐν πεδίῳ πεφυκότα, καὶ σφεας προσελθόντας ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ ἐπεόντος ἐπὶ τῶν δενδρέων καρποῦ, ἀπτομένοισι δὲ σφι ἐπελθεῖν ἄνδρας μικροῦς, μετρίων ἐλάσσονας ἀνδρῶν, λαβόντας δὲ ἄγειν σφέας· φωνῆς δὲ οὔτε τι τῆς ἐκείνων τοὺς Νασαμῶνας γινώσκειν οὔτε τοὺς ἄγοντας τῶν Νασαμώνων· ⁷ ἄγειν τε δὴ αὐτοὺς δι' ἐλέων μεγίστων, καὶ διεξελθόντας ταῦτα ἀπικέσθαι ἐς πόλιν ἐν τῇ πάντας εἶναι τοῖσι ἄγουσι τὸ μέγαθος ἴσους, χρῶμα δὲ μέλανας. παρὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ῥέειν ποταμὸν μέγαν, ῥέειν δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης αὐτὸν πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, φαίνεσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κροκοδείλους.

¹ ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου Ἐτεάρχου λόγος ἐς τοῦτό μοι

δεδηλώσθω, πλὴν ὅτι ἀπονοστήσαι τε ἔφασκε τοὺς Νασαμῶνας, ὥς οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἔλεγον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς οὗτοι ἀπίκοντο ἀνθρώπους, γόητας εἶναι ἅπαντας. 2 τὸν δὲ δὴ ποταμὸν τοῦτον τὸν παραρρέοντα καὶ Ἑτάρχος συνεβάλλετο εἶναι Νεῖλον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ λόγος οὕτω αἰρέει. ῥέει γὰρ ἐκ Λιβύης ὁ Νεῖλος καὶ μέσσην τάμνων Λιβύην, καὶ ὥς ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι τοῖσι ἐμφανέσι τὰ μὴ γνωσκόμενα τεκμαιρόμενος, τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκ τῶν ἴσων μέτρων ὁρμᾷται. 3 Ἰστρος τε γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Πυρήνης πόλιος ῥέει μέσσην σχίζων τὴν Εὐρώπην· οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ εἰσὶ ἕξω Ἑρακλέων στηλέων, ὁμουργέουσι δὲ Κυνησίοισι, οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς δυσμέων οἰκεῖουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένων· 4 τελευτᾷ δὲ ὁ Ἰστρος ἐς θάλασσαν ῥέων τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου [διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης], τῇ Ἰστρίν οἱ Μιλησίων οἰκεῖουσι ἄποικοι.

34

1 ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἰστρος, ῥέει γὰρ δι' οἰκεομένης, πρὸς πολλῶν γινώσκεται, περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Νεῖλου πηγέων οὐδεὶς ἔχει λέγειν· ἀοίκητός τε γὰρ καὶ ἔρημος ἐστὶ ἡ Λιβύη δι' ἧς ῥέει. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ῥεύματος αὐτοῦ, ἐπ' ὅσον μακρότατον ἱστορεῦντα ἦν ἐξικέσθαι, εἴρηται· ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἡ δὲ Αἴγυπτος τῆς ὀρεινῆς Κυλικίης μάλιστα κη ἀντίη κέεται· 2 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐς Σινώπην τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ πέντε ἡμερέων ἰθέα ὁδὸς εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί· ἡ δὲ Σινώπη τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκδιδόντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἀντίον κέεται. οὕτω τὸν Νεῖλον δοκέω διὰ πάσης [τῆς] Λιβύης διεξιόντα ἐξισοῦσθαι τῷ Ἰστρῷ. Νεῖλου μὲν νυν πέρι τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

35

1 ἔρχομαι δὲ περὶ Αἰγύπτου μηκυνέων τὸν λόγον, ὅτι πλεῖστα θωμάσια ἔχει [ἢ ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα χώρα] καὶ ἔργα λόγου μέζω παρέχεται πρὸς πᾶσαν χώραν τούτων εἵνεκα πλέω περὶ αὐτῆς εἰρήσεται. 2 Αἰγύπτιοι ἅμα τῷ οὐρανῷ τῷ κατὰ σφέας ἐόντι ἑτεροίῳ καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ φύσιν ἀλλοίην παρεχομένῳ ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἔμπαλιν τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἐστήσαντο ἥθεά τε καὶ νόμους· ἐν τοῖσι αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἀγοράζουσι καὶ καπηλεύουσι, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατ' οἴκους ἐόντες ὑφαίνουσι· ὑφαίνουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνω τὴν κρόκην ὠθέοντες, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ κάτω. 3 τὰ ἄχθεα οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν φορέουσι, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων. οὐρέουσι

αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ὀρθαί, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατήμενοι. εὐμαρεῖη χρέωνται ἐν τοῖσι οἴκοις, ἐσθίουσι δὲ ἔξω ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι ἐπιλέγοντες ὥς τὰ μὲν αἰσχροῦ ἀναγκαῖα δὲ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ἐστὶ ποιέειν χρεόν, τὰ δὲ μὴ αἰσχροῦ ἀναφανδόν. 4 ἱρᾶται γυνὴ μὲν οὐδεμία οὔτε ἔρσηνος θεοῦ οὔτε θηλέης, ἄνδρες δὲ πάντων τε καὶ πασέων. τρέφειν τοὺς τοκέας τοῖσι μὲν παισὶ οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη μὴ βουλομένοις, τῇσι δὲ θυγατράσι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ μὴ βουλομένησι.

36

1 οἱ ἱρέες τῶν θεῶν τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ κομέουσι, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ ξυρῶνται. τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις νόμος ἅμα κηδεῖ κεκάρθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς τοὺς μάλιστα ἰκνέεται, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὑπὸ τοὺς θανάτους ἀνιῇσι τὰς τρίχας αὔξεσθαι τὰς τε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῷ γενεῖῳ, τέως ἐξυρῆμενοι. 2 τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις χωρὶς θηρίων < ἡ > δίαίτα ἀποκέκριται, Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ ὁμοῦ θηρίοις ἡ δίαίτα ἐστὶ. ἀπὸ πυρῶν καὶ κριθέων ὅλλοι ζώουσι, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῷ ποιευμένῳ ἀπὸ τούτων τὴν ζοὴν ὄνειδος μέγιστον ἐστὶ, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ ὀλυρέων ποιεῦνται σιτία, τὰς ζειὰς μετεξέτεροι καλέουσι. 3 φυρῶσι τὸ μὲν σταῖς τοῖσι ποσί, τὸν δὲ πηλὸν τῇσι χερσί, [καὶ τὴν κόπρον ἀναιρέονται]. τὰ αἰδοῖα ὅλλοι μὲν ἐῶσι ὥς ἐγένοντο, πλὴν ὅσοι ἀπὸ τούτων ἔμαθον, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ περιτάμνονται. εἴματα τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἕκαστος ἔχει δύο, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἐν ἐκάστῃ. 4 τῶν ἰστίων τοὺς κρίκους καὶ τοὺς κάλους οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἔξωθεν προσδέουσι, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἔσωθεν. γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζονται ψήφοις Ἕλληνας μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά· καὶ ποιεῦντες ταῦτα αὐτοὶ μὲν φασὶ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ποιέειν, Ἕλληνας δὲ ἐπ' ἀριστερά. διφασίοις δὲ γράμμασι χρέωνται, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἱρὰ τὰ δὲ δημοτικὰ καλέεται.

37

1 θεοσεβέες δὲ περισσῶς ἐόντες μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμοις τοιοῖσιδε χρέωνται. ἐκ χαλκῶν ποτηρίων πίνουσι, διασμώντες ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, οὐκ ὁ μὲν ὁ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντες. 2 εἴματα δὲ λίνεα φορέουσι αἰεὶ νεόπλυτα, ἐπιτηδεύοντες τοῦτο μάλιστα, τὰ τε αἰδοῖα περιτάμνονται καθαριότητος εἵνεκεν, προτιμῶντες καθαροὶ εἶναι ἢ εὐπρεπέστεροι. οἱ δὲ ἱρέες ξυρῶνται πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρης, ἵνα μήτε φθεῖρ μήτε ἄλλο μυσαρὸν

μηδὲν ἐγγίνηται σφι θεραπεύουσι τοὺς θεοὺς. 3 ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι οἱ ἱρέες λινέην μούνην καὶ ὑποδήματα βύβλινα· ἄλλην δὲ σφι ἐσθῆτα οὐκ ἔξεστι λαβεῖν οὐδὲ ὑποδήματα ἄλλα. λουῖνται δὲ δις τῆς ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ψυχρῷ καὶ δις ἐκάστης νυκτός, ἄλλας τε θρησκείας ἐπιτελέουσι μυρίας ὥς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. 4 πάσχουσι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὀλίγα· οὕτε τι γὰρ τῶν οἰκηίων τρίβουσι οὔτε δαπανῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ σιτία σφι ἐστὶ ἱρὰ πεσσόμενα, καὶ κρεῶν βοέων καὶ χηνέων πληθός τι ἐκάστω γίνεται πολλὸν ἡμέρης ἐκάστης, δίδοται δὲ σφι καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος· ἰχθύων δὲ οὐ σφι ἔξεστι πάσασθαι. 5 κυάμους δὲ οὔτε τι μάλα σπείρουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, τοὺς τε γινομένους οὔτε τρώγουσι οὔτε ἔψοντες πατέονται, οἱ δὲ διὰ ἱρέες οὐδὲ ὀρέοντες ἀνέχονται, νομίζοντες οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναι μιν ὄσπριον. ἱρᾶται δὲ οὐκ εἷς ἐκάστου τῶν θεῶν ἀλλὰ πολλοί, τῶν εἷς ἐστὶ ἀρχιερεὺς· ἐπεὰν δὲ τις ἀποθάνῃ, τούτου ὁ παῖς ἀντικατίσταιται.

38

1 τοὺς δὲ βοῦς τοὺς ἔρσενας τοῦ Ἐπάφου εἶναι νομίζουσι, καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκιμάζουσι αὐτοὺς ὧδε· τρίχα ἦν καὶ μίαν ἴδηται ἐπεοῦσαν μέλαιναν, οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναι νομίζει. 2 δίζηται δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένος τῶν τις ἱρέων καὶ ὀρθοῦ ἐστεῶτος τοῦ κτήneos καὶ ὑπτίου, καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐξειρύσας, εἰ καθαρὴ τῶν προκειμένων σημηίων, τὰ ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἐρέω· κατορᾷ δὲ καὶ τὰς τρίχας τῆς οὐρῆς εἰ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει πεφυκυίας. 3 ἦν δὲ τούτων πάντων ἡ καθαρὸς, σημαίνεται βύβλῳ περὶ τὰ κέρεια εἰλίσσων καὶ ἔπειτα γῆν σημαντρίδα ἐπιπλάσας ἐπιβάλλει τὸν δακτύλιον, καὶ οὕτω ἀπάγουσι. ἀσήμαντον δὲ θύσαντι θάνατος ἢ ζημὴ ἐπικέεται. δοκιμάζεται μὲν νυν τὸ κτῆνος τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, θυσίῃ δὲ σφι ἥδε κατέστηκε.

39

1 ἀγαγόντες τὸ σεσημασμένον κτῆνος πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ὅκου ἂν θύωσι, πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ οἶνον κατὰ τοῦ ἱρηίου ἐπισπείσαντες καὶ ἐπικαλέσαντες τὸν θεὸν σφάζουσι, σφάζαντες δὲ ἀποτάμνουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν. 2 σῶμα μὲν δὴ τοῦ κτήneos δείρουσι, κεφαλῇ δὲ κείνη πολλὰ καταρησάμενοι φέρουσι, τοῖσι μὲν ἂν ἡ ἀγορὴ καὶ Ἑλληνές σφι ἔωσι ἐπιδήμιοι ἔμποροι, οἱ δὲ φέροντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀπ' ὧν ἔδοντο, τοῖσι δὲ ἂν μὴ παρέωσι Ἑλληνες, οἱ δ' ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμόν· 3 καταρῶνται δὲ τάδε λέγοντες τῇσι

κεφαλῇσι, εἴ τι μέλλοι ἢ σφίσι τοῖσι θύουσι ἢ Αἰγύπτῳ τῇ συναπάσῃ
κακὸν γενέσθαι, ἐς κεφαλὴν ταύτην τραπέσθαι. 4 κατὰ μὲν νυν τὰς
κεφαλὰς τῶν θυομένων κτηνέων καὶ τὴν ἐπίσπεισιν τοῦ οἴνου πάντες
Αἰγύπτιοι νόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται ὁμοίως ἐς πάντα τὰ ἱρά,
καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ νόμου οὐδὲ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἐμψύχου κεφαλῆς
γεύσεται Αἰγυπτίων οὐδεῖς.

40

1 ἡ δὲ δὴ ἐξαίρεσις τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ ἡ καὺσις ἄλλη περὶ ἄλλο ἱρόν
σφι κατέστηκε· τὴν δ' ὧν μεγίστην τε δαίμονα ἥγνηται εἶναι καὶ
μεγίστην οἱ ὀρτὴν ἀνάγουσι, ταύτην ἔρχομαι ἐρέων....1 2 ἐπεὰν
ἀποδεῖρωσι τὸν βοῦν, κατευξάμενοι κοιλίην μὲν κείνην πᾶσαν ἐξ ὧν
εἶλον, σπλάγχνα δὲ αὐτοῦ λείπουν ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν πιμελήν,
σκέλεα δὲ ἀποτάμνουσι καὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν ἄκρην καὶ τοὺς ὠμούς τε καὶ
τὸν τράχηλον. 3 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα τοῦ βοῦς
πιμπλάσι ἄρτων καθαρῶν καὶ μέλιτος καὶ ἀσταφίδος καὶ σύκων καὶ
λιβανωτοῦ καὶ σμύρνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυωμάτων, πλήσαντες δὲ
τούτων καταγίζουσι, ἔλαιον ἄφθονον καταχέοντες· 4
προνηστεύσαντες δὲ θύουσι, καιομένων δὲ τῶν ἱρῶν τύπτονται
πάντες, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποτύψωνται, δαῖτα προτίθενται τὰ ἐλίποντο τῶν
ἱρῶν.

41

1 τοὺς μὲν νυν καθαροὺς βοῦς τοὺς ἔρσενας καὶ τοὺς μόσχους οἱ
πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι θύουσι, τὰς δὲ θηλέας οὐ σφι ἔξεστι θύειν, ἀλλὰ
ἱραὶ εἰσι τῆς Ἰσιος· 2 τὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἰσιος ἄγαλμα ἐὼν γυναικίον
βούκερων ἐστὶ κατὰ περ Ἑλλήνες τὴν Ἰοῦν γράφουσι, καὶ τὰς βοῦς
τὰς θηλέας Αἰγύπτιοι πάντες ὁμοίως σέβονται προβάτων πάντων
μάλιστα μακρῶ. 3 τῶν εἵνεκα οὔτε ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος οὔτε γυνὴ ἄνδρα
Ἑλληνα φιλήσειε ἂν τῷ στόματι, οὐδὲ μαχαίρῃ ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος
χρήσεται οὐδὲ ὀβελοῖσι οὐδὲ λέβητι, οὐδὲ κρέως καθαροῦ βοῦς
διατετμημένου Ἑλληνικῇ μαχαίρῃ γεύσεται. 4 θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς
ἀποθνήσκοντας βοῦς τρόπον τόνδε· τὰς μὲν θηλέας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν
ἀπιεῖσι, τοὺς δὲ ἔρσενας κατορύσσουσι ἕκαστοι ἐν τοῖσι
προαστείοις, τὸ κέρας τὸ ἕτερον ἢ καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ὑπερέχοντα
σημίου εἵνεκεν· ἐπεὰν δὲ σαπῇ καὶ προσίῃ ὁ τεταγμένος χρόνος,
ἀπικνέεται ἐς ἐκάστην πόλιν βᾶρις ἐκ τῆς Προσωπίτιδος καλυμένης

νήσου. 5 ἢ δ' ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῷ Δέλτα, περίμετρον δὲ αὐτῆς εἰσὶ σχοῖνοι ἐννέα. ἐν ταύτῃ ὧ τῇ Προσωπίτιδι νήσῳ ἔννευσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις συχναί, ἐκ τῆς δὲ αἱ βάρειες παραγίνονται ἀναιρησόμεναι τὰ ὅστέα τῶν βοῶν, οὖνομα τῇ πόλι Ἀτάρβηχης, ἐν δ' αὐτῇ Ἀφροδίτης ἱρὸν ἅγιον ἱδρυται. 6 ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλανῶνται πολλοὶ ἄλλοι ἐς ἄλλας πόλεις, ἀνορύξαντες δὲ τὰ ὅστέα ἀπάγουσι καὶ θάπτουσι ἐς ἓνα χῶρον πάντες. κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοῖσι βουσί καὶ ἄλλα κτήνεα θάπτουσι ἀποθνήσκοντα· καὶ γὰρ περὶ ταῦτα οὕτω σφι νενομοθέτῃται· κτείνουσι γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ ταῦτα.

42

1 ὅσοι μὲν δὴ Διὸς Θηβαίεος ἱδρυνται ἱρὸν ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαίου εἰσὶ, οὗτοι μὲν νυν πάντες οἷων ἀπεχόμενοι αἶγας θύουσι. 2 θεοὺς γὰρ δὴ οὐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες ὁμοίως Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἰσιός τε καὶ Ὀσίριος, τὸν δὴ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι· τούτους δὲ ὁμοίως ἅπαντες σέβονται. ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ Μένδητος ἔκτῃνται ἱρὸν ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ Μενδησίου εἰσὶ, οὗτοι δὲ αἰγῶν ἀπεχόμενοι οἷς θύουσι. 3 Θηβαῖοι μὲν νυν καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τούτους οἷων ἀπέχονται, διὰ τὰδε λέγουσι τὸν νόμον τόνδε σφίσι τεθῆναι. Ἡρακλέα θελῆσαι πάντως ιδέσθαι τὸν Δία, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλῃν ὀφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· τέλος δέ, ἐπεῖτε λιπαρέειν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τὰδε τὸν Δία μηχανήσασθαι· 4 κριὸν ἐκδείραντα προσχέσθαι τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποταμόντα τοῦ κριοῦ καὶ ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκος οὕτω οἱ ἐωυτὸν ἐπιδέξει. ἀπὸ τούτου κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Διὸς τῷγαλμα ποιεῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων Ἀμμώνιοι, ἐόντες Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν ἄποικοι καὶ φωνὴν μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων νομίζοντες. 5 δοκέειν δέ μοι, καὶ τὸ οὖνομα Ἀμμώνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦδε σφίσι τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἐποιήσαντο· Ἀμοῦν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τὸν Δία. τοὺς δὲ κριοὺς οὐ θύουσι Θηβαῖοι, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ σφι ἱροὶ διὰ τοῦτο. 6 μὴ δὲ ἡμέρη τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐν ὁρτῇ τοῦ Διός, κριὸν ἓνα κατακόψαντες καὶ ἀποδείραντες κατὰ τῶντὸ ἐνδύουσι τῷγαλμα τοῦ Διός, καὶ ἔπειτα ἄλλο ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέος προσάγουσι πρὸς αὐτό. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τύπτονται οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἅπαντες τὸν κριὸν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν ἱρῇ θήκῃ θάπτουσι αὐτόν.

43

1 Ἡρακλέος δὲ πέρι τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἤκουσα, ὅτι εἴη τῶν δωδέκα

θεῶν· τοῦ ἑτέρου δὲ περὶ Ἡρακλέος, τὸν Ἕλληνες οἶδασι, οὐδαμῇ Αἰγύπτου ἐδυνάσθηεν ἀκοῦσαι. 2 καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον τὸ οὖνομα Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, ἀλλὰ Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον παρ' Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων οὗτοι οἱ θέμενοι τῷ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γόνῳ τοῦνομα Ἡρακλέα, πολλά μοι καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήρια ἐστὶ τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχειν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὅτι τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέος τούτου οἱ γονεὲς ἀμφοτέρω ἦσαν Ἀμφιτρύων καὶ Ἀλκμήνη γεγονότες τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, καὶ διότι Αἰγύπτιοι οὔτε Ποσειδέωνος οὔτε Διοσκούρων τὰ οὐνόματα φασὶ εἰδέναι, οὐδὲ σφι θεοὶ οὗτοι ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἀποδεδέχεται. 3 καὶ μὴν εἴ γε παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον οὖνομά τευ δαίμονος, τούτων οὐκ ἦκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα ἔμελλον μνήμην ἔξειν, εἴ περ καὶ τότε ναυτιλίῃσι ἐχρέωντο καὶ ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ναυτίλοι, ὥς ἔλπομαί τε καὶ ἐμὴ γνώμη αἰρέει· ὥστε τούτων ἂν καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν θεῶν τὰ οὐνόματα ἐξεπιστέατο Αἰγύπτιοι ἢ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. 4 ἀλλὰ τις ἀρχαῖος ἐστὶ θεὸς Αἰγυπτίοις Ἡρακλέης· ὥς δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἕτα ἐστὶ ἐπτακισχίλια καὶ μύρια ἐς Ἄμασιν βασιλεύσαντα, ἐπεῖτε ἐκ τῶν ὀκτὼ θεῶν οἱ δωδέκα θεοὶ ἐγένοντο τῶν Ἡρακλέα ἓνα νομίζουσι.

44

1 καὶ θέλων δὲ τούτων περὶ σαφές τι εἰδέναι ἐξ ὧν οἶόν τε ἦν, ἔπλευσα καὶ ἐς Τύρον τῆς Φοινίκης, πυνθανόμενος αὐτόθι εἶναι ἱρὸν Ἡρακλέος ἁγίον. 2 καὶ εἶδον πλουσίως κατεσκευασμένον ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖσι ἀναθήμασι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἦσαν στῆλαι δύο, ἡ μὲν χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἡ δὲ σμαράγδου λίθου λάμποντος τὰς νύκτας μέγαθος. ἐς λόγους δὲ ἐλθὼν τοῖσι ἱρεῦσι τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρόμην ὁκόσος χρόνος εἴη ἐξ οὗ σφι τὸ ἱρὸν ἱδρυται. 3 εὗρον δὲ οὐδὲ τούτους τοῖσι Ἕλλησι συμφερομένους· ἔφασαν γὰρ ἅμα Τύρῳ οἰκίζομένη καὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἱδρυθῆναι, εἶναι δὲ ἕτα ἀπ' οὗ Τύρον οἰκέουσι τριηκόσια καὶ δισχίλια. εἶδον δὲ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ καὶ ἄλλο ἱρὸν Ἡρακλέος ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντος Θασίου εἶναι· 4 ἀπικόμεν δὲ καὶ ἐς Θάσον, ἐν τῇ εὗρον ἱρὸν Ἡρακλέος ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἱδρυμένον, οἱ κατ' Εὐρώπης ζήτησιν ἐκπλώσαντες Θάσον ἔκτισαν· καὶ ταῦτα καὶ πέντε γενεῇσι ἀνδρῶν πρότερα ἐστὶ ἢ τὸν Ἀμφιτρύωνος Ἡρακλέα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γενέσθαι. 5 τὰ μὲν νυν ἱστορημένα δηλοῖ σαφῶς παλαιὸν θεὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐόντα, καὶ δοκέουσι δέ μοι οὗτοι ὀρθότατα Ἑλλήνων ποιεῖν, οἱ δι᾽ Ἡράκλεια ἱδρυσάμενοι ἔκηνται, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὡς ἀθανάτῳ Ὀλυμπίῳ

δὲ ἐπωνυμίην θύουσι, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ ὡς ἥρωι ἐναγίζουσι.

45

¹ λέγουσι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ Ἕλληνες, εὐήθης δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅδε ὁ μῦθος ἐστὶ τὸν περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος λέγουσι, ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπικόμενον ἐς Αἴγυπτον στέψαντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ πομπῆς ἐξῆγον ὡς θύσοντες τῷ Διί· τὸν δὲ τέως μὲν ἡσυχίην ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ κατάρχοντο, ἐς ἄλκην τραπόμενον πάντας σφέας καταφονεῦσαι. ² ἐμοὶ μὲν νυν δοκέουσι ταῦτα λέγοντες τῆς Αἰγυπτίων φύσιος καὶ τῶν νόμων πάμπαν ἀπείρως ἔχειν οἱ Ἕλληνες· τοῖσι γὰρ οὐδὲ κτήνεα ὁσὶν θύειν ἐστὶ χωρὶς ὕν καὶ ἐρσένων βοῶν καὶ μόσχων, ὅσοι ἂν καθαροὶ ἔωσι, καὶ χηνῶν, κῶς ἂν οὗτοι ἀνθρώπους θύοιεν; ³ ἔτι δὲ ἓνα ἐόντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ ἔτι ἄνθρωπον, ὡς δὴ φασί, κῶς φύσιν ἔχει πολλὰς μυριάδας φονεῦσαι; καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν εἰποῦσι καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡρώων εὐμένεια εἶη.

46

¹ τὰς δὲ δὴ αἶγας καὶ τοὺς τράγους τῶνδε εἵνεκα οὐ θύουσι Αἰγυπτίων οἱ εἰρημένοι· τὸν Πᾶνα τῶν ὀκτῶ θεῶν λογίζονται εἶναι οἱ Μενδήσιοι, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτῶ θεοὺς τούτους προτέρους τῶν δωδέκα θεῶν φασὶ γενέσθαι. ² γράφουσί τε δὴ καὶ γλύφουσι οἱ ζωγράφοι καὶ οἱ ἀγαλματοποιοὶ τοῦ Πανὸς τῷγαλμα κατὰ περ Ἕλληνες αἰγοπρόσωπον καὶ τραγοσκελέα, οὔτι τοιοῦτον νομίζοντες εἶναι μιν ἀλλὰ ὁμοῖον τοῖσι ἄλλοις θεοῖς· ὅτεν δὲ εἵνεκα τοιοῦτον γράφουσι αὐτόν, οὐ μοι ἥδιον ἐστὶ λέγειν. ³ σέβονται δὲ πάντας τοὺς αἶγας οἱ Μενδήσιοι, καὶ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἔρσενας τῶν θηλέων, καὶ τούτων οἱ αἰπόλοι τιμὰς μέζονας ἔχουσι· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἓνα μάλιστα, ὅστις ἐπεὰν ἀποθάνῃ, πένθος μέγα παντὶ τῷ Μενδησίῳ νομῷ τίθεται. ⁴ καλέεται δὲ ὁ τε τράγος καὶ ὁ Πᾶν Αἰγυπτιστὶ Μένδης. ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ τοῦτο τὸ τέρας· γυναικὶ τράγος ἐμίσγετο ἀναφανδόν. τοῦτο ἔς ἐπίδεξιν ἀνθρώπων ἀπίκετο.

47

¹ ὅν δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι μιὰρὸν ἡγῆνται θηρίον εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἦν τις ψαύση αὐτῶν παριῶν αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἱματίοις ἀπ' ὧν ἔβαψε ἐωυτὸν βὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμόν· τοῦτο δὲ οἱ συβῶται ἐόντες Αἰγύπτιοι

ἐγγενέες ἐς ἱρὸν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐσέρχονται μούνοι πάντων, οὐδέ σφι ἐκδίδοσθαι οὐδεὶς θυγατέρα ἐθέλει οὐδ' ἄγεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκδίδονται τε οἱ συβῶται καὶ ἄγονται ἐξ ἀλλήλων. 2 τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι θύειν ὅς οὐ δικαιοῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι, Σελήνη δὲ καὶ Διονύσῳ μούνοισι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, τῇ αὐτῇ πανσελήνῳ, [τοὺς] ὅς θύσαντες πατέονται τῶν κρεῶν. διότι δὲ τοὺς ὅς ἐν μὲν τῇσι ἄλλησι ὀρτῇσι ἀπεστιυγήκασιν ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ θύουσι, ἔστι μὲν λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγόμενος, ἐμοὶ μέντοι ἐπισταμένῳ οὐκ εὐπρεπέστερος ἐστὶ λέγεσθαι. 3 θυσίῃ δὲ ἥδε τῶν ὑῶν τῇ Σελήνῃ ποιεέται· ἐπεὰν θύσῃ, τὴν οὐρὴν ἄκρην καὶ τὸν σπλῆνα καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλοον συνθείς ὁμοῦ κατ' ὧν ἐκάλυψε πάσῃ τοῦ κτήνεος τῇ πιμελῇ τῇ περὶ τὴν νηδὺν γινομένη, καὶ ἔπειτα καταγίξει πυρί· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα σιτέονται ἐν τῇ πανσελήνῳ ἐν τῇ ἂν τὰ ἱρά θύσωσι, ἐν ἄλλῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ οὐκ ἂν ἔτι γευσαίαιτο. οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου σταιτίνας πλάσαντες ὅς καὶ ὀπτήσαντες ταύτας θύουσι.

48

1 τῷ δὲ Διονύσῳ τῆς ἐορτῆς τῇ δορπίῃ χοῖρον πρὸ τῶν θυρέων σφάζας ἕκαστος διδοῖ ἀποφέρεισθαι τὸν χοῖρον αὐτῷ τῷ ἀποδομένῳ τῶν συβωτέων. 2 τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἀνάγουσι ὀρτὴν τῷ Διονύσῳ [οἱ] Αἰγύπτιοι πλὴν χορῶν κατὰ ταῦτα σχεδὸν πάντα Ἑλλήσι· ἀντὶ δὲ φαλλῶν ἄλλα σφι ἐστὶ ἐξευρημένα, ὅσον τε πηχυαῖα ἀγάλματα νευρόσπαστα, τὰ περιφορέουσι κατὰ κώμας γυναῖκες, νεῦον τὸ αἰδοῖον, οὐ πολλῶν τεφ' ἔλασσον ἐὼν τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος· προηγέεται δὲ αὐλός, αἱ δὲ ἔπονται ἀείδουσαι τὸν Διόνυσον. 3 διότι δὲ μέζον τε ἔχει τὸ αἰδοῖον καὶ κινεῖ μούνον τοῦ σώματος, ἔστι λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱρὸς λεγόμενος.

49

1 ἥδη ὧν δοκέει μοι Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμυθέωνος τῆς θυσίης ταύτης οὐκ εἶναι ἀδαῆς ἀλλ' ἔμπειρος. Ἑλλήσι γὰρ δὴ Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξηγηγσάμενος τοῦ Διονύσου τό τε οὔνομα καὶ τὴν θυσίην καὶ τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ φαλλοῦ· ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐ πάντα συλλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ἔφηνε, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐπιγενόμενοι τούτῳ σοφισταὶ μεζόνως ἐξέφηναν· τὸν δ' ὧν φαλλὸν τὸν τῷ Διονύσῳ πεμπόμενον Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ὁ κατηγηγσάμενος, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου μαθόντες ποιεῦσι τὰ ποιεῦσι

Ἕλληνες. ² ἐγὼ μὲν νυν φημὶ Μελάμποδα γενόμενον ἄνδρα σοφὸν μαντικὴν τε ἐωυτῷ συστήσαι καὶ πυθόμενον ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐσηγήσασθαι Ἕλλησι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, ὀλίγα αὐτῶν παραλλάξαντα. οὐ γὰρ δὴ συμπεσεῖν γε φήσω τὰ τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποιούμενα τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι· ὁμότροπα γὰρ ἂν ἦν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι καὶ οὐ νεωστὶ ἐσηγμένα. ³ οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ φήσω ὅπως Αἰγύπτιοι παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον ἢ τοῦτο ἢ ἄλλο κού τι νόμαιοι. πυθέσθαι δέ μοι δοκεῖ μάλιστα Μελάμπους τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παρὰ Κάδμου τε τοῦ Τυρίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν νῦν Βοιωτὴν καλεομένην χώραν.

50

¹ σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντων τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐλήλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦκει, πυνθανόμενος οὕτω εὐρίσκω ἐόν· δοκέω δ' ὧν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπῖχθαι. ² ὅτι γὰρ δὴ μὴ Ποσειδέωνος καὶ Διοσκούρων, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι ταῦτα εἴρηται, καὶ Ἥρης καὶ Ἰστίης καὶ Θέμιος καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Νηρηίδων, τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Αἰγυπτίοισι αἰεὶ κοτε τὰ οὐνόματα ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν δὲ οὐ φασι θεῶν γινώσκειν τὰ οὐνόματα, οὗτοι δέ μοι δοκεῖν ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ὀνομασθῆναι, πλὴν Ποσειδέωνος· τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεὸν παρὰ Λιβύων ἐπύθοντο· ³ οὐδαμοὶ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Ποσειδέωνος οὐνομα ἔκτηνται εἰ μὴ Λίβυες καὶ τιμῶσι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον αἰεὶ. νομίζουσι δ' ὧν Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδ' ἥρωσι οὐδέν.

51

¹ ταῦτα μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτοις, τὰ ἐγὼ φράσω, Ἕλληνες ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων νενομίκασι· τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμέω τὰ ἀγάλματα ὀρθὰ ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα ποιεῦντες οὐκ ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν πρῶτοι μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων Ἀθηναῖοι παραλαβόντες, παρὰ δὲ τούτων ἄλλοι. ² Ἀθηναίοισι γὰρ ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἑλληνας τελέουσι Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὅθεν περ καὶ Ἕλληνες ἤρξαντο νομισθῆναι. ὅστις δὲ τὰ Καβείρων ὄργια μεμύηται, τὰ Σαμοθρήκες ἐπιτελέουσι παραλαβόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, οὗτος ὦν ὁ οἶδε τὸ λέγω· ³ τὴν γὰρ Σαμοθρήκην οἶκεον πρότερον Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι οἱ περ Ἀθηναίοισι σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο, [καὶ παρὰ τούτων Σαμοθρήκες τὰ ὄργια παραλαμβάνουσι]. ⁴ ὀρθὰ ὧν

ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα τὰγάλατα τοῦ Ἑρμέω Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν ἐποιήσαντο· οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ἰρόν τινα λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεξαν, [τὰ ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Σαμοθρίκῃ μυστηρίοις δεδοῦλωται].

52

¹ ἔθουν δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῖσι ἐπευχόμενοι, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐν Δωδώνῃ οἶδα ἀκούσας, ἐπωνυμίην δὲ οὐδ' οὔνομα ἐποιεῦντο οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἀκηκόεσάν κω. θεοὺς δὲ προσωνόμασαν σφέας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου, ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομὰς εἶχον. ² ἔπειτα δὲ χρόνου πολλοῦ διεξελθόντος ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπικόμενα τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων, (Διονύσου δὲ ὕστερον πολλῶ ἐπύθοντο). καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐχρηστηρίαζοντο περὶ τῶν οὐνομάτων ἐν Δωδώνῃ· (τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήιον τοῦτο νενόμισται ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι χρηστηρίων εἶναι, καὶ ἦν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον μόνον). ³ ἐπεὶ ὦν ἐχρηστηρίαζοντο ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ οἱ Πελασγοὶ εἰ ἀνέλωνται τὰ οὐνόματα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦκοντα, ἀνείλε τὸ μαντήιον χρᾶσθαι. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔθουν τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν θεῶν χρεώμενοι· παρὰ δὲ Πελασγῶν Ἑλληνας ἐξεδέξαντο ὕστερον.

53

¹ ἔνθεν δὲ ἐγένοντο ἕκαστος τῶν θεῶν, εἴτε αἰεὶ ἦσαν πάντες, ὁκοῖοι τε τινὲς τὰ εἶδα, οὐκ ἠπιστέατο μέχρι οὗ πρῶν τε καὶ χθὲς ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. ² Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοις ἔτεσι δοκέω μεν πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι καὶ οὐ πλέοσι· οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἑλλήσι καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες καὶ τιμὰς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες καὶ εἶδα αὐτῶν σημῆναντες. ³ οἱ δὲ πρότερον ποιηταὶ λεγόμενοι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι ὕστερον, ἔμοιγε δοκέειν, ἐγένοντο. τούτων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα αἱ Δωδωνίδες ἱρεῖαι λέγουσι, τὰ δὲ ὕστερα τὰ ἐς Ἡσίοδόν τε καὶ Ὅμηρον ἔχοντα ἐγὼ λέγω.

54

¹ χρηστηρίων δὲ περὶ τοῦ τε ἐν Ἑλλήσι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ τόνδε Αἰγύπτιοι λόγον λέγουσι. ἔφασαν οἱ ἱεεὺς τοῦ Θηβαίου Διὸς δύο γυναῖκας ἱερείας ἐκ Θηβέων ἐξαχθῆναι ὑπὸ Φοινίκων, καὶ τὴν μὲν

αυτέων πυθέσθαι ἐς Λιβύην πρηθεῖσαν τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας· ταύτας δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας εἶναι τὰς ἰδρυσαμένας τὰ μαντήια πρῶτας ἐν τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι ἔθνεσι. 2 εἰρομένου δέ μευ ὁκόθεν οὕτω ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγουσι, ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα ζήτησιν μεγάλην ἀπὸ σφέων γενέσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν τουτέων, καὶ ἀνευρεῖν μὲν σφέας οὐ δυνατοὶ γενέσθαι, πυθέσθαι δὲ ὕστερον ταῦτα περὶ αὐτέων τά περ δὴ ἔλεγον.

55

1 ταῦτα μὲν νυν τῶν ἐν Θήβησι ἱρέων ἤκουον, τάδε δὲ Δωδωναίων φασὶ αἱ προμάντιες· δύο πελειάδας μελαίνας ἐκ Θηβέων τῶν Αἰγυπτιέων ἀναπαμένας τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λιβύην τὴν δὲ παρὰ σφέας ἀπικέσθαι, 2 ἰζομένην δέ μιν ἐπὶ φηγὸν αὐδάξασθαι φωνῇ ἀνθρωπινή ὡς χρεὸν εἶη μαντήιον αὐτόθι Διὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβεῖν θεῖον εἶναι τὸ ἐπαγγελλούμενον αὐτοῖσι, καὶ σφεας ἐκ τούτου ποιῆσαι. 3 τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Λίβυας οἰχομένην πελειάδα λέγουσι Ἄμμωνος χρηστήριον κελεῦσαι τοὺς Λίβυας ποιέειν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Διὸς. Δωδωναίων δὲ αἱ ἱρεῖαι, τῶν τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ οὖνομα ἦν Προμένεια, τῇ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην Τιμαρέτῃ, τῇ δὲ νεωτάτῃ Νικάνδρῃ, ἔλεγον ταῦτα· συνωμολόγεον δέ σφι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Δωδωναῖοι οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρόν.

56

1 ἐγὼ δ' ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην τήνδε· εἰ ἀληθές οἱ Φοίνικες ἐξήγαγον τὰς ἱρὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λιβύην τὴν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπέδοντο, δοκεῖ ἐμοί ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη τῆς νῦν Ἑλλάδος, πρότερον δὲ Πελασγίης καλευμένης τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης, πρηθῆναι ἐς Θεσπρωτοῦς, 2 ἔπειτα δουλεύουσα αὐτόθι ἰδρύσασθαι ὑπὸ φηγῷ πεφυκίῃ ἱρὸν Διὸς, ὥσπερ ἦν οἶκος ἀμφιπολεύουσιν ἐν Θήβησι ἱρὸν Διὸς, ἔνθα ἀπίκετο, ἐνθαῦτα μνήμην αὐτοῦ ἔχειν· 3 ἐκ δὲ τούτου χρηστήριον κατηγήσατο, ἐπεῖτε συνέλαβε τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν· φάναι δὲ οἱ ἀδελφεὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ πεπρῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Φοινίκων ὑπ' ὧν καὶ αὕτῃ ἐπρήθη.

57

1 πελειάδες δέ μοι δοκεῖν κληθῆναι πρὸς Δωδωναίων ἐπὶ τοῦδε αἱ γυναῖκες, διότι βάρβαροι ἦσαν, ἐδόκεον δὲ σφι ὁμοίως ὄρνισι

φθέγγεσθαι· 2 μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τὴν πελειάδα ἀνθρωπῆι φωνῇ
αὐδάξασθαι λέγουσι, ἐπεῖτε συνετά σφι ἡῦδα ἢ γυνή· ἕως δὲ
ἐβαρβάριζε, ὄρνιθος τρόπον ἐδόκεε σφι φθέγγεσθαι, ἐπεὶ τέω ἂν
τρόπῳ πελειάς γε ἀνθρωπῆι φωνῇ φθέγγαιτο; μέλαιναν δὲ λέγοντες
εἶναι τὴν πελειάδα σημαίνουνσι ὅτι Αἰγυπτίη ἢ γυνή ἦν. 3 ἡ δὲ
μαντήϊ ἥ τε ἐν Θήβησι τῇσι Αἰγυπτίησι καὶ ἐν Δωδώνῃ
παραπλήσιαι ἀλλήλησι τυγχάνουσι ἐοῦσαι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν ἡ
μαντικὴ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπιγμένη.

58

1 πανηγύρις δὲ ἄρα καὶ πομπὰς καὶ προσαγωγὰς πρῶτοι
ἀνθρώπων Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιησάμενοι, καὶ παρὰ τούτων Ἕλληνες
μεμαθήκασι. τεκμήριον δὲ μοι τούτου τόδε· αἱ μὲν γὰρ φαίνονται ἐκ
πολλοῦ τευ χρόνου ποιούμεναι, αἱ δὲ Ἑλληνικαὶ νεωστὶ ἐποιήθησαν.

59

1 πανηγυρίζουσι δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι οὐκ ἄπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, πανηγύρις
δὲ συχνάς, μάλιστα μὲν καὶ προθυμότατα ἐς Βούβαστιν πόλιν τῇ
Ἀρτέμιδι, δευτέρα δὲ ἐς Βούσιριν πόλιν τῇ Ἰσι· 2 ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ δὴ τῇ
πόλει ἐστὶ μέγιστον Ἰσιος ἱρόν, ἱδρυται δὲ ἡ πόλις αὕτη τῆς Αἰγύπτου
ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Δέλτα· Ἰσις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν
Δημήτηρ. 3 τρίτα δὲ ἐς Σάιν πόλιν τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ πανηγυρίζουσι,
τέταρτα δὲ ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν τῷ Ἡλίῳ, πέμπτα δὲ ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν τῇ
Λητοί, ἕκτα δὲ ἐς Πάπρημιν πόλιν τῷ Ἀρεῖ.

60

1 ἐς μὲν νυν Βούβαστιν πόλιν ἐπεὰν κομίζωνται, ποιεῦσι τοιάδε.
πλέουσί τε γὰρ δὴ ἅμα ἄνδρες γυναῖξί καὶ πολλόν τι πλῆθος
ἐκατέρων ἐν ἐκάστη βάρῃ· αἱ μὲν τινὲς τῶν γυναικῶν κρόταλα
ἔχουσαι κροταλίζουσι, οἱ δὲ αὐλέουσι κατὰ πάντα τὸν πλόον, αἱ δὲ
λοιπαὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες ἀεῖδουσι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας κροτέουσι. 2
ἐπεὰν δὲ πλέοντες κατὰ τινα πόλιν ἄλλην γένωνται, ἐγχρίμψαντες
τὴν βάριν τῇ γῇ ποιεῦσι τοιάδε· αἱ μὲν τινὲς τῶν γυναικῶν ποιεῦσι τὰ
περ εἶρηκα, αἱ δὲ τωθάζουσι βοῶσαι τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ γυναῖκας,
αἱ δὲ ὀρχέονται, αἱ δὲ ἀνασύρονται ἀνιστάμεναι. ταῦτα παρὰ πᾶσαν
πόλιν παραποταμίνην ποιεῦσι· 3 ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίκωνται ἐς τὴν
Βούβαστιν, ὀρτάζουσι μεγάλας ἀνάγοντες θυσίας, καὶ οἶνος

ἀμπέλινος ἀναισιμοῦται πλέων ἐν τῇ ὀρτῇ ταύτῃ ἢ ἐν τῷ ἅπαντι ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ ἐπιλοίπῳ. συμφοιτῶσι δέ, ὃ τι ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή ἐστι πλὴν παιδίων, καὶ ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα μυριάδας, ὡς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι.

61

1 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ ποιέεται, ἐν δὲ Βουσίρι πόλι ὡς ἀνάγουσι τῇ Ἰσι τὴν ὀρτὴν, εἴρηται προτερόν μοι· τύπτονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τὴν θυσίην πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι, μυριάδες κάρτα πολλαὶ ἀνθρώπων· τὸν δὲ τύπτονται, οὗ μοι ὅσιον ἐστὶ λέγειν. 2 ὅσοι δὲ Καρῶν εἰσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντες, οὗτοι δὲ τοσοῦτῳ ἔτι πλέω ποιεῦσι τούτων ὅσῳ καὶ τὰ μέτωπα κόπτονται μαχαίρῃσι, καὶ τούτῳ εἰσὶ δῆλοι ὅτι εἰσὶ ξεῖνοι καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι.

62

1 ἐς Σάιν δὲ πόλιν ἐπεὰν συλλεχθέωσι, τῆς θυσίης ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ λύχνα καίουσι πάντες πολλὰ ὑπαίθρια περὶ τὰ δώματα κύκλῳ· τὰ δὲ λύχνα ἐστὶ ἐμβάφια ἔμπλεα ἀλὸς καὶ ἐλαίου, ἐπιπολῆς δὲ ἔπεστι αὐτὸ τὸ ἐλλύχνιον, καὶ τοῦτο καίεται παννύχιον, καὶ τῇ ὀρτῇ οὕνομα κέεται λυγνοκαΐη. 2 οἱ δ' ἂν μὴ ἔλθωσι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὴν πανήγυριν ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν νύκτα τῆς θυσίης καίουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες τὰ λύχνα, καὶ οὕτω οὐκ ἐν Σαί μούνη καίεται ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον. ὅτεν δὲ εἵνεκα φῶς ἔλαχε καὶ τιμὴν ἢ νύξ αὕτη, ἔστι ἱρὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος λεγόμενος.

63

1 ἐς δὲ Ἥλιου τε πόλιν καὶ Βουτοῦν θυσίας μούνας ἐπιτελέουσι φοιτέοντες. ἐν δὲ Παπρήμῃ θυσίας μὲν καὶ ἱρὰ κατὰ περ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ποιεῦσι· εὐτ' ἂν δὲ γίνηται καταφερῆς ὁ ἥλιος, ὀλίγοι μὲν τινὲς τῶν ἱρέων περὶ τῷγαλμα πεπονέαται, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ξύλων κορύνας ἔχοντες ἐστᾶσι τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ἄλλοι τε εὐχλωὰς ἐπιτελέοντες πλεῦνες χιλίων ἀνδρῶν, ἕκαστοι ἔχοντες ξύλα καὶ οὗτοι, ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτερα ἀλέες ἐστᾶσι. 2 τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐὸν ἐν νηῷ μικρῷ ξυλίνῳ κατακεχρυσωμένῳ προεκκομίζουσι τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐς ἄλλο οἶκημα ἱρόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ὀλίγοι οἱ περὶ τῷγαλμα λελειμμένοι ἔλκουσι τετράκυκλον ἄμαξαν ἄγουσαν τὸν νηόν τε καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ νηῷ ἐνεδὸν ἄγαλμα, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐῷσι ἐν τοῖσι προπυλαίοις ἐστεῶτες ἐσιέναι, οἱ δὲ εὐχωλιμαῖοι τιμωρέοντες τῷ θεῷ παίουσι αὐτοὺς ἀλεξομένους. 3

ἐνθαῦτα μάχη ξύλοισι καρτερῇ γίνεται κεφαλὰς τε συναράσσονται, καὶ ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω πολλοὶ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων· οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Αἰγύπτιοι ἔφασαν ἀποθνήσκειν οὐδένα. 4 τὴν δὲ πανήγυριν ταύτην ἐκ τοῦδε νομίσαι φασὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι· οἰκέειν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτῳ τοῦ Ἄρεος τὴν μητέρα, καὶ τὸν Ἄρεα ἀπότροφον γενόμενον ἐλθεῖν ἐξανδρωμένον ἐθέλοντα τῇ μητρὶ συμμῖξαι, καὶ τοὺς προπόλους τῆς μητρός, οἷα οὐκ ὁπωπότης αὐτὸν πρότερον, οὐ περιορᾶν παριέναι ἀλλὰ ἀπερύκειν, τὸν δὲ ἐξ ἄλλης πόλιος ἀγαγόμενον ἀνθρώπους τοὺς τε προπόλους τρηχέως περισπεῖν καὶ ἐσελθεῖν παρὰ τὴν μητέρα. ἀπὸ τούτου τῷ Ἀρεῖ ταύτην τὴν πληγὴν ἐν τῇ ὀρτῇ νενομικέναι φασί.

64

1 καὶ τὸ μὴ μίσγεσθαι γυναιξὶ ἐν ἱροῖσι μηδὲ ἀλούτους ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἐς ἱρὰ ἐσιέναι οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ πρῶτοι θρησκεύσαντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν πάντες ἄνθρωποι, πλην Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων, μίσγονται ἐν ἱροῖσι καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικῶν [ἀνιστάμενοι] ἄλουτοι ἐσέρχονται ἐς ἱρόν, νομίζοντες ἀνθρώπους εἶναι κατὰ περ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα· 2 καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα ὁρᾶν καὶ ὀρνίθων γένεα ὀχευόμενα ἔν τε τοῖσι νηοῖσι τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖσι τεμένεσι· εἰ ὧν εἶναι τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο μὴ φίλον, οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ τὰ κτήνεα ποιέειν. οὗτοι μὲν νυν τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγοντες ποιεῦσι ἔμοιγε οὐκ ἄρεστά·

65

1 Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ θρησκεύουσι περισσῶς τὰ τε ἄλλα περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ τάδε.

2 ἐοῦσα ἡ Αἴγυπτος ὁμοῦρος τῇ Λιβύῃ οὐ μάλα θηριώδης ἐστί· τὰ δὲ ἐόντα σφι ἅπαντα ἱρὰ νενόμισται, καὶ τὰ μὲν σύντροφα αὐτοῖσι [τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι], τὰ δὲ οὐ. τῶν δὲ εἶνεκεν ἀνεῖται [τὰ θηρία] ἱρὰ εἰ λέγοιμι, καταβαῖν ἂν τῷ λόγῳ ἐς τὰ θεῖα πρήγματα, τὰ ἐγὼ φεύγω μάλιστα ἀπηγέεσθαι· τὰ δὲ καὶ εἴρηκα αὐτῶν ἐπιψαύσας, ἀναγκαίη καταλαμβανόμενος εἶπον. 3 νόμος δὲ ἐστὶ περὶ τῶν θηρίων ὧδε ἔχων· μελεδωνοὶ ἀποδεδέχεται τῆς τροφῆς χωρὶς ἐκάστων καὶ ἔρσενες καὶ θήλειαι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, τῶν παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδέκεται τὴν τιμὴν. 4 οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇσι πόλεσι ἕκαστοι εὐχὰς τάσδε σφι ἀποτελέουσι· εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἂν ἦ τὸ θηρίον, ξυρῶντες τῶν παιδίων ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἢ τὸ ἥμισυ ἢ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς κεφαλῆς,

ἰστᾶσι σταθμῷ πρὸς ἀργύριον τὰς τρίχας· τὸ δ' ἂν ἐλκύσῃ, τοῦτο τῇ μελεδωνῷ τῶν θηρίων διδοῖ, ἣ δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τάμνουσα ἰχθὺς παρέχει βορὴν τοῖσι θηρίοις. 5 τροφή μὲν δὴ αὐτοῖσι τοιαύτη ἀποδέδεται· τὸ δ' ἂν τις τῶν θηρίων τούτων ἀποκτείνῃ, ἣν μὲν ἐκὼν, θάνατος ἡ ζημία, ἣν δὲ ἀέκων, ἀποτίνει ζημίην τὴν ἂν οἱ ἱρέες τάζωνται. ὅς δ' ἂν ἴβιν ἢ ἴρηκα ἀποκτείνῃ, ἣν τε ἐκὼν ἣν τε ἀέκων, τεθνάναι ἀνάγκη.

66

1 πολλῶν δὲ ἐόντων ὁμοτρόφων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι θηρίων πολλῷ ἂν ἔτι πλέω ἐγίνετο, εἰ μὴ κατελάμβανε τοὺς αἰελούρους τοιάδε· ἐπεὰν τέκωσι αἱ θήλειαι, οὐκέτι φοιτέουσι παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας· οἱ δὲ διζήμενοι μίσγεσθαι αὐτῇσι οὐκ ἔχουσι. 2 πρὸς ὧν ταῦτα σοφίζονται τάδε· ἀρπάζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν θηλέων καὶ ὑπαιρεόμενοι τὰ τέκνα κτείνουσι, κτείναντες μέντοι οὐ πατέονται· αἱ δὲ στερισκόμεναι τῶν τέκνων, ἄλλων δὲ ἐπιθυμέουσai, οὕτω δὴ ἀπικνέονται παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας· φιλότεκνον γὰρ τὸ θηρίον. 3 πυρκαϊῆς δὲ γενομένης θεῖα πρήγματα καταλαμβάνει τοὺς αἰελούρους· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι διαστάντες φυλακὰς ἔχουσι τῶν αἰελούρων, ἀμελήσαντες σβεννύναι τὸ καιόμενον, οἱ δὲ αἰέλουροι διαδύνοντες καὶ ὑπερθρώσκοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐσάλλονται ἐς τὸ πῦρ. 4 ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα πένθεα μεγάλα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταλαμβάνει. ἐν ὅτεοις δ' ἂν οἰκίοις αἰέλουρος ἀποθάνῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, οἱ ἐνοικέοντες πάντες ξυρῶνται τὰς ὀφρύας μούνας, παρ' ὅτεοις δ' ἂν κύων, πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν.

67

1 ἀπάγονται δὲ οἱ αἰέλουροι ἀποφανόντες ἐς ἱρὰς στέγας, ἔνθα θάπτονται ταριχευθέντες, ἐν Βουβάστιπόλει· τὰς δὲ κύνας ἐν τῇ ἐωυτῶν ἕκαστοι πόλι θάπτουσι ἐν ἱρῇσι θήκησι. ὥς δὲ αὐτως τῇσι κυσὶ οἱ ἰχνευταὶ θάπτονται. τὰς δὲ μυγαλᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἴρηκας ἀπάγουσι ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν, τὰς δὲ ἴβις ἐς Ἑρμέω πόλιν. 2 τὰς δὲ ἄρκτους εἰούσας σπανίας καὶ τοὺς λύκους οὐ πολλῷ τεφρὸν ἐόντας ἄλωπέκων μέζονας αὐτοῦ θάπτουσι τῇ ἂν εὐρεθέωσι κείμενοι.

68

1 τῶν δὲ κροκοδείλων φύσις ἐστὶ τοιήδε. τοὺς χειμεριωτάτους

μῆνας τέσσερας ἐσθίει οὐδέν, ἐὼν δὲ τετράπουν χερσαῖον καὶ λιμναῖον ἐστί. τίκει μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐν γῇ καὶ ἐκλέπει, καὶ τὸ πολλὸν τῆς ἡμέρης διατρίβει ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ, τὴν δὲ νύκτα πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ· θερμότερον γὰρ δὴ ἐστὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς τε αἰθρίης καὶ τῆς δρόσου. 2 πάντων δὲ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν θνητῶν τοῦτο ἐξ ἐλαχίστου μέγιστον γίνεται· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς χηνέων οὐ πολλῷ μέζονα τίκει, καὶ ὁ νεοσσὸς κατὰ λόγον τοῦ ὥου γίνεται, αὐξανόμενος δὲ γίνεται καὶ ἐς ἑπτακαίδεκα πήχεας καὶ μέζων ἔτι. 3 ἔχει δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν ὕος, ὀδόντας δὲ μεγάλους καὶ χαυλιόδοντας κατὰ λόγον τοῦ σώματος. γλῶσσαν δὲ μοῦνον θηρίων οὐκ ἔφυσε, οὐδὲ κινεῖ τὴν κάτω γνάθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο μοῦνον θηρίων τὴν ἄνω γνάθον προσάγει τῇ κάτω. 4 ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὄνυχας καρτεροὺς καὶ δέρμα λεπιδωτὸν ἄρρηκτον ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου. τυφλὸν δὲ ἐν ὕδατι, ἐν δὲ τῇ αἰθρίῃ ὀξυδερκέστατον. ἅτε δὴ ὧν ἐν ὕδατι δίαιταν ποιεῦμενον, τὸ στόμα ἐνδοθεν φονεῖ πᾶν μεστὸν βδελλέων. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ὄρνεα καὶ θηρία φεύγει μιν, ὁ δὲ τροχίλος εἰρηναῖον οἱ ἐστὶ ἅτε ὠφελεομένῳ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. 5 ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβῇ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ὁ κροκόδειλος καὶ ἔπειτα χάνῃ (ἔωθε γὰρ τοῦτο ὡς ἐπίπαν ποιεῖν πρὸς τὸν ζέφυρον), ἐνθαῦτα ὁ τροχίλος ἐσδύνων ἐς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καταπίνει τὰς βδέλλας· ὁ δὲ ὠφελεύμενος ἥδεται καὶ οὐδὲν σίνεται τὸν τροχίλον.

69

1 τοῖσι μὲν δὴ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱροὶ εἰσι οἱ κροκόδειλοι, τοῖσι δὲ οὐ, ἀλλ' ἅτε πολεμίους περιέπουσι· οἱ δὲ περὶ τε Θήβας καὶ τὴν Μοίριος λίμνην οἰκέοντες καὶ κάρτα ἡγνῆται αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἱρούς· 2 ἐκ πάντων δὲ ἓνα ἐκάτεροι τρέφουσι κροκόδειλον δεδιδαγμένον εἶναι χειροῖθεα, ἀρτήματα/ τε λίθινα χυτὰ καὶ χρύσεια ἐς τὰ ὦτα ἐνθέντες καὶ ἀμφιδέας περὶ τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας, καὶ σιτία ἀποτακτὰ διδόντες καὶ ἱρήια, καὶ περιέποντες ὡς κάλλιστα ζῶντας· ἀποθανόντας δὲ θάπτουσι ταριχεύσαντες ἐν ἱρήσι θήκησι. 3 οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἐλεφαντίνην πόλιν οἰκέοντες καὶ ἐσθίουσι αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἡγεόμενοι ἱρούς εἶναι. καλέονται δὲ οὐ κροκόδειλοι ἀλλὰ χάμπαι· κροκοδείλους δὲ Ἴωνες ὠνόμασαν, εἰκάζοντες αὐτῶν τὰ εἶδεα τοῖσι παρὰ σφίσι γινομένοισι κροκοδείλοισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇσι αἵμασιῇσι.

70

1 ἄγραι δὲ σφέων πολλαὶ κατεστᾶσι καὶ παντοῖαι· ἥ δ' ὧν ἔμοιγε

δοκέει ἀξιοτάτη ἀπηγήσιος εἶναι, ταύτην γράφω. ἐπεὰν νῶτον υἱὸς δελεάσῃ περὶ ἄγκιστρον, μετιεῖ ἐς μέσον τὸν ποταμόν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ χεῖλεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔχων δέλφακα ζωὴν ταύτην τύπτει. 2 ἐπακούσας δὲ τῆς φωνῆς ὁ κροκόδειλος ἵεται κατὰ τὴν φωνήν, ἐντυχὼν δὲ τῷ νώτῳ καταπίνει· οἱ δὲ ἔλκουσι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐξελκυσθῇ ἐς γῆν, πρῶτον ἀπάντων ὁ θηρευτὴς πηλῷ κατ' ὧν ἔπλασε αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας κάρτα εὐπετέως τὰ λοιπὰ χειροῦται, μὴ ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο σὺν πόνῳ.

71

1 οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οἱ ποτάμιοι νομῶ μὲν τῷ Παπρημίτῃ ἱροὶ εἰσι, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι οὐκ ἱροί. φύσιν δὲ παρέχονται ιδέης τοιήνδε· τετράπουν ἐστί, δίχηλον, ὅπλαι βοός, σιμόν, λοφιὴν ἔχον ἵππου, χαυλιόδοντας φαῖνον, οὐρὴν ἵππου καὶ φωνήν, μέγαθος ὅσον τε βοῦς ὁ μέγιστος· τὸ δέρμα δ' αὐτοῦ οὕτω δὴ τι παχὺ ἐστί ὥστε αὐοῦ γενομένου ξυστὰ ποιέεσθαι [ἀκόντια] ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

72

1 γίνονται δὲ καὶ ἐνύδριες ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, τὰς ἱρὰς ἡγνεται εἶναι. νομίζουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τὸν καλούμενον λεπιδωτὸν ἱρὸν εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἔγχελυν, ἱροὺς δὲ τούτους τοῦ Νείλου φασὶ εἶναι, καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων τοὺς χηναλώπεκας.

73

1 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὄρνις ἱρός, τῷ οὔνομα φοῖνιξ. ἐγὼ μὲν μιν οὐκ εἶδον εἰ μὴ ὅσον γραφῇ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ σπάνιος ἐπιφοιτᾷ σφι, δι' ἐτέων, ὡς Ἡλιοπολῖται λέγουσι, πεντακοσίων· 2 φοιτᾷν δὲ τότε φασὶ ἐπεὰν οἱ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ πατήρ. ἔστι δέ, εἰ τῇ γραφῇ παρόμοιος, τοσόσδε καὶ τοιόσδε· τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ χρυσόκομα τῶν πτερῶν τὰ δὲ ἐρυθρὰ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα· αἰετῷ περιήγησιν ὁμοιότατος καὶ τὸ μέγαθος. 3 τοῦτον δὲ λέγουσι μηχανᾶσθαι τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες· ἐξ Ἀραβίης ὁρμώμενον ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Ἠλίου κομίζειν τὸν πατέρα ἐν σμύρνῃ ἐμπλάσσοντα καὶ θάπτειν ἐν τοῦ Ἠλίου τῷ ἱρῷ, 4 κομίζειν δὲ οὕτω· πρῶτον τῆς σμύρνης ῥὸν πλάσσειν ὅσον τε δυνατός ἐστι φέρειν, μετὰ δὲ πειρᾶσθαι αὐτὸ φορέοντα, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποπειρηθῇ, οὕτω δὴ κοιλήναντα τὸ ῥὸν τὸν πατέρα ἐς αὐτὸ ἐντιθέναι, σμύρνην δὲ ἄλλη ἐμπλάσσειν τοῦτο κατ' ὃ τι τοῦ ῥοῦ ἐκκοιλήνας ἐνέθηκε τὸν

πατέρα· ἐσκειμένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς γίνεσθαι τὸντὸ βάρος· ἐμπλάσαντα δὲ κομίζειν μιν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐς τοῦ Ἡλίου τὸ ἱρόν. ταῦτα μὲν τοῦτον τὸν ὄρνιν λέγουσι ποιέειν.

74

¹ εἰσὶ δὲ περὶ Θήβας ἱροὶ ὄφεις, ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμῶς δηλήμονες, οἱ μεγάλῃ ἐόντες μικροὶ δύο κέρα φορέουσι πεφυκότα ἐξ ἄκρις τῆς κεφαλῆς· τοὺς θάπτουσι ἀποθανόντας ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Διὸς· τούτου γὰρ σφέας τοῦ θεοῦ φασι εἶναι ἱρούς.

75

¹ ἔστι δὲ χῶρος τῆς Ἀραβίης κατὰ Βουτοῦν πόλιν μάλιστά κη κείμενος, καὶ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἦλθον πυρηνόμενος περὶ τῶν περωτῶν ὀφίων· ἀπικόμενος δὲ εἶδον ὅστέα ὀφίων καὶ ἀκάνθας πλήθει μὲν ἀδύνατα ἀπηγήσασθαι, σωροὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀκανθέων καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ ὑποδεέστεροι καὶ ἐλάσσονες ἔτι τούτων, πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν οὔτοι. ² ἔστι δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος, ἐν τῷ αἰ ἄκανθαι κατακεχύρται, τοιόσδε τις, ἐσβολὴ ἐξ ὀρέων στεινῶν ἐς πεδίον μέγα, τὸ δὲ πεδίον τοῦτο συνάπτει τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ πεδίῳ. ³ λόγος δὲ ἐστὶ ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι περωτοὺς ὄφιν ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίης πέτεσθαι ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου, τὰς δὲ ἴβιν τὰς ὄρνιθας ἀπαντώσας ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτης τῆς χώρας οὐ παριέναι τοὺς ὄφιν ἀλλὰ κατακτείνειν. ⁴ καὶ τὴν ἴβιν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον τετιμῆσθαι λέγουσι Ἀράβιοι μεγάλως πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων· ὁμολογεῖν δὲ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι διὰ ταῦτα τιμᾶν τὰς ὄρνιθας ταύτας.

76

¹ εἶδος δὲ τῆς μὲν ἴβιος τόδε· μέλαινα δεινῶς πᾶσα, σκέλεα δὲ φορέει γεράνου, πρόσωπον δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπίγρυπον, μέγαθος ὅσον κρέξ. τῶν μὲν δὴ μελαινέων τῶν μαχομενέων πρὸς τοὺς ὄφιν ἦδε ἰδέη, τῶν δ' ἐν ποσὶ μᾶλλον εἰλευμενέων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι (διζαὶ γὰρ δὴ εἰσι ἴβιες) ² ψιλὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν δειρὴν πᾶσαν, λευκὴ πτεροῖσι πλὴν κεφαλῆς καὶ αὐχένος καὶ ἀκρέων τῶν πτερύγων καὶ τοῦ πυγαίου ἄκρου (ταῦτα δὲ τὰ εἶπον πάντα μέλανα ἐστὶ δεινῶς), σκέλεα δὲ καὶ πρόσωπον ἐμπερής τῇ ἐτέρῃ. τοῦ δὲ ὄφις ἢ μορφὴ οἷα περ τῶν ὕδρων, ³ πτίλα δὲ οὐ περωτὰ φορέει ἀλλὰ τοῖσι τῆς νυκτερίδος πτεροῖσι μάλιστά κη ἐμπερέστατα.

Τοσαῦτα μὲν θηρίων περὶ ἱρῶν εἰρήσθω.

¹ αὐτῶν δὲ δὴ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν σπειρομένην Αἴγυπτον οἰκέουσι, μνήμην ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἐπασκέοντες μάλιστα λογιώτατοι εἰσὶ μακρῶ τῶν ἐγὼ ἐς διάπειραν ἀπικόμην, ² τρόπῳ δὲ ζῆς τοιῷδε διαχρέονται· συρμαῖζουσιν τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπεξῆς μηνὸς ἐκάστου, ἐμέτοισι θηρώμενοι τὴν ὑγιεῖν καὶ κλύσμασι, νομίζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν τρεφόντων σιτίων πάσας τὰς νούσους τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι γίνεσθαι. ³ εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ Λίβυας ὑγιηρέστατοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ὥρέων δοκέειν ἐμοὶ εἵνεκα, ὅτι οὐ μεταλλάσσουσιν αἱ ὥραι· ἐν γὰρ τῇσι μεταβολῇσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι αἱ νοῦσοι μάλιστα γίνονται τῶν τε ἄλλων πάντων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ὥρέων μάλιστα. ⁴ ἄρτοφαγέουσι δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀλυρέων ποιεῦντες ἄρτους, τοὺς ἐκεῖνοι κυλλήστις ὀνομάζουσιν. οἶνω δὲ ἐκ κριθέων πεποιημένῳ διαχρέονται· οὐ γὰρ σφι εἰσὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἄμπελοι. ἰχθύων δὲ τοὺς μὲν πρὸς ἥλιον αὐήναντες ὠμοὺς σιτέονται, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ ἄλμης τεταριχευμένους. ⁵ ὀρνίθων δὲ τοὺς τε ὄρτυγας καὶ τὰς νήσας καὶ τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ὀρνίθων ὠμὰ σιτέονται προταριχεύσαντες. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα ἢ ὀρνίθων ἢ ἰχθύων σφι ἐστὶ ἐχόμενα, χωρὶς ἢ ὀκόσοι σφι ἱροὶ ἀποδεδέχεται, τοὺς λοιποὺς ὀπτοὺς καὶ ἐφθοὺς σιτέονται.

¹ ἐν δὲ τῇσι συνουσίῃσι τοῖσι εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν, ἐπεὰν ἀπὸ δείπνου γένωνται, περιφέρει ἀνὴρ νεκρὸν ἐν σορῶ ξύλινον πεποιημένον, μεμιμημένον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ γραφῇ καὶ ἔργῳ, μέγαθος ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον ἢ δίπηχυν, δεικνὺς δὲ ἐκάστῳ τῶν συμποτέων λέγει “ἐς τοῦτον ὀρέων πίνε τε καὶ τέρπευ· ἔσαι γὰρ ἀποθανὼν τοιοῦτος.” ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια ποιεῦσι.

¹ πατρίοισι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐπικτῶνται· τοῖσι ἄλλα τε ἐπάξια ἐστὶ νόμιμα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄεισμα ἐν ἐστὶ, Λίνος, ὅσπερ ἐν τε Φοινίκη αἰδιμος ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ καὶ ἄλλῃ, κατὰ μέντοι ἔθνεα οὕνομα ἔχει, ² συμφέρεται δὲ ὡτὸς εἶναι τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Λίνον ὀνομάζοντες ἀείδουσι, ὥστε πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποθωμάζειν με τῶν περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐόντων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Λίνον ὀκόθεν ἔλαβον τὸ οὕνομα· φαίνονται δὲ αἰεὶ κοτε τοῦτον ἀείδοντες. ἔστι δὲ

Αἰγυπτιστὶ ὁ Λίνος καλούμενος Μανερῶς. ³ ἔφασαν δέ μιν Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου παῖδα μουνογενέα γενέσθαι, ἀποθανόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἄνωρον θρήνοισι τούτοις ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων τιμηθῆναι, καὶ ἀοιδὴν τε ταύτην πρώτην καὶ μούνην σφίσι γενέσθαι.

80

¹ συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τόδε ἄλλο Αἰγύπτιοι Ἑλλήνων μούνοισι Λακεδαιμονίοισι· οἱ νεώτεροι αὐτῶν τοῖσι πρεσβυτέροισι συντυγχάνοντες εἴκουσι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἐκτρέπονται καὶ ἐπιούσι ἐξ ἔδρης ὑπανιστέαται. ² τόδε μέντοι ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι συμφέρονται· ἀντὶ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι προσκυνέουσι κατιέντες μέχρι τοῦ γούνατος τὴν χεῖρα.

81

¹ ἐνδεδύκασι δὲ κιθῶνας λινέους περὶ τὰ σκέλεα θυσανωτούς, τοὺς καλέουσι καλασίρις· ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ εἰρίνεα εἴματα λευκὰ ἐπαναβληδὸν φορέουσι. οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τὰ ἱρὰ ἐσφέρεται εἰρίνεα οὐδὲ συγκαταθάπτεται σφι· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον. ² ὁμολογέουσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλεομένοις καὶ Βακχικοῖσι, ἐοῦσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ Πυθαγορείοισι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ὀργίων μετέχοντα ὅσιον ἐστὶ ἐν εἰρινέοισι εἴμασι θαφθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱρὸς λόγος λεγόμενος.

82

¹ καὶ τάδε ἄλλα Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐστὶ ἐξευρημένα, μείς τε καὶ ἡμέρη ἐκάστη θεῶν ὅτεν ἐστὶ, καὶ τῇ ἕκαστος ἡμέρη γενόμενος ὁτέοισι ἐγκυρήσει καὶ ὅκως τελευτήσῃ καὶ ὁκοῖός τις ἔσται. καὶ τούτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἐν ποιήσῃ γενόμενοι ἐχρήσαντο. ² τέρατα/ τε πλέω σφι ἀνεύρηται ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἅπασι ἀνθρώποισι· γενομένου γὰρ τέρατος φυλάσσουσι γραφόμενοι τῷποβαῖνον, καὶ ἦν κοτε ὕστερον παραπλήσιον τούτῳ γένηται, κατὰ τὠυτὸ νομίζουσι ἀποβήσεσθαι.

83

¹ μαντικὴ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὧδε διακέεται· ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδενὶ προσκέεται ἢ τέχνη, τῶν δὲ θεῶν μετεξετέροισι· καὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλέος μαντήιον αὐτόθι ἐστὶ καὶ Απόλλωνος καὶ Ἀθηναίης καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἄρεος καὶ Διός, καὶ τό γε μάλιστα ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται πάντων τῶν μαντηίων, Λητοῦς ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλει ἐστὶ. οὐ μέντοι αἶ γε μαντήϊαι σφι

κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ διάφοροι εἰσὶ.

84

¹ ἡ δὲ ἱερικὴ κατὰ τὰς σφίγγας δέδασται· μίῃς νοῦσου ἕκαστος ἱερὸς ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ πλεόνων. πάντα δ' ἱερῶν ἐστὶ πλέα· οἳ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν ἱεροὶ κατεστῆσι, οἳ δὲ κεφαλῆς, οἳ δὲ ὀδόντων, οἳ δὲ τῶν κατὰ νηδύν, οἳ δὲ τῶν ἀφανέων νοῦσων.

85

¹ θρῆνοι δὲ καὶ ταφαὶ σφενδαμῶν εἰσὶ αἶδε· τοῖσι ἂν ἀπογένηται ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἄνθρωπος τοῦ τις καὶ λόγος ἦ, τὸ θῆλυ γένος πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων τούτων κατ' ὧν ἐπλάσαστο τὴν κεφαλὴν πηλῷ ἢ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, κᾶπεται ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοις λιποῦσαι τὸν νεκρὸν αὐταὶ ἂν ἂν τὴν πόλιν στρωφόμεναι τύπτονται ἐπεζωσμένοι καὶ φαίνουσαι τοὺς μαζοὺς, σὺν δὲ σφίγγαι προσήκουσαι πᾶσαι, ² ἐτέρωθεν δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες, τύπτονται ἐπεζωσμένοι καὶ οὗτοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, οὕτω ἐς τὴν ταρίχευσιν κομίζουσι.

86

¹ εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατέαται καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσι ταύτην. ² οὗτοι, ἐπεὶ σφίγγαι κομισθῇ νεκρὸς, δεικνύουσι τοῖσι κομίσασαι παραδείγματα νεκρῶν ξύλινα, τῇ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα..., καὶ τὴν μὲν σπουδαιοτάτην αὐτέων φασὶ εἶναι τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον ποιεῖναι τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ὀνομάζειν, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν δεικνύουσι ὑποδεεστέραν τε ταύτης καὶ εὐτελεστέραν, τὴν δὲ τρίτην εὐτελεστάτην· φράσαντες δὲ πυνθάνονται παρ' αὐτῶν κατὰ ἥντινα βούλονται σφίγγαι σκευασθῆναι τὸν νεκρὸν. ³ οἳ μὲν δὴ ἐκποδῶν μισθῷ ὁμολογήσαντες ἀπαλλάσσονται, οἳ δὲ ὑπολείπομενοι ἐν οἰκίῃσι ὧδε τὰ σπουδαιοτάτα ταριχεύουσι. πρῶτα μὲν σκολιῷ σιδήρῳ διὰ τῶν μυζωτήρων ἐξάγουσι τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ οὕτω ἐξάγοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐγγέοντες φάρμακα· ⁴ μετὰ δὲ λίθῳ Αἰθιοπικῷ ὀξεὶ παρασχίσαντες παρὰ τὴν λαπαρὴν ἐξ ὧν εἶλον τὴν κοιλίην πᾶσαν, ἐκκαθήραντες δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ διηθήσαντες οἶνῳ φοινικίῳ αὐτὴν διηθέουσι θυμῇμασι τετριμμένοις· ⁵ ἔπειτα τὴν νηδὺν σμύρνης ἀκηράτου τετριμμένης καὶ κασίης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυμημάτων, πλὴν λιβανωτοῦ, πλήσαντες συρράπτουσι ὀπίσω. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ταριχεύουσι λίτρῳ κρύψαντες ἡμέρας ἐβδομήκοντα· πλεῖνας δὲ

τουτέων οὐκ ἔξεστι ταριχεύειν. 6 ἐπεὰν δὲ παρέλθωσι αἱ ἐβδομήκοντα, λούσαντες τὸν νεκρὸν κατελίσσουσι πᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα σινδόνης βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι κατατετμημένοισι, ὑποχρίοντες τῷ κόμμῃ, τῷ δὲ ἀντὶ κόλλης τὰ πολλὰ χρέωνται Αἰγύπτιοι. 7 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ παραδεξάμενοί μιν οἱ προσήκοντες ποιεῦνται ξύλινον τύπον ἀνθρωποειδέα, ποιησάμενοι δὲ ἐσεργνῶσι τὸν νεκρὸν, καὶ κατακληίσαντες οὕτω θησαυρίζουσι ἐν οἰκῇματι θηκαίῳ, ἰστάντες ὀρθὸν πρὸς τοῖχον.

87

1 οὕτω μὲν τοὺς τὰ πολυτελέστατα σκευάζουσι νεκρούς, τοὺς δὲ τὰ μέσα βουλομένους τὴν δὲ πολυτελείην φεύγοντας σκευάζουσι ὧδε· 2 ἐπεὰν τοὺς κλυστήρας πλήσωνται τοῦ ἀπὸ κέδρου ἀλείφατος γινομένου, ἐν ᾧ ἐπλησαν τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν κοιλίην, οὔτε ἀναταμόντες αὐτὸν οὔτε ἐξελόντες τὴν νηδύν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔδρην ἐσηθήσαντες καὶ ἐπιλαβόντες τὸ κλύσμα τῆς ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ ταριχεύουσι τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας, τῇ δὲ τελευταίῃ ἐξιεῖσι ἐκ τῆς κοιλίης τὴν κεδρίην τὴν ἐσῆκαν πρότερον. 3 ἡ δὲ ἔχει τοσαύτην δύναμιν ὥστε ἅμα ἐωυτῇ τὴν νηδύν καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα κατατετηκότα ἐξάγει· τὰς δὲ σάρκας τὸ λίτρον κατατῆκει, καὶ δὴ λείπεται τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ δέρμα μόνον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα. ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, ἀπ' ᾧ ἔδωκαν οὕτω τὸν νεκρὸν, οὐδὲν ἔτι πρηγματευθέντες.

88

1 ἡ δὲ τρίτη ταρίχευσις ἐστὶ ἡδε, ἥ τοὺς χρήμασι ἀσθενεστέρους σκευάζει· συρμαίῃ διηθήσαντες τὴν κοιλίην ταριχεύουσι τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπ' ᾧ ἔδωκαν ἀποφέρεσθαι.

89

1 τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, ἐπεὰν τελευτήσωσι, οὐ παραντίκα διδοῦσι ταριχεύειν, οὐδὲ ὅσαι ἂν ἔωσι εὐειδέες κάρτα καὶ λόγου πλεῦνος γυναῖκες· ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν τριταῖαι ἢ τεταρταῖαι γένωνται, οὕτω παραδιδούσι τοῖσι ταριχεύουσι. 2 τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῦσι οὕτω τοῦδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα μὴ σφι οἱ ταριχευταὶ μίσγωνται τῇσι γυναξί· λαμφθῆναι γὰρ τινὰ φασὶ μισγόμενον νεκρῷ προσφάτῳ γυναικός, κατεπιεῖν δὲ τὸν ὁμότεχνον.

90

1 ὅς δ' ἂν ἡ αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἢ ξείνων ὁμοίως ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου ἀρπασθεῖς ἢ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φαίνεται τεθνεώς, κατ' ἣν ἂν πόλιν ἐξενειχθῇ, τούτους πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ταριχεύσαντας αὐτὸν καὶ περιστείλαντας ὥς κάλλιστα θάψαι ἐν ἱρήσι θήκησι· 2 οὐδὲ ψαῦσαι ἔξεστι αὐτοῦ ἄλλον οὐδένα οὔτε τῶν προσηκόντων οὔτε τῶν φίλων, ἀλλὰ μιν αἱ ἱέρες αὐτοῖ τοῦ Νείλου ἄτε πλέον τι ἢ ἀνθρώπου νεκρὸν χειραπτάζοντες θάπτουσι.

91

1 ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἶπεῖν, μὴδ' ἄλλων μηδαμὰ μηδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι οὕτω τοῦτο φυλάσσουσι, ἔστι δὲ Χέμμισ πόλις μεγάλη νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ ἐγγὺς Νέης πόλιος· 2 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης ἱδὸν τετράγωνον, περίξ δὲ αὐτοῦ φοίνικες πεφύκασι. τὰ δὲ πρόπυλα τοῦ ἱεροῦ λίθινα ἐστὶ κάρτα μέγала· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἀνδριάντες δύο ἐστᾶσι λίθινοι μεγάλοι. ἐν δὲ τῷ περιβεβλημένῳ τούτῳ νηὸς τε ἔνι καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνέστηκε τοῦ Περσέος. 3 οὗτοι οἱ Χεμμῖται λέγουσι τὸν Περσέα πολλάκις μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν γῆν φαίνεσθαι σφι πολλάκις δὲ ἔσω τοῦ ἱεροῦ, σανδάλιον τε αὐτοῦ πεφορημένον εὐρίσκεσθαι ἐν τῷ μέγαθος δίπηχυ, τὸ ἐπεὰν φανῇ, εὐθιγνέειν ἅπασαν Αἴγυπτον. 4 ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι, ποιεῦσι δὲ τάδε Ἑλληνικὰ τῷ Περσεί· ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν τιθεῖσι διὰ πάσης ἀγωνίης ἔχοντα, παρέχοντες ἄεθλα κτήνεα καὶ χλαίνας καὶ δέρματα. 5 εἰρομένου δέ μευ ὃ τι σφι μούνουσι ἔωθε ὁ Περσεὺς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι καὶ ὃ τι κεχωρίδαται Αἰγυπτίων τῶν ἄλλων ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν τιθέντες, ἔφασαν τὸν Περσέα ἐκ τῆς ἐσωτῶν πόλιος γεγονέναι· τὸν γὰρ Δαναὸν καὶ τὸν Λυγκέα ἐόντας Χεμμίτας ἐκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενεηλογέοντες κατέβαινον ἐς τὸν Περσέα. 6 ἀπικόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἴγυπτον κατ' αἰτίνην τὴν καὶ Ἑλληνες λέγουσι, οἷσοντα ἐκ Λιβύης τὴν Γοργοῦς κεφαλὴν, ἔφασαν ἐλθεῖν καὶ παρὰ σφέας καὶ ἀναγνῶναι τοὺς συγγενέας πάντας· ἐκμεμαθηκότα δὲ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον τὸ τῆς Χέμμιος οὔνομα, πεπυσμένον παρὰ τῆς μητρός. ἀγῶνα δὲ οἱ γυμνικὸν αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐπιτελέειν.

92

1 ταῦτα μὲν πάντα οἱ κατύπερθε τῶν ἐλέων οἰκέοντες Αἰγύπτιοι

νομίζουσι· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐν τοῖσι ἔλεσι κατοικημένοι τοῖσι μὲν αὐτοῖσι νόμοισι χρέωνται τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα καὶ γυναικὶ μιῇ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν συνοικεῖ κατά περ Ἑλληνες, ἀτὰρ πρὸς εὐτελεῖν τῶν σιτίων τάδε σφι ἄλλα ἐξεύρηται. 2 ἐπεὰν πλήρης γένηται ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίση, φύεται ἐν τῷ ὕδατι κρίνεα πολλά, τὰ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι λωτόν· ταῦτ' ἐπεὰν δρέψωσι αὐαίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ λωτοῦ, τῇ μήκωνι ἔδον ἐμφορές, πίσαντες ποιεῦνται ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἄρτους ὀπτοὺς πυρί. 3 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ ρίζα τοῦ λωτοῦ τούτου ἐδωδίμη καὶ ἐγγλύσσει ἐπιεικῶς, ἔδον στρογγύλον, μέγαθος κατὰ μῆλον. 4 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κρίνεα ῥόδοισι ἐμφορέα, ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ γινόμενα καὶ ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν ὁ καρπὸς ἐν ἄλλῃ κάλυκι παραφυομένη ἐκ τῆς ρίζης γίνεται, κηρίῳ σφηκῶν ἰδέην ὁμοιότατον· ἐν τούτῳ τρωκτὰ ὅσον τε πυρὴν ἐλαίης ἐγγίνεται συχνά, τρώγεται δὲ καὶ ἀπαλὰ ταῦτα καὶ αὖα. 5 τὴν δὲ βύβλον τὴν ἐπέτειον γινομένην ἐπεὰν ἀνασπάσῃ ἐκ τῶν ἐλέων, τὰ μὲν ἄνω αὐτῆς ἀποτάμνοντες ἐς ἄλλο τι τρέπουσι, τὸ δὲ κάτω λελειμμένον ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πῆχυν τρώγουσι καὶ πωλέουσι· οἱ δὲ ἂν καὶ κάρτα βούλωνται χρηστῇ τῇ βύβλῳ χρᾶσθαι, ἐν κλιβάνῳ διαφανεῖ πνίξαντες οὕτω τρώγουσι. οἱ δὲ τινὲς αὐτῶν ζῶσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων μόνον, τοὺς ἐπεὰν λάβῃσι καὶ ἐξέλῃσι τὴν κοιλίην, αὐαίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον καὶ ἔπειτα αὐοὺς ἐόντας σιτέονται.

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1 οἱ δὲ ἰχθύες οἱ ἀγελαῖοι ἐν μὲν τοῖσι ποταμοῖσι οὐ μάλα γίνονται, τρεφόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῇσι λίμνῃσι τοιάδε ποιεῦσι. ἐπεὰν σφεας ἐσίῃ οἷστρος κυῖσκεσθαι, ἀγελῆδὸν ἐκπλέουσι ἐς θάλασσαν· ἡγέονται δὲ οἱ ἔρσενες ἀπορράινοντες τοῦ θοροῦ, αἱ δὲ ἐπόμεναι ἀνακάπτουσι καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κυῖσκονται. 2 ἐπεὰν δὲ πλήρεις γένωνται ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἀναπλώουσι ὀπίσω ἐς ἥθεα τὰ ἐωυτῶν ἕκαστοι, ἡγέονται μέντοι γε οὐκέτι οἱ αὐτοί, ἀλλὰ τῶν θηλέων γίνεται ἡ ἡγεμονία· ἡγεύμεναι δὲ ἀγελῆδὸν ποιεῦσι οἷόν περ ἐποίευν οἱ ἔρσενες· τῶν γὰρ ῥῶν ἀπορράινουσι κατ' ὀλίγους τῶν κέγχρων, οἱ δὲ ἔρσενες καταπίνουσι ἐπόμενοι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ κέγχροι οὗτοι ἰχθύες. 3 ἐκ δὲ τῶν περιγινομένων καὶ μὴ καταπινομένων κέγχρων οἱ τρεφόμενοι ἰχθύες γίνονται. οἱ δ' ἂν αὐτῶν ἀλῶσι ἐκπλώνοντες ἐς θάλασσαν, φαίνονται τετριμμένοι τὰ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τῶν κεφαλῶν, οἱ δ' ἂν ὀπίσω ἀναπλώνοντες, τὰ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τετρίφαται. 4 πάσχουσι δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τόδε·

ἐχόμενοι τῆς γῆς ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ καταπλώουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀναπλώνοντες ὀπίσω τῆς αὐτῆς ἀντέχονται, ἐγγριμπτόμενοι καὶ ψαύοντες ὥς μάλιστα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ἀμάρτοιεν τῆς ὁδοῦ διὰ τὸν ῥόον. ⁵ ἐπεὰν δὲ πληθύνεσθαι ἄρχηται ὁ Νεῖλος, τὰ τε κοῖλα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ τέλματα τὰ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πρῶτα ἄρχεται πίμπλασθαι διηθέοντος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ αὐτίκα τε πλέα γίνεται ταῦτα καὶ παραχρῆμα ἰχθύων σμικρῶν πίμπλαται πάντα. ⁶ κόθεν δὲ οἶκος αὐτοὺς γίνεσθαι, ἐγὼ μοι δοκέω κατανοεῖν τοῦτο· τοῦ προτέρου ἔτεος ἐπεὰν ἀπολίπη ὁ Νεῖλος, οἱ ἰχθύες ἐντεκόντες ὥς ἐς τὴν ἰλὺν ἅμα τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ὕδατι ἀπαλλάσσονται· ἐπεὰν δὲ περιελθόντος τοῦ χρόνου πάλιν ἐπέλθῃ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐκ τῶν ὧν τούτων παραυτίκα γίνονται οἱ ἰχθύες [οὔτοι]. καὶ περὶ μὲν τοὺς ἰχθύας οὕτω ἔχει.

94

¹ ἀλείφατι δὲ χρέωνται Αἰγυπτίων οἱ περὶ τὰ ἔλαια οἰκέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν σιλλικυπρίων τοῦ καρποῦ, τὸ καλεῦσι μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι κίκι, ποιεῦσι δὲ ὧδε. παρὰ τὰ χεῖλα τῶν τε ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν λιμνέων σπεύρουσι τὰ σιλλικύπρια ² ταῦτα, τὰ ἐν Ἑλληνισι αὐτόματα ἄγρια φύεται· ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ σπειρόμενα καρπὸν φέρει πολλὸν μὲν δυσώδεα δέ· τοῦτον ἐπεὰν συλλέξωνται, οἱ μὲν κόψαντες ἀπιποῦσι, οἱ δὲ καὶ φρύξαντες ἀπέψουσι, καὶ τὸ ἀπορῥέον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συγκομίζονται. ἔστι δὲ πῖον καὶ οὐδὲν ἥσσον τοῦ ἐλαίου τῷ λύχνῳ προσηγές, ὁδμὴν δὲ βαρέαν παρέχεται.

95

¹ πρὸς δὲ τοὺς κώνωπας ἀφθόνους ἐόντας τάδε σφι ἐστὶ μεμηχανημένα. τοὺς μὲν τὰ ἄνω τῶν ἐλέων οἰκέοντας οἱ πύργοι ὠφελέουσι, ἐς τοὺς ἀναβαίνοντες κοιμῶνται· οἱ γὰρ κώνωπες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων οὐκ οἴοι τε εἰσὶ ὑψοῦ πέτεσθαι. ² τοῖσι δὲ περὶ τὰ ἔλαια οἰκέουσι τάδε ἀντὶ τῶν πύργων ἄλλα μεμηχάνηται· πᾶς ἀνὴρ αὐτῶν ἀμφίβληστρον ἔκτεται, τῷ τῆς μὲν ἡμέρης ἰχθύς ἀγρεύει, τὴν δὲ νύκτα τάδε αὐτῷ χρᾶται· ἐν τῇ ἀναπαύεται κοίτῃ, περὶ ταύτην ἴστησι τὸ ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ ἔπειτα ἐνδὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸ κατεύδει. ³ οἱ δὲ κώνωπες, ἦν μὲν ἐν ἱματίῳ ἐνελιζάμενος εὐδῇ ἢ σινδόνι, διὰ τούτων δάκνουσι, διὰ δὲ τοῦ δικτύου οὐδὲ πειρῶνται ἀρχήν.

96

1 τὰ δὲ δὴ πλοῖα σφι, τοῖσι φορτηγέουσι, ἐστὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀκάνθης ποιούμενα, τῆς ἢ μορφῇ μὲν ἐστὶ ὁμοιοτάτῃ τῷ Κυρηναίῳ λωτῷ, τὸ δὲ δάκρυον κόμμι ἐστὶ. ἐκ ταύτης ὧν τῆς ἀκάνθης κοψάμενοι ξύλα ὅσον τε διπήχεα πλινθηδὸν συντιθεῖσι ναυπηγέυμενοι τρόπον τοιόνδε· 2 περὶ γόμφους πυκνοὺς καὶ μακροὺς περιείρουσι τὰ διπήχεα ξύλα· ἐπεὰν δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ναυπηγήσωνται, ζυγὰ ἐπιπολῆς τείνουσι αὐτῶν· νομεῦσι δὲ οὐδὲν χρέωνται· ἔσωθεν δὲ τὰς ἀρμονίας ἐν ὧν ἐπάκτωσαν τῇ βύβλῳ. 3 πηδάλιον δὲ ἐν ποιεῦνται, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τῆς τρόπιος διαβύνεται. ἰστῷ δὲ ἀκανθίνῳ χρέωνται, ἰστίοισι δὲ βυβλίνοισι. ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα ἀνὰ μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν οὐ δύναται πλέειν, ἣν μὴ λαμπρὸς ἄνεμος ἐπέχῃ, ἐκ γῆς δὲ παρέλκεται, κατὰ ῥόον δὲ κομίζεται ὧδε· 4 ἔστι ἐκ μυρίκης πεποιημένη θύρη, κατερῥαμμένη ῥίπῃ καλάμων, καὶ λίθος τετρημένος διτάλαντος μάλιστά κη σταθμόν· τούτων τὴν μὲν θύρην δεδεμένην κάλῳ ἔμπροσθε τοῦ πλοίου ἀπιδεῖ ἐπιφέρεισθαι, τὸν δὲ λίθον ἄλλῳ κάλῳ ὀπισθε. 5 ἡ μὲν δὲ θύρη τοῦ ῥόου ἐμπίπτοντος χωρέει ταχέως καὶ ἔλκει τὴν βάριν (τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ οὖνομα ἐστὶ τοῖσι πλοίοισι τούτοις), ὁ δὲ λίθος ὀπισθε ἐπελκόμενος καὶ ἐὼν ἐν βυσσῷ κατιθύνει τὸν πλόον. ἔστι δὲ σφι τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα πλήθει πολλά, καὶ ἄγει ἔνια πολλὰς χιλιάδας ταλάντων.

97

1 ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐπέλθῃ ὁ Νεῖλος τὴν χώραν, αἱ πόλεις μοῦναι φαίνονται ὑπερέχουσαι, μάλιστά κη ἐμπερές τῇσι ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ πόντῳ νήσοισι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τῆς Αἰγύπτου πέλαγος γίνεται, αἱ δὲ πόλεις μοῦναι ὑπερέχουσι. πορθμεύονται ὧν, ἐπεὰν τοῦτο γένηται, οὐκέτι κατὰ τὰ ῥέεθρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσου τοῦ πεδίου. 2 ἐς μὲν γε Μέμφιν ἐκ Ναυκράτιος ἀναπλώνοντι παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς πυραμίδας γίνεται ὁ πλόος· ἔστι δὲ οὐδ' οὗτος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ ὄξυ τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ παρὰ Κερκάσωρον πόλιν· ἐς δὲ Ναύκρατιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ Κανώβου διὰ πεδίου πλέων ἥξεις κατ' Ἀνθυλλάν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἀρχάνδρου καλυμμένην.

98

1 τουτέων δὲ ἡ μὲν Ἀνθυλλα ἐοῦσα λογίμη πόλις ἐς ὑποδήματα ἐξαίρετος δίδοται τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου τῇ γυναικί (τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται ἐξ ὅσου ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος), 2 ἡ δὲ ἐτέρη πόλις

δοκέει μοι τὸ οὖνομα ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαναοῦ γαμβροῦ Ἀρχάνδρου τοῦ Φθίου τοῦ Ἀχαιοῦ· καλέεται γὰρ δὴ Ἀρχάνδρου πόλις. εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλος τις Ἄρχανδρος, οὐ μέντοι γε Αἰγύπτιον τὸ οὖνομα.

99

¹ μέχρι μὲν τούτου ὄψις τε ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμη καὶ ἱστορίη ταῦτα λέγουσα ἐστί, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Αἰγυπτίους ἔρχομαι λόγους ἐρέων κατὰ τὰ ἤκουον· προσέσται δὲ αὐτοῖσί τι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὄψιος. ² Μῖνα τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα Αἰγύπτου οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον τοῦτο μὲν ἀπογεφυρῶσαι τὴν Μέμφιν. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πάντα ῥέειν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ψάμμινον πρὸς Λιβύης, τὸν δὲ Μῖνα ἄνωθεν, ὅσον τε ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἀπὸ Μέμφιος, τὸν πρὸς μεσαμβρίας ἀγκῶνα προσχώσαντα τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηρῆναι, τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ὀχετεῦσαι τὸ μέσον τῶν ὁρέων ῥέειν. ³ ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Περσέων ὁ ἀγκὼν οὗτος τοῦ Νείλου ὡς ἀπεργμένος ῥέη ἐν φυλακῇσι μεγάλῃσι ἔχεται, φρασσόμενος ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσῃ ρήξας ὑπερβῆναι ὁ ποταμὸς ταύτῃ, κίνδυνος πάσῃ Μέμφι κατακλυσθῆναι ἐστί. ⁴ ὡς δὲ τῷ Μῖνι τούτῳ τῷ πρώτῳ γενομένῳ βασιλείᾳ χέρσον γεγονέναι τὸ ἀπεργμένον, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ πόλιν κτίσαι ταύτην ἣτις νῦν Μέμφις καλέεται· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἡ Μέμφις ἐν τῷ στεινῷ τῆς Αἰγύπτου· ἔξωθεν δὲ αὐτῆς περιορύζαι λίμνην ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς βορέην τε καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην (τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ αὐτὸς ὁ Νεῖλος ἀπέργει), τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ Ἥφαιστου τὸ ἱρὸν ἰδρύσασθαι ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατον.

100

¹ μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον κατέλεγον οἱ ἱρέες ἐκ βύβλου ἄλλων βασιλέων τριηκοσίων καὶ τριήκοντα οὐνόματα. ἐν τοσαύτῃσι δὲ γενεῇσι ἀνθρώπων ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὲν Αἰθίοπες ἦσαν, μία δὲ γυνὴ ἐπιχωρὴ, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἄνδρες Αἰγύπτιοι. ² τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ οὖνομα ἦν, ἣτις ἐβασίλευσε, τό περ τῇ Βαβυλωνίῃ, Νίτωκρις· τὴν ἔλεγον τιμωρέουσιν ἀδελφεῷ, τὸν Αἰγύπτιοι βασιλεύοντα σφέων ἀπέκτειναν, ἀποκτείναντες δὲ οὕτω ἐκείνη ἀπέδωκεν τὴν βασιλίην, τούτῳ τιμωρέουσιν πολλοὺς Αἰγυπτίων διαφθεῖραι δόλω. ³ ποιησαμένην γὰρ μιν οἴκημα περίμηκες ὑπόγαιον καινοῦν τῷ λόγῳ, νόφω δὲ ἄλλα μηχανᾶσθαι· καλέσασαν δὲ μιν Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς μάλιστα μεταίτιους τοῦ φόνου ἦδε πολλοὺς ἰστιᾶν, δαινυμένοισι δὲ ἐπεῖναι

τὸν ποταμὸν δι' αὐλῶνος κρυπτοῦ μεγάλου. 4 ταύτης μὲν πέρι τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον, πλὴν ὅτι αὐτὴν μιν, ὥς τοῦτο ἐξέργαστο, ρίψαι ἐς οἶκημα σποδοῦ πλέον, ὅκως ἀτιμώρητος γένηται.

101

1 τῶν δὲ ἄλλων βασιλέων οὐ γὰρ ἔλεγον οὐδεμίαν ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν καὶ οὐδὲν εἶναι λαμπρότητος, πλὴν ἐνὸς τοῦ ἐσχάτου αὐτῶν Μοίριος· 2 τοῦτον δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι μνημόσυνα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὰ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον τετραμμένα προπύλαια, λίμνην τε ὀρύξαι, τῆς ἡ περιόδου ὅσων ἐστὶ σταδίων ὕστερον δηλώσω, πυραμίδας τε ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοδομησάσαι, τῶν τοῦ μεγάλθεος πέρι ὁμοῦ αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ ἐπιμνήσομαι· τοῦτον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδένα οὐδέν.

102

1 παραμειψάμενος ὧν τούτους τοῦ ἐπὶ τούτοις γενομένου βασιλέος, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Σέσωστρις, τούτου μνήμην ποιήσομαι· 2 τὸν ἔλεγον οἱ ἱεεὺς πρῶτον μὲν πλοίοις μακροῖς ὀρμηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου τοὺς παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν κατοικημένους καταστρέφεσθαι, ἐς ὃ πλέοντά μιν πρόσω ἀπικέσθαι ἐς θάλασσαν οὐκέτι πλωτὴν ὑπὸ βραχέων. 3 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὥς ὀπίσω ἀπίκετο ἐς Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ τῶν ἱερέων τὴν φάτιν, πολλὴν στρατιὴν τῶν λαβῶν ἤλαυνε διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου, πᾶν ἔθνος τὸ ἐμποδὼν καταστρεφόμενος. 4 ὁτέοις μὲν νυν αὐτῶν ἀλκίμοις ἐνετύγχανε καὶ δεινῶς γλιχομένοις περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, τούτοις μὲν στήλας ἐνίστη ἐς τὰς χώρας διὰ γραμμάτων λεγούσας τό τε ἑωυτοῦ οὖνομα καὶ τῆς πάτρης, καὶ ὥς δυνάμει τῇ ἑωυτοῦ κατεστρέψατο σφέας· 5 ὅτεων δὲ ἀμαχητὶ καὶ εὐπετέως παρέλαβε τὰς πόλιας, τούτοις δὲ ἐνέγραφε ἐν τῇσι στήλῃσι κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖσι ἀνδρηίοις τῶν ἐθνέων γενομένοις, καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰδοῖα γυναικὸς προσενέγραφε, δῆλα βουλόμενος ποιεῖν ὥς εἶψαν ἀνάλκιδες.

103

1 ταῦτα δὲ ποιέων διεξήιε τὴν ἡπειρον, ἐς ὃ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διαβάς τοὺς τε Σκύθας κατεστρέψατο καὶ τοὺς Θρήικας. ἐς τούτους δὲ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ προσώτατα ἀπικέσθαι ὁ Αἰγύπτιος στρατός· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ τούτων χώρῃ φαίνονται σταθεῖσαι αἱ στήλαι,

τὸ δὲ προσωτέρω τούτων οὐκέτι. 2 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐπιστρέψας ὀπίσω ἦιε, καὶ ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Φάσι ποταμῷ, οὐκ ἔχω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν εἴτε αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις ἀποδασάμενος τῆς ἐωντοῦ στρατιῆς μόριον ὅσον δὴ αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε τῆς χώρας οἰκήτορας, εἴτε τῶν τινες στρατιωτέων τῇ πλάνῃ αὐτοῦ ἀχθεσθέντες [περὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν] κατέμειναν.

104

1 φαίνονται μὲν γὰρ ἔόντες οἱ Κόλχοι Αἰγύπτιοι, νοήσας δὲ πρότερον αὐτὸς ἢ ἀκούσας ἄλλων λέγω. ὥς δέ μοι ἐν φροντίδι ἐγένετο, εἰρόμην ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Κόλχοι ἐμεμνέατο τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἢ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν Κόλχων· 2 νομίζειν δ' ἔφασαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῆς Σεσώστριος στρατιῆς εἶναι τοὺς Κόλχους. αὐτὸς δὲ εἶκασα τῇδε, καὶ ὅτι μελάγχροες εἰσὶ καὶ οὐλότριχες. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐς οὐδὲν ἀνήκει· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι· ἀλλὰ τοῖσιδε καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅτι μούνοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων Κόλχοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες περιτάμνονται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα. 3 Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Σύριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογεῖν παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι, Σύριοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Θερμώδοντα καὶ Παρθένιον ποταμὸν καὶ Μάκρωνες οἱ τούτοις ἀστυγείτονες ἔόντες ἀπὸ Κόλχων φασὶ νεωστὶ μεμαθηκέναι. οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσὶ οἱ περιταμνόμενοι ἀνθρώπων μούνοι, καὶ οὗτοι Αἰγυπτίοις φαίνονται ποιεῦντες κατὰ ταυτά. 4 αὐτῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Αἰθιόπων οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὁκότεροι παρὰ τῶν ἐτέρων ἐξέμαθον· ἀρχαῖον γὰρ δὴ τι φαίνεται ἔόν. ὥς δὲ ἐπιμισγόμενοι Αἰγύπτῳ ἐξέμαθον, μέγα μοι καὶ τότε τεκμήριον γίνεται· Φοινίκων ὁκόσοι τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπιμίσγονται, οὐκέτι Αἰγυπτίους μιμούνται [κατὰ τὰ αἰδοῖα]. ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων οὐ περιτάμνουσι τὰ αἰδοῖα.

105

1 φέρε νῦν καὶ ἄλλο εἶπω περὶ τῶν Κόλχων, ὥς Αἰγυπτίοις προσφερέες εἰσὶ· λίνον μούνοι οὗτοί τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐργάζονται καὶ κατὰ ταυτά, καὶ ἡ ζόη πᾶσα καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα ἐμφερῆς ἐστὶ ἀλλήλοισι. λίνον δὲ τὸ μὲν Κολχικὸν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σαρδωνικὸν κέκληται, τὸ μέντοι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπικνεύμενον καλέεται Αἰγύπτιον.

106

1 αἱ δὲ στηλῆλαι τὰς ἴστα κατὰ τὰς χώρας ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις, αἱ μὲν πλεῦνες οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιεοῦσαι, ἐν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ αὐτὸς ὥρων ἐούσας καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ εἰρημένα ἐνεόντα καὶ γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα. 2 εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην δύο τύποι ἐν πέτρησι ἐγκεκολαμμένοι τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρός, τῇ τε ἐκ τῆς Ἐφεσίης ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔρχονται καὶ τῇ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σμύρνην. 3 ἐκατέρωθι δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐγγέγλυπται μέγαθος πέμπτης σπιθαμῆς, τῇ μὲν δεξιῇ χειρὶ ἔχων αἰχμὴν τῇ δὲ ἀριστερῇ τόξα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σκευὴν ὡσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ Αἰγυπτίην καὶ Αἰθιοπίδα ἔχει· 4 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὤμου ἐς τὸν ἕτερον ὤμον διὰ τῶν στηθεῶν γράμματα ἱρὰ Αἰγύπτια δῆκει ἐγκεκολαμμένα, λέγοντα τάδε· “ἐγὼ τήνδε τὴν χώραν ὥμοισι τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι ἐκτησάμην.” ὅστις δὲ καὶ ὁκόθεν ἐστί, ἐνθαῦτα μὲν οὐ δηλοῖ, ἐτέρωθι δὲ δεδῆλωκε· 5 τὰ δὲ καὶ μετεξέτεροι τῶν θεησαμένων Μέμνονος εἰκόνα εἰκάζουσιν εἶναι, πολλὸν τῆς ἀληθείης ἀπολελειμμένοι.

107

1 τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Σέσωστριν ἀναχωρέοντα καὶ ἀνάγοντα πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, ἔλεγον οἱ ἱεεῖς, ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐν Δάφνησι τῇσι Πηλουσίησι, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἐωυτοῦ, τῷ ἐπέτρεψε ὁ Σέσωστρις τὴν Αἴγυπτον, τοῦτον ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτὸν καλέσαντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τοὺς παῖδας περηνῆσαι ἔξωθεν τὴν οἰκίην ὕλῃ, περηνήσαντα δὲ ὑποπρῆσαι. 2 τὸν δὲ ὡς μαθεῖν τοῦτο, αὐτίκα συμβουλευέσθαι τῇ γυναικὶ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτὸν ἅμα ἄγεσθαι· τὴν δὲ οἱ συμβουλεύσαι τῶν παίδων ἐόντων ἔξ τούς δύο ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν ἐκτείναντα γεφυρῶσαι τὸ καιόμενον, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐπ’ ἐκείνων ἐπιβαίνοντας ἐκσῶζεσθαι. ταῦτα ποιῆσαι τὸν Σέσωστριν, καὶ δύο μὲν τῶν παίδων κατακαῆναι τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀποσωθῆναι ἅμα τῷ πατρί.

108

1 νοστήσας δὲ ὁ Σέσωστρις ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τισάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεόν, τῷ μὲν ὁμίλῳ τὸν ἐπηγάγετο τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, τούτῳ μὲν τάδε ἐχρήσατο· 2 τοὺς τέ οἱ λίθους τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως κομισθέντας ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρόν, ἐόντας μεγάθει περιμήκεας, οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐλκύσαντες, καὶ τὰς διώρυχας τὰς νῦν ἐούσας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάσας οὗτοι ἀναγκαζόμενοι

ῥυσσον, ἐποίευν τε οὐκ ἐκόντες Αἴγυπτον, τὸ πρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἱππασίμην καὶ ἀμαξευομένην πᾶσαν, ἐνδεᾶ τούτων. ³ ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου Αἴγυπτος ἐοῦσα πεδιάς πᾶσα ἄνιππος καὶ ἀναμάξευτος γέγονε· αἷται δὲ τούτων αἱ διώρυχες γεγόνασι ἐοῦσαι πολλαὶ καὶ παντοίους τρόπους ἔχουσαι. ⁴ κατέταμνε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τὴν χώραν ὁ βασιλεὺς· ὅσοι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ἔκτηντο τὰς πόλεις ἀλλ' ἀναμέσους, οὗτοι, ὅκως τε ἀπίοι ὁ ποταμός, σπανίζοντες ὑδάτων πλατυτέροισι ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι πόμασι, ἐκ φρεάτων χρεώμενοι. τούτων μὲν δὴ εἵνεκα κατετμήθη ἡ Αἴγυπτος.

109

¹ κατανεῖμαι δὲ τὴν χώραν Αἰγυπτίοισι ἅπασι τοῦτον ἔλεγον τὸν βασιλέα, κλῆρον ἴσον ἐκάστῳ τετράγωνον διδόντα, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὰς προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν ἐπιτελέειν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. ² εἰ δὲ τινὸς τοῦ κλήρου ὁ ποταμός τι παρέλοιτο, ἐλθὼν ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐσήμαινε τὸ γεγεννημένον· ὁ δὲ ἔπεμπε τοὺς ἐπισκεψομένους καὶ ἀναμετρήσοντας ὅσῳ ἐλάσσων ὁ χῶρος γέγονε, ὅκως τοῦ λοιποῦ κατὰ λόγον τῆς τεταγμένης ἀποφορῆς τελείοι. ³ δοκέει δέ μοι ἐνθεῦτεν γεωμετρίῃ εὐρεθεῖσα ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπανελθεῖν· πόλον μὲν γὰρ καὶ γνώμονα καὶ τὰ δωδέκα μέρη τῆς ἡμέρης παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἔμαθον οἱ Ἕλληνες.

110

¹ βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ οὗτος μόνος Αἰγύπτιος Αἰθιοπὴς ἦρξε, μνημόσυνα δὲ ἐλίπετο πρὸ τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου ἀνδριάντας λιθίνους, δύο μὲν τριήκοντα πηχέων, ἑωυτόν τε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἑόντας τέσσερας εἴκοσι πηχέων ἕκαστον· ² τῶν δὴ ὁ ἱεὺς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα πολλῷ Δαρεῖον τὸν Πέρσην οὐ περιεῖδε ἰστάντα ἔμπροσθε ἀνδριάντα, φᾶς οὐ οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ἔργα οἷα περ Σεσώστρι τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ· Σέσωστριν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τε καταστρέψασθαι ἔθνεα οὐκ ἐλάσσῳ ἐκείνου καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύθας, Δαρεῖον δὲ οὐ δυνασθῆναι Σκύθας ἐλεῖν· ³ οὐκὼν δίκαιον εἶναι ἰστάναι ἔμπροσθε τῶν ἐκείνου ἀναθημάτων μὴ οὐκ ὑπερβαλλόμενον τοῖσι ἔργοισι. Δαρεῖον μὲν νυν λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα συγγνώμην ποιήσασθαι.

111

1 Σεσώστριος δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐκδέξασθαι ἔλεγον τὴν βασιλῆην τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Φερῶν, τὸν ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν οὐδεμίαν στρατηγὴν, συνενειχθῆναι δέ οἱ τυφλὸν γενέσθαι διὰ τοιόνδε πρῆγμα. τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελθόντος μέγιστα δὴ τότε ἐπ' ὀκτωκαίδεκα πήχεας, ὡς ὑπερέβαλε τὰς ἀρούρας, πνεύματος ἐμπεσόντος κυματῆς ὁ ποταμὸς ἐγένετο· 2 τὸν δὲ βασιλέα λέγουσι τοῦτον ἀτασθαλίῃ χρησάμενον, λαβόντα αἰχμὴν βαλεῖν ἐς μέσας τὰς δίνας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, μετὰ δὲ αὐτίκα καμόντα αὐτὸν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλωθῆναι. δέκα μὲν δὴ ἔτεα εἶναι μιν τυφλόν, ἐνδεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀπικέσθαι οἱ μαντήιον ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ὡς ἐξήκει τέ οἱ ὁ χρόνος τῆς ζημίας καὶ ἀναβλέψει γυναικὸς οὖρῳ νιψάμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἥτις παρὰ τὸν ἐωυτῆς ἄνδρα μοῦνον πεφοίτηκε, ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἐοῦσα ἄπειρος. 3 καὶ τὸν πρώτης τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναικὸς πειρᾶσθαι, μετὰ δέ, ὡς οὐκ ἀνέλεπε, ἐπεξῆς πασέων πειρᾶσθαι· ἀναβλέψαντα δὲ συναγαγεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπειρήθη, πλὴν ἢ τῆς τῷ οὖρῳ νιψάμενος ἀνέβλεψε, ἐς μίαν πόλιν, ἣ νῦν καλέεται Ἐρυθρὴ βῶλος· ἐς ταύτην συναλίσαντα ὑποπρῆσαι πάσας σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει· 4 τῆς δὲ νιψάμενος τῷ οὖρῳ ἀνέβλεψε, ταύτην δὲ ἔσχε αὐτὸς γυναῖκα. ἀναθήματα δὲ ἀποφυγὼν τὴν πάθην τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἄλλα τε ἀνὰ τὰ ἱρά πάντα τὰ λόγιμα ἀνέθηκε καὶ τοῦ γε λόγον μάλιστα ἄξιον ἐστὶ ἔχειν, ἐς τοῦ Ἡλίου τὸ ἱρὸν ἀξιοθέητα ἀνέθηκε ἔργα, ὀβελοὺς δύο λιθίνους, ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐόντα ἐκάτερον λίθου, μῆκος μὲν ἐκάτερον πηχέων ἐκατόν, εὖρος δὲ ὀκτῶ πηχέων.

112

1 τούτου δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλῆην ἔλεγον ἄνδρα Μεμφίτην, τῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν οὔνομα Πρωτέα εἶναι· τοῦ νῦν τέμενος ἐστὶ ἐν Μέμφι κάρτα καλόν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένον, τοῦ Ἥφαιστείου πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον κείμενον. 2 περιοικέουσι δὲ τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο Φοίνικες Τύριοι, καλέεται δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος ὁ συνάπας Τυρίων στρατοπέδον. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Πρωτέος ἱρὸν τὸ καλέεται ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης· συμβάλλομαι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν εἶναι Ἑλένης τῆς Τυνδάρεω, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀκηκοὺς ὡς διαιτήθη Ἑλένη παρὰ Πρωτεί, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης ἐπώνυμον ἐστὶ· ὅσα γὰρ ἄλλα Ἀφροδίτης ἱρά ἐστι, οὐδαμῶς ξείνης ἐπικαλέεται.

1 ἔλεγον δέ μοι οἱ ἱρέες ἱστορέοντι τὰ περὶ Ἑλένην γενέσθαι ὧδε. Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρπάσαντα Ἑλένην ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· καὶ μιν, ὡς ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ, ἐξῶσται ἄνεμοι ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος, ἐνθεῦτεν δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἀνιεῖ τὰ πνεύματα, ἀπικνέεται ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἐς τὸ νῦν Κανωβικὸν καλούμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου καὶ ἐς Ταριχείας. 2 ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος τὸ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ Ἡρακλέος ἱρόν, ἐς τὸ ἦν καταφυγὼν οἰκέτης ὅτεν ὧν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβάληται στίγματα ἱρά, ἑωυτὸν διδοὺς τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἔξεστι τούτου ἄσπασθαι. 3 ὁ νόμος οὗτος διατελεεῖ ἐὼν ὁμοιος μέχρι ἐμεῦ τῷ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς· τοῦ ὧν δὴ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπιστέεται θεράποντες πυθόμενοι τὸν περὶ τὸ ἱρόν ἔχοντα νόμον, ἰκέται δὲ ἰζόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ κατηγοροῦν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, βουλόμενοι βλάπτειν αὐτόν, πάντα λόγον ἐξηγεύμενοι ὡς εἶχε περὶ τὴν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὴν ἐς Μενέλεων ἀδικίην· κατηγοροῦν δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τε τοὺς ἱρέας καὶ τὸν στόματος τούτου φύλακον, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Θῶνις.

1 ἀκούσας δὲ τούτων ὁ Θῶνις πέμπει τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Μέμφιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἀγγελίην λέγουσαν τάδε. 2 “ ἥκει ξεῖνος γένος μὲν Τευκρός, ἔργον δὲ ἀνόσιον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐξεργασμένος· ξεῖνου γὰρ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἐξαπατήσας τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτὴν τε ταύτην ἄγων ἥκει καὶ πολλὰ κάρτα χρήματα, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἐς γῆν ταύτην ἀπενειχθεῖς. κότερα δῆτα τοῦτον ἐῷμεν ἀσινέα ἐκπλέειν ἢ ἀπελώμεθα τὰ ἔχων ἦλθε; “ 3 ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Πρωτεὺς λέγοντα τάδε· “ ἄνδρα τοῦτον, ὅστις κοτὲ ἐστὶ <ὁ> ἀνόσια ἐργασμένος ξεῖνον τὸν ἑωυτοῦ, συλλαβόντες ἀπάγετε παρ' ἐμέ, ἵνα εἰδῶ ὅ τι κοτὲ καὶ λέξει “.

1 ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θῶνις συλλαμβάνει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ κατίσχει, μετὰ δὲ αὐτόν τε τοῦτον ἀνήγαγε ἐς Μέμφιν καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰκέτας. 2 ἀνακομισθέντων δὲ πάντων, εἰρώτα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὁ Πρωτεὺς τίς εἶη καὶ ὁκόθεν πλέοι. ὁ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὸ γένος κατέλεξε καὶ τῆς πατρὸς εἶπε τὸ οὖνομα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν πλόον ἀπηγήσατο ὁκόθεν πλέοι. 3 μετὰ δὲ ὁ Πρωτεὺς εἰρώτα αὐτόν ὁκόθεν τὴν Ἑλένην λάβοι· πλανωμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ οὐ λέγοντος τὴν

ἀληθείην, ἤλεγchon οἱ γενόμενοι ἰκέται, ἐξηγεύμενοι πάντα λόγον τοῦ ἀδικήματος. 4 τέλος δὲ δὴ σφι λόγον τόνδε ἐκφαίνει ὁ Πρωτεύς, λέγων ὅτι “ ἐγὼ εἰ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγεύμην μηδένα ξείνων κτείνειν, ὅσοι ὑπ’ ἀνέμων ἤδη ἀπολαμφθέντες ἦλθον ἐς χώραν τὴν ἐμήν, ἐγὼ ἂν σε ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἑλλήνος ἐτισάμην, ὅς, ὦ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ξεινίων τυχὼν ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον ἐργάσαιο· παρὰ τοῦ σεωυτοῦ ξείνου τὴν γυναῖκα ἦλθες. καὶ μάλα ταῦτά τοι οὐκ ἤρκεσε, ἀλλ’ ἀναπτερώσας αὐτὴν οἴχεται ἔχων ἐκκλέψας. 5 καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτά τοι μούνα ἤρκεσε, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰκία τοῦ ξείνου κεραῖσας ἤκεις. 6 νῦν ὦν ἐπειδὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγῆμαι μὴ ξεινοκτονέειν, γυναῖκα μὲν ταύτην καὶ τὰ χρήματα οὗ τοι προήσω ἀπάγεσθαι, ἀλλ’ αὐτὰ ἐγὼ τῷ Ἑλληνι ξείνῳ φυλάξω, ἐς ὃ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἐκεῖνος ἀπαγαγέσθαι ἐθέλῃ· αὐτὸν δὲ σε καὶ τοὺς σοὺς συμπλόους τριῶν ἡμερέων προαγορεύω ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς γῆς ἐς ἄλλην τινὰ μετορμίζεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἅτε πολεμίους περιέψεσθαι “.

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1 Ἑλένης μὲν ταύτην ἄπιζιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἔλεγον οἱ ἱεεὲς γενέσθαι· δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ Ὅμηρος τὸν λόγον τοῦτον πυθέσθαι· ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐς τὴν ἐποποιίην εὐπρεπὴς ἦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῷ περ ἐχρήσατο, ἐκὼν [ἐκὼν : ἐς ὃ] μετῆκε αὐτόν, δηλώσας ὥς καὶ τοῦτον ἐπίστατο τὸν λόγον· 2 δῆλον δὲ κατὰ [γὰρ] ἐποίησε ἐν Ἰλιάδι (καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλῃ ἀνεπόδισε ἐωυτόν) πλάνην τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὥς ἀπηνεῖχθη ἄγων Ἑλένην τῇ τε δὴ ἄλλῃ πλαζόμενος καὶ ὥς ἐς Σιδῶνα τῆς Φοινίκης ἀπίκητο. 3 [ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν Διομήδεος ἀριστείῃ· λέγει δὲ τὰ ἔπεα ὧδε.

ἐνθ’ ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποίκιλοι, ἔργα γυναικῶν
Σιδονίων, τὰς αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής
ἡγάγε Σιδονίηθεν, ἐπιπλὼς εὐρέα πόντον,
τὴν ὁδὸν ἦν Ἑλένην περ ἀνήγαγεν εὐπατέρειαν. [Ἰλ. Ζ 289-292]

4 ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσείῃ ἐν τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι.
τοῖα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μητιόεντα,
ἐσθλά, τὰ οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν Θῶνος παράκοιτις
Αἰγυπτίῃ, τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα
φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλά μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά. [Ὀδ. δ

5 καὶ τάδε ἔτερα πρὸς Τηλέμαχον Μενέλεως λέγει.

Αἰγύπτῳ μ' ἔτι δεῦρο θεοὶ μεμαῶτα νέεσθαι

ἔσχον, ἐπεὶ οὐ σφιν ἔρεξα τεληέσσας ἐκατόμβας. [Ὀδ. δ 351-352]

6 ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἔπεσι δηλοῖ ὅτι ἠπίστατο τὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον Ἀλεξάνδρου πλάνην· ὁμουργεῖ γὰρ ἡ Συρίη Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες, τῶν ἐστὶ ἡ Σιδῶν, ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ οἰκεῖουσιν].

117

1 κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἔπεα καὶ τόδε [τὸ χωρίον] οὐκ ἦκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δηλοῖ ὅτι οὐκ Ὀμήρου τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεα ἐστὶ ἀλλ' ἄλλου τινός. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Κυπρίοις εἴρηται ὡς τριταῖος ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἄγων Ἑλένην, εὐαεὶ τε πνεύματι χρησάμενος καὶ θαλάσῃ λείῃ· ἐν δὲ Ἰλιάδι λέγει ὡς ἐπλάζετο ἄγων αὐτήν. Ὀμηρος μὲν νυν καὶ τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεα χαιρέτω.

118

1 εἰρομένου δέ μεν τοὺς ἱρέας εἰ μάταιον λόγον λέγουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες τὰ περὶ Ἴλιον γενέσθαι ἢ οὐ, ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα τάδε, ἱστορήσιν φάμενοι εἰδέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ Μενέλεω. 2 ἐλθεῖν μὲν γὰρ μετὰ τὴν Ἑλένης ἀρπαγὴν ἐς τὴν Τευκρίδα γῆν Ἑλλήνων στρατιὴν πολλὴν βοηθεῦσαν Μενέλεω, ἐκβᾶσαν δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ἰδρυθεῖσαν τὴν στρατιὴν πέμπειν ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἀγγέλους, σὺν δὲ σφιν ἰέναι καὶ αὐτὸν Μενέλεω. 3 τοὺς δ' ἐπεῖτε ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπαιτεῖν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ οἱ οἶχeto κλέψας Ἀλέξανδρος, τῶν τε ἀδικημάτων δίκας αἰτεῖν· τοὺς δὲ Τευκροὺς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον λέγειν τότε καὶ μετέπειτα, καὶ ὁμνύντας καὶ ἄνωμοτί, μὴ μὲν ἔχειν Ἑλένην μηδὲ τὰ ἐπικαλούμενα χρήματα, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτὰ πάντα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αὐτοὶ δίκας ὑπέχειν τῶν Πρωτεὺς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος βασιλεὺς ἔχει. 4 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες καταγελαῖσθαι δοκέοντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὕτω δὴ ἐπολιόρκεον, ἐς ὃ ἐξεῖλον· ἐλοῦσι δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ὡς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο ἡ Ἑλένη, ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπυνθάνοντο, οὕτω δὴ πιστεύσαντες τῷ λόγῳ τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ Ἕλληνες αὐτὸν Μενέλεω ἀποστέλλουσι παρὰ Πρωτέα.

119

1 ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Μενέλεως ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀναπλώσας ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, εἶπας τὴν ἀληθείην τῶν πρηγμάτων, καὶ ξεινίων ἤντησε μεγάλων καὶ Ἑλένην ἀπαθέα κακῶν ἀπέλαβε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ χρήματα πάντα. 2 τυχὼν μέντοι τούτων ἐγένετο Μενέλεως ἀνὴρ ἄδικος ἐς Αἴγυπτίους. ἀποπλέειν γὰρ ὀρμημένον αὐτὸν ἴσχον ἄπλοιαι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολλὸν τοιοῦτον ἦν, ἐπιτεχνᾷται πρῆγμα οὐκ ὅσιον· 3 λαβὼν γὰρ δύο παιδία ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔντομα σφέα ἐποίησε. μετὰ δὲ ὥς ἐπάιστος ἐγένετο τοῦτο ἐργασμένος, μισηθεὶς τε καὶ διωκόμενος οἶχετο φεύγων τῆσι νηυσὶ ἐπὶ Λιβύης· τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὅκου ἔτι ἐτράπετο οὐκ εἶχον εἰπεῖν Αἰγύπτιοι. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ἱστορήσι ἔφασαν ἐπίστασθαι, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἐωυτοῖσι γενόμενα ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγειν.

120

1 ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον· ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ Ἑλένης λεχθέντι καὶ αὐτὸς προστίθεμαι, τάδε ἐπιλεγόμενος, εἰ ἦν Ἑλένη ἐν Ἰλίῳ, ἀποδοθῆναι ἂν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἥτοι ἐκόντος γε ἢ ἀέκοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου. 2 οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὕτω γε φρενοβλαβῆς ἦν ὁ Πρίαμος οὐδὲ οἱ ἄλλοι < οἱ > προσήκοντες αὐτῷ, ὥστε τοῖσι σφετέροισι σώμασι καὶ τοῖσι τέκνοισι καὶ τῇ πόλι κινδυνεύειν ἐβούλοντο, ὅπως Ἀλέξανδρος Ἑλένη συνοικέη. 3 εἰ δέ τοι καὶ ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοισι χρόνοισι ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων, ὁκότε συμμίσγοιεν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀπώλλυντο, αὐτοῦ δὲ Πριάμου οὐκ ἔστι ὅτε οὐ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ καὶ ἔτι πλέους τῶν παίδων μάχης γινομένης ἀπέθνησκον, εἰ χρή τι τοῖσι ἐποποιοῖσι χρεώμενον λέγειν, τούτων δὲ τοιούτων συμβαινόντων ἐγὼ μὲν ἔλπομαι, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς Πρίαμος συνοικεεῖ Ἑλένη, ἀποδοῦναι ἂν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Ἀχαιοῖσι, μέλλοντά γε δὴ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι. 4 οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡ βασιληὴ ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον περιήιε, ὥστε γέροντος Πριάμου ἐόντος ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ πρήγματα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ Ἐκτωρ καὶ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀνὴρ ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἐὼν ἔμελλε αὐτὴν Πριάμου ἀποθανόντος παραλάμψεσθαι, τὸν οὐ προσῆκε ἀδικέοντι τῷ ἀδελφεῷ ἐπιτρέπειν, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλων κακῶν δι' αὐτὸν συμβαινόντων ἰδίῃ τε αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις πᾶσι Τρωσί. 5 ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ εἶχον Ἑλένην ἀποδοῦναι, οὐδὲ λέγουσι αὐτοῖσι τὴν ἀληθείην ἐπίστευον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ γνώμην ἀποφαίνομαι, τοῦ δαιμονίου παρασκευάζοντος, ὅπως πανωλεθρίῃ ἀπολόμενοι καταφανὲς τοῦτο τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι

ποιήσωσι, ὥς τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλαι εἰσὶ καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τῇ ἐμοὶ δοκέει εἴρηται.

121

1 Πρωτεύς δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληίην Ῥαμψίνιτον ἔλεγον, ὃς μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ προπύλαια τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένα τοῦ Ἥφαιστείου, ἀντίους δὲ τῶν προπυλαίων ἔστησε ἀνδριάντας δύο, ἐόντας τὸ μέγαθος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πηχέων, τῶν Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν μὲν πρὸς βορέῳ ἐστεῶτα καλέουσι θέρος, τὸν δὲ πρὸς νότον χειμῶνα· καὶ τὸν μὲν καλέουσι θέρος, τοῦτον μὲν προσκυνέουσιν τε καὶ εὖ ποιέουσι, τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα καλούμενον τὰ ἔμπαλιν τούτων ἔρδουσι. [121A] πλοῦτον δὲ τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι ἀργύρου μέγαν, τὸν οὐδένα τῶν ὕστερον ἐπιτραφέντων βασιλέων δύνασθαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι οὐδ' ἐγγὺς ἐλθεῖν. βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ἀσφαλείῃ τὰ χρήματα θησαυρίζειν οἰκοδομέεσθαι οἶκημα λίθινον, τοῦ τῶν τοίχων ἓνα ἐς τὸ ἔξω μέρος τῆς οἰκῆς ἔχειν. τὸν δὲ ἐργαζόμενον ἐπιβουλεύοντα τάδε μηχανᾶσθαι· τῶν λίθων παρασκευάσασθαι ἓνα ἐξαίρετον εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ τοίχου ῥηιδίως καὶ ὑπὸ δύο ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἐνός. 2 ὥς δὲ ἐπετελέσθη τὸ οἶκημα, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα θησαυρίσαι τὰ χρήματα ἐν αὐτῷ· χρόνου δὲ περιόντος τὸν οἰκοδόμον περὶ τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου ἐόντα ἀνακαλέσασθαι τοὺς παῖδας (εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ δύο), τούτοισι δὲ ἀπηγγέσθαι ὥς ἐκείνων προορῶν, ὅπως βίον ἄφθονον ἔχωσι, τεχνάσαιτο οἰκοδομέων τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ βασιλέως· σαφέως δὲ αὐτοῖσι πάντα ἐξηγησάμενον τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐξαίρεσιν τοῦ λίθου δοῦναι τὰ μέτρα αὐτοῦ, λέγοντα ὥς ταῦτα διαφυλάσσοντες ταμίαι τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων ἔσονται. 3 καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν ἔργου ἔχεσθαι, ἐπελθόντας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλῆα νυκτὸς καὶ τὸν λίθον ἐπὶ τῷ οἰκοδομήματι ἀνευρόντας ῥηιδίως μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ τῶν χρημάτων πολλὰ ἐξενεῖκασθαι. [121B] ὥς δὲ τυχεῖν τὸν βασιλέα ἀνοίξαντα τὸ οἶκημα, θωμάσαι ἰδόντα τῶν χρημάτων καταδεῖν τὰ ἀγγῆα, οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ὄντινα ἐπαιτιᾶται, τῶν τε σημάτων ἔκδοσιν σόων καὶ τοῦ οἰκήματος κεκλημένον. ὥς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ δις καὶ τρις ἀνοίξαντι αἰεὶ ἐλάσσω φαίνεσθαι τὰ χρήματα (τοὺς γὰρ κλέπτας οὐκ ἀνιέναι κερατίζοντας), ποιῆσαί μιν τάδε· πάγας προστάξει ἐργάσασθαι καὶ ταύτας περὶ τὰ ἀγγῆα ἐν τοῖσι τὰ χρήματα ἐνῆν στηῆσαι. 2 τῶν δὲ φωρῶν ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ἐλθόντων καὶ ἐσδύντος τοῦ ἐτέρου αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ

πρὸς τὸ ἄγγος προσῆλθε, ἰθέως τῇ πάγῃ ἐνέχεσθαι. ὥς δὲ γινῶναι αὐτὸν ἐν οἴῳ κακῷ ἦν, ἰθέως καλέειν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν καὶ δηλοῦν αὐτῷ τὰ παρεόντα, καὶ κελεύειν τὴν ταχίστην ἐσδύντα ἀποταμεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὅπως μὴ αὐτὸς ὀφθεῖς καὶ γνωρισθεῖς ὡς εἴη προσαπολέσῃ κάκεινον. τῷ δὲ δόξαει εὖ λέγειν, καὶ ποιῆσαί μιν πεισθέντα ταῦτα, καὶ καταρμόσαντα τὸν λίθον ἀπιέναι ἐπ' οἴκου, φέροντα τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ. [121C] ὥς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, ἐσελθόντα τὸν βασιλέα ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἐκπεπλήχθαι ὀρῶντα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ φωρὸς ἐν τῇ πάγῃ ἄνευ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐόν, τὸ δὲ οἶκημα ἀσινὲς καὶ οὔτε ἔσοδον οὔτε ἔκδυσιν οὐδεμίαν ἔχον. ἀπορεύμενον δὲ μιν τάδε ποιῆσαι· τοῦ φωρὸς τὸν νέκυν κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κατακρεμάσαι, φυλάκους δὲ αὐτοῦ καταστήσαντα ἐντείλασθαι σφι, τὸν ἂν ἴδωνται ἀποκλαύσαντα ἢ κατοικτισάμενον, συλλαβόντας ἄγειν πρὸς ἐωυτόν. 2 ἀνακρεμαμένον δὲ τοῦ νέκυος τὴν μητέρα δεινῶς φέρειν, λόγους δὲ πρὸς τὸν περιέοντα παῖδα ποιευμένην προστάσσειν αὐτῷ ὅτεω τρόπῳ δύναται μηχανᾶσθαι ὅπως τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ καταλύσας κομιεῖ· εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀμελήσει, διαπειλῆειν αὐτὴν ὥς ἐλθοῦσα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μηνύσει αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τὰ χρήματα. [121D] ὥς δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐλαμβάνετο ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ περιέοντος παιδὸς καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε, ἐπιτεχνήσασθαι τοιάδε μιν· ὄνους κατασκευασάμενον καὶ ἀσκούς πλήσαντα οἴνου ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶν ὄνων καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλαύνειν αὐτούς· ὥς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας ἦν τὸν κρεμάμενον νέκυν, ἐπισπάσαντα τῶν ἀσκῶν δύο ἢ τρεῖς ποδεῶνας αὐτὸν λύνειν ἀπαμμένους· 2 ὥς δὲ ἔρρεε ὁ οἶνος, τὴν κεφαλὴν μιν κόπτεσθαι μεγάλην βοῶντα ὥς οὐκ ἔχοντα πρὸς ὀκοῖον τῶν ὄνων πρῶτον τράπηται. τοὺς δὲ φυλάκους ὥς ἰδεῖν πολλὸν ῥέοντα τὸν οἶνον, συντρέχειν ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν ἀγγηία ἔχοντας, καὶ τὸν ἐκκεχυμένον οἶνον συγομίζειν ἐν κέρδεϊ ποιευμένους· 3 τὸν δὲ διαλοιδορέεσθαι πᾶσι ὀργὴν προσποιούμενον, παραμυθευμένων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν φυλάκων χρόνῳ πρηῦνεσθαι προσποιέεσθαι καὶ ὑπέσθαι τῆς ὀργῆς, τέλος δὲ ἐξελάσαι αὐτὸν τοὺς ὄνους ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ κατασκευάζειν. 4 ὥς δὲ λόγους τε πλέους ἐγγίνεσθαι καὶ τινα καὶ σκῶψαι μιν καὶ ἐς γέλωτα προαγαγέσθαι, ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτοῖσι τῶν ἀσκῶν ἕνα· τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ εἶχον κατακλιθέντας πίνειν διανοέεσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνον παραλαμβάνειν καὶ κελεύειν μετ' ἐωυτῶν μείναντα συμπίνειν· τὸν δὲ πεισθῆναί τε δὴ καὶ καταμεῖναι. 5 ὥς δὲ μιν παρὰ τὴν πόσιν φιλοφρόνως ἡσπάζοντο, ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτοῖσι καὶ

ἄλλον τῶν ἀσκῶν· δαψιλίει δὲ τῷ ποτῷ χρησαμένους τοὺς φυλάκους
 ὑπερμεθυσθῆναι καὶ κρατηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου αὐτοῦ ἔνθα περ
 ἔπινον κατακοιμηθῆναι. 6 τὸν δέ, ὡς πρόσω ἦν τῆς νυκτός, τό τε
 σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ καταλῦσαι καὶ τῶν φυλάκων ἐπὶ λύμῃ πάντων
 ξυρῆσαι τὰς δεξιὰς παρηίδας, ἐπιθέντα δὲ τὸν νέκυν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους
 ἀπελαύνειν ἐπ' οἴκου, ἐπιτελέσαντα τῇ μητρὶ τὰ προσταχθέντα. [121E
] τὸν δὲ βασιλέα, ὡς αὐτῷ ἀπηγγέλθη τοῦ φωρὸς ὁ νέκυσ
 ἐκκεκλεμμένος, δεινὰ ποιέειν· πάντως δὲ βουλόμενον εὑρεθῆναι
 ὅστις κοτὲ εἴη ὁ ταῦτα μηχανώμενος, ποιῆσαι μιν τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ
 πιστά· 2 τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ κατίσαι ἐπ' οἰκήματος,
 ἐντειλάμενον πάντας τε ὁμοίως προσδέκεσθαι, καὶ πρὶν συγγενέσθαι,
 ἀναγκάζειν λέγειν αὐτῇ ὅ τι δὴ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἔργασται αὐτῷ σοφώτατον
 καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον· ὃς δ' ἂν ἀπηγήσεται τὰ περὶ τὸν φῶρα
 γεγεννημένα, τοῦτον συλλαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ ἀπιέναι ἔξω. 3 ὡς δὲ τὴν
 παῖδα ποιέειν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς προσταχθέντα, τὸν φῶρα πυθόμενον
 τῶν εἵνεκα ταῦτα ἐπρήσσετο, βουλευθέντα πολυτροπίῃ τοῦ βασιλέος
 περιγενέσθαι ποιέειν τάδε· 4 νεκροῦ προσφάτου ἀποταμόντα ἐν τῷ
 ὥμῳ τὴν χεῖρα ἰέναι αὐτὸν ἔχοντα αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ἱματίῳ. ἐσελθόντα
 δὲ ὡς τοῦ βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ εἰρωτώμενον τά περ καὶ οἱ
 ἄλλοι, ἀπηγγέσθαι ὡς ἀνοσιώτατον μὲν εἶη ἐργασμένος ὅτι τοῦ
 ἀδελφεοῦ ἐν τῷ θησαυρῷ τοῦ βασιλέος ὑπὸ πάγης ἀλόντος ἀποτάμοι
 τὴν κεφαλὴν, σοφώτατον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς φυλάκους καταμεθύσας
 καταλύσειε τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ κρεμώμενον τὸν νέκυν. 5 τὴν δὲ ὡς ἤκουσε
 ἄπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ. τὸν δὲ φῶρα ἐν τῷ σκότει προτείνειν αὐτῇ τοῦ
 νεκροῦ τὴν χεῖρα· τὴν δὲ ἐπιλαβομένην ἔχειν, νομίζουσιν αὐτοῦ
 ἐκείνου τῆς χειρὸς ἀντέχεσθαι· τὸν δὲ φῶρα προέμενον αὐτῇ
 οἷχεσθαι διὰ θυρέων φεύγοντα. [121F] ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν
 βασιλέα ἀνηνείχθη, ἐκπεπληχθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πολυφροσύνῃ τε καὶ
 τόλμῃ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τέλος δὲ διανέμοντα ἐς πάσας τὰς πόλεις
 ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι ἀδείην τε διδόντα καὶ μεγάλα ὑποδεκόμενον ἐλθόντι
 ἐς ὅσιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. 2 τὸν δὲ φῶρα πιστεύσαντα ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν,
 Ῥαμψίνιτον δὲ μεγάλως θωμάσαι, καὶ οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην
 συνοικίσαι ὡς πλεῖστα ἐπισταμένῳ ἀνθρώπων. Αἰγυπτίους μὲν γὰρ
 τῶν ἄλλων προκεκρίσθαι, ἐκείνον δὲ Αἰγυπτίων.

ἐς τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Ἄϊδην νομίζουσι εἶναι, καὶ κεῖθι συγκυβεύειν τῇ Δήμητρι, καὶ τὰ μὲν νικᾶν αὐτὴν τὰ δὲ ἐσσοῦσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ μιν πάλιν ἀπικέσθαι δῶρον ἔχοντα παρ' αὐτῆς χειρόμακτρον χρύσειον. ² ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥαμψινίτου καταβάσιος, ὡς πάλιν ἀπίκετο, ὀρτὴν δὴ ἀνάγειν Αἰγυπτίους ἔφασαν· τὴν καὶ ἐγὼ οἶδα ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐπιτελέοντας αὐτοῦς, οὐ μέντοι εἴ γε διὰ ταῦτα ὀρτάζουσι ἔχω λέγειν. ³ φᾶρος δὲ αὐτημερὸν ἐξυφήναντες οἱ ἱρέες κατ' ὧν ἔδησαν ἐνὸς ἑωυτῶν μίτρη τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, ἀγαγόντες δὲ μιν ἔχοντα τὸ φᾶρος ἐς ὁδὸν φέρουσιν ἐς ἱρὸν Δήμητρος αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλάσσονται ὀπίσω· τὸν δὲ ἱεὴα τοῦτον καταδεδεμένον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς λέγουσι ὑπὸ δύο λύκων ἄγεσθαι ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Δήμητρος ἀπέχον τῆς πόλιος εἴκοσι σταδίου, καὶ αὗτις ὀπίσω ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀπάγειν μιν τοὺς λύκους ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ χωρίον.

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¹ τοῖσι μὲν νυν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγομένοις χράσθω ὅτε τὰ τοιαῦτα πιθανὰ ἐστί· ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑπόκειται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' ἐκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω. ἀρχηγετέειν δὲ τῶν κάτω Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι Δήμητρα καὶ Διόνυσον. ² πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσὶ οἱ εἰπόντες, ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος ἐστί, τοῦ σώματος δὲ καταφθίνοντος ἐς ἄλλο ζῶον αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἐσδύεται, ἐπεὰν δὲ πάντα περιέλθῃ τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ πετεινά, αὗτις ἐς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα γινόμενον ἐσδύνει· τὴν περιήλυσιν δὲ αὐτῇ γίνεσθαι ἐν τρισχιλίοις ἔτεσι. ³ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ εἰσὶ οἱ Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, οἱ μὲν πρότερον οἱ δὲ ὕστερον, ὡς ἰδίῳ ἑωυτῶν ἐόντι· τῶν ἐγὼ εἰδὼς τὰ οὐνόματα οὐ γράφω.

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¹ μέχρι μὲν νυν Ῥαμψινίτου βασιλέως εἶναι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πᾶσαν εὐνομίην ἔλεγον καὶ εὐθηνέειν Αἴγυπτον μεγάλως, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεύσαντα σφέων Χέοπα ἐς πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐλάσαι. κατακληίσαντα γάρ μιν πάντα τὰ ἱερὰ πρῶτα μὲν σφέας θυσιέων τουτέων ἀπέρξαι, μετὰ δὲ ἐργάζεσθαι ἑωυτῷ κελεύειν πάντας Αἰγυπτίους. ² τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἀποδεδέχθαι ἐκ τῶν λιθοτομιέων τῶν ἐν τῷ Αἰγύπτῳ ὄρεϊ, ἐκ τουτέων ἔλκειν λίθους μέχρι τοῦ Νείλου· διαπεραιωθέντας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν πλοίοις τοὺς λίθους ἐτέροις ἐπέταξε ἐκδέκεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλούμενον ὄρος, πρὸς

τοῦτο ἔλκειν. 3 ἐργάζοντο δὲ κατὰ δέκα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ τὴν τρίμηνον ἐκάστην. χρόνον δὲ ἐγγενέσθαι τριβομένῳ τῷ λεῶν δέκα ἔτεα μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ κατ' ἥν ἐἴλκον τοὺς λίθους, τὴν ἔδειμαν ἔργον ἐὼν οὐ πολλῷ τεῶ ἔλασσον τῆς πυραμίδος. ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν· 4 τῆς μὲν γὰρ μῆκος εἰσὶ πέντε στάδιοι, εὖρος δὲ δέκα ὀργυαί, ὕψος δέ, τῇ ὑψηλοτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὐτῇ ἐωυτῆς, ὀκτὼ ὀργυαί, λίθου δὲ ξεστοῦ καὶ ζῶων ἐγγεγλυμμένων· ταύτης τε δὴ τὰ δέκα ἔτεα γενέσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου ἐπ' οὗ ἐστάσι αἱ πυραμίδες, τῶν ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκημάτων, τὰς ἐποιέετο θήκας ἐωυτῷ ἐν νήσῳ, διώρυχα τοῦ Νείλου ἐσαγαγών. 5 τῇ δὲ πυραμίδι αὐτῇ χρόνον γενέσθαι εἴκοσι ἔτεα ποιευμένη· τῆς ἐστὶ πανταχῇ μέτωπον ἕκαστον ὀκτῶ. πλέθρα ἐούσης τετραγώνου καὶ ὕψος ἴσον, λίθου δὲ ξεστοῦ τε καὶ ἀρμοσμένου τὰ μάλιστα· οὐδεὶς τῶν λίθων τριήκοντα ποδῶν ἐλάσσω.

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1 ἐποιήθη δὲ ὧδε αὕτη ἡ πυραμὶς· ἀναβαθμῶν τρόπον, τὰς μετεξέτεροι κρόσσας οἱ δὲ βωμίδας ὀνομάζουσι, 2 τοιαύτην τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεῖτε ἐποίησαν αὐτήν, ἥειρον τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους λίθους μηχανῇσι ξύλων βραχέων πεποιημένῃσι, χαμᾶθεν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον στοῖχον τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν ἀείροντες· 3 ὅκως δὲ ἀνίοι ὁ λίθος ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἐς ἐτέρην μηχανὴν ἐτίθετο ἐστεῶσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου στοῖχου, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον εἴλκετο στοῖχον ἐπ' ἄλλης μηχανῆς· 4 ὅσοι γὰρ δὴ στοῖχοι ἦσαν τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, τοσαῦται καὶ μηχαναὶ ἦσαν, εἴτε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μηχανὴν ἐοῦσαν μίαν τε καὶ εὐβάστακτον μετεφόρεον ἐπὶ στοῖχον ἕκαστον, ὅκως τὸν λίθον ἐξέλοιεν· λελέχθω γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα, κατὰ περ λέγεται. 5 ἐξεποιήθη δ' ὧν τὰ ἀνώτατα αὐτῆς πρῶτα, μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐχόμενα τούτων ἐξεποίησεν, τελευταῖα δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπίγαια καὶ τὰ κατωτάτω ἐξεποίησαν. 6 σεσήμανται δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων Αἰγυπτίων ἐν τῇ πυραμίδι ὅσα ἔξ τε συρμαῖην καὶ κρόμμυα καὶ σκόροδα ἀναισιμώθη τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι· καὶ ὥς ἐμὲ εὖ μεμνήσθαι τὰ ὁ ἐρμηνεύς μοι ἐπιλεγόμενος τὰ γράμματα ἔφη, ἑξακόσια καὶ χίλια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελέσθαι. 7 εἰ δ' ἔστι οὕτω ἔχοντα ταῦτα, κόσα οἶκος ἄλλα δεδαπανῆσθαι ἐστὶ ἔξ τε σίδηρον τῷ ἐργάζοντο καὶ σιτία καὶ ἐσθῆτα τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι, ὁκότε χρόνον μὲν οἰκοδόμεον τὰ ἔργα τὸν εἰρημένον, ἄλλον δέ, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἐν τῷ τοὺς λίθους ἑταμνον καὶ ἦγον καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν ὄρυγμα ἐργάζοντο, οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον.

¹ ἐς τοῦτο δὲ ἐλθεῖν Χέοπα κακότητος ὥστε χρημάτων δεόμενον τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ κατίσαντα ἐπ' οἰκήματος προστάξει πρήσσεσθαι ἀργύριον ὁκόσον δὴ τι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε ἔλεγον. τὴν δὲ τὰ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ταχθέντα πρήσσεσθαι, ἰδίῃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν διανοηθῆναι μνημῆιον καταλιπέσθαι, καὶ τοῦ ἐσιόντος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκάστου δέεσθαι ὅκως ἂν αὐτῇ ἓνα λίθον ἐν τοῖσι ἔργοισι δωρέοιτο. ² ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν λίθων ἔφασαν τὴν πυραμίδα οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν ἐστηκυῖαν, ἔμπροσθε τῆς μεγάλης πυραμίδος, τῆς ἐστὶ τὸ κῶλον ἕκαστον ὅλου καὶ ἡμίσεος πλέθρου.

¹ βασιλεῦσαι δὲ τὸν Χέοπα τοῦτον Αἰγύπτιοι ἔλεγον πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληίην τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Χεφρῆνα· καὶ τοῦτον δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ διαχρᾶσθαι τῷ ἐτέρῳ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ πυραμίδα ποιῆσαι, ἐς μὲν τὰ ἐκείνου μέτρα οὐκ ἀνήκουσαν· ² ταῦτα γὰρ ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμετρήσαμεν· (οὔτε γὰρ ὕπεστι οἰκήματα ὑπὸ γῆν, οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διῶρυς ἦκει ἐς αὐτὴν ὥσπερ ἐς τὴν ἐτέρην ρέουσα· δι' οἰκοδομημένου δὲ αὐλῶνος ἔσω νῆσον περιῶρέει, ἐν τῇ αὐτὸν λέγουσι κεῖσθαι Χέοπα)· ³ ὑποδείμας δὲ τὸν πρῶτον δόμον λίθου Αἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλου, τεσσεράκοντα πόδας ὑποβάς τῆς ἐτέρης τῷ αὐτῷ μέγαθος, ἐχομένην τῆς μεγάλης οἰκοδόμησε. ἐστᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ λόφῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφοτέραι, μάλιστα ἐς ἑκατὸν πόδας ὑψηλοῦ. βασιλεῦσαι δὲ ἔλεγον Χεφρῆνα ἕξ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα.

¹ ταῦτα ἕξ τε καὶ ἑκατὸν λογίζονται ἔτεα, ἐν τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι τε πᾶσαν εἶναι κακότητα καὶ τὰ ἱρὰ χρόνου τοσούτου κατακληισθέντα οὐκ ἀνοιχθῆναι. τούτους ὑπὸ μίσεος οὐ κάρτα θέλουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας καλέουσι ποιμένος Φιλίτιος, ὃς τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔνεμε κτήνεα κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία.

¹ μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι Αἰγύπτου Μυκερῖνον ἔλεγον Χέοπος παῖδα· τῷ τὰ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργα ἀπαδεῖν, τὸν δὲ τὰ τε ἱρὰ ἀνοῖζει καὶ τὸν λεῶν τετρυμένον ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀνεῖναι πρὸς ἔργα τε

καὶ θυσίας, δίκας δέ σφι πάντων βασιλέων δικαιότατα κρίνειν. ² κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν νυν τὸ ἔργον ἀπάντων ὅσοι ἤδη βασιλέες ἐγένοντο Αἰγυπτίων αἰνέουσι μάλιστα τοῦτον. τά τε ἄλλα γάρ μιν κρίνειν εὖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ ἐπιμεμομένῳ ἐκ τῆς δίκης παρ' ἐωυτοῦ διδόντα ἄλλα ἀποπιμπλάναι αὐτοῦ τὸν θυμόν. ³ ἐόντι δὲ ἡπίῳ τῷ Μυκερίνῳ κατὰ τοὺς πολίτας καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύοντι πρῶτον κακῶν ἄρξαι τὴν θυγατέρα ἀποθανοῦσαν αὐτοῦ, τὴν μούνον οἱ εἶναι ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι τέκνον. τὸν δὲ ὑπεραλγῆσαντά τε τῷ περιεπεπτώκεε πρήγματι, καὶ βουλόμενον περισσώτερόν τι τῶν ἄλλων θάψαι τὴν θυγατέρα, ποιήσασθαι βούν ξυλίνην κοίλην, καὶ ἔπειτα καταχρυσώσαντά μιν ταύτην ἔσω ἐν αὐτῇ θάψαι ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν θυγατέρα.

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¹ αὕτη ὧν ἡ βοῦς γῇ οὐκ ἐκρύφθη, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν φανερή, ἐν Σαί μὲν πόλι ἐοῦσα, κειμένη δὲ ἐν τοῖσι βασιληίοισι ἐν οἰκίῳ ἡσκημένῳ· θυμῖματά δὲ παρ' αὐτῇ παντοῖα καταγίζουσι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, νύκτα δὲ ἐκάστην πάννυχος λύχνος παρακαίεται. ² ἀγχοῦ δὲ τῆς βοῦς ταύτης ἐν ἄλλῳ οἰκίῳ εἰκόνες τῶν παλλακῶν τῶν Μυκερίνου ἐστᾶσι, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ ἐν Σαί πόλι ἱρέες· ἐστᾶσι μὲν γὰρ ξύλιναι κολοσσοί, ἐοῦσαι ἀριθμὸν ὡς εἴκοσι μάλιστα κη, γυμναὶ ἐργασμένοι· αἵτινες μέντοι εἰσί, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν πλὴν ἢ τὰ λεγόμενα.

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¹ οἱ δὲ τινὲς λέγουσι περὶ τῆς βοῦς ταύτης καὶ τῶν κολοσσῶν τόνδε τὸν λόγον, ὡς Μυκερίνος ἡράσθη τῆς ἐωυτοῦ θυγατρὸς καὶ ἔπειτα ἐμίγη οἱ ἀκούσῃ· ² μετὰ δὲ λέγουσι ὡς ἡ παῖς ἀπήγγεζατο ὑπὸ ἄχεος, ὃ δὲ μιν ἔθαψε ἐν τῇ βοῇ ταύτῃ, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῆς τῶν ἀμφιπόλων τῶν προδουσέων τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ πατρὶ ἀπέταμε τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ νῦν τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτέων εἶναι πεπονθυίας τά περ αἱ ζῶαι ἔπαθον. ³ ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι φλυηρέοντες, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν κολοσσῶν· ταύτας γὰρ ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡρῶμεν ὅτι ὑπὸ χρόνου τὰς χεῖρας ἀποβεβλήκασι, αἱ ἐν ποσὶ αὐτέων ἐφαίνοντο ἐοῦσαι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ.

132

1 ἡ δὲ βοῦς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατακέκρυπται φοινικέῳ εἵματι, τὸν αὐχένα δὲ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν φαίνει κεχυσώμενα παχεί κάρτα χρυσῷ· μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν κερῶν ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλος μεμιμημένος ἔπεστι χρύσεος. 2 ἔστι δὲ ἡ βοῦς οὐκ ὀρθή ἀλλ' ἐν γούνασι κειμένη, μέγαθος δὲ ὅση περ μεγάλης βοῦς ζωῇ. ἐκφέρεται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτα, ἔπειδ' ἀνὰ τῶν Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενον θεὸν ὑπ' ἐμεῦ ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι· 3 τότε ὦν καὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκφέρουσι ἐς τὸ φῶς· φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν δεηθῆναι τοῦ πατρὸς Μυκερίνου ἀποθνήσκουσας ἐν τῷ ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἅπαξ μιν τὸν ἥλιον κατιδεῖν.

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1 μετὰ δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸ πάθος δευτέρα τοῦτ' ἐν τῷ βασιλεί τὰδε γενέσθαι· ἐλθεῖν οἱ μαντήιον ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ὡς μέλλοι ἐξ ἔτα μόνον βιοῦς τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τελευτήσῃ. 2 τὸν δὲ δεινὸν ποιησάμενον πέμψαι ἐς τὸ μαντήιον τῷ θεῷ ὀνειδισμα, ἀντιμεμώμενον ὅτι ὁ μὲν αὐτοῦ πατὴρ καὶ πάτριος, ἀποκλησίσαντες τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ θεῶν οὐ μεμνημένοι ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φθείροντες, ἐβίωσαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, αὐτὸς δ' εὐσεβὴς ἐὼν μέλλοι ταχέως οὕτω τελευτήσῃ. 3 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χρηστηρίου αὐτῷ δευτέρα ἐλθεῖν λέγοντα τοῦτων εἵνεκα καὶ συνταχύνειν αὐτὸν τὸν βίον· οὐ γὰρ ποιῆσαί μιν τὸ χρεὼν ἦν ποιέειν· δεῖν γὰρ Αἴγυπτον κακοῦσθαι ἐπ' ἔτα πεντήκοντά τε καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν δύο τοὺς πρὸ ἐκείνου γενομένους βασιλέας μαθεῖν τοῦτο, κεῖνον δὲ οὐ. 4 ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα τὸν Μυκερίνον, ὡς κατακεκριμένων ἤδη οἱ τοῦτων, λύχνα ποιησάμενον πολλά, ὅπως γίνοιτο νύξ, ἀνάψαντα αὐτὰ πίνειν τε καὶ εὐπαθέειν, οὔτε ἡμέρης οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀνιέντα, ἐς τε τὰ ἔλα καὶ τὰ ἄλσεα πλανώμενον καὶ ἵνα πυνθάνοιτο εἶναι ἐνηρητῆρια ἐπιτηδεότατα. 5 ταῦτα δὲ ἐμψαλόντων θεῶν τὸ μαντήιον ψευδόμενον ἀποδέξαι, ἵνα οἱ δωδέκα ἔτα ἀντὶ ἐξ ἐτέων γένηται, αἱ νύκτες ἡμέραι ποιεύμεναι.

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1 πυραμίδα δὲ οὗτος ἀπελίπετο πολλὸν ἐλάσσω τοῦ πατρός, εἴκοσι ποδῶν καταδέουσας κῶλον ἕκαστον τριῶν πλέθρων, εὐρύς τετραγώνου, λίθου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἥμισυ Αἰθιοπικοῦ· τὴν δὲ μετεξέτεροι φασὶ Ἑλλήνων Ῥοδόπιος ἐταίρης γυναικὸς εἶναι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες. 2 οὐδὲ ὦν οὐδὲ εἰδότες μοι φαίνονται λέγειν οὗτοι ἥτις ἦν ἡ

Ῥοδῶπις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν οἱ πυραμίδα ἀνέθεσαν ποιήσασθαι τοιαύτην, ἐς τὴν τάλαντων χιλιάδες ἀναρίθμητοι ὥς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἀναισίμωνται· πρὸς δὲ ὅτι κατὰ Ἄμασιν βασιλεύοντα ἦν ἀκμάζουσα Ῥοδῶπις, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τοῦτον. ³ ἔτεσι γὰρ κάρτα πολλοῖσι ὕστερον τούτων τῶν βασιλέων τῶν τὰς πυραμίδας ταύτας ἦν λιπομένων Ῥοδῶπις, γενεὴν μὲν ἀπὸ Θρηίκης, δούλη δὲ ἦν Ἰάδμονος τοῦ Ἡφαιστοπόλιος ἀνδρὸς Σαμίου, σύνδουλος δὲ Αἰσώπου τοῦ λογοποιοῦ. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο, ὥς διέδεξε τῇδε οὐκ ἤκιστα· ⁴ ἐπεῖτε γὰρ πολλάκις κηρυσσόντων Δελφῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου ὃς βούλοιο ποινὴν τῆς Αἰσώπου ψυχῆς ἀνελέσθαι, ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐφάνη, Ἰάδμονος δὲ παιδὸς παῖς ἄλλος Ἰάδμων ἀνείλετο. οὕτω καὶ Αἰσωπος Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο.

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¹ Ῥοδῶπις δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπύκετο Ἐάνθεω τοῦ Σαμίου κομίσαντος, ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ' ἐργασίην ἐλύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου Χαράξου τοῦ Σκαμανδρωνύμου παιδός, ἀδελφεοῦ δὲ Σαπφοῦς τῆς μουσοποιοῦ. ² οὕτω δὴ δὴ ἡ Ῥοδῶπις ἐλευθερώθη, καὶ κατέμεινέ τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ κάρτα ἐπαφρόδιτος γενομένη μεγάλη ἐκτίσατο χρήματα ὥς ἂν εἶναι Ῥοδῶπι, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ὥς γε ἐς πυραμίδα τοιαύτην ἐξικέσθαι. ³ τῆς γὰρ τὴν δεκάτην τῶν χρημάτων ιδέσθαι ἐστὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐς τότε παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ, οὐδὲν δεῖ μεγάλα οἱ χρήματα ἀναθεῖναι. ἐπεθύμησε γὰρ Ῥοδῶπις μνημῆιον ἐωυτῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταλιπέσθαι, ποίημα ποιησαμένη τοῦτο τὸ μὴ τυγχάνοι ἄλλῳ ἐξευρημένον καὶ ἀνακείμενον ἐν ἱρῷ, τοῦτο ἀναθεῖναι ἐς Δελφοὺς μνημόσυνον ἐωυτῆς. ⁴ τῆς ὦν δεκάτης τῶν χρημάτων ποιησαμένη ὀβελοὺς βουπόρους πολλοὺς σιδηρέους, ὅσον ἐνεχώρεε ἡ δεκάτη οἱ, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφοὺς· οἱ καὶ νῦν ἔτι συννενέαται ὅπισθε μὲν τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸν Χῖοι ἀνέθεσαν, ἀντίον δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νηοῦ. ⁵ φιλέουσι δέ κως ἐν τῇ Ναυκράτι ἐπαφρόδιτοι γίνεσθαι αἱ ἐταῖραι. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὕτη, τῆς περὶ λέγεται ὁδε ὁ λόγος, οὕτω δὴ τι κλεινὴ ἐγένετο ὥς καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες Ῥοδῶπιος τὸ οὔνομα ἐξέμαθον· τοῦτο δὲ ὕστερον ταύτης, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀρχιδίκη, αἰοίδιμος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐγένετο, ἥσσον δὲ τῆς ἐτέρης περιλεσχίνευτος. ⁶ Χάραξος δὲ ὥς λυσάμενος Ῥοδῶπιν ἀπενόστησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐν μέλει Σαπφῷ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμησέ μιν. Ῥοδῶπιος μὲν νυν πέρι πέπνυμαι.

1 μετὰ δὲ Μυκερῖνον γενέσθαι Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα ἔλεγον οἱ ἱερεῖς Ἄσυχιν, τὸν τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ποιῆσαι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια, ἐόντα πολλῷ τε κάλλιστα καὶ πολλῷ μέγιστα· ἔχει μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ πάντα προπύλαια τύπους τε ἐγγεγλυμμένους καὶ ἄλλην ὄψιν οἰκοδομημάτων μυρίην, ἐκεῖνα δὲ καὶ μακρῷ μάλιστα. 2 ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἔλεγον, ἀμιξίης ἐούσης πολλῆς χρημάτων, γενέσθαι νόμον Αἰγυπτίοισι, ἀποδεικνύντα ἐνέχυρον τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν νέκυν οὕτω λαμβάνειν τὸ χρέος· προστεθῆναι δὲ ἔτι τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ τόνδε, τὸν διδόντα τὸ χρέος καὶ ἀπάσης κρατέειν τῆς τοῦ λαμβάνοντος θήκης, τῷ δὲ ὑποτιθέντι τοῦτο τὸ ἐνέχυρον τήνδε ἐπεῖναι ζημίην μὴ βουλομένῳ ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρέος, μήτε αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ τελευτήσαντι εἶναι ταφῆς κυρῆσαι μὴτ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ πατρῴῳ τάφῳ μὴτ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί, μήτε ἄλλον μηδένα τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἀπογενόμενον θάψαι. 3 ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ βουλόμενον τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς πρότερον ἐωυτοῦ βασιλέας γενομένους Αἰγύπτου μνημόσυνον πυραμίδα λιπέσθαι ἐκ πλίνθων ποιήσαντα, ἐν τῇ γράμματα ἐν λίθῳ ἐγκεκολαμμένα τάδε λέγοντα ἐστί. 4 “ μὴ με κατονοσθῆς πρὸς τὰς λιθίνας πυραμίδας· προέχω γὰρ αὐτέων τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. κοντῷ γὰρ ὑποτύπτοντες ἐς λίμνην, ὃ τι πρόσσχοιτο τοῦ πηλοῦ τῷ κοντῷ, τοῦτο συλλέγοντες πλίνθους εἴρυσαν καὶ με τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐξεποίησαν “. τοῦτον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι.

1 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι ἄνδρα τυφλὸν ἐξ Ἀνύσιος πόλιος, τῷ οὐνόμα Ἄνυσιν εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἐλάσαι ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον χειρὶ πολλῇ Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ Σαβακῶν τὸν Αἰθίοπων βασιλέα. 2 τὸν μὲν δὴ τυφλὸν τοῦτον οἷχεσθαι φεύγοντα ἐς τὰ ἔλαα, τὸν δὲ Αἰθίοπα βασιλεύειν Αἰγύπτου ἐπ' ἔτεα πεντήκοντα, ἐν τοῖσι αὐτὸν τάδε ἀποδέξασθαι· 3 ὅκως τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἀμάρτοι τι, κτείνειν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδένα ἐθέλειν, τὸν δὲ κατὰ μέγαθος τοῦ ἀδικήματος ἐκάστῳ δικάζειν ἐπιτάσσοντα χῶματα χοῦν πρὸς τῇ ἐωυτῶν πόλιν, ὅθεν ἕκαστος ἦν τῶν ἀδικούντων. καὶ οὕτω ἔτι αἱ πόλεις ἐγένοντο ὑψηλότεραι· 4 τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐχώσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν τὰς διώρυχας ὀρυζάντων ἐπὶ Σεσώστριος βασιλέος, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος καὶ κάρτα ὑψηλαὶ ἐγένοντο. 5 ὑψηλέων δὲ καὶ ἐτερέων γενομένων ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ πολιῶν, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μάλιστα ἢ ἐν Βουβάστιπόλιν

ἐξεχώσθη, ἐν τῇ καὶ ἱρόν ἐστι Βουβάστιος ἀξιαπηγητότατον· μέζω μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ πολυδαπανώτερα ἐστὶ ἱρά, ἡδονὴ δὲ ἰδέσθαι οὐδὲν τούτου μᾶλλον. ἡ δὲ Βούβαστις κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐστὶ Ἄρτεμις.

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1 τὸ δ' ἱρόν αὐτῆς ὧδε ἔχει. πλὴν τῆς ἐσόδου τὸ ἄλλο νῆσος ἐστί· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυχες ἐσέχουσι οὐ συμμίσγουσαι ἀλλήλησι, ἀλλ' ἄχρι τῆς ἐσόδου τοῦ ἱροῦ ἑκατέρη ἐσέχει, ἥ μὲν τῇ περιβρέουσα ἡ δὲ τῇ, εὖρος ἐοῦσα ἑκατέρη ἑκατὸν ποδῶν, δένδρεσι κατάσκιος. 2 τὰ δὲ προπύλαια ὕψος μὲν δέκα ὀργυιῶν ἐστί, τύποισι δὲ ἐξαπῆχεσι ἐσκευάδαται ἀξίοισι λόγου. ἐὼν δ' ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλι τὸ ἱρόν κατορθᾷται πάντοθεν περιούντι· ἅτε γὰρ τῆς πόλιος μὲν ἐκκεχωσμένης ὕψοῦ, τοῦ δ' ἱροῦ οὐ κεκινημένου ὡς ἀρχῇθεν ἐποιήθη, ἔσοπτον ἐστί. 3 περιθέει δὲ αὐτὸ αἵμασιῇ ἐγγεγλυμμένη τύποισι, ἔστι δὲ ἔσωθεν ἄλσος δενδρέων μεγίστων πεφυτευμένον περὶ νηὸν μέγαν, ἐν τῷ δὴ τῷγαλμα ἐνι· εὖρος δὲ καὶ μῆκος τοῦ ἱροῦ πάντῃ σταδίου ἐστί. 4 κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἔσοδον ἐστρωμένη ἐστί ὁδὸς λίθου ἐπὶ σταδίους τρεῖς μάλιστα κη, διὰ τῆς ἀγορῆς φέρουσα ἐς τὸ πρὸς ἡῶ, εὖρος δὲ ὡς τεσσέρων πλέθρων· τῇ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῆς ὁδοῦ δένδρεα οὐρανομήκεα πέφυκε· φέρει δὲ ἐς Ἑρμέω ἱρόν. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρόν τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχει.

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1 τέλος δὲ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ὧδε ἔλεγον γενέσθαι· ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοιήνδε ἰδόντα αὐτὸν οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα· ἐδόκέε οἱ ἄνδρα ἐπιστάντα συμβουλευεῖν τοὺς ἱρέας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συλλέξαντα πάντας μέσους διαταμεῖν. 2 ἰδόντα δὲ τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην λέγειν αὐτὸν ὡς πρόφασιν οἱ δοκέοι ταύτην τοὺς θεοὺς προδεικνύναι, ἵνα ἀσεβήσας περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ κακόν τι πρὸς θεῶν ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων λάβοι· οὐκὼν ποιήσιν ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν χρόνον, ὁκόσον κεχρῆσθαι ἄρξαντα Αἰγύπτου ἐκχωρήσειν. 3 ἐν γὰρ τῇ Αἰθιοπίῃ ἐόντι αὐτῷ τὰ μαντήια, τοῖσι χρέωνται Αἰθίοπες, ἀνέϊλε ὡς δέοι αὐτὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῦσαι ἕτεα πεντήκοντα. ὡς ὢν ὁ χρόνος οὗτος ἐξῆι καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐπετάρασσε, ἐκὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὁ Σαβακῶς.

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1 ὥς δ' ἄρα οἴχεσθαι τὸν Αἰθίοπα ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, αὐτὶς τὸν τυφλὸν ἄρχειν ἐκ τῶν ἐλέων ἀπικόμενον, ἔνθα πεντήκοντα ἔτεα νῆσον χάσας σποδῶ τε καὶ γῇ οἴκεε. ὅκως γάρ οἱ φοιτᾶν σῖτον ἄγοντας Αἰγυπτίων, ὥς ἐκάστοισι προστετάχθαι, σιγῇ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος, ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν κελεύειν σφέας καὶ σποδὸν κομίζειν. 2 ταύτην τὴν νῆσον οὐδεὶς πρότερον ἐδυνάσθη Ἀμυρταίου ἐξευρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἔτεα ἐπὶ πλέω ἢ ἑπτακόσια οὐκ οἶοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὴν ἀνευρεῖν οἱ πρότεροι γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς Ἀμυρταίου. οὐνομα δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ Ἑλβώ, μέγαθος δ' ἐστὶ πάντῃ δέκα σταδίων.

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1 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι τὸν ἱρέα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Σεθῶν· τὸν ἐν ἀλογίῃσι ἔχειν παραχρησάμενον τῶν μαχίμων Αἰγυπτίων ὥς οὐδὲν δεησόμενον αὐτῶν, ἄλλα τε δὴ ἄτιμα ποιεῦντα ἐς αὐτούς, καὶ σφεας ἀπελέσθαι τὰς ἀρούρας· τοῖσι ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων δεδόσθαι ἐξαιρέτους ἐκάστῳ δυνάδεκα ἀρούρας. 2 μετὰ δὲ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐλαύνειν στρατὸν μέγαν Σαναχάριβον βασιλέα Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων· οὐκὼν δὴ ἐθέλειν τοὺς μαχίμους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βοηθεῖν. 3 τὸν δ' ἱρέα ἐς ἀπορίην ἀπειλημένον ἐσελθόντα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον πρὸς τῷγαλμα ἀποδύρεσθαι οἷα κινδυνεύει παρθεῖν. ὀλοφυρόμενον δ' ἄρα μιν ἐπελθεῖν ὕπνον, καὶ οἱ δόξαι ἐν τῇ ὄψι ἐπιστάντα τὸν θεὸν θαρσύνειν ὥς οὐδὲν πείσεται ἄχαρι ἀντιάζων τὸν Ἀραβίων στρατὸν· αὐτὸς γάρ οἱ πέμψειν τιμωροῦς. 4 τούτοισι δὴ μιν πίσυνον τοῖσι ἐνυπνίοισι, παραλαβόντα Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς βουλομένους οἱ ἔπεσθαι, στρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐν Πηλουσίῳ· ταύτῃ γὰρ εἰσὶ αἱ ἐσβολαί· ἔπεσθαι δὲ οἱ τῶν μαχίμων μὲν οὐδένα ἀνδρῶν, καπήλους δὲ καὶ χειρώνακτας καὶ ἀγοραίους ἀνθρώπους. 5 ἐνθαῦτα ἀπικομένοισι τοῖσι ἐναντίοις αὐτοῖσι ἐπιχυθέντας νυκτὸς μὺς ἀρουραίους κατὰ μὲν φαγεῖν τοὺς φαρετρεῶνας αὐτῶν κατὰ δὲ τὰ τόξα, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἀσπίδων τὰ ὄχανα, ὥστε τῇ ὕστεραίῃ φευγόντων σφέων γυμνῶν πεσεῖν πολλοὺς. 6 καὶ νῦν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔστηκε ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου λίθινος, ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μῦν, λέγων διὰ γραμμάτων τάδε· “ ἐς ἐμέ τις ὁρέων εὐσεβῆς ἔστω “.

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1 ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε τοῦ λόγου Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον, ἀποδεικνύντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέος ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸν ἱρέα

τοῦτον τὸν τελευταῖον βασιλεύσαντα μίαν τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας γενεὰς ἀνθρώπων γενομένης, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃσι ἀρχιερέας καὶ βασιλέας ἑκατέρους τοσούτους γενομένους. 2 καίτοι τριηκόσια μὲν ἀνδρῶν γενεαὶ δυνέεται μύρια ἕτεα· γενεαὶ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἕτεα ἐστί· μῆς δὲ καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτι τῶν ἐπιλοίπων γενεῶν, αἱ ἐπῆσαν τῇσι τριηκοσίῃσι, ἐστὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια καὶ χίλια ἕτεα. 3 οὕτω ἐν μυρίοισι τε ἔτεσι καὶ χιλίοισι καὶ τριηκοσίοισι τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔλεγον θεὸν ἀνθρωποειδέα οὐδένα γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ πρότερον οὐδὲ ὕστερον ἐν τοῖσι ὑπολοίποισι Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῦσι γενομένοις ἔλεγον οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο. 4 ἐν τοίνυν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετράκις ἔλεγον ἐξ ἡθέων τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι· ἔνθα τε νῦν καταδύεται, ἐνθεῦτεν δις ἐπαντεῖλαι, καὶ ἔνθεν νῦν ἀνατέλλει, ἐνθαῦτα δις καταδύναι. καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ὑπὸ ταῦτα ἐτεροιωθῆναι, οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ σφί γινόμενα, οὔτε τὰ ἀμφὶ νούσους οὔτε τὰ κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους.

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1 πρότερον δὲ Ἑκαταίῳ τῷ λογοποιῷ ἐν Θήβῃσι γενεηλογήσαντί τε ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἀναδήσαντι τὴν πατριὴν ἐς ἑκκαιδέκατον θεὸν ἐποίησαν οἱ ἱεεὺς τοῦ Διὸς οἷόν τι καὶ ἐμοὶ οὐ γενεηλογήσαντι ἑμεωυτόν· 2 ἐσαγαγόντες ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἔσω ἐὼν μέγα ἐξηρίθμεον δεικνύντες κολοσσούς ξυλίνους τοσούτους ὅσους περ εἶπον· ἀρχιερεὺς γὰρ ἕκαστος αὐτόθι ἰστά· ἐπὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ζόης εἰκόνα ἑωυτοῦ· 3 ἀριθμέοντες ὧν καὶ δεικνύντες οἱ ἱεεὺς ἐμοὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν παῖδα πατρὸς ἑωυτῶν ἕκαστον ἐόντα, ἐκ τοῦ ἄγχιστα ἀποθανόντος τῆς εἰκόνης διεξιόντες διὰ πασέων, ἕως οὗ ἀπέδεξαν ἀπάσας αὐτάς. 4 Ἑκαταίῳ δὲ γενεηλογήσαντι ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἀναδήσαντι ἐς ἑκκαιδέκατον θεὸν ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριθμῇσι, οὐ δεκόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον· ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν δὲ ὧδε, φάμενοι ἕκαστον τῶν κολοσσῶν πίρωμιν ἐκ πῖρῳμιος γεγονέναι, ἐς ὃ τοὺς πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίους ἀπέδεξαν κολοσσούς [πίρωμιν ἐπονομαζόμενον], καὶ οὔτε ἐς θεὸν οὔτε ἐς ἥρωα ἀνέδησαν αὐτούς. πίρωμις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν καλὸς κἀγαθός.

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1 ἤδη ὧν τῶν αἱ εἰκόνες ἦσαν, τοιούτους ἀπεδείκνυσαν σφέας

πάντας ἐόντας, θεῶν δὲ πολλὸν ἀπαλλαγμένους. 2 τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἄρχοντας, οὐκ ἐόντας ἅμα τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, καὶ τούτων αἰεὶ ἓνα τὸν κρατέοντα εἶναι· ὕστατον δὲ αὐτῆς βασιλεῦσαι ὦρον τὸν Ὀσίριος παῖδα, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἕλληνες ὀνομάζουσι· τοῦτον καταπαύσαντα Τυφῶνα βασιλεῦσαι ὕστατον Αἰγύπτου. Ὅσιρις δὲ ἐστὶ Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν.

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1 ἐν Ἑλλήσι μὲν νυν νεώτατοι τῶν θεῶν νομίζονται εἶναι Ἡρακλῆς τε καὶ Διόνυσος καὶ Πάν, παρ' Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ Πᾶν μὲν ἀρχαιότατος καὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ τῶν πρώτων λεγομένων θεῶν, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ τῶν δευτέρων τῶν δωδέκα λεγομένων εἶναι, Διόνυσος δὲ τῶν τρίτων, οἱ ἐκ τῶν δωδέκα θεῶν ἐγένοντο. 2 Ἡρακλεῖ μὲν δὴ ὅσα αὐτοῖ Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ εἶναι ἔτεα ἐς Ἄμασιν βασιλέα, δεδήλωταί μοι πρόσθε· Πανὶ δὲ ἔτι τούτων πλέονα λέγεται εἶναι, Διονύσῳ δ' ἐλάχιστα τούτων, καὶ τούτῳ πεντακισχίλια καὶ μύρια λογίζονται εἶναι ἐς Ἄμασιν βασιλέα. 3 καὶ ταῦτα Αἰγύπτιοι ἀτρεκέως φασὶ ἐπίστασθαι, αἰεὶ τε λογιζόμενοι καὶ αἰεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτεα. 4 Διονύσῳ μὲν νυν τῷ ἐκ Σεμέλης τῆς Κάδμου λεγομένῳ γενέσθαι κατὰ ἑξακόσια ἔτεα καὶ χίλια μάλιστα ἐστὶ ἐς ἐμέ, Ἡρακλεῖ δὲ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης κατὰ εἰνακόσια ἔτεα· Πανὶ δὲ τῷ ἐκ Πηνελόπης (ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ καὶ Ἑρμῇ λέγεται γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὁ Πάν) ἐλάσσῳ ἔτεα ἐστὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν, κατὰ ὀκτακόσια μάλιστα ἐς ἐμέ.

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1 τούτων ὧν ἀμφοτέρων πάρεστι χρᾶσθαι τοῖσί τις πείσεται λεγομένοισι μᾶλλον· ἐμοὶ δ' ὧν ἡ περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμη ἀποδέδεκται. εἰ μὲν γὰρ φανεροί τε ἐγένοντο καὶ κατεγήρασαν καὶ οὗτοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, κατὰ περ Ἡρακλῆς ὁ ἐξ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γενόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ Διόνυσος ὁ ἐκ Σεμέλης καὶ Πᾶν ὁ ἐκ Πηνελόπης γενόμενος, ἔφη ἂν τις καὶ τούτους ἄλλους ἄνδρας γενομένους ἔχειν τὰ ἐκείνων οὐνόματα τῶν προγεγονότων θεῶν. 2 νῦν δὲ Διόνυσόν τε λέγουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες ὥς αὐτίκα γενόμενον ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐνεβράβητο Ζεὺς καὶ ἦνυκε ἐς Νύσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου ἐοῦσαν ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπίῃ, καὶ Πανὸς γε πέρι οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν ὅκη ἐτράπετο γενόμενος. δῆλόν μοι γέγονε ὅτι ὕστερον ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τούτων τὰ οὐνόματα ἢ τὰ

τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν· ἀπ' οὗ δὲ ἐπύθοντο χρόνου, ἀπὸ τούτου γενεολογέουσι αὐτῶν τὴν γένεσιν.

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1 ταῦτα μὲν νυν αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι· ὅσα δὲ οἱ τε ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι ὁμολογέοντες τοῖσι ἄλλοισι κατὰ ταύτην τὴν χώραν γενέσθαι, ταῦτ' ἤδη φράσω· προσέσται δέ τι αὐτοῖσι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὄψιος. 2 ἐλευθερωθέντες Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ τὸν ἱρέα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου βασιλεύσαντα, οὐδένα γὰρ χρόνον οἰοί τε ἦσαν ἄνευ βασιλέος διαιτᾶσθαι, ἐστήσαντο δωδέκα βασιλέας, δωδέκα μοίρας δασάμενοι Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν. 3 οὗτοι ἐπιγαμίας ποιησάμενοι ἐβασίλευον νόμοισι τοῖσιδε χρεώμενοι, μήτε καταϊρέειν ἀλλήλους μήτε πλέον τι δίζησθαι ἔχειν τὸν ἕτερον τοῦ ἐτέρου, εἶναι τε φίλους τὰ μάλιστα. 4 τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα τοὺς νόμους τούτους ἐποιέοντο, ἰσχυρῶς περιστέλλοντες· ἐκέχρηστό σφι κατ' ἀρχὰς αὐτίκα ἐνισταμένοισι ἐς τὰς τυραννίδας τὸν χαλκῆ φιάλῃ σπείσαντα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τοῦτον ἀπάσης βασιλεύσειν Αἰγύπτου· ἐς γὰρ δὴ τὰ πάντα ἱρὰ συνελέγοντο.

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1 καὶ δὴ σφι μνημόσυνα ἔδοξε λιπέσθαι κοινῇ, δόξαν δέ σφι ἐποιήσαντο λαβύρινθον, ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος κατὰ Κροκοδείλων καλεομένην πόλιν μάλιστα κη κείμενον· τὸν ἐγὼ ἤδη εἶδον λόγου μέζω. 2 εἰ γάρ τις τὰ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων τείχεά τε καὶ ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν συλλογίσαιτο, ἐλάσσονος πόνου τε ἂν καὶ δαπάνης φανείη ἔοντα τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τούτου. καίτοι ἀξιόλογός γε καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐστὶ νηὶς καὶ ὁ ἐν Σάμῳ. 3 ἦσαν μὲν νυν καὶ αἱ πυραμίδες λόγου μέζονες, καὶ πολλῶν ἐκάστη αὐτέων Ἑλληνικῶν ἔργων καὶ μεγάλων ἀνταξίη, ὁ δὲ δὴ λαβύρινθος καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας ὑπερβάλλει· 4 τοῦ [γὰρ] δωδέκα μὲν εἰσὶ αὐλαὶ κατάστεγοι, ἀντίτυλοι ἀλλήλησι, ἐξ μὲν πρὸς βορέω ἐξ δὲ πρὸς νότον τετραμμέναι, συνεχέες· τοῖχος δὲ ἔξωθεν ὁ αὐτός σφεας περιέργει. οἰκήματα δ' ἔνεστι διπλᾶ, τὰ μὲν ὑπόγαια τὰ δὲ μετέωρα ἐπ' ἐκείνοισι, τρισχίλια ἀριθμόν, πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἐκάτερα. 5 τὰ μὲν νυν μετέωρα τῶν οἰκημάτων αὐτοῖ τε ὠρῶμεν διεξιόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ θεησάμενοι λέγομεν, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπόγαια λόγοισι ἐπυνθανόμεθα· οἱ γὰρ

ἐπεστεῶτες τῶν Αἰγυπτίων δεικνύναι αὐτὰ οὐδαμῶς ἤθελον, φάμενοι θήκας αὐτόθι εἶναι τῶν τε ἀρχὴν τὸν λαβύρινθον τοῦτον οἰκοδομησαμένων βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν κροκοδείλων. 6 οὕτω τῶν μὲν κάτω περὶ οἰκημάτων ἀκοῇ παραλαβόντες λέγομεν, τὰ δὲ ἄνω μέζονα ἀνθρωπίνων ἔργων αὐτοῖς ὠρῶμεν· αἱ τε γὰρ διέξοδοι διὰ τῶν στεγέων καὶ οἱ ἐλιγμοὶ διὰ τῶν ἀυλέων ἐόντες ποικιλώτατοι θῶμα μυρίον παρείχοντο ἐξ αὐλῆς τε ἐς τὰ οἰκήματα διεξιούσι καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐς παστάδας, ἐς στέγας τε ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν παστάδων καὶ ἐς αὐλὰς ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων. 7 ὁροφὴ δὲ πάντων τούτων λιθίνη κατὰ περ οἱ τοῖχοι, οἱ δὲ τοῖχοι τύπων ἐγγεγλυμμένων πλέοι, αὐλὴ δὲ ἐκάστη περίστυλος λίθου λευκοῦ ἀρμοσμένου τὰ μάλιστα. τῆς δὲ γωνίης τελευτῶντος τοῦ λαβυρίνθου ἔχεται πυραμῖς τεσσερακοντόργυιος, ἐν τῇ ζῶα μεγάλα ἐγγέγλυπται· ὁδὸς δ' ἐς αὐτὴν ὑπὸ γῆν πεποίηται.

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1 τοῦ δὲ λαβυρίνθου τούτου ἐόντος τοιούτου θῶμα ἔτι μέζον παρέχεται ἡ Μοίριος καλεομένη λίμνη, παρ' ἣν ὁ λαβύρινθος οὗτος οἰκοδομῆται· τῆς τὸ περίμετρον τῆς περιόδου εἰς¹ στάδιοι ἐξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, σχοίνων ἐξήκοντα ἐόντων, ἴσοι καὶ αὐτῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. κεῖται δὲ μακρὴ ἡ λίμνη πρὸς βορέην τε καὶ νότον, ἐοῦσα βάθος, τῇ βαθυτάτῃ αὐτῇ ἑωυτῆς, πεντηκοντόργυιος. 2 ὅτι δὲ χειροποίητος ἐστὶ καὶ ὀρυκτὴ, αὐτὴ δηλοῖ· ἐν γὰρ μέσῃ τῇ λίμνῃ μάλιστα κη ἐστᾶσι δύο πυραμίδες, τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπερέχουσαι πεντήκοντα ὀργυιάς ἑκατέρῃ, καὶ τὸ κατ' ὕδατος οἰκοδόμηται ἕτερον τοσοῦτον, καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρῃσι ἔπεστι κολοσσὸς λίθινος κατήμενος ἐν θρόνῳ. 3 οὕτω αἱ μὲν πυραμίδες εἰσὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιῶν, αἱ δ' ἑκατὸν ὀργυιαὶ δίκαιαι εἰσὶ στάδιον ἐξάπλεθρον, ἐξαπέδου τε τῆς ὀργυιῆς μετρεομένης καὶ τετραπλήχεος, τῶν ποδῶν μὲν τετραπαλαίστων ἐόντων, τοῦ δὲ πήχεος ἐξαπαλαίστου. 4 τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ αὐθιγενὲς μὲν οὐκ ἔστι (ἄνυδρος γὰρ δὴ δεινῶς ἐστὶ ἡ ταύτη), ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου δὲ κατὰ διώρυχα ἐσῆκται, καὶ ἕξ μὲν μῆνας ἔσω ῥεεῖ ἐς τὴν λίμνην, ἕξ δὲ μῆνας ἔξω ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον αὐτίς· 5 καὶ ἐπεὰν μὲν ἐκρέῃ ἕξω, ἡ δὲ τότε τοὺς ἕξ μῆνας ἐς τὸ βασιλῆιον καταβάλλει ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἐκάστην τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐσίῃ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν, εἴκοσι μνέας.

1 ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ ὥς ἐς τὴν Σύρτιν τὴν ἐς Λιβύην ἐκδιδοῖ ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὑπὸ γῆν, τετραμμένη τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος. 2 ἐπεῖτε δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος τούτου οὐκ ὥρων τὸν χοῦν οὐδαμοῦ ἐόντα, ἐπιμελὲς γὰρ δὴ μοι ἦν, εἰρόμην τοὺς ἄγχιστα οἰκέοντας τῆς λίμνης ὅκου εἶη ὁ χοῦς ὁ ἐξορυχθεῖς. οἱ δὲ ἔφρασαν μοι ἵνα ἐξεφορήθῃ, καὶ εὐπετέως ἐπειθον· ἦδεα γὰρ λόγῳ καὶ ἐν Νίνῳ τῇ Ἀσσυρίων πόλει γενόμενον ἕτερον τοιοῦτον. 3 τὰ γὰρ Σαρδαναπάλλου τοῦ Νίνου βασιλέος ἐόντα μεγάλα χρήματα καὶ φυλασσόμενα ἐν θησαυροῖσι καταγαίοισι ἐπενόησαν κλῶπες ἐκφορῆσαι. ἐκ δὴ ὧν τῶν σφετέρων οἰκίων ἀρξάμενοι οἱ κλῶπες ὑπὸ γῆν σταθμεόμενοι ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα οἰκία ὥρυσσον, τὸν δὲ χοῦν τὸν ἐκφορεόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος, ὅπως γένοιτο νύξ, ἐς τὸν Τίγρην ποταμὸν παραρρέοντα τὴν Νίνον ἐξεφόρεον, ἐς ὃ κατεργάσαντο ὃ τι ἐβούλοντο. 4 τοιοῦτον ἕτερον ἤκουσα καὶ κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λίμνης ὀρυγμα γενέσθαι, πλὴν οὐ νυκτὸς ἀλλὰ μετ' ἡμέρην ποιεύμενον· ὀρύσσοντας γὰρ τὸν χοῦν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον φορέειν· ὁ δὲ ὑπολαμβάνων ἔμελλε διαχέειν. ἡ μὲν νυν λίμνη αὕτη οὕτω λέγεται ὀρυχθῆναι·

1 τῶν δὲ δυνάδεκα βασιλέων δικαιοσύνην χρεωμένων, ἀνὰ χρόνον ὥς ἔθυσαν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τῇ ὑστάτῃ τῆς ὀρθῆς, μελλόντων κατασπείσειν, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐξήνικέ σφι φιάλας χρυσέας, τῇσί περ ἐώθεσαν σπένδειν, ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, ἑνδεκα δυνάδεκα ἐοῦσι. 2 ἐνθαῦτα ὥς οὐκ εἶχε φιάλην ὁ ἔσχατος ἐστεῶς αὐτῶν Ψαμμήτιχος, περιελόμενος τὴν κυνέην ἐοῦσαν χαλκὴν ὑπέσχε τε καὶ ἔσπενδε. κυνέας δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ἐφόρεόν τε βασιλέες καὶ ἐτύγγανον τότε ἔχοντες. 3 Ψαμμήτιχος μὲν νυν οὐδενὶ δολερῷ νόῳ χρεώμενος ὑπέσχε τὴν κυνέην· οἱ δὲ ἐν φρενὶ λαβόντες τό τε ποιηθὲν ἐκ Ψαμμήτιχου καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὅτι ἐκέχρηστό σφι τὸν χαλκὴν σπείσαντα αὐτῶν φιάλη τοῦτον βασιλέα ἔσεσθαι μῦνον Αἰγύπτου, ἀναμνησθέντες τοῦ χρησμοῦ κτεῖναι μὲν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσαν Ψαμμήτιχον, ὥς ἀνεύρισκον βασανίζοντες ἐξ οὐδεμιῆς προνοίης αὐτὸν ποιήσαντα, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἔλα ἐδοξέ σφι διῶξαι ψιλώσαντας τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς δυνάμειος, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐλέων ὀρμώμενον μὴ ἐπιμίγεσθαι τῇ ἄλλῃ Αἰγύπτῳ.

¹ τὸν δὲ Ψαμμήτιχον τοῦτον πρότερον φεύγοντα τὸν Αἰθίοπα Σαβακῶν, ὃς οἱ τὸν πατέρα Νεκῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοῦτον φεύγοντα τότε ἐς Συρίην, ὡς ἀπαλλάχθῃ ἐκ τῆς ὄψιος τοῦ ὀνείρου ὁ Αἰθίοψ, κατήγαγον Αἰγυπτίων οὗτοι οἱ ἐκ νομοῦ τοῦ Σαΐτεω εἰσί. ² μετὰ δὲ βασιλεύοντα τὸ δεύτερον πρὸς τῶν ἑνδεκα βασιλέων καταλαμβάνει μιν διὰ τὴν κυνέην φεύγειν ἐς τὰ ἔλαα. ³ ἐπιστάμενος ὢν ὡς περιωρισμένος εἶη πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπενόεε τίσασθαι τοὺς διώξαντας. πέμψαντι δὲ οἱ ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τῆς Λητοῦς, ἔνθα δὴ Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐστὶ μαντήιον ἀψευδέστατον, ἦλθε χρησμὸς ὡς τίσις ἦξει ἀπὸ θαλάσσης χαλκῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανέντων. ⁴ καὶ τῷ μὲν δὴ ἀπιστὴ μεγάλη ὑπεκέχυτο χαλκούς οἱ ἄνδρας ἦξιν ἐπικούρους. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἀναγκαίῃ κατέλαβε Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Κᾶρας ἄνδρας κατὰ ληίην ἐκπλώσαντας ἀπενειχθῆναι ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἐκβάντας δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ὀπλισθέντας χαλκῷ ἀγγέλλει τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὰ ἔλαα ἀπικόμενος τῷ Ψαμμήτιχῳ, ὡς οὐκ ἰδὼν πρότερον χαλκῷ ἄνδρας ὀπλισθέντας, ὡς χάλκεοι ἄνδρες ἀπιγμένοι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεηλατεῦσι τὸ πεδῖον. ⁵ ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὸ χρηστήριον ἐπιτελεύμενον φίλα τε τοῖσι Ἰῶσι καὶ Καρσί ποιέεται καὶ σφεας μεγάλα ὑπισχνεύμενος πείθει μετ' ἐωυτοῦ γενέσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἔπεισε, οὕτω ἅμα τοῖσι τὰ ἐωυτοῦ βουλομένοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐπικούροισι καταίρει τοὺς βασιλέας.

¹ κρατήσας δὲ Αἰγύπτου πάσης ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος ἐποίησε τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια ἐν Μέμφι τὰ πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τετραμμένα, αὐλήν τε τῷ Ἄπι, ἐν τῇ τρέφεται ἐπεὰν φανῇ ὁ Ἄπις, οἰκοδόμησε ἐναντίον τῶν προπυλαίων, πᾶσάν τε περίστυλον ἐοῦσαν καὶ τύπων πλέην· ἀντὶ δὲ κίωνων ὑπεστᾶσι κολοσσοὶ δυωδεκαπῆχες τῇ αὐλῇ. ὁ δὲ Ἄπις κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν ἐστὶ Ἑπαφος.

¹ τοῖσι δὲ Ἰῶσι καὶ τοῖσι Καρσί τοῖσι συγκατεργασαμένοισι αὐτῷ ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος δίδωσι χώρους ἐνοικῆσαι ἀντίους ἀλλήλων, τοῦ Νείλου τὸ μέσον ἔχοντος, τοῖσι οὐνόματα ἐτέθη Στρατόπεδα· τούτους τε δὴ σφι τοὺς χώρους δίδωσι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ὑπέσχετο πάντα ἀπέδωκε. ² καὶ δὴ καὶ παῖδας παρέβαλε αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίους

τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἐκμαθόντων τὴν γλῶσσαν οἱ νῦν ἐρμηνέες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γεγόνασι. ³ οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες τε καὶ οἱ Κᾶρες τούτους τοὺς χώρους οἴκησαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν· εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι οἱ χῶροι πρὸς θαλάσσης ὀλίγον ἔνερθε Βουβάστιος πόλιος, ἐπὶ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ καλεομένῳ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου. τούτους μὲν δὴ χρόνῳ ὕστερον βασιλεὺς Ἄμασις ἐξαναστήσας ἐνθεῦτεν κατοίκησε ἐς Μέμφιν, φυλακὴν ἐωυτοῦ ποιούμενος πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων. ⁴ τούτων δὲ οἰκισθέντων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ Ἕλληνες οὕτω ἐπιμισγόμενοι τούτοις τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον γινόμενα ἀπὸ Ψαμμήτιχου βασιλέως ἀρξάμενοι πάντα [καὶ τὰ ὕστερον] ἐπιστάμεθα ἀτρεκέως· πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν. ⁵ ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἐξανέστησαν χώρων, ἐν τούτοις δὲ οἱ τε ὅλκοι τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὰ ἐρείπια τῶν οἰκημάτων τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ ἦσαν. Ψαμμήτιχος μὲν νυν οὕτω ἔσχε Αἴγυπτον.

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¹ τοῦ < δε > δ ἐ < τοῦ > χρηστηρίου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολλὰ ἐπεμνήσθην ἤδη, καὶ δὴ λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀξίου ἐόντος ποιήσομαι. τὸ γὰρ χρηστήριον τοῦτο τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐστὶ μὲν Λητοῦς ἱρόν, ἐν πόλει δὲ μεγάλῃ ἰδρυμένον κατὰ τὸ Σεβεννυτικὸν καλεόμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου, ἀναπλέοντι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω. ² οὖνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ὅκου τὸ χρηστήριον ἐστὶ Βουτώ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ὠνόμασταί μοι. ἱρόν δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Βουτοῖ ταύτῃ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ὃ γε νηὸς τῆς Λητοῦς, ἐν τῷ δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐνι, αὐτὸς τε τυγχάνει ἐὼν μέγας καὶ τὰ προπύλαια ἔχει ἐς ὕψος δέκα ὀργυιῶν. ³ τὸ δέ μοι τῶν φανερῶν ἦν θῶμα μέγιστον παρεχόμενον, φράσω· ἔστι ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ Λητοῦς νηὸς ἐξ ἐνὸς λίθου πεποιημένος ἔς τε ὕψος καὶ ἐς μῆκος καὶ τοῖχος ἕκαστος τούτοις ἴσος τεσσεράκοντα πηγέων τούτων ἕκαστον ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ καταστέγασμα τῆς ὀροφῆς ἄλλος ἐπίκειται λίθος, ἔχων τὴν παρωροφίδα τετράπηχυν.

156

¹ οὕτω μὲν νυν ὁ νηὸς τῶν φανερῶν μοι τῶν περὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρόν ἐστὶ θωμαστότατον, τῶν δὲ δευτέρων νήσος ἡ Χέμμις καλυμένη· ² ἔστι μὲν ἐν λίμνῃ βαθέῃ καὶ πλατέῃ κειμένη παρὰ τὸ ἐν Βουτοῖ ἱρόν, λέγεται δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι αὕτη ἡ νήσος πλωτή. αὐτὸς μὲν ἔγωγε

οὔτε πλέουσιν οὔτε κινηθεῖσαν εἶδον, τέθηπα δὲ ἀκούων εἰ νῆσος ἀληθέως ἐστὶ πλωτή. ³ ἐν δὲ ὧν ταύτῃ νηὸς τε Ἀπόλλωνος μέγας ἐνὶ καὶ βωμοὶ τριφάσιοι ἐνιδρύονται, ἐμπεφύκασι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ φοῖνικες συγχοὶ καὶ ἄλλα δένδρεα καὶ καρποφόρα καὶ ἄφορα πολλά. ⁴ λόγον δὲ τόνδε ἐπιλέγοντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ εἶναι αὐτὴν πλωτήν, ὥς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ οὐκ ἐοῦση πρότερον πλωτῇ Λητῷ, ἐοῦσα τῶν ὀκτὼ θεῶν τῶν πρώτων γενομένων, οἰκέουσα δὲ ἐν Βουτοὶ πόλιν, ἵνα δὴ οἱ τὸ χρηστήριον τοῦτο ἐστί, Ἀπόλλωνα παρ' Ἴσιος παρακαταθήκην δεξαμένη διέσωσε κατακρύψασα ἐν τῇ νῦν πλωτῇ λεγομένη νήσῳ, ὅτε τὸ πᾶν διζήμενος ὁ Τυφῶν ἐπῆλθε, θέλων ἐξευρεῖν τοῦ Ὀσίριος τὸν παῖδα. ⁵ Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ καὶ Ἄρτεμιν Διονύσου καὶ Ἴσιος λέγουσι εἶναι παῖδας, Λητοῦν δὲ τροφὸν αὐτοῖσι καὶ σώτειραν γενέσθαι. Αἰγυπτιστὶ δὲ Ἀπόλλων μὲν Ὡρος, Δημήτηρ δὲ Ἴσις, Ἄρτεμις δὲ Βούβαστις. ⁶ ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου Αἰσχύλος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος ἥρπασε τὸ ἐγὼ φράσω, μόνος δὴ ποιητέων τῶν προγενομένων· ἐποίησε γὰρ Ἄρτεμιν εἶναι θυγατέρα Δήμητρος. τὴν δὲ νῆσον διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι πλωτήν. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι.

157

¹ Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου τέσσερα καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, τῶν τὰ ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα Ἄζωτον τῆς Συρίας μεγάλην πόλιν προσκατήμενος ἐπολιόρκεε, ἐς ὃ ἐξεῖλε. αὕτη δὲ ἡ Ἄζωτος ἀπασέων πολίων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον πολιορκεομένη ἀντέσχε τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

158

¹ Ψαμμήτιχου δὲ Νεκῶς παῖς ἐγένετο καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου, ὃς τῇ διώρυγι ἐπεχείρησε πρῶτος τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν φερούσῃ, τὴν Δαρεῖος ὁ Πέρσης δεῦτερα διώρυξε· τῆς μῆκος ἐστὶ πλόος ἡμέραι τέσσερες, εὖρος δὲ ὠρύχθη ὥστε τριήρεας δύο πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρευμένας. ² ἦκται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτήν· ἦκται δὲ κατὑπερθε ὀλίγον Βουβάστιος πόλις παρὰ Πάτουμον τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλιν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. ὁρώρυκται δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου τὰ πρὸς Ἀραβίην ἔχοντα· ἔχεται δὲ κατὑπερθε τοῦ πεδίου τὸ κατὰ Μέμφιν τεῖνον ὄρος, ἐν τῷ αἱ λιθοτομίαι ἔννεισι· ³ τοῦ ὧν δὴ ὄρεος τούτου παρὰ τὴν ὑπώρεαν ἦκται ἡ διώρυξ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης μακρὴ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ, καὶ ἔπειτα τείνει ἐς

διασφάγας, φέρουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρεος πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον. 4 τῇ δὲ ἐλάχιστον ἐστὶ καὶ συντομώτατον ἐκ τῆς βορηῆς θαλάσσης ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν νοτίην καὶ Ἐρυθρὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην καλεομένην, ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου ὄρεος τοῦ οὐρίζοντος Αἰγυπτὸν τε καὶ Συρίην, ἀπὸ τούτου εἰσὶ στάδιοι ἀπαρτὶ χίλιοι ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον. 5 τοῦτο μὲν τὸ συντομώτατον, ἡ δὲ διώρυξ πολλῷ μακροτέρη, ὅσῳ σκολιωτέρη ἐστὶ· τὴν ἐπὶ Νεκῷ βασιλέος ὀρύσσοντες Αἰγυπτίων ἀπώλοντο δυώδεκα μυριάδες. Νεκῷς μὲν νυν μετὰ τὸ ὀρύσσων ἐπαύσατο μαντήιου ἐμποδίου γενομένου τοιοῦδε, τῷ βαρβάρῳ αὐτὸν προεργάζεσθαι. βαρβάρους δὲ πάντας οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τοὺς μὴ σφίσι ὁμογλώσσους.

159

1 παυσάμενος δὲ τῆς διώρυχος ὁ Νεκῷς ἐτράπετο πρὸς στρατηίας, καὶ τριήρεις αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ βορηῇ θαλάσσει ἐποιήθησαν, αἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλῳ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσει, τῶν ἔτι οἱ ὅλκοι ἐπίδηλοι. 2 καὶ ταύτησί τε ἐχρᾶτο ἐν τῷ δέοντι καὶ Σύροισι πεζῇ ὁ Νεκῷς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδῶλῳ ἐνίκησε, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Κάδυτιν πόλιν τῆς Συρίας ἐοῦσαν μεγάλῃν εἴλε. 3 ἐν τῇ δὲ ἐσθῇτι ἔτυχε ταῦτα κατεργασάμενος, ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι πέμψας ἐς Βραγχίδας τὰς Μιλησίων. μετὰ δέ, ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτεα τὰ πάντα ἄρξας, τελευτᾷ, τῷ παιδί Ψάμμῳ παραδούς τὴν ἀρχήν.

160

1 ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ψάμμιν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου ἀπίκοντο Ἥλειων ἄγγελοι, αὐχέοντες δικαιοτάτα καὶ κάλλιστα τιθῆναι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δοκέοντες παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδ' ἂν τοὺς σοφωτάτους ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίους οὐδὲν ἐπεξευρεῖν· 2 ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἱ Ἥλαιοι ἔλεγον τῶν εἵνεκα ἀπίκοντο, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος συγκαλέεται Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς λεγομένους εἶναι σοφωτάτους. συνελθόντες δὲ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐπυνθάνοντο τῶν Ἥλειων λεγόντων ἅπαντα τὰ κατήκει σφέας ποιεῖν περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα· ἀπηγησάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα ἔφασαν ἥκειν ἐπιμαθησόμενοι εἴ τι ἔχοιεν Αἰγύπτιοι τούτων δικαιοτέρον ἐπεξευρεῖν. 3 οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι ἐπειρώτων τοὺς Ἥλειους εἶ σφι οἱ πολιῆται ἐναγωνίζονται. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν καὶ σφέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὁμοίως τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐξεῖναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι. 4 οἱ δὲ

Αἰγύπτιοι ἔφασαν σφέας οὕτω τιθέντας παντὸς τοῦ δικαίου ἡμαρτηκέναι. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ εἶναι μηχανὴν ὅπως οὐ τῷ ἀστῷ ἀγωνιζομένῳ προσθήσονται, ἀδικέοντες τὸν ξεῖνον. ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ βούλονται δικαίως τιθέναι καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα ἀπικοίατο ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ξεῖνοισι ἀγωνιστῇσι ἐκέλευον τὸν ἀγῶνα τιθέναι, Ἥλειων δὲ μηδενὶ εἶναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι Ἥλείοισι ὑπεθήκαντο.

161

¹ ψάμμιος δὲ ἐξ ἔτεα μοῦνον βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου καὶ στρατευσαμένου ἐς Αἰθιοπίν καὶ μεταυτίκα τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέξατο Ἀπρίης ὁ Ψάμμιος· ² ὃς μετὰ Ψαμμήτιχον τὸν ἐωυτοῦ προπάτορα ἐγένετο εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων, ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἄρξας, ἐν τοῖσι ἐπὶ τε Σιδῶνα στρατὸν ἤλασε καὶ ἐναυμάχησε τῷ Τυρίῳ. ³ ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔδεε κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγένετο ἀπὸ προφάσιος τὴν ἐγὼ μεζόνως μὲν ἐν τοῖσι Λιβυκοῖσι λόγοισι ἀπηγγέσομαι, μετρίως δ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ⁴ ἀποπέμψας γὰρ στράτευμα ὁ Ἀπρίης ἐπὶ Κυρηναίους μεγαλωστὶ προσέπταισε, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, δοκέοντες τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐκ προνοίης αὐτοὺς ἀποπέμψαι ἐς φαινόμενον κακόν, ἵνα δὴ σφέων φθορὴ γένηται, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀσφαλέστερον ἄρχοι. ταῦτα δὲ δεινὰ ποιούμενοι οὗτοί τε οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων φίλοι ἀπέστησαν ἐκ τῆς ἰθῆης.

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¹ πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀπρίης ταῦτα πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἄμασιν καταπαύσοντα λόγοισι. ὁ δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἀπικόμενος κατελάμβανε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ταῦτα μὴ ποιέειν, λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ὀπισθε στὰς περιέθηκέ οἱ κυνήν, καὶ περιτιθεὶς ἔφη ἐπὶ βασιλίῃ περιτιθέναι. ² καὶ τῷ οὕτως ἀκούσιον ἐγένετο τὸ ποιούμενον, ὥς διεδείκνυε. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ἐστήσαντό μιν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἀπεστεῶτες, παρεσκευάζετο ὥς ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην. ³ πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπρίης ἔπεμπε ἐπ' Ἄμασιν ἄνδρα δόκιμον τῶν περὶ ἐωυτὸν Αἰγυπτίων, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Πατάρβημις, ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ ζῶντα Ἄμασιν ἀγαγεῖν παρ' ἐωυτόν. ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενος τὸν Ἄμασιν ἐκάλεε ὁ Πατάρβημις, ὁ Ἄμασις, ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐπ' ἵππου κατήμενος, ἐπαείρας ἀπεματάισε, καὶ τοῦτό μιν ἐκέλευε Ἀπρίην ἀπάγειν. ⁴ ὅμως δὲ αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦν τὸν Πατάρβημιν βασιλέος μεταπεμπομένου ἰέναι πρὸς αὐτόν·

τὸν δὲ αὐτῷ ὑποκρίνεσθαι ὥς ταῦτα πάλαι παρεσκευάζετο ποιέειν, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐ μέμψεσθαι Ἀπρίην· παρέσεσθαι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἄλλους ἄξειν. ⁵ τὸν δὲ Πατάρβημιν ἔκ τε τῶν λεγομένων οὐκ ἄγνοέειν τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον ὀρῶντα σπουδῇ ἀπιέναι, βουλόμενον τὴν ταχίστην βασιλείᾳ δηλῶσαι τὰ πρησόμενα. ὥς δὲ ἀπικέσθαι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀπρίην οὐκ ἄγοντα τὸν Ἄμασιν, οὐδένα λόγον αὐτῷ δόντα ἀλλὰ περιθύμως ἔχοντα περιταμεῖν προστάξαι αὐτοῦ τά τε ὅτα καὶ τὴν ῥίνα. ⁶ ἰδόμενοι δ' οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, οἳ ἔτι τὰ ἐκείνου ἐφρόνεον, ἄνδρα τὸν δοκιμώτατον ἐωυτῶν οὕτω αἰσχροῶς λύμη διακεκείμενον, οὐδένα δὴ χρόνον ἐπισχόντες ἀπιστέατο πρὸς τοὺς ἐτέρους καὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀμάσι.

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¹ πυθόμενος δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπρίης ὥπλιζε τοὺς ἐπικούρους καὶ ἤλανε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους· εἶχε δὲ περὶ ἐωυτὸν Κᾱράς τε καὶ Ἴωνας ἄνδρας ἐπικούρους τρισμυρίους· ἦν δὲ οἱ τὰ βασιλῆα ἐν Σαί πόλι, μεγάλα ἐόντα καὶ ἀξιοθέητα. ² καὶ οἳ τε περὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἦσαν καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄμασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους· ἐν τε δὴ Μωμέμφι πόλι ἐγένοντο ἀμφότεροι καὶ πειρήσεσθαι ἔμελλον ἀλλήλων.

164

¹ ἔστι δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἑπτὰ γένη, καὶ τούτων οἳ μὲν ἱρέες οἳ δὲ μάχιμοι κεκλέαται, οἳ δὲ βουκόλοι οἳ δὲ συβῶται, οἳ δὲ κάπηλοι, οἳ δὲ ἐρμηνέες, οἳ δὲ κυβερνήται. γένη μὲν Αἰγυπτίων τοσαῦτα ἐστί, οὐνόματα δὲ σφι κέεται ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνέων. ² οἳ δὲ μάχιμοι αὐτῶν καλέονται μὲν Καλασίριές τε καὶ Ἑρμοτύβιες, ἐκ νομῶν δὲ τῶνδε εἰσί· κατὰ γὰρ δὴ νομοὺς Αἴγυπτος ἅπασα διαραίρηται.

165

¹ Ἑρμοτυβίων μὲν οἶδε εἰσὶ νομοί, Βουσιρίτης, Σαῖτης, Χεμμίτης, Παπρημίτης, νῆσος ἢ Προσωπίτις καλεομένη, Ναθῶ τὸ ἡμισυ. ἐκ μὲν τούτων τῶν νομῶν Ἑρμοτύβιες εἰσί, γενόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγένοντο, ἑκακίδεκα μυριάδες. καὶ τούτων βανουσίης οὐδεὶς δεδάηκε οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀνέωνται ἐς τὸ μάχιμον.

166

1 καλασιρίων δὲ οἶδε ἄλλοι νομοὶ εἰσι, Θηβαῖος, Βουβαστίτης, Αφθίτης, Τανίτης, Μενδήσιος, Σεβεννύτης, Ἀθριβίτης, Φαρβαῖθίτης, Θμουῖτης, Ὀνουφίτης, Ἀνύτιος, Μυεκφορίτης· οὗτος ὁ νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ οἰκεῖ ἀντίον Βουβάστιος πόλιος. 2 οὗτοι δὲ οἱ νομοὶ Καλασιρίων εἰσί, γενόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγένοντο, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν. οὐδὲ τούτοισι ἔξεστι τέχνην ἐπασκῆσαι οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐπασκέουσι μούνα, παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδεκόμενος.

167

1 εἰ μὲν νυν καὶ τοῦτο παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως κρίναι, ὁρέων καὶ Θρήικας καὶ Σκύθας καὶ Πέρσας καὶ Λυδοὺς καὶ σχεδὸν πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀποτιμοτέρους τῶν ἄλλων ἡγημένους πολιτῶν τοὺς τὰς τέχνας μανθάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους τούτων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπαλλαγμένους τῶν χειρωναξίων γενναίους νομιζομένους εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνειμένους· μεμαθήκασι δ' ὧν τοῦτο πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ μάλιστα Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἥκιστα δὲ Κορίνθιοι ὄνονται τοὺς χειροτέχνας.

168

1 γέρεα δὲ σφι ἦν τάδε ἐξαιρεημένα μούνοισι Αἰγυπτίων πάρεξ τῶν ἱρέων, ἄρουργα ἐξαίρετοι δυνάδεκα ἐκάστῳ ἀτελέες. ἡ δὲ ἄρουργα ἐκατὸν πηχέων ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίων πάντη, ὁ δὲ Αἰγύπιος πῆχυς τυγχάνει ἴσος ἐὼν τῷ Σαμίῳ. 2 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασιν ἦν ἐξαιρεημένα, τάδε δὲ ἐν περιτροπῇ ἐκαρποῦντο καὶ οὐδαμὰ ὠυτοί. Καλασιρίων χίλιοι καὶ Ἑρμοτυβίων ἐδορυφόρεον ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστοι τὸν βασιλέα· τούτοισι ὧν τάδε πάρεξ τῶν ἀρουρέων ἄλλα ἐδίδοτο ἐπ' ἡμέρη ἐκάστη, ὅπου σίτου σταθμὸς πέντε μνέαι ἐκάστῳ, κρεῶν βοέων δύο μνέαι, οἴνου τέσσερες ἀρυστήρες. ταῦτα τοῖσι αἰεὶ δορυφορέουσι ἐδίδοτο.

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1 ἐπεῖτε δὲ συνιόντες ὁ τε Ἀπρίης ἄγων τοὺς ἐπικούρους καὶ ὁ Ἄμασις πάντας Αἰγυπτίους ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μώμεφιν πόλιν, συνέβαλον· καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο μὲν εὖ οἱ ξεῖνοι, πλήθει δὲ πολλῶν ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσώθησαν. 2 Ἀπρίεω δὲ λέγεται εἶναι

ἦδε διάνοια, μηδ' ἂν θεόν μιν μηδένα δύνασθαι παῦσαι τῆς βασιληίης· οὕτω ἀσφαλέως ἐωυτῶ ἰδρῦσθαι ἐδόκεε. καὶ δὴ τότε συμβαλὼν ἐσσώθη καὶ ζωγρηθεὶς ἀπήχθη ἐς Σάιν πόλιν, ἐς τὰ ἐωυτοῦ οἰκία πρότερον ἐόντα, τότε δὲ Ἀμάσιος ἤδη βασιλία. 3 ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τέως μὲν ἐτρέφετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιληίοισι, καὶ μιν Ἄμασις εὖ περιεῖτε· τέλος δὲ μεμφομένων Αἰγυπτίων ὥς οὐ ποιεοί δίκαια τρέφων τὸν σφίσι τε καὶ ἐωυτῶ ἔχθιστον, οὕτω δὴ παραδιδοῖ τὸν Ἀπρίην τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι. οἱ δὲ μιν ἀπέπνιξαν καὶ ἔπειτα ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇσι πατρῴησι ταφῇσι. 4 αἱ δὲ εἰσὶ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ μεγάρου, ἐσίντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός. ἔθαψαν δὲ Σαῖται πάντας τοὺς ἐκ νομοῦ τούτου γενομένους βασιλέας ἔσω ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ. 5 καὶ γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος σῆμα ἐκαστέρῳ μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ μεγάρου ἢ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπρίεω καὶ τῶν τούτου προπατόρων, ἔστι μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, παστὰς λιθίνῃ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἡσκημένη στύλοισι τε φοίνικας τὰ δένδρεα μεμιμημένοισι καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δαπάνῃ· ἔσω δὲ ἐν τῇ παστάδι διξὰ θυρώματα ἔστηκε, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι θυρώμασι ἡ θήκη ἐστί.

170

1 εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ ταφαὶ τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ἐξαγορεύειν τὸ οὖνομα ἐν Σαί, ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, ὀπισθε τοῦ νηοῦ, παντὸς τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐχόμεναι τοίχου. 2 καὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένει ὀβελοὶ ἐστᾶσι μεγάλοι λίθινοι, λίμνη τε ἐστὶ ἐχομένη λιθίνῃ κρηπιδὶ κεκοσμημένη καὶ ἐργασμένη εὖ κύκλῳ καὶ μέγαθος, ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκεε, ὅση περ ἢ ἐν Δήλῳ ἢ τροχοειδὴς καλεομένη.

171

1 ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ ταύτῃ τὰ δείκηλα τῶν παθέων αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ποιεῦσι, τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι. περὶ μὲν νυν τούτων εἰδοῖ μοι ἐπὶ πλέον ὥς ἕκαστα αὐτῶν ἔχει, εὖστομα κείσθω. 2 καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τελετῆς πέρι, τὴν οἱ Ἕλληνες θεσμοφόρια καλέουσι, καὶ ταύτης μοι πέρι εὖστομα κείσθω, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς ὁσίῃ ἐστὶ λέγειν· 3 αἱ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρες ἦσαν αἱ τὴν τελετὴν ταύτην ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγαγοῦσαι καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγίωτιδας γυναῖκας· μετὰ δὲ ἐξαναστάσης πάσης Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐξαπώλετο ἡ τελετή, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες Πελοποννησίων καὶ οὐκ ἐξαναστάντες Ἀρκάδες διέσωζον αὐτὴν μόνουι.

1 Ἀπρίεω δὲ ὧδε καταραιορημένου ἐβασίλευσε Ἄμασις, νομοῦ μὲν Σαῖτεω ἐὼν, ἐκ τῆς δὲ ἦν πόλις, οὐνομά οἱ ἐστὶ Σιούφ. 2 τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα κατῶνοντο τὸν Ἄμασιν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἐν οὐδεμιῇ μοίρῃ μεγάλῃ ἦγον ἅτε δὴ δημότην τὸ πρὶν ἐόντα καὶ οἰκίης οὐκ ἐπιφανέος· μετὰ δὲ σοφίῃ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἄμασις, οὐκ ἀγνωμοσύνη προσηγάγετο. 3 ἦν οἱ ἄλλα τε ἀγαθὰ μυρία, ἐν δὲ καὶ ποδανιπτήρ χρύσεος, ἐν τῷ αὐτός τε ὁ Ἄμασις καὶ οἱ δαιτυμόνες οἱ πάντες τοὺς πόδας ἐκάστοτε ἐναπενίζοντο· τοῦτον κατ' ὧν κόψας ἄγαλμα δαίμονος ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐποίησατο, καὶ ἵδρυσε τῆς πόλις ὅκου ἦν ἐπιτηδεύον· οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι φοιτέοντες πρὸς τῷ ἀγάλματι ἐσέβοντο μεγάλως. 4 μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἄμασις τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἀστῶν ποιούμενον, συγκαλέσας Αἰγυπτίους ἐξέφηνε φᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ποδανιπτήρος τῷ ἀγάλματι γεγονέναι, ἐς τὸν πρότερον μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐνεμέειν τε καὶ ἐνουρέειν καὶ πόδας ἐναπονίζεσθαι, τότε δὲ μεγάλως σέβεσθαι. 5 ἥδη ὧν ἔφη λέγων ὁμοίως αὐτὸς τῷ ποδανιπτήρι πεπηργέναι· εἰ γὰρ πρότερον εἶναι δημότης, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ παρεόντι εἶναι αὐτῶν βασιλεύς· καὶ τιμᾶν τε καὶ προμηθέεσθαι ἐωυτοῦ ἐκέλευε. τοιοῦτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ προσηγάγετο τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὥστε δικαιοῦν δουλεύειν.

1 ἐχρᾶτο δὲ καταστάσι πρηγμάτων τοιῆδε· τὸ μὲν ὄρθριον μέχρι ὅτευ πληθούσης ἀγορῆς προθύμως ἔπρησσε τὰ προσφερόμενα πρήγματα, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐπινέ τε καὶ κατέσκωπτε τοὺς συμπότας καὶ ἦν μάταιός τε καὶ παιγνιήμων. 2 ἀχθεσθέντες δὲ τούτοισι οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ ἐνουθέτεον αὐτὸν τοιάδε λέγοντες. “ ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐκ ὀρθῶς, σεωυτοῦ προέστηκας, ἐς τὸ ἄγαν φαῦλον προάγων σεωυτόν. σὲ γὰρ ἐχρῆν ἐν θρόνῳ σεμνῷ σεμνὸν θωκέοντα δι' ἡμέρης πρήσσειν τὰ πρήγματα, καὶ οὕτω Αἰγύπτιοί τ' ἂν ἠπιστέατο ὥς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου ἄρχονται, καὶ ἄμεινον σὺ ἂν ἤκουες· νῦν δὲ ποιέεις οὐδαμῶς βασιλικά “. 3 ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε αὐτούς. “ τὰ τόξα οἱ ἐκτιμήμενοι, ἐπεὰν μὲν δέωνται χρᾶσθαι, ἐντανύουσι· εἰ γὰρ δὴ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐντεταμένα εἶη, ἐκραγεῖν ἂν, ὥστε ἐς τὸ δέον οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν αὐτοῖσι χρᾶσθαι. 4 οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου κατάστασις· εἰ ἐθέλοι κατεσπουδάσθαι αἰεὶ μηδὲ ἐς παιγνήν τὸ μέρος ἐωυτὸν ἀνιέναι, λάθοι ἂν ἥτοι μανεῖς ἢ ὅ γε ἀπόπληκτος γενόμενος· τὰ ἐγὼ ἐπιστάμενος μέρος ἐκατέρῳ νέμω “. ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς φίλους

ἀμείψατο.

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¹ λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἄμασις, καὶ ὅτε ἦν ιδιώτης, ὡς φιλοπότης ἦν καὶ φιλοσκώμων καὶ οὐδαμῶς κατεσπουδασμένος ἀνὴρ· ὅπως δέ μιν ἐπιλείπει πίνοντά τε καὶ εὐπαθέοντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα, κλέπτεσκε ἂν περιῶν· οἱ δ' ἂν μιν φάμενοι ἔχειν τὰ σφέτερα χρήματα ἀρνεύμενον ἄγεσκον ἐπὶ μαντήιον, ὅκου ἐκάστοισι εἶη. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἠλίσκετο ὑπὸ τῶν μαντήιων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπέφευγε. ² ἐπεῖτε δὲ καὶ ἐβασίλευσε, ἐποίησε τοιάδε· ὅσοι μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν θεῶν ἀπέλυσαν μὴ φῶρα εἶναι, τούτων μὲν τῶν ἱρῶν οὔτε ἐπεμέλετο οὔτε ἐς ἐπισκευὴν ἐδίδου οὐδέν, οὐδὲ φοιτέων ἔθυε ὡς οὐδενὸς ἐοῦσι ἀξίοισι ψευδέα τε μαντήια ἐκτεμνένοισι· ὅσοι δέ μιν κατέδησαν φῶρα εἶναι, τούτων δὲ ὡς ἀληθέων θεῶν ἐόντων καὶ ἀψευδέα μαντήια παρεχομένων τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεμέλετο.

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¹ καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν Σαί τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ προπύλαια θωμάσια οἶα ἐξεποίησε, πολλὸν πάντας ὑπερβαλόμενος τῷ τε ὕψει καὶ τῷ μεγάθει, ὅσων τε τὸ μέγαθος λίθων ἐστὶ καὶ ὁκοίων τεῶν· τοῦτο δὲ κολοσσοὺς μεγάλους καὶ ἀνδρόσφιγγας περιμήκεας ἀνέθηκε, λίθους τε ἄλλους ἐς ἐπισκευὴν ὑπερφυέας τὸ μέγαθος ἐκόμισε. ² ἡγάγετο δὲ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Μέμφιν ἐουσέων λιθοτομιέων, τοὺς δὲ ὑπερμεγάθειας ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος πλόον καὶ εἴκοσι ἡμερέων ἀπεχούσης ἀπὸ Σαίος. ³ τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἤκιστα αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μάλιστα θωμάζω, ἔστι τόδε· οἶκημα μουνόλιθον ἐκόμισε ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκόμιζον μὲν ἐπ' ἔτεα τρία, δισχίλιοι δὲ οἱ προσετετάχατο ἄνδρες ἀγωγέες, καὶ οὗτοι ἅπαντες ἦσαν κυβερνήται. τῆς δὲ στέγης ταύτης τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἔξωθεν ἐστὶ εἰς τε καὶ εἴκοσι πήχεες, εὖρος δὲ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα, ὕψος δὲ ὀκτώ. ⁴ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ μέτρα ἔξωθεν τῆς στέγης τῆς μουνολίθου ἐστί, ἀτὰρ ἔσωθεν τὸ μῆκος ὀκτωκαίδεκα πηχέων καὶ πυγόνος..., τὸ δὲ ὕψος πέντε πηχέων ἐστί. αὕτη τοῦ ἱροῦ κέεται παρὰ τὴν ἔσοδον· ⁵ ἔσω γάρ μιν ἐς τὸ ἱρόν φασι τῶνδε εἵνεκα οὐκ ἐσελκύσαι· τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς ἐλκομένης τῆς στέγης ἀναστενάζαι, οἷά τε χρόνου ἐγγεγονότος πολλοῦ καὶ ἀχθόμενον τῷ ἔργῳ, τὸν δὲ Ἄμασιν ἐνθύμιον ποιησάμενον οὐκ εἶναι ἐτι προσωτέρω ἐλκύσαι. ἤδη δὲ τινὲς λέγουσι ὡς ἄνθρωπος διεφθάρη

ὕπ' αὐτῆς τῶν τις αὐτὴν μοχλευόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου οὐκ ἐσελκυσθῆναι.

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¹ ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἱροῖσι ὁ Ἄμασις πᾶσι τοῖσι ἐλλογίμοις ἔργα τὸ μέγαθος ἀξιοθέητα, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἐν Μέμφι τὸν ὑπτιον κείμενον κολοσσὸν τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου ἔμπροσθε, τοῦ πόδες πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα εἰσὶ τὸ μῆκος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ βάθρῳ ἐστᾶσι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐόντος λίθου δύο κολοσσοί, εἴκοσι ποδῶν τὸ μέγαθος ἑὸν ἑκάτερος, ὃ μὲν ἔνθεν ὃ δ' ἔνθεν τοῦ μεγάλου. ² ἔστι δὲ λίθινος ἕτερος τοσοῦτος καὶ ἐν Σάι, κείμενος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ ἐν Μέμφι. τῇ Ἰσι τε τὸ ἐν Μέμφι ἱρὸν Ἄμασις ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξοικοδομήσας, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιοθεητότατον.

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¹ ἐπ' Ἀμάσιος δὲ βασιλέος λέγεται Αἴγυπτος μάλιστα δὴ τότε εὐδαιμονῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ χώρῃ γινόμενα καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τὰς ἀπάσας τότε δισμυρίας τὰς οἰκεομένας. ² νόμον τε Αἰγυπτίοισι τόνδε Ἄμασις ἐστὶ ὁ καταστήσας, ἀποδεικνύει ἕτερος ἐκάστου τῷ νομάρχῃ πάντα τινὰ Αἰγυπτίων ὅθεν βιοῦται· μὴ δὲ ποιεῦντα ταῦτα μηδὲ ἀποφαίνοντα δικαίην ζόην ἰθύνεσθαι θανάτῳ. Σόλων δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος λαβὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῦτον τὸν νόμον Ἀθηναίοις ἔθετο· τῷ ἐκείνοι ἐς αἰεὶ χρέωνται ἐόντι ἀμώμῳ νόμῳ.

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¹ φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Ἄμασις ἄλλα τε ἐς Ἑλλήνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσι ἀπικνευμένοις ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικῆσαι· τοῖσι δὲ μὴ βουλομένοις αὐτῶν οἰκέειν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ναυτιλλομένοις ἔδωκε χώρους ἐνιδρύσασθαι βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένεια θεοῖσι. ² τὸ μὲν νυν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος, καὶ ὀνομαστότατον ἐὼν καὶ χρησιμώτατον, καλούμενον δὲ Ἑλλήνιον, αἶδε αἱ πόλεις εἰσὶ αἱ ἰδρυμέναι κοινῇ, Ἰώνων μὲν Χίος καὶ Τέως καὶ Φώκαια καὶ Κλαζομεναί, Δωριέων δὲ Ῥόδος καὶ Κνίδος καὶ Ἀλικαρνησὸς καὶ Φάσηλις, Αἰολέων δὲ ἡ Μυτιληναίων μούνη. ³ τούτων μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ τέμενος, καὶ προστάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίου αὐταὶ αἱ πόλεις εἰσὶ αἱ παρέχουσαι· ὅσαι δὲ

ἄλλαι πόλεις μεταποιεῦνται, οὐδέν σφι μετεὸν μεταποιεῦνται. χωρὶς δὲ Αἰγινῆται ἐπὶ ἐωυτῶν ιδρύσαντο τέμενος Διός, καὶ ἄλλο Σάμιοι Ἦρης καὶ Μιλήσιοι Απόλλωνος.

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¹ ἦν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν μούνη Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτου· εἰ δέ τις ἐς τῶν τι ἄλλο στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου ἀπύκοιτο, χρῆν ὁμόσαι μὴ μὲν ἐκόντα ἐλθεῖν, ἀπομόσαντα δὲ τῇ νηὶ αὐτῇ πλέειν ἐς τὸ Κανωβικόν· ἢ εἰ μὴ γε οἷά τε εἴη πρὸς ἀνέμους ἀντίους πλέειν, τὰ φορτία ἔδεε περιάγειν ἐν βάρισι περὶ τὸ Δέλτα, μέχρι οὗ ἀπύκοιτο ἐς Ναύκρατιν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ναύκρατις ἐτετίμητο.

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¹ ἀμφικτυόνων δὲ μισθωσάντων τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι νῦν ἐόντα νηὸν τριηκοσίων ταλάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι (ὁ γὰρ πρότερον ἐὼν αὐτόθι αὐτόματος κατεκάη), τοὺς Δελφοὺς δὴ ἐπέβαλλε τεταρτημόριον τοῦ μισθώματος παρασχεῖν. ² πλανώμενοι δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ περὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐδωτίναζον, ποιεῦντες δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἠγεύκοντο· Ἄμασις μὲν γὰρ σφι ἔδωκε χίλια στυπηρῆς τάλαντα, οἱ δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντες Ἑλληνας εἴκοσι μνέας.

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¹ Κυρηναίοισι δὲ Ἄμασις φιλότητά τε καὶ συμμαχίην συνεθήκατο, ἐδικαίωσε δὲ καὶ γῆμαι αὐτόθεν, εἶτ' ἐπιθυμήσας Ἑλληνίδος γυναικὸς εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως φιλότητος Κυρηναίων εἵνεκα· ² γαμέει δὲ ὧν οἱ μὲν λέγουσι Βάττου οἱ δ' Ἀρκεσίλειω θυγατέρα, οἱ δὲ Κριτοβούλου ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Λαδίκη· τῇ ἐπεῖτε συγκλίνοιτο ὁ Ἄμασις, μίσγεσθαι οὐκ οἷός τε ἐγίνετο, τῇσι δὲ ἄλλησι γυναιξὶ ἐχρᾶτο. ³ ἐπεῖτε δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, εἶπε ὁ Ἄμασις πρὸς τὴν Λαδίκην ταύτην καλεομένην, “ὦ γύναι, κατὰ με ἐφάρμαζας, καὶ ἔστι τοι οὐδεμία μηχανὴ μὴ οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι κάκιστα γυναικῶν πασέων “. ⁴ ἢ δὲ Λαδίκη, ἐπεῖτε οἱ ἀρνευμένη οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πρηϋτερος ὁ Ἄμασις, εὐχεται ἐν τῷ νόῳ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, ἣν οἱ ὑπ' ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα μιχθῇ ὁ Ἄμασις, τοῦτο γὰρ οἱ κακοῦ εἶναι μῆχος, ἄγαλμά οἱ ἀποπέμψειν ἐς Κυρήνην. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτίκα οἱ ἐμίχθη ὁ Ἄμασις. καὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἦδη, ὁκότε ἔλθοι Ἄμασις πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐμίσγετο, καὶ κάρτα μιν ἔστερξε μετὰ τοῦτο. ⁵ ἢ δὲ Λαδίκη

ἀπέδωκε τὴν εὐχὴν τῇ θεῷ· ποιησαμένη γὰρ ἄγαλμα ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Κυρήνην, τὸ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν σόον, ἔξω τετραμμένον τοῦ Κυρηναίων ἄστεος. ταύτην τὴν Λαδίκην, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε Καμβύσης Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτῆς ἥτις εἶη, ἀπέπεμψε ἀσινέα ἐς Κυρήνην.

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¹ ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀναθήματα ὁ Ἄμασις ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς Κυρήνην ἄγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον Ἀθηναίης καὶ εἰκόνας ἐωυτοῦ γραφῇ εἰκασμένην, τοῦτο δὲ τῇ ἐν Λίνδῳ Ἀθηναίῃ δύο τε ἀγάλματα λίθινα καὶ θώρηκα λίνεον ἀξιοθέητον, τοῦτο δ' ἐς Σάμον τῇ Ἥρῃ εἰκόνας ἐωυτοῦ διφασίας ξυλίνας, αἱ ἐν τῷ νηῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἰδρύατο ἔτι καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, ὅπισθε τῶν θυρέων. ² ἐς μὲν νυν Σάμον ἀνέθηκε κατὰ ξεινίην τὴν ἐωυτοῦ τε καὶ Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Αἰάκεος, ἐς δὲ Λίνδον ξεινίης μὲν οὐδεμιῆς εἶνεκεν, ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Λίνδῳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίης λέγεται τὰς Δαναοῦ θυγατέρας ἰδρύσασθαι προσσχούσας, ὅτε ἀπεδίδρησκον τοὺς Αἰγύπτου παῖδας. ταῦτα μὲν ἀνέθηκε ὁ Ἄμασις, εἶλε δὲ Κύπρον πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων καὶ κατεστρέψατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν.

Βιβλίο Γ - Θάλεια

1

1 Ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἄμασιν Καμβύσης ὁ Κύρου ἐστρατεύετο, ἄγων καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἤρχε καὶ Ἑλλήνων Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας, δι' αἰτίην τοιήνδε· πέμψας Καμβύσης ἐς Αἴγυπτον κήρυκα αἶτεε Ἄμασιν θυγατέρα, αἶτεε δὲ ἐκ [συμ]βουλῆς ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου, ὃς μεμφόμενος Ἄμασιν ἔπρηξε ταῦτα ὅτι μιν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἡτηρῶν ἀποσπάσας ἀπὸ γυναικός τε καὶ τέκνων ἔκδοτον ἐποίησε ἐς Πέρσας, ὅτε Κῦρος πέμψας παρὰ Ἄμασιν αἶτεε ἡτηρὸν ὀφθαλμῶν ὃς εἶη ἄριστος τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. 2 Ταῦτα δὴ ἐπιμεμφόμενος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἐνήγε τῇ συμβουλῇ κελεύων αἰτέειν τὸν Καμβύσεια Ἄμασιν θυγατέρα, ἵνα ἢ δοὺς ἀνιῶτο ἢ μὴ δοὺς Καμβύσει ἀπέχθοιτο. Ὁ δὲ Ἄμασις τῇ δυνάμει τῶν Περσέων ἀχθόμενος καὶ ἀρρώδεων οὐκ εἶχε οὔτε δοῦναι οὔτε ἀρνήσασθαι· εὖ γὰρ ἠπίστατο ὅτι οὐκ ὥς γυναικᾶ μιν ἔμελλε Καμβύσης ἐξεῖν ἀλλ' ὥς παλλακὴν. 3 Ταῦτα δὴ ἐκλογιζόμενος ἐποίησε τάδε· ἦν Ἀπρίεω τοῦ προτέρου βασιλέος θυγάτηρ κάρτα μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐειδής, μούνη τοῦ οἴκου λελειμμένη, οὐνομα δέ οἱ ἦν Νίτητις· ταύτην δὴ τὴν παῖδα ὁ Ἄμασις κοσμήσας ἐσθῆτί τε καὶ χρυσῷ ἀποπέμπει ἐς Πέρσας ὥς ἐωυτοῦ θυγατέρα. 4 μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ὥς μιν ἡσπάζετο πατρώθεν ὀνομάζων, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ παῖς “ὦ βασιλεῦ, διαβεβλημένος ὑπὸ Ἀμάσιος οὐ μανθάνεις. ὃς ἐμὲ σοὶ κόσμῳ ἀσκήσας ἀπέπεμψε ὥς ἐωυτοῦ θυγατέρα διδούς, ἐοῦσαν τῇ ἀληθείῃ Ἀπρίεω, τὸν ἐκεῖνος ἐόντα ἐωυτοῦ δεσπότεν μετ' Αἰγυπτίων ἐπαναστὰς ἐφόνευσσε ...” 5 Τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἔπος καὶ αὕτη ἡ αἰτίη ἐγγενομένη ἤγαγε Καμβύσεια τὸν Κύρου μεγάλως θυμωθέντα ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον.

2

1 Οὕτω μὲν νυν λέγουσι Πέρσαι. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ οἰκηιοῦνται Καμβύσεια, φάμενοί μιν ἐκ ταύτης δὴ τῆς Ἀπρίεω θυγατρὸς γενέσθαι· Κῦρον γὰρ εἶναι τὸν πέμψαντα παρὰ Ἄμασιν ἐπὶ τὴν θυγατέρα, ἀλλ' οὐ Καμβύσεια. Λέγοντες δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγουσι. 2 Οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ λέληθε αὐτούς (εἰ γὰρ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι, τὰ Περσέων νόμιμα ἐπιστέαται καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι) ὅτι πρῶτα μὲν νόθον οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ βασιλεῦσαι γνησίου παρεόντος, αὗτις δὲ ὅτι

Κασσανδάνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεω θυγατρὸς ἦν παῖς Καμβύσης, ἀνδρὸς Ἀχαιμενίδεω, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίης. Ἀλλὰ παρατρέπουσι τὸν λόγον προσποιούμενοι τῇ Κύρου οἰκίῃ συγγενέες εἶναι. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὧδε ἔχει.

3

¹ Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὅδε λόγος, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιθανός, ὥς τῶν Περσίδων γυναικῶν ἐσελθοῦσά τις παρὰ τὰς Κύρου γυναῖκας, ὥς εἶδε τῇ Κασσανδάνῃ παρεστεῶτα τέκνα εὐειδέα τε καὶ μεγάλα, πολλῷ ἐχρᾶτο τῷ ἐπαίνῳ ὑπερθωμάζουσα, ἡ δὲ Κασσανδάνη ἐοῦσα τοῦ Κύρου γυνὴ εἶπε τάδε· ² “Τοιῶνδε μέντοι ἐμὲ παίδων μητέρα ἐοῦσαν Κῦρος ἐν ἀτιμίῃ ἔχει, τὴν δὲ ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου ἐπικτήτην ἐν τιμῇ τίθεται ... Τὴν μὲν ἀχθομένην τῇ Νιτήτι εἰπεῖν ταῦτα, τῶν δὲ οἱ παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτερον εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεα· ³ “Τοιγάρ τοι ὦ μήτερ, ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ γένωμαι ἀνὴρ, Αἰγύπτου τὰ μὲν ἄνω κάτω θήσω, τὰ δὲ κάτω ἄνω ... Ταῦτα εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ἔτεα ὥς δέκα κου γεγονότα, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν θάματι γενέσθαι· τὸν δὲ διαμνημονεύοντα οὕτω δὴ, ἐπεῖτε ἀνδρώθη καὶ ἔσχε τὴν βασιληίην, ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον στρατηίην.

4

¹ Συνήνεικε δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι τοιόνδε πρῆγμα γενέσθαι ἐς τὴν ἐπιστράτευσιν ταύτην· ἦν τῶν ἐπικούρων [τῶν] Ἀμάσιος ἀνὴρ γένος μὲν Ἀλικαρνησέως, οὖνομα δὲ οἱ Φάνης, καὶ γνώμην ἱκανὸς καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἄλκιμος. ² Οὗτος ὁ Φάνης μεμφόμενός κού τι Ἀμάσι ἐκδιδρῆσκει πλοίῳ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, βουλόμενος Καμβύσῃ ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους. Οἷα δὲ ἐόντα αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖσι ἐπικούροις λόγου οὐ σμικροῦ ἐπιστάμενόν τε τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἀτρεκέστατα, μεταδιώκει ὁ Ἄμασις σπουδὴν ποιεύμενος ἐλεῖν, μεταδιώκει δὲ τῶν εὐνούχων τὸν πιστότατον ἀποστείλας τριήρεϊ κατ’ αὐτόν, ὃς αἰρέει μιν ἐν Λυκίῃ, ἐλὼν δὲ οὐκ ἀνήγαγε ἐς Αἴγυπτον· σοφίῃ γάρ μιν περιῆλθε ὁ Φάνης. ³ Καταμεθύσας γὰρ τοὺς φυλάκους ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς Πέρσας. Ὁρμημένῳ δὲ στρατεύεσθαι Καμβύσῃ ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἔλασιν, ὅπως τὴν ἄνυδρον διεκπερᾷ, ἐπελθὼν φράζει μὲν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ Ἀμάσιος πρήγματα, ἐξηγέεται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἔλασιν, ὧδε παραινέων, πέμψαντα παρὰ τὸν Ἀραβίων βασιλέα δέεσθαι τὴν διέξοδόν οἱ ἀσφαλέα παρασχεῖν.

5

1 Μούνη δὲ ταύτη εἰσὶ φανεραὶ ἐσβολαὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἀπὸ γὰρ Φοινίκης μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Καδύτιος πόλιος [ἧ] ἐστὶ Σύρων τῶν Παλαιστίνων καλεομένων· 2 ἀπὸ δὲ Καδύτιος ἐούσης πόλιος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, Σαρδίων οὐ πολλῶ ἐλάσσονος, ἀπὸ ταύτης τὰ ἐμπόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέχρι Ἰηνύσου πόλιος ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰηνύσου αὐτὶς Σύρων μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἣν δὴ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει ἐς θάλασσαν· 3 ἀπὸ δὲ Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, ἐν τῇ δὴ λόγος τὸν Τυφῶ κεκρύφθαι, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤδη Αἴγυπτος. Τὸ δὴ μεταξὺ Ἰηνύσου πόλιος καὶ Κασίου τε ὄρεος καὶ τῆς Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, ἐδὸν τοῦτο οὐκ ὀλίγον χωρίον ἀλλὰ ὅσον τε ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδόν, ἄνυδρον ἐστὶ δεινῶς.

6

1 Τὸ δὲ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ναυτιλλομένων ἐννενώκασι, τοῦτο ἔρχομαι φράσω. Ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάσης καὶ πρὸς ἐκ Φοινίκης κέραμος ἐσάγεται πλήρης οἴνου δις τοῦ ἔτεος ἐκάστου, καὶ ἐν κεράμιον οἴνηρὸν ἀριθμῶ κεινὸν οὐκ ἔστι ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἰδέσθαι. 2 Κοῦ δῆτα, εἴποι τις ἄν, ταῦτα ἀναισιμουταί; Ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω. Δεῖ τὸν μὲν δήμαρχον ἕκαστον ἐκ τῆς ἐσωτοῦ πόλιος συλλέξαντα πάντα τὸν κέραμον ἄγειν ἐς Μέμφιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ Μέμφιος ἐς ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἄνυδρα τῆς Συρίας κομίζειν πλῆσαντας ὕδατος. Οὕτω ὁ ἐπιφοιτέων κέραμος καὶ ἐξαιρεόμενος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπὶ τὸν παλαιὸν κομίζεται ἐς Συρίην.

7

1 Οὕτω μὲν νυν Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἱ τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτην παρασκευάσαντες ἐς Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ δὴ τὰ εἰρημένα σάξαντες ὕδατι, ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα παρέλαβον Αἴγυπτον. 2 Τότε δὲ οὐκ ἐόντος κω ὕδατος ἐτοίμου, Καμβύσης πυθόμενος τοῦ Ἀλικαρνησέος ξείνου, πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Ἀράβιον ἀγγέλους καὶ δεηθεὶς τῆς ἀσφαλείης ἔτυχε, πίστις δούς τε καὶ δεξάμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ.

8

1 Σέβονται δὲ Ἀράβιοι πίστις ἀνθρώπων ὅμοια τοῖσι μάλιστα. Ποιεῦνται δὲ αὐτὰς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· τῶν βουλομένων τὰ πιστὰ ποιέεσθαι ἄλλος ἀνὴρ, ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ἐστεῶς, λίθῳ ὀξεί

τὸ ἔσω τῶν χειρῶν παρὰ τοὺς δακτύλους τοὺς μεγάλους ἐπιτάμνει τῶν ποιευμένων τὰς πίστις, καὶ ἔπειτα λαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἱματίου ἑκατέρου κροκύδα ἀλείφει τῷ αἵματι ἐν μέσῳ κειμένους λίθους ἐπτά· τοῦτο δὲ ποιῶν ἐπικαλέει τε τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην. 2 Ἐπιτελέσαντος δὲ τούτου ταῦτα, ὁ τὰς πίστις ποιησάμενος τοῖσι φίλοισι παρεγγυᾷ τὸν ξεῖνον ἢ καὶ τὸν ἀστὸν, ἦν πρὸς ἀστὸν ποιέηται· οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς πίστις δικαιοῦσι σέβεσθαι. 3 Διόνυσον δὲ θεῶν μούνον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην ἡγέονται εἶναι, καὶ τῶν τριῶν τὴν κουρὴν κείρεσθαι φασὶ κατὰ περ αὐτὸν τὸν Διόνυσον κεκάρθαι· κείρονται δὲ περιτροχάλα, ὑποξυρῶντες τοὺς κροτάφους. Ὀνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον Ὀροτάλτ, τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην Ἀλιλάτ.

9

1 Ἐπεὶ ὦν τὴν πίστιν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοις τοῖσι παρὰ Καμβύσεω ἀπιγμένοις ἐποιήσατο ὁ Ἀράβιος, ἐμηχανᾶτο τοιάδε· ἀσκούς καμήλων πλήσας, ὕδατος ἐπέσαξε ἐπὶ τὰς ζῶας τῶν καμήλων πάσας, τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἄνυδρον καὶ ὑπέμενε ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Καμβύσεω στρατόν. 2 Οὗτος μὲν ὁ πιθανώτερος τῶν λόγων εἴρηται, δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥσσον πιθανόν,, ἐπεὶ γε δὴ λέγεται, ῥηθῆναι. Ποταμός ἐστι μέγας ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίῃ τῷ οὐνομα Κόρυς, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην θάλασσαν· 3 Ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ ὦν τοῦ ποταμοῦ λέγεται τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀραβίων, ῥαψάμενον [τῶν] ὠμοβοέων καὶ [τῶν] ἄλλων δερμάτων ὀχετὸν μήκει ἐξικνεύμενον ἐς τὴν ἄνυδρον, ἀγαγεῖν διὰ δὴ τούτων τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐν δὲ τῇ, ἀνύδρῳ μεγάλας δεξαμενὰς ὀρύξασθαι, ἵνα δεκόμεναι τὸ ὕδωρ σώζωσι 4 (ὁδὸς δ' ἐστὶ δυνάδεκα ἡμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἄνυδρον), ἄγειν δέ μιν δι' ὀχετῶν [τριῶν] ἐς τριζὰ χωρία.

10

1 Ἐν δὲ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ καλεομένῳ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου ἐστρατοπεδεύετο Ψαμμήνιτος ὁ Ἀμάσιος παῖς ὑπομένων Καμβύσεα. 2 Ἄμασιν γὰρ οὐ κατέλαβε ζῶντα Καμβύσης ἐλάσας ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλὰ βασιλεύσας ὁ Ἄμασις τέσσερα καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα ἀπέθανε, ἐν τοῖσι οὐδέν οἱ μέγα ἀνάρσιον πρῆγμα συνηείχθη. Ἀποθανὼν δὲ καὶ ταριχευθεὶς ἐτάφη ἐν τῇσι ταφῇσι [τῇσι] ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ, τὰς αὐτὸς οἰκοδομήσατο. 3 Ἐπὶ Ψαμμηνίτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος

βασιλεύοντος Αιγύπτου φάσμα Αιγυπτίοις μέγιστον δὴ ἐγένετο· Ὑσθησαν γὰρ Θῆβαι αἱ Αἰγύπτιαι, οὔτε πρότερον οὐδαμὰ ὑσθεῖσαι οὔτε ὕστερον τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, ὡς λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Θηβαῖοι. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὕεται τὰ ἄνω τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παράπαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ὕσθησαν αἱ Θῆβαι ψακάδι.

11

¹ Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπεῖτε διεξέλασαντες τὴν ἄνυδρον ἵζοντο πέλας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὡς συμβαλέοντες, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἐπίκουροι οἱ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, ἐόντες ἄνδρες Ἕλληνές τε καὶ Κᾶρες, μεμφόμενοι τῷ Φάνῃ ὅτι στρατὸν ἤγαγε ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἀλλόθροον, μηχανῶνται πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιόνδε· ² ἦσαν τῷ Φάνῃ παῖδες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καταλελειμμένοι, τοὺς ἀγαγόντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐς ὄψιν τοῦ πατρὸς κρητῆρα ἐν μέσῳ ἔστησαν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων, μετὰ δὲ ἀγινέοντες κατὰ ἓνα ἕκαστον τῶν παίδων ἔσφαζον ἐς τὸν κρητῆρα. ³ Διὰ πάντων δὲ διεξελθόντες τῶν παίδων οἶνόν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐσεφόρεον ἐς αὐτόν, ἐμπιόντες δὲ τοῦ αἵματος πάντες οἱ ἐπίκουροι οὕτω δὴ συνέβαλον. Μάχης δὲ γενομένης καρτερῆς καὶ πεσόντων [ἐξ] ἀμφοτέρων [τῶν στρατοπέδων] πλήθει πολλῶν ἐτράποντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι.

12

¹ Θῶμα δὲ μέγα εἶδον πυθόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων· τῶν γὰρ ὀστέων περικεχυμένων χωρὶς ἑκατέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ πεσόντων (χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ τῶν Περσέων ἔκειτο τὰ ὀστέα, ὡς ἐχωρίσθη κατ' ἀρχάς, ἐτέρωθι δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων), αἱ μὲν τῶν Περσέων κεφαλαὶ εἰσι ἀσθενέες οὕτω ὥστε, εἰ θέλεις ψήφῳ μούνη βαλεῖν, διατετρανέεις, αἱ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὕτω δὴ τι ἰσχυραί, μόγις ἂν λίθῳ παίσας διαρρήξῃς. ² Αἴτιον δὲ τούτου τότε ἔλεγον, καὶ ἐμέ γ' εὐπετέως ἔπειθον, ὅτι Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν αὐτίκα ἀπὸ παιδίων ἀρξάμενοι ξυρῶνται τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον παχύνεται τὸ ὀστέον. ³ Τούτῳ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τοῦ μὴ φαλακροῦσθαι αἰτιόν ἐστιν· Αἰγυπτίων γὰρ ἂν τις ἐλαχίστους ἴδοιτο φαλακροὺς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ⁴ Τούτοις μὲν δὴ τούτῳ ἐστὶ αἴτιον ἰσχυρὰς φορέειν τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσῃσι ὅτι ἀσθενέας φορέουσι τὰς κεφαλὰς, αἴτιον τότε· σκιητροφέουσι ἐξ ἀρχῆς πῖλους τιάρας φορέοντες. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν τοιαῦτα [ἐόντα εἶδον]. Εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὅμοια

τούτοισι ἐν Παπρήμι τῶν ἅμα Ἀχαιμένει τῷ Δαρείου διαφθαρέντων
ὑπὸ Ἰνάρῳ τοῦ Λίβυος.

13

1 Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὡς ἐτράποντο, ἔφευγον οὐδενὶ
κόσμῳ. Κατειληθέντων δὲ ἐς Μέμφιν, ἔπεμπε ἀνὰ ποταμὸν
Καμβύσης νέα Μυτιληναῖν κήρυκα ἄγουσαν ἄνδρα Πέρσην, ἐς
ὁμολογίην προκαλεόμενος Αἰγυπτίους. 2 Οἱ δὲ ἐπεῖτε τὴν νέα εἶδον
ἐσελθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, ἐκχυθέντες ἄλεες ἐκ τοῦ τείχεος τὴν τε
νέα διέφθειραν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας κρεουργηδὸν διασπάσαντες ἐφόρεον
ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. 3 Καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν μετὰ τοῦτο πολιορκεύμενοι χρόνῳ
παρέστησαν, οἱ δὲ προσεχέες Λίβυες δείσαντες τὰ περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον
γεγονότα παρέδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς ἀμαχητὶ καὶ φόρον τε ἐτάξαντο
καὶ δῶρα ἔπεμπον. Ὡς δὲ Κυρηναῖοι καὶ Βαρκαῖοι, δείσαντες ὁμοίως
καὶ οἱ Λίβυες, [ἕτερα] τοιαῦτα ἐποίησαν. 4 Καμβύσης δὲ τὰ μὲν
παρὰ Λιβύων ἐλθόντα δῶρα φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο· τὰ δὲ παρὰ
Κυρηναίων ἀπικόμενα μεμφθεῖς, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει, ὅτι ἦν ὀλίγα·
(ἔπεμψαν γὰρ δὴ πεντακοσίας μνέας ἀργυρίου οἱ Κυρηναῖοι)·
ταύτας δρασσόμενος αὐτοχειρίῃ διέσπειρε τῇ στρατιῇ.

14

1 Ἡμέρη δὲ δεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἧς παρέλαβε τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Μέμφι
Καμβύσης, κατίσας ἐς τὸ προάστειον ἐπὶ λύμῃ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν
Αἰγυπτίων Ψαμμήνιτον, βασιλεύσαντα μῆνας ἕξ, τοῦτον κατίσας σὺν
ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις διεπειρᾶτο αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ποιέων τοιάδε· 2
στείλας αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐσθῆτι δουλητὴ ἐξέπεμπε ἐπ' ὕδωρ
ἔχουσιν ὕδρηιον, συνέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἄλλας παρθένους ἀπολέξας
ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων, ὁμοίως ἐσταλμένας τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως. 3 Ὡς δὲ
βοῇ τε καὶ κλαυθμῷ παρήρισαν αἱ παρθένοι παρὰ τοὺς πατέρας, οἱ
μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἀντεβῶν τε καὶ ἀντέκλαιον ὀρῶντες τὰ τέκνα
κεκακωμένα, ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος προῖδὼν καὶ μαθὼν ἔκυψε ἐς τὴν γῆν.
4 Παρελθουσέων δὲ τῶν ὕδροφόρων, δευτέρᾳ οἱ τὸν παῖδα ἔπεμπε
μετ' ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων δισχυλίων τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην ἐχόντων, τοὺς τε
αὐχένας κάλῳ δεδεμένους καὶ τὰ στόματα ἐγκεχαλινωμένους· 5
ἦγοντο δὲ ποινὴν τίσοντες Μυτιληναίων τοῖσι ἐν Μέμφι
ἀπολομένοις σὺν τῇ νηί. Ταῦτα γὰρ ἐδίκασαν οἱ βασιλῆοι δικασταί,
ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἐκάστου δέκα Αἰγυπτίων τῶν πρώτων ἀνταπόλλυσθαι. 6

Ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν παρεξίοντας καὶ μαθὼν τὸν παῖδα ἡγεόμενον ἐπὶ θάνατον, τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων τῶν περικατημένων αὐτὸν κλαιόντων καὶ δεινὰ ποιούντων, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐποίησε καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ. 7 Παρελθόντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, συνήνεκε ὥστε τῶν συμποτέων οἱ ἄνδρα ἀπηλικέστερον, ἐκπετωκότα ἐκ τῶν ἐόντων ἔχοντά τε οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ ὅσα πτωχὸς καὶ προσαιτέοντα τὴν στρατιήν, παριέναι Ψαμμήνιτόν τε τὸν Ἀμάσιος καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ κατημένους Αἰγυπτίων. Ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος ὡς εἶδε, ἀνακλαύσας μέγα καὶ καλέσας ὀνομαστὶ τὸν ἐταῖρον ἐπλήξατο τὴν κεφαλὴν. 8 Ἦσαν δ' ἄρα αὐτοῦ φύλακοι, οἱ τὸ ποιούμενον πᾶν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐπ' ἐκάστη ἐξόδῳ Καμβύσῃ ἐσήμαινον. Θωμάσας δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης τὰ ποιούμενα, πέμψας ἄγγελον εἰρώτα αὐτὸν λέγων τάδε. 9 “Δεσπότης σε Καμβύσης, Ψαμμήνιτε, εἰρωτᾷ δι' ὅ τι δὴ τὴν μὲν θυγατέρα ὀρέων κεκακωμένην καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐπὶ θάνατον στείχοντα οὔτε ἀνέβωσας οὔτε ἀπέκλυσας, τὸν δὲ πτωχὸν οὐδὲν σοὶ προσήκοντα, ὡς ἄλλων πυνθάνεται, ἐτίμησας „. Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιν. 10 “Ὡ παῖ Κύρου, τὰ μὲν οἰκίῃ ἦν μέζω κακὰ ἢ ὥστε ἀνακλαίειν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐταίρου πένθος ἄξιον ἦν δακρύων, ὃς ἐκ πολλῶν τε καὶ εὐδαιμόνων ἐκπεσὼν ἐς πτωχήν ἀπίκται ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ „. Καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ὑπὸ τούτου εὖ δοκεῖν σφί εἰρησθαι, 11 ὡς [δὲ] λέγεται ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων, δακρύειν μὲν Κροῖσον (ἐτετεύχεε γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἐπισπόμενος Καμβύσῃ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτος), δακρύειν δὲ Περσέων τοὺς παρεόντας· αὐτῷ τε Καμβύσῃ ἐσελθεῖν οἶκτον τινά, καὶ αὐτίκα κελεῦειν τὸν τέ οἱ παῖδα ἐκ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων σῶζειν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ προαστείου ἀναστήσαντας ἄγειν παρ' ἐωυτόν.

15

1 Τὸν μὲν δὴ παῖδα εὗρον αὐτοῦ οἱ μετιόντες οὐκέτι περιέοντα ἀλλὰ πρῶτον κατακοπέντα, αὐτὸν δὲ Ψαμμήνιτον ἀναστήσαντες ἦγον παρὰ Καμβύσεα· 2 ἔνθα τοῦ λοιποῦ διαιτᾶτο ἔχων οὐδὲν βίαιον. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡπιστήθη μὴ πολυπρηγμονεῖν, ἀπέλαβε ἂν Αἴγυπτον ὥστε ἐπιτροπεύειν αὐτῆς, ἐπεὶ τιμὰν ἐώθασιν Πέρσαι τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς παῖδας· τῶν, εἰ καὶ σφέων ἀποστέωσι, ὅμως τοῖσι γε παισὶ αὐτῶν ἀποδιδούσι τὴν ἀρχήν. 3 Πολλοῖσι μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλοισι ἐστὶ σταθμώσασθαι ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτω νενομίκασι ποιεῖν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷ τε Ἰνάρῳ παιδὶ Θαννύρᾳ, ὃς ἀπέλαβε τὴν οἱ ὁ πατὴρ εἶχε ἀρχήν, καὶ τῷ

Ἀμυρταίου Πανσίρι· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἀπέλαβε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχήν. Καίτοι Ἰνάρω γε καὶ Ἀμυρταίου οὐδαμοὶ κω Πέρσας κακὰ πλέω ἐργάσαντο. 4 Νῦν δὲ μηχανώμενος κακὰ ὁ Ψαμμήνιτος ἔλαβε τὸν μισθόν· ἀπιστὰς γὰρ Αἰγυπτίους ἤλω· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐπαίστος ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Καμβύσει, αἷμα ταύρου πίων ἀπέθανε παραχρῆμα. Οὕτω δὴ οὗτος ἐτελεύτησε.

16

1 Καμβύσης δὲ ἐκ Μέμφιος ἀπίκητο ἐς Σάιν πόλιν, βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐποίησε. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ἐσῆλθε ἐς τὰ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος οἰκία, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε ἐκ τῆς ταφῆς τὸν Ἀμάσιος νέκυν ἐκφέρειν ἔξω· ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιτελεᾶ ἐγένετο, μαστιγοῦν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἀποτίλλειν καὶ κεντοῦν τε καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα λυμαίνεσθαι. 2 ἐπεῖτε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔκαμον ποιεῦντες (ὁ γὰρ δὴ νεκρὸς ἄτε τεταριχευμένος ἀντεῖχε τε καὶ οὐδὲν διεχέετο), ἐκέλευσέ μιν ὁ Καμβύσης κατακαῦσαι, ἐντελλόμενος οὐκ ὅσια· Πέρσαι γὰρ θεὸν νομίζουσι εἶναι πῦρ. 3 τὸ ὧν κατακαίειν γε τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδαμῶς ἐν νόμῳ οὐδετέροις ἐστί, Πέρσῃσι μὲν δι' ὃ περ εἴρηται, θεῷ οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι λέγοντες νέμειν νεκρὸν ἀνθρώπου· Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ νενόμισται πῦρ θηρίον εἶναι ἔμψυχον, πάντα δὲ αὐτὸ κατεσθίειν τὰ περ ἂν λάβῃ, πλησθὲν δὲ αὐτὸ τῆς βορῆς συναποθνήσκειν τῷ κατεσθιομένῳ. 4 οὐκ ὄν θηρίοις νόμος οὐδαμῶς σφί ἐστί τὸν νέκυν διδόναι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ταριχεύουσι, ἵνα μὴ κείμενος ὑπὸ εὐλέων καταβρωθῇ. οὕτω οὐδετέροις νομιζόμενα ἐνετέλλετο ποιέειν ὁ Καμβύσης. 5 ὥς μέντοι, Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι, οὐκ Ἄμασις ἦν ὁ ταῦτα παθών, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος τις τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔχων τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην Ἀμάσι, τῷ λυμαινόμενῳ Πέρσαι ἐδόκεον Ἀμάσι λυμαίνεσθαι. 6 λέγουσι γὰρ ὥς πυθόμενος ἐκ μαντηίου ὁ Ἄμασις τὰ περὶ ἐωυτὸν ἀποθανόντα μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀκεόμενος τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον τὸν μαστιγωθέντα ἀποθανόντα ἔθαψε ἐπὶ τῇσι θύρῃσι ἐντὸς τῆς ἐωυτοῦ θήκης, ἐωυτὸν δὲ ἐνετείλατο τῷ παιδὶ ἐν μυκῷ τῆς θήκης ὥς μάλιστα θεῖναι. 7 αἱ μὲν νυν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος ἐντολαὶ αὗται αἱ ἐς τὴν ταφὴν τε καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχουσαι οὗ μοι δοκέουσι ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι, ἄλλως δ' αὐτὰ Αἰγύπτιοι σεμνοῦν.

17

1 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐβουλεύσατο τριφασίας στρατηίας,

ἐπὶ τε Καρχηδονίους καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀμμωνίους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας, οἰκημένους δὲ Λιβύης ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσῃ· 2 βουλευομένων δέ οἱ ἔδοξε ἐπὶ μὲν Καρχηδονίους τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ἀποστέλλειν, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀμμωνίους τοῦ πεζοῦ ἀποκρίναντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας κατόπτας πρῶτον, ὁπομένους τε τὴν ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι Αἰθίοσι λεγομένην εἶναι ἡλίου τράπεζαν εἰ ἔστι ἀληθές, καὶ πρὸς ταύτῃ τὰ ἄλλα κατοπομένους, δῶρα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ φέροντας τῷ βασιλεὶ αὐτῶν.

18

¹ Ἡ δὲ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου τοιήδε τις λέγεται εἶναι, λειμὼν ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐπίπλεος κρεῶν ἐφθῶν πάντων τῶν τετραπόδων, ἐς τὸν τὰς μὲν νύκτας ἐπιτηδεύοντας τιθέναι τὰ κρέα τοὺς ἐν τέλει ἐκάστοτε ἐόντας τῶν ἀστῶν, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας δαίνυσθαι προσιόντα τὸν βουλόμενον. φάναι δὲ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ταῦτα τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἀναδιδόναι ἐκάστοτε.

19

¹ Ἡ μὲν δὴ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου καλεομένη λέγεται εἶναι τοιήδε. Καμβύση δὲ ὡς ἔδοξε πέμπειν τοὺς κατασκόπους, αὐτίκα μετεπέμπετο ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς ἐπισταμένους τὴν Αἰθιοπίδα γλῶσσαν. ² ἐν ᾧ δὲ τούτους μετήσαν, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκέλευε ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα πλέειν τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατόν. Φοίνικες δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν ποιήσειν ταῦτα· ὀρκίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοις ἐνδεδέσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποιέειν ὅσα ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐωυτῶν στρατευόμενοι. Φοινίκων δὲ οὐ βουλομένων οἱ λοιποὶ οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι ἐγίνοντο. ³ Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν νυν οὕτω δουλοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων· Καμβύσης γὰρ βίην οὐκ ἐδικαίου προσφέρειν Φοινίξι, ὅτι σφέας τε αὐτοὺς ἐδεδώκεσαν Πέρσῃσι καὶ πᾶς ἐκ Φοινίκων ἥρτητο ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός. δόντες δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι σφέας αὐτοὺς Πέρσῃσι ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον.

20

¹ Ἐπεῖτε δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ ἐκ τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης ἀπίκοντο οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, ἔπεμπε αὐτοὺς ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρῆν καὶ δῶρα φέροντας πορφύρεόν τε εἶμα καὶ χρύσειον στρεπτὸν περιουχένιον καὶ ψέλια καὶ μύρου ἀλάβαστρον καὶ φοινικίου οἴνου

κάδον. οἱ δὲ Αἰθίοπες οὗτοι, ἐς τοὺς ἀπέπεμπε ὁ Καμβύσης, λέγονται εἶναι μέγιστοι καὶ κάλλιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων. 2 νόμοισι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοισι χρᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς κεχωρισμένοισι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὴν βασιληίην τοιῷδε· τὸν ἂν τῶν ἀστῶν κρίνωσι μέγιστόν τε εἶναι καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέγαθος ἔχειν τὴν ἰσχύν, τοῦτον ἀξιοῦσι βασιλεύειν.

21

1 Ἐς τούτους δὴ ὧν τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἀπίκοντο οἱ Ἴχθυοφάγοι, διδόντες τὰ δῶρα τῷ, βασιλεί αὐτῶν ἔλεγον τάδε. “βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσέων Καμβύσης, βουλόμενος φίλος καὶ ξεῖνός τοι γενέσθαι, ἡμέας τε ἀπέπεμψε ἐς λόγους τοι ἐλθεῖν κελεύων, καὶ δῶρα ταῦτα τοι διδοῖ τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἦδεται χρεώμενος,, 2 ὁ δὲ Αἰθίοψ μαθὼν ὅτι κατόπται ἦκοιεν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε. “οὔτε ὁ Περσέων βασιλεὺς δῶρα ὑμέας ἔπεμψε φέροντας προτιμῶν πολλοῦ ἐμοὶ ξεῖνος γενέσθαι, οὔτε ὑμεῖς λέγετε ἀληθεᾶ (ἦκετε γὰρ κατόπται τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς), οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ δίκαιος. εἰ γὰρ ἦν δίκαιος, οὔτ’ ἂν ἐπεθύμησε χώρας ἄλλης ἢ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ, οὔτ’ ἂν ἐς δουλοσύνην ἀνθρώπους ἦγε ὑπ’ ὧν μηδὲν ἡδίκηται. νῦν δὲ αὐτῷ τόξον τόδε διδόντες τάδε ἔπεα λέγετε,, 3 βασιλεὺς ὁ Αἰθιόπων συμβουλεύει τῷ Περσέων βασιλεί, ἐπεὰν οὕτω εὐπετέως ἔλκωσι τὰ τόξα Πέρσαι ἐόντα μεγάθει τοσαῦτα, τότε ἐπ’ Αἰθίοπας τοὺς μακροβίους πλήθει ὑπερβαλλόμενον στρατεύεσθαι· μέχρι δὲ τούτου θεοῖσι εἰδέναι χάριν, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον τρέπουσι Αἰθιόπων παισὶ γῆν ἄλλην προσκτᾶσθαι τῇ ἐωυτῶν,,

22

1 Ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἀνείς τὸ τόξον παρέδωκε τοῖσι ἤκουσι. λαβὼν δὲ τὸ εἶμα τὸ πορφύρεον εἰρώτα ὃ τι εἶη καὶ ὅκως πεποιημένον· εἰπόντων δὲ τῶν Ἴχθυοφάγων τὴν ἀληθεῖν περὶ τῆς πορφύρης καὶ τῆς βαφῆς, δολεροὺς μὲν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔφη εἶναι, δολερά δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ εἶματα. 2 δεύτερα δὲ τὸν χρυσὸν εἰρώτα τὸν στρεπτόν τὸν περιουχένιον καὶ τὰ ψέλια· ἐξηγεομένων δὲ τῶν Ἴχθυοφάγων τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῦ, γελάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ νομίσας εἶναι σφέα πέδας εἶπε ὡς παρ’ ἐωυτοῖσι εἰσὶ ῥωμαλεώτεραι τουτέων πέδαι. 3 τρίτον δὲ εἰρώτα τὸ μύρον· εἰπόντων δὲ τῆς ποιήσιος πέρι καὶ ἀλείψιος, τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τὸν καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἵματος εἶπε. ὡς δὲ ἐς

τὸν οἶνον ἀπίκετο καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ τὴν ποίησιν, ὑπερησθεὶς τῷ πόματι ἐπέειρετο ὃ τι τε σιτέεται ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ χρόνον ὁκόσον μακρότατον ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ζῶει. 4 οἱ δὲ σιτέεσθαι μὲν τὸν ἄρτον εἶπον, ἐξηγησάμενοι τῶν πυρῶν τὴν φύσιν, ὀγδώκοντα δὲ ἔτεα ζῆς πλήρωμα ἀνδρὶ μακρότατον προκεῖσθαι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Αἰθίοψ ἐφη οὐδὲν θωμάζειν εἰ σιτεόμενοι κόπρον ἔτεα ὀλίγα ζώουσι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν τοσαῦτα δύνασθαι ζῶειν σφέας, εἰ μὴ τῷ πόματι ἀνέφερον, φράζων τοῖσι Ἰχθυοφάγοις τὸν οἶνον· τούτῳ γὰρ ἑωυτοὺς ὑπὸ Περσέων ἐσσοῦσθαι.

23

1 Ἀντειρομένων δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῆς ζῆς καὶ διαίτης πέρι, ἔτεα μὲν ἐς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπικνέεσθαι, ὑπερβάλλειν δὲ τινὰς καὶ ταῦτα, σίτησιν δὲ εἶναι κρέα τε ἐφθὰ καὶ πόμα γάλα. 2 θῶμα δὲ ποιευμένων τῶν κατασκόπων περὶ τῶν ἐτέων, ἐπὶ κρήνην σφι ἡγήσασθαι, ἀπ' ἧς λουόμενοι λιπαρώτεροι ἐγίνοντο, κατὰ περ εἰ ἐλαίου εἶη· ὄζειν δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὡς εἰ ἴων. 3 ἀσθενὲς δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς κρήνης ταύτης οὕτω δὴ τι ἔλεγον εἶναι οἱ κατάσκοποι ὥστε μηδὲν οἶόν τ' εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέειν, μήτε ξύλον μήτε τῶν ὅσα ξύλου ἐστὶ ἐλαφρότερα, ἀλλὰ πάντα σφέα χωρέειν ἐς βυσσόν. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τοῦτο εἴ σφι ἐστὶ ἀληθῆως οἶόν τι λέγεται, διὰ τοῦτο ἂν εἶεν, τούτῳ τὰ πάντα χρεώμενοι, μακρόβιοι. 4 ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης δὲ ἀπαλλασσομένων, ἀγαγεῖν σφεας ἐς δεσμοπήριον ἀνδρῶν, ἔνθα τοὺς πάντας ἐν πέδησι χρυσέησι δεδέσθαι. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι Αἰθίοψι πάντων ὁ χαλκὸς σπανιώτατον καὶ τιμιώτατον. θεησάμενοι δὲ καὶ τὸ δεσμοπήριον, ἐθεήσαντο καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένην τράπεζαν.

24

1 Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τελευταίας ἐθεήσαντο τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν, αἱ λέγονται σκευάζεσθαι ἐξ ὑέλου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· 2 ἐπεὰν τὸν νεκρὸν ἰσχήνῃωσι, εἴτε δὴ κατὰ περ Αἰγύπτιοι εἴτε ἄλλως κως, γυψώσαντες ἅπαντα αὐτὸν γραφῇ κοσμέουσι, ἐξομοιεῦντες τὸ εἶδος ἐς τὸ δυνατόν, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ περιμιστᾷσι στήλην ἐξ ὑέλου πεποιημένην κοίλῃν· ἡ δὲ σφι πολλὴ καὶ εὐεργὸς ὀρύσσεται. 3 ἐν μέσῃ δὲ τῇ στήλῃ ἐνεὼν διαφαίνεται ὁ νέκυς, οὔτε ὁδμήν οὐδεμίαν ἄχαριν παρεχόμενος οὔτε ἄλλο ἀεικὲς οὐδέν, καὶ ἔχει πάντα φανερά ὁμοίως

αὐτῷ τῷ νέκυϊ. 4 ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν δὴ ἔχουσι τὴν στήλην ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι οἱ μάλιστα προσήκοντες, πάντων ἀπαρχόμενοι καὶ θυσίας οἱ προσάγοντες· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκομίσαντες ἰστᾶσι περὶ τὴν πόλιν.

25

1 Θεσάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα οἱ κατάσκοποι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω. ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ ταῦτα τούτων, αὐτίκα ὁ Καμβύσης ὀργὴν ποιησάμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας, οὔτε παρασκευὴν σίτου οὐδεμίαν παραγγείλας, οὔτε λόγον ἐωυτῷ δοὺς ὅτι ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα γῆς ἔμελλε στρατεύεσθαι. 2 οἷα δὲ ἐμμανὴς τε ἐὼν καὶ οὐ φρενήρης, ὥς ἤκουε τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, ἐστρατεύετο, Ἑλλήνων μὲν τοὺς παρεόντας αὐτοῦ τάξας ὑπομένειν, τὸν δὲ πεζὸν πάντα ἅμα ἀγόμενος. 3 ἐπεῖτε δὲ στρατευόμενος ἐγένετο ἐν Θήβῃσι, ἀπέκρινε τοῦ στρατοῦ ὥς πέντε μυριάδας, καὶ τούτοις μὲν ἐνετέλλετο Ἀμμωνίους ἑξάνδραποδισαμένους τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἐμπρῆσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν ἄγων στρατὸν ἦε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας. 4 πρὶν δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος διεληλυθῆναι τὴν στρατιήν, αὐτίκα πάντα αὐτοὺς τὰ εἶχον σιτίων ἐχόμενα ἐπελελοίπεε, μετὰ δὲ τὰ σιτία καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐπέλιπε κατεσθιόμενα. 5 εἰ μὲν νυν μαθὼν ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐγνωσιμάχεε καὶ ἀπῆγε ὀπίσω τὸν στρατόν, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇθεν γενομένη ἁμαρτάδι ἣν ἂν ἀνὴρ σοφός· νῦν δὲ οὐδένα λόγον ποιεύμενος ἦε αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω. 6 οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἕως μὲν τι εἶχον ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαμβάνειν, ποιηφαγέοντες διέζωον, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον ἀπίκοντο, δεινὸν ἔργον αὐτῶν τινες ἐργάσαντο· ἐκ δεκάδος γὰρ ἕνα σφέων αὐτῶν ἀποκληρώσαντες κατέφαγον. 7 πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης, δεῖσας τὴν ἀλληλοφαγίην, ἀπείσ τὸν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας στόλον ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Θήβας πολλοὺς ἀπολέσας τοῦ στρατοῦ· ἐκ Θηβέων δὲ καταβὰς ἐς Μέμφιν τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀπῆκε ἀποπλέειν.

26

1 Ὁ μὲν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας στόλος οὕτω ἔπρηξε· οἱ δ' αὐτῶν ἐπ' Ἀμμωνίους ἀποσταλέντες στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπεῖτε ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ τῶν Θηβέων ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες ἀγωγούς, ἀπικόμενοι μὲν φανεροί εἰσι ἐς Ὅασιν πόλιν, τὴν ἔχουσι μὲν Σάμιοι τῆς Αἰσχυριωνίης φυλῆς λεγόμενοι εἶναι, ἀπέχουσι δὲ ἑπτὰ ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Θηβέων διὰ ψάμμου· ὀνομάζεται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος κατὰ Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν

Μακάρων νῆσος. 2 ἐς μὲν δὴ τοῦτον τὸν χώρον λέγεται ἀπικέσθαι τὸν στρατὸν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δέ, ὅτι μὴ αὐτοὶ Ἀμμώνιοι καὶ οἱ τούτων ἀκούσαντες, ἄλλοι οὐδένες οὐδὲν ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τοὺς Ἀμμωνίους ἀπίκοντο οὔτε ὀπίσω ἐνόστησαν. 3 λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τάδε ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀμμωνίων· ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῆς Ὀάσιος ταύτης ἰέναι διὰ τῆς ψάμμου ἐπὶ σφέας, γενέσθαι τε αὐτοὺς μεταξύ κου μάλιστα αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῆς Ὀάσιος, ἄριστον αἰρεομένοισι αὐτοῖσι ἐπιπνεῦσαι νότον μέγαν τε καὶ ἐξαίσιον, φορέοντα δὲ θῖνας τῆς ψάμμου καταχῶσαι σφέας, καὶ τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ ἀφανισθῆναι. Ἀμμώνιοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι γενέσθαι περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς ταύτης.

27

1 Ἀπιγμένου δὲ Καμβύσεω ἐς Μέμφιν ἐφάνη Αἰγυπτίοισι ὁ Ἄπις, τὸν Ἕλληνες Ἑπαφον καλέουσι· ἐπιφανέος δὲ τούτου γενομένου αὐτίκα οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι εἶματα ἐφόρεον τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ἦσαν ἐν θαλίῃσι. 2 ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ποιεῦντας ὁ Καμβύσης, πάγχυ σφέας καταδόξας ἑαυτοῦ κακῶς πρήξαντος χαρμόσυνα ταῦτα ποιέειν, ἐκάλεε τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους τῆς Μέμφιος, ἀπικομένους δὲ ἐς ὄψιν εἶρετο ὅ τι πρότερον μὲν ἐόντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Μέμφι ἐποίεον τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτιοι, τότε δὲ ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς παρείη τῆς στρατιῆς πληθὸς τι ἀποβαλὼν. 3 οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον ὥς σφι θεὸς εἶη φανείς διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ ἐωθὼς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, καὶ ὥς ἐπεὰν φανῇ τότε πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι κεχαρηκότες ὀρτάζοιεν. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Καμβύσης ἔφη ψευδεσθαι σφέας καὶ ὥς ψευδομένους θανάτῳ ἐξημίῳ.

28

1 Ἀποκτείνας δὲ τούτους δεύτερα τοὺς ἱρέας ἐκάλεε ἐς ὄψιν· λεγόντων δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα τῶν ἱρέων, οὐ λήσειν ἔφη αὐτὸν εἰ θεὸς τις χειροῇτης ἀπιγμένος εἶη Αἰγυπτίοισι. τοσαῦτα δὲ εἰπας ἀπάγειν ἐκέλευε τὸν Ἄπιν τοὺς ἱρέας. οἱ μὲν δὴ μετήισαν ἄξοντες. 2 ὁ δὲ Ἄπις οὗτος ὁ Ἑπαφος γίνεται μόσχος ἐκ βοός, ἥτις οὐκέτι οἷη τε γίνεται ἐς γαστέρα ἄλλον βάλλεσθαι γόνον. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ λέγουσι σέλας ἐπὶ τὴν βουὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατίσχειν, καὶ μιν ἐκ τούτου τίκτειν τὸν Ἄπιν. 3 ἔχει δὲ ὁ μόσχος οὗτος ὁ Ἄπις καλεόμενος σημήια τοιάδε ἐὼν μέλας, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ μετώπῳ λευκὸν τι τρίγωνον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ νώτου αἰετὸν εἰκασμένον, ἐν δὲ τῇ οὐρῇ τὰς τρίχας διπλᾶς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῇ γλώσσει κἀνθαρον.

¹ Ὡς δὲ ἤγαγον τὸν Ἄπιν οἱ ἱρέες, ὁ Καμβύσης, οἷα ἐὼν ὑπομαργότερος, σπασάμενος τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον, θέλων τύψαι τὴν γαστέρα τοῦ Ἄπιος παίει τὸν μηρόν· γελάσας δὲ εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς ἱρέας ² “ὦ κακαὶ κεφαλαί, τοιοῦτοι θεοὶ γίνονται, ἔναιμοί τε καὶ σαρκώδεις καὶ ἐπαῖοντες σιδηρίων; ἄξιος μὲν γε Αἰγυπτίων οὗτός γε ὁ θεός, ἀτάρ τοι ὑμεῖς γε οὐ χαίροντες γέλωτα ἐμὲ θήσεσθε,, ταῦτα εἶπας ἐνετείλατο τοῖσι ταῦτα πρήσσουσι τοὺς μὲν ἱρέας ἀπομαστιγῶσαι, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν ἂν λάβωσι ὀρτάζοντα κτείνειν. ³ ὀρτὴ μὲν δὴ διελέλυτο Αἰγυπτίοισι, οἱ δὲ ἱρέες ἐδικαιεῦντο, ὁ δὲ Ἄπις πεπληγμένος τὸν μηρόν ἔφθινε ἐν τῷ ἰρῶ κατακείμενος. καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτήσαντα ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος ἔθαψαν οἱ ἱρέες λάθρη Καμβύσειω.

¹ Καμβύσης δέ, ὡς λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι, αὐτίκα διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἀδίκημα ἐμάνη, ἐὼν οὐδὲ πρότερον φρενήρης. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τῶν κακῶν ἐξεργάσατο τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σμέρδιν ἐόντα πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς, τὸν ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Πέρσας φθόνῳ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ὅτι τὸ τόξον μόνος Περσέων ὅσον τε ἐπὶ δύο δακτύλους εἵρυσσε, τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ἡνείκαν οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Περσέων οὐδεὶς οἷός τε ἐγένετο. ² ἀποικομένου ὧν ἐς Πέρσας τοῦ Σμέρδιος ὄψιν εἶδε ὁ Καμβύσης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοιήνδε· ἔδοξέ οἱ ἄγγελον ἐλθόντα ἐκ Περσέων ἀγγέλλειν ὡς ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ βασιληίῳ ἰζόμενος Σμέρδης τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ψαύσειε. ³ πρὸς ὧν ταῦτα δεῖσας περὶ ἐωυτοῦ μή μιν ἀποκτείνας ὁ ἀδελφεὸς ἄρχῃ, πέμπει Πρηξάσπεα ἐς Πέρσας, ὃς ἦν οἱ ἀνὴρ Περσέων πιστότατος, ἀποκτενέοντά μιν. ὁ δὲ ἀναβάς ἐς Σοῦσα ἀπέκτεινε Σμέρδιν, οἱ μὲν λέγουσι ἐπ’ ἄγρην ἐξαγαγόντα, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν προαγαγόντα καταποντῶσαι.

¹ Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ λέγουσι Καμβύση τῶν κακῶν ἄρξαι τοῦτο· δεύτερα δὲ ἐξεργάσατο τὴν ἀδελφεὴν ἐσπομένην οἱ ἐς Αἴγυπτον, τῇ καὶ συνοίκεε καὶ ἦν οἱ ἀπ’ ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφεῇ. ² ἔγχε δὲ αὐτὴν ὧδε· οὐδαμῶς γὰρ ἐώθεσαν πρότερον τῇσι ἀδελφεῇσι συνοικεῖν Πέρσαι. ἡράσθη μίης τῶν ἀδελφεῶν Καμβύσης, καὶ ἔπειτα

βουλόμενος αὐτὴν γῆμαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔωθότα ἐπενόεε ποιήσιν, εἵρετο καλέσας τοὺς βασιλῆιους δικαστὰς εἴ τις ἐστὶ κελεύων νόμος τὸν βουλόμενον ἀδελφεῇ συνοικέειν. ³ οἱ δὲ βασιλῆιοι δικασταὶ κεκριμένοι ἄνδρες γίνονται Περσέων, ἐς οὗ ἀποθάνωσι ἢ σφι παρעυρεθῇ τι ἄδικον, μέχρι τούτου· οὗτοι δὲ τοῖσι πέρσῃσι δίκας δικάζουσι καὶ ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν πατρίων θεσμῶν γίνονται, καὶ πάντα ἐς τούτους ἀνακέεται. ⁴ εἰρομένου ὧν τοῦ Καμβύσεω, ὑπεκρίνοντο αὐτῷ οὗτοι καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἀσφαλέα, φάμενοι νόμον οὐδένα ἐξευρίσκειν ὃς κελεύει ἀδελφεῇ συνοικέειν ἀδελφεόν, ἄλλον μέντοι ἐξευρηκέναι νόμον, τῷ βασιλεύοντι Περσέων ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν τὸ ἂν βούληται. ⁵ οὕτω οὕτε τὸν νόμον ἔλυσαν δέισαντες Καμβύσεα, ἵνα τε μὴ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλωνται τὸν νόμον περιστέλλοντες, παρεξεῦρον ἄλλον νόμον σύμμαχον τῷ θέλοντι γαμέειν ἀδελφεάς. ⁶ τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Καμβύσης ἔγχε τὴν ἐρωμένην, μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἔσχε ἄλλην ἀδελφεήν. τούτων δῆτα τὴν νεωτέραν ἐπισπομένην οἱ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον κτείνει.

32

¹ Ἀμφὶ δὲ τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτῆς διζὸς ὥσπερ περὶ Σμέρδιος λέγεται λόγος. Ἕλληνες μὲν λέγουσι Καμβύσεα συμβαλεῖν σκύμνον λέοντος σκύλακι κυνός, θεωρεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ταύτην, νικωμένου δὲ τοῦ σκύλακος ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ ἄλλον σκύλακα ἀπορρήξαντα τὸν δεσμὸν παραγενέσθαι οἱ, δύο δὲ γενομένους οὕτω δὴ τοὺς σκύλακας ἐπικρατῆσαι τοῦ σκύμνου. ² καὶ τὸν μὲν Καμβύσεα ἥδεσθαι θεώμενον, τὴν δὲ παρημένην δακρύειν. Καμβύσεα δὲ μαθόντα τοῦτο ἐπειρέσθαι δι' ὃ τι δακρύει, τὴν δὲ εἰπεῖν ὡς ἰδοῦσα τὸν σκύλακα τῷ ἀδελφεῷ τιμωρήσαντα δακρύσειε, μνησθεῖσά τε Σμέρδιος καὶ μαθοῦσα ὡς ἐκείνῳ οὐκ εἶη ὁ τιμωρήσων. ³ Ἕλληνες μὲν δὴ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος φασὶ αὐτὴν ἀπολέσθαι ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὡς τραπέζῃ παρακατημένων λαβοῦσαν θρίδακα τὴν γυναῖκα περιτίλαι καὶ ἐπανειρέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα κότερον περιτετιλμένη ἢ θρίδαξ ἢ δασέα εἶη καλλίων, καὶ τὸν φάναι δασέαν, τὴν δ' εἰπεῖν ⁴ “ταύτην μέντοι κοτὲ σὺ τὴν θρίδακα ἐμιμήσας τὸν Κύρου οἶκον ἀποσιλώσας, τὸν δὲ θυμωθέντα ἐμπεδῆσαι αὐτῇ ἐχούσῃ ἐν γαστρί, καὶ μιν ἐκτρώσασαν ἀποθανεῖν.

33

1 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς οἰκηίους ὁ Καμβύσης ἐξεμάνη, εἴτε δὴ διὰ τὸν Ἄπιν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως, οἷα πολλὰ ἔωθε ἀνθρώπους κακὰ καταλαμβάνειν· καὶ γὰρ τινὰ ἐκ γενεῆς νοῦσον μεγάλην λέγεται ἔχειν ὁ Καμβύσης, τὴν ἱρὴν ὀνομάζουσι τινές. οὐ νῦν τοι ἀεικὲς οὐδὲν ἦν τοῦ σώματος νοῦσον μεγάλην νοσέοντος μηδὲ τὰς φρένας ὑγιαίνειν.

34

1 Τάδε δ' ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Πέρσας ἐξεμάνη. λέγεται γὰρ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς Πρηξάσπεα, τὸν ἐτίμα τε μάλιστα καὶ οἱ τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐφόρεε οὗτος, τούτου τε ὁ παῖς οἰνοχόος ἦν τῷ Καμβύσῃ, τιμὴ δὲ καὶ αὕτη οὐ σμικρὴ· εἰπεῖν δὲ λέγεται τάδε. 2 “Πρήξασπες, κοῖόν με τινὰ νομίζουσι Πέρσαι εἶναι ἄνδρα τίνας τε λόγους περὶ ἐμέο ποιεῦνται;,, τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν “ὦ δέσποτα, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα μεγάλως ἐπαινέαι, τῇ δὲ φιλοινίῃ σε φασὶ πλεόνως προσκεῖσθαι;,. 3 τὸν μὲν δὴ λέγειν ταῦτα περὶ Περσέων, τὸν δὲ θυμωθέντα τοιάδε ἀμείβεσθαι. “νῦν ἄρα με φασὶ Πέρσαι οἶνῳ προσκείμενον παραφρονεῖν καὶ οὐκ εἶναι νοήμονα· οὐδ' ἄρα σφέων οἱ πρότεροι λόγοι ἦσαν ἀληθέες;,. 4 πρότερον γὰρ δὴ ἄρα, Περσέων οἱ συνέδρων ἐόντων καὶ Κροΐσου, εἶρετο Καμβύσης κοῖός τις δοκέοι ἀνὴρ εἶναι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τελέσαι Κῦρον, οἱ δὲ ἀμείβοντο ὡς εἴη ἀμείνων τοῦ πατρός· τὰ τε γὰρ ἐκείνου πάντα ἔχειν αὐτὸν καὶ προσεκτεῖσθαι Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. 5 Πέρσαι μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Κροῖσος δὲ παρεὼν τε καὶ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ κρίσει εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Καμβύσεα τάδε. “ἐμοὶ μὲν νυν, ὦ παῖ Κύρου, οὐ δοκέεις ὅμοιος εἶναι τῷ πατρί· οὐ γάρ κώ τοι ἐστὶ υἱὸς οἷον σε ἐκεῖνος κατελίπετο;,. ἥσθη τε ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Καμβύσης καὶ ἐπαίνεε τὴν Κροΐσου κρίσιν.

35

1 Τούτων δὴ ὧν ἐπιμνησθέντα ὀργῇ λέγειν πρὸς τὸν Πρηξάσπεα “σύ νυν μάθε εἰ λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀληθέα εἴτε αὐτοὶ λέγοντες ταῦτα παραφρονέουσι· 2 εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ σοῦ τοῦδε ἐστεῶτος ἐν τοῖσι προθύροισι βαλὼν τύχοιμι μέσης τῆς καρδίας, Πέρσαι φανέονται λέγοντες οὐδέν· ἦν δὲ ἀμάρτω, φάναι Πέρσας τε λέγειν ἀληθέα καὶ με μὴ σωφρονεῖν;,. 3 ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντα καὶ διατείναντα τὸ τόξον βαλεῖν τὸν παῖδα, πεσόντος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀνασχίζειν αὐτὸν κελεύειν καὶ σκέψασθαι τὸ βλῆμα· ὥς δὲ ἐν τῇ καρδίῃ εὑρεθῆναι

ἐνεόντα τὸν οἰστόν, εἶπεῖν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παιδὸς γελάσαντα καὶ περιχαρέα γενόμενον ⁴ “Πρήξασπες, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ τε οὐ μαίνομαι Πέρσαι τε παραφρονέουσι, δῆλὰ τοι γέγονε. νῦν δέ μοι εἰπέ, τίνα εἶδες ἥδη πάντων ἀνθρώπων οὕτω ἐπίσκοπα τοξεύοντα;,, Πρηξάσπεα δὲ ὀρῶντα ἄνδρα οὐ φρενήρεα καὶ περὶ ἐωντῶ δειμαίνοντα εἰπεῖν “δέσποτα, οὐδ’ ἂν αὐτὸν ἐγῶγε δοκέω τὸν θεὸν οὕτω ἂν καλῶς βαλεῖν,, ⁵ τότε μὲν ταῦτα ἐξεργάσατο, ἐτέρωθι δὲ Περσέων ὁμοίους τοῖσι πρώτοισι δυώδεκα ἐπ’ οὐδεμιῇ αἰτίῃ ἀξιοχρέω ἐλὼν ζῶοντας ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν κατώρυξε.

36

¹ Ταῦτα δέ μιν ποιέοντα ἐδικαίωσε Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς νουθετῆσαι τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπеси. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ πάντα ἡλικίῃ καὶ θυμῷ ἐπίτραπε, ἀλλ’ ἴσχε καὶ καταλάμβανε σεωυτόν· ἀγαθόν τι πρόνοον εἶναι, σοφὸν δὲ ἢ προμηθίῃ. σὺ δὲ κτείνεις μὲν ἄνδρας σεωυτοῦ πολίητας ἐπ’ οὐδεμιῇ αἰτίῃ ἀξιοχρέω ἐλὼν, κτείνεις δὲ παῖδας. ² ἦν δὲ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ποιήης, ὅρα ὅπως μὴ σευ ἀποστήσονται Πέρσαι. ἐμοὶ δὲ πατὴρ σὸς Κῦρος ἐνετέλλετο πολλὰ κελεύων σε νουθετεῖν καὶ ὑποτίθεσθαι ὅ τι ἂν εὐρίσκω ἀγαθόν,, ὁ μὲν δὴ εὐνοίην φαίνων συνεβούλευέ οἱ ταῦτα· ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. ³ “σὺ καὶ ἐμοὶ τολμᾶς συμβουλεύειν, ὅς χρηστῶς μὲν τὴν σεωυτοῦ πατρίδα ἐπετρόπευσας, εὔ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἐμῷ συνεβούλευσας, κελεύων αὐτὸν Ἀράξεα ποταμὸν διαβάντα ἰέναι ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας, βουλομένων ἐκείνων διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν σεωυτὸν ὤλεσας τῆς σεωυτοῦ πατρίδος κακῶς προστάς, ἀπὸ δὲ ὤλεσας Κῦρον πειθόμενον σοί, ἀλλ’ οὔτι χαίρων, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ πάλοι ἐς σέ προφάσιός τευ ἐδεόμην ἐπιλαβέσθαι,, ⁴ ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας ἐλάμβανε τὸ τόξον ὥς κατατοξεύσων αὐτόν, Κροῖσος δὲ ἀναδραμὼν ἔθεε ἔξω. ὁ δὲ ἐπεῖτε τοξεῦσαι οὐκ εἶχε, ἐντεῖλατο τοῖσι θεράπουσι λαβόντας μιν ἀποκτεῖναι. ⁵ οἱ δὲ θεράποντες ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ κατακρύπτουσι τὸν Κροῖσον ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ ὥστε, εἰ μὲν μεταμελήσῃ τῷ Καμβύσῃ καὶ ἐπιζητέῃ τὸν Κροῖσον, οἱ δὲ ἐκφῆναντες αὐτὸν δῶρα λάμπονται ζωάγρια Κροῖσου, ἦν δὲ μὴ μεταμέλῃται μηδὲ ποθέῃ μιν, τότε καταχρᾶσθαι. ⁶ ἐπόθησέ τε δὴ ὁ Καμβύσης τὸν Κροῖσον οὐ πολλῷ μετέπειτα χρόνῳ ὕστερον, καὶ οἱ θεράποντες μαθόντες τοῦτο ἐπηγγέλλοντο αὐτῷ ὥς περιεῖη. Καμβύσης δὲ Κροῖσῳ μὲν συνήδεσθαι ἔφη περιέοντι, ἐκείνους

μέντοι τοὺς περιποιήσαντας οὐ καταπροΐζεσθαι ἀλλ' ἀποκτενέειν·
καὶ ἐποίησε ταῦτα.

37

1 Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους
ἐξεμαίνετο, μένων ἐν Μέμφι καὶ θήκας τε παλαιᾶς ἀνοίγων καὶ
σκεπτόμενος τοὺς νεκρούς. 2 ὥς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρὸν
ἦλθε καὶ πολλὰ τῷ ἀγάλματι κατεγέλασε. ἔστι γὰρ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου
τῷγαλμα τοῖσι Φοινικηίοισι Παταῖκοισι ἐμφερέστατον, τοὺς οἱ
Φοίνικες ἐν τῇσι πρῶρῃσι τῶν τριηρέων περιάγουσι. ὅς δὲ τούτους
μὴ ὅπως, ὥδε σημανέω· πυγμαίου ἀνδρὸς μίμησις ἐστί. 3 ἐσῆλθε δὲ
καὶ ἐς τῶν Καβείρων τὸ ἱρὸν, ἐς τὸ οὐ θεμιτὸν ἐστί ἐσιέναι ἄλλον γε
ἢ τὸν ἱερά· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἐνέπρησε πολλὰ κατασκώσας.
ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὅμοια τοῖσι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου· τούτου δὲ σφέας
παῖδας λέγουσι εἶναι.

38

1 Πανταχῇ ὧν μοι δῆλα ἐστὶ ὅτι ἐμάνη μεγάλως ὁ Καμβύσης· οὐ
γὰρ ἂν ἱροῖσί τε καὶ νομαίοισι ἐπεχείρησε καταγελᾶν. εἰ γάρ τις
προθείη πᾶσι ἀνθρώποισι ἐκλέξασθαι κελεύων νόμους τοὺς
καλλίστους ἐκ τῶν πάντων νόμων, διασκεψάμενοι ἂν ἐλοίαιτο
ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἐωυτῶν· οὕτω νομίζουσι πολλόν τι καλλίστους τοὺς
ἐωυτῶν νόμους ἕκαστοι εἶναι. 2 οὕκων οἰκὸς ἐστὶ ἄλλον γε ἢ
μαινόμενον ἄνδρα γέλωτα τὰ τοιαῦτα τίθεσθαι· ὥς δὲ οὕτω
νενομίκασι τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους πάντες ἄνθρωποι, πολλοῖσί τε καὶ
ἄλλοισι τεκμηρίοισι πάρεστι σταθμώσασθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε. 3
Δαρεῖος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ἀρχῆς καλέσας Ἑλλήνων τοὺς παρεόντας
εἶρετο ἐπὶ κόσῳ ἂν χρήματι βουλοίαιτο τοὺς πατέρας ἀποθνήσκοντας
κατασιτέεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔφασαν ἔρδειν ἂν τοῦτο. 4 Δαρεῖος
δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καλέσας Ἰνδῶν τοὺς καλεομένους Καλλατίας, οἱ τοὺς
γονέας κατεσθίουσι, εἶρετο, παρεόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ δι'
ἐρμηνέος μανθανόντων τὰ λεγόμενα, ἐπὶ τίνι χρήματι δεξαίαιτ' ἂν
τελευτῶντας τοὺς πατέρας κατακαίειν πυρί· οἱ δὲ ἀμβώσαντες μέγα
εὐφημέειν μιν ἐκέλευον. οὕτω μὲν νυν ταῦτα νενόμισται, καὶ ὀρθῶς
μοι δοκεῖ Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι νόμον πάντων βασιλέα φήσας εἶναι.

39

1 Καμβύσεω δὲ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατευομένου ἐποίησαντο καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι στρατιήν ἐπὶ Σάμον τε καὶ Πολυκράτεα τὸν Αἰάκεος· ὃς ἔσχε Σάμον ἐπαναστάς, 2 καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τριχῇ δασάμενος τὴν πόλιν.. τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι Πανταγνώτῳ καὶ Συλοσῶντι ἔνειμε, μετὰ δὲ τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας τὸν δὲ νεώτερον Συλοσῶντα ἐξελάσας ἔσχε πᾶσαν Σάμον, σχὼν δὲ ξεινίην Ἀμάσι τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλείᾳ συνεθήκατο, πέμπων τε δῶρα καὶ δεκόμενος ἄλλα παρ' ἐκείνου. 3 ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὀλίγῳ αὐτίκα τοῦ Πολυκράτεος τὰ πρήγματα ἠϋξέτο καὶ ἦν βεβωμένα ἀνά τε τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα· ὅκου γὰρ ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι, πάντα οἱ ἐχώρει εὐτυχέως. ἔκτετο δὲ πεντηκοντέρους τε ἑκατὸν καὶ χιλίους τοξότας, ἔφερε δὲ καὶ ἦγε πάντας διακρίνων οὐδένα· 4 τῷ γὰρ φίλῳ ἔφη χαριεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἀποδιδούς τὰ ἔλαβε ἢ ἀρχὴν μηδὲ λαβών. συχνὰς μὲν δὴ τῶν νήσων ἀραιρήκεε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ἄστεα· ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Λεσβίους πανστρατιῇ βοηθέοντας Μιλησίοισι ναυμαχίᾳ κρατήσας εἶλε, οἱ τὴν τάφρον περὶ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Σάμῳ πᾶσαν δεδεμένοι ὠρυξαν.

40

1 Καί κως τὸν Ἄμασιν εὐτυχέων μεγάλως ὁ Πολυκράτης οὐκ ἐλάνθανε, ἀλλὰ οἱ τοῦτ' ἦν ἐπιμελές. πολλῶν δὲ ἔτι πλεῦνός οἱ εὐτυχίης γινομένης γράψας ἐς βυβλίον τάδε ἐπέστειλε ἐς Σάμον. “Ἄμασις Πολυκράτει ὧδε λέγει. 2 ἡδὺ μὲν πυνθάνεσθαι ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ ξεῖνον εὖ πρήσσοντα· ἐμοὶ δὲ αἱ σαι μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι, τὸ θεῖον ἐπισταμένῳ ὥς ἔστι φθονερόν· καί κως βούλομαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν ἄν κήδωμαι τὸ μὲν τι εὐτυχέειν τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ δὲ προσπταίειν, καὶ οὕτω διαφέρειν τὸν αἰῶνα ἐναλλάξ πρήσσων ἢ εὐτυχέειν τὰ πάντα. 3 οὐδένα γὰρ κω λόγῳ οἶδα ἀκούσας ὅστις ἐς τέλος οὐ κακῶς ἐτελεύτησε πρόρρηξος, εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα. σύ νυν ἐμοὶ πειθόμενος ποιήσον πρὸς τὰς εὐτυχίας τοιάδε· 4 φροντίσας τὸ ἂν εὖρης ἐόν τοι πλείστου ἄξιον καὶ ἐπ' ᾧ σύ ἀπολομένῳ μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλγήσεις, τοῦτο ἀπόβαλε οὕτω ὅκως μηκέτι ἤξει ἐς ἀνθρώπους· ἦν τε μὴ ἐναλλάξ ἤδη τῷ τούτου αἱ εὐτυχίαι τοι τῆσι πάθῃσι προσπίπτωσι, τρόπῳ τῷ ἐξ ἐμεῦ ὑποκειμένῳ ἀκέο,,.

41

1 Ταῦτα ἐπιλεξάμενος ὁ Πολυκράτης καὶ νόφ λαβὼν ὥς οἱ εὖ ὑπετίθετο Ἄμασις, ἐδίζητο ἐπ' ᾧ ἂν μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσθηεῖν ἀπολομένῳ τῶν κειμηλίων, διζήμενος δὲ εὔρισκε τόδε. ἦν οἱ σφρηγὶς τὴν ἐφόρει χρυσόδετος, σμαράγδου μὲν λίθου ἐοῦσα, ἔργον δὲ ἦν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Τηλεκλέος Σαμίου. 2 ἐπεὶ ὦν ταύτην οἱ ἐδόκεε ἀποβαλεῖν, ἐποίηε τοιάδε· πεντηκόντερον πληρώσας ἀνδρῶν ἐσέβη ἐς αὐτήν, μετὰ δὲ ἀναγαγεῖν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος· ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου ἐκὰς ἐγένετο, περιελόμενος τὴν σφρηγίδα πάντων ὁρώντων τῶν συμπλόνων ρίπτει ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἀπέπλεε, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰ οἰκία συμφορῇ ἐχρᾶτο.

42

1 Πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἕκτη ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τούτων τάδε οἱ συνήνευκε γενέσθαι. ἀνὴρ ἀλιεὺς λαβὼν ἰχθὺν μέγαν τε καὶ καλὸν ἡξίου μιν Πολυκράτει δῶρον δοθῆναι· φέρων δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας Πολυκράτει ἔφη ἐθέλῃν ἐλθεῖν ἐς ὅψιν, χωρήσαντος δὲ οἱ τούτου ἔλεγε διδούς τὸν ἰχθύν 2 “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ τόνδε ἐλὼν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσα φέρειν ἐς ἀγορὴν, καίπερ ἐὼν ἀποχειροβίτος, ἀλλὰ μοι ἐδόκεε σεῦ τε εἶναι ἄξιος καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς· σοὶ δὴ μιν φέρων δίδωμι,,. ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς τοῖσι ἔπεσι ἀμείβεται τοῖσιδε. “κάρτα τε εὖ ἐποίησας καὶ χάρις διπλῇ τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ δώρου, καὶ σε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέομεν,,. 3 ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀλιεὺς μέγα ποιεύμενος ταῦτα ἦε ἐς τὰ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἰχθὺν τάμνοντες οἱ θεράποντες εὐρίσκουσι ἐν τῇ νηδύι αὐτοῦ ἐνεοῦσαν τὴν Πολυκράτεος σφρηγίδα. 4 ὥς δὲ εἰδόν τε καὶ ἔλαβον τάχιστα, ἔφερον κεχαρηκότες παρὰ τὸν Πολυκράτη, διδόντες δὲ οἱ τὴν σφρηγίδα ἔλεγον ὅτεφ τρόφῳ εὐρέθη. τὸν δὲ ὥς ἐσῆλθε θεῖον εἶναι τὸ πρῆγμα, γράφει ἐς βυβλίον πάντα τὰ ποιήσαντά μιν οἷα καταλελάβηκε, γράψας δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐπέθηκε.

43

1 Ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἄμασις τὸ βυβλίον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἦκον, ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐκκομίσαι τε ἀδύνατον εἶη ἀνθρώπῳ ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τοῦ μέλλοντος γίνεσθαι πρῆγματος, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εὖ τελευτήσῃν μέλλοι Πολυκράτης εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα, ὅς καὶ τὰ ἀποβάλλει εὐρίσκει. 2 πέμπας δὲ οἱ κήρυκα ἐς Σάμον διαλύεσθαι ἔφη τὴν ξεινίην. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκεν ταῦτα ἐποίηε, ἵνα μὴ συντυχίης δεινῆς τε καὶ μεγάλης Πολυκράτη καταλαβούσης αὐτὸς ἀλγήσειε τὴν

ψυχὴν ὥς περὶ ξείνου ἀνδρός.

44

1 Ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ ὢν τὸν Πολυκράτεα εὐτυχεόντα τὰ πάντα ἐστρατεύοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπικαλεσαμένων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ κτισάντων Σαμίων. πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα λάθρῃ Σαμίων Πολυκράτης παρὰ Καμβύσεια τὸν Κύρου συλλέγοντα στρατὸν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, ἐδεήθη ὅπως ἂν καὶ παρ' ἐωυτὸν πέμψας ἐς Σάμον δέοιτο στρατοῦ. 2 Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας τούτων προθύμως ἔπεμψε ἐς Σάμον δεόμενος Πολυκράτεος στρατὸν ναυτικὸν ἅμα πέμψαι ἐωυτῷ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. ὁ δὲ ἐπιλέξας τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς ὑπώπτευε μάλιστα ἐς ἐπανάστασιν ἀπέπεμπε τεσσεράκοντα τριήρεσι, ἐντειλάμενος Καμβύσῃ ὀπίσω τούτους μὴ ἀποπέμπειν.

45

1 Οἱ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέντας Σαμίων ὑπὸ Πολυκράτεος οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ' ἐπεῖτε ἐγένοντο ἐν Καρπάθῳ πλέοντες, δοῦναι σφίσι λόγον, καὶ σφι ἀδεῖν τὸ προσωτέρω μηκέτι πλέειν· οἱ δὲ λέγουσι ἀπικομένους τε ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ φυλασσομένους ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτοὺς ἀποδρῆναι. 2 καταπλέουσι δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμον Πολυκράτης νηυσὶ ἀντιάσας ἐς μάχην κατέστη· νικήσαντες δὲ οἱ κατιόντες ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὴν νῆσον, πεζομαχήσαντες δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐσσώθησαν, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἔπλεον ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. 3 εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου νικῆσαι Πολυκράτεα, λέγοντες ἐμοὶ δοκέειν οὐκ ὀρθῶς· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔδει σφέας Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπικαλέεσθαι, εἴ περ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ Πολυκράτεα παραστήσασθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοισι οὐδὲ λόγος αἰρέει, τῷ ἐπίκουροί τε μισθωτοὶ καὶ τοξόται οἰκῆιοι ἦσαν πλήθει πολλοί, τοῦτον ὑπὸ τῶν κατιόντων Σαμίων ἐόντων ὀλίγων ἐσσωθῆναι. 4 τῶν δ' ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ἐόντων πολιτῶν τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὁ Πολυκράτης ἐς τοὺς νεωσοίκους συνειλήσας εἶχε ἐτοίμους, ἦν ἄρα προδιδῶσι οὗτοι πρὸς τοὺς κατιόντας, ὑποπρῆσαι αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι νεωσοῖκοις.

46

1 Ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ ἐξελασθέντες Σαμίων ὑπὸ Πολυκράτεος ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην, καταστάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔλεγον πολλὰ οἷα κάρτα δεόμενοι· οἱ δὲ σφι τῇ πρώτῃ καταστάσει ὑπεκρίναντο τὰ μὲν

πρῶτα λεχθέντα ἐπιλελῆσθαι, τὰ δὲ ὕστατα οὐ συνιέναι. ² μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δεύτερα καταστάντες ἄλλο μὲν εἶπον οὐδέν, θύλακον δὲ φέροντες ἔφασαν τὸν θύλακον ἀλφίτων δέεσθαι. οἱ δὲ σφι ὑπεκρίναντο τῷ θυλάκῳ περιεργάσθαι· βοηθέειν δ' ὧν ἔδοξε αὐτοῖσι.

47

¹ Καὶ ἔπειτα παρασκευασάμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ Σάμον, ὥς μὲν Σάμιοι λέγουσι, εὐεργεσίας ἐκτίνοντες, ὅτι σφι πρότεροι αὐτοῖ νηυσὶ ἐβοήθησαν ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους· ὥς δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, οὐκ οὕτω τιμωρῆσαι δεομένοισι Σαμίοις ἐστρατεύοντο ὥς τίσασθαι βουλόμενοι τοῦ κρητῆρος τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, τὸν ἦγον Κροίσῳ, καὶ τοῦ θώρηκος, τὸν αὐτοῖσι Ἄμασις ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψε δῶρον. ² καὶ γὰρ θώρηκα ἐλήρισαντο τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτεϊ ἢ τὸν κρητῆρα οἱ Σάμιοι, ἐόντα μὲν λίνεον καὶ ζῶων ἐνυφασμένων συχνῶν, κεκοσμημένον δὲ χρυσῷ καὶ εἰρίοις ἀπὸ ξύλου· ³ τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα θωμάσαι ἄξιον, ἀρπεδόνη ἐκάστη τοῦ θώρηκος ποιεῖ· ἐοῦσα γὰρ λεπτὴ ἔχει ἀρπεδόνας ἐν ἐωυτῇ τριηκοσίας καὶ ἐξήκοντα, πάσας φανεράς. τοιοῦτος ἕτερος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸν ἐν Λίνδῳ ἀνέθηκε τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ Ἄμασις.

48

¹ Συνεπελάβοντο δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμον ὥστε γενέσθαι καὶ Κορίνθιοι προθύμως· ὕβρισμα γὰρ καὶ ἐς τοὺτους εἶχε ἐκ τῶν Σαμίων γενόμενον γενεῇ πρότερον τοῦ στρατεύματος τούτου, κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦ κρητῆρος τῇ ἀρπαγῇ γεγονός. ² Κερκυραίων γὰρ παῖδας τριηκοσίους ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου ἐς Σάρδις ἀπέπεμψε παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα ἐπ' ἐκτομῇ· προσσχόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμον τῶν ἀγόντων τοὺς παῖδας Κορινθίων, πυθόμενοι οἱ Σάμιοι τὸν λόγον, ἐπ' οἷσι ἀγοίατο ἐς Σάρδις, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς παῖδας ἐδίδαξαν ἱροῦ ἄψασθαι Ἀρτέμιδος· ³ μετὰ δὲ οὐ περιορῶντες ἀπέλκειν τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ, σιτίων δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἐργόντων Κορινθίων, ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Σάμιοι ὀρτήν, τῇ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρέωνται κατὰ ταῦτά. νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐπιγενομένης, ὅσον χρόνον ἱκέτευον οἱ παῖδες, ἵστασαν χοροὺς παρθένων τε καὶ ἡθέων, ἱστάντες δὲ τοὺς χοροὺς τρωκτὰ σησάμου τε καὶ μέλιτος ἐποιήσαντο νόμον φέρεσθαι, ἵνα ἀρπάζοντες οἱ τῶν Κερκυραίων παῖδες ἔχοιεν

τροφήν. 4 ἐς τοῦτο δὲ τόδε ἐγίνετο, ἐς ὃ οἱ Κορίνθιοι τῶν παίδων οἱ φύλακοι οἴχοντο ἀπολιπόντες· τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἀπήγαγον ἐς Κέρκυραν οἱ Σάμιοι.

49

1 Εἰ μὲν νυν Περιάνδρου τελευτήσαντος τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι φίλα ἦν πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἂν συνελάβοντο τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμον ταύτης εἵνεκεν τῆς αἰτίας. νῦν δὲ αἰεὶ ἐπεῖτε ἔκτισαν τὴν νῆσον εἰσὶ ἀλλήλοισι διάφοροι, ἐόντες ἐωυτοῖσι... 2 τούτων ὧν εἵνεκεν ἀπεμνησικάκεον τοῖσι Σαμίοισι οἱ Κορίνθιοι. ἀπέπεμπε δὲ ἐς Σάρδις ἐπ' ἑκτομῇ Περιάνδρος τῶν πρώτων Κερκυραίων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς παῖδας τιμωρεύμενος· πρότεροι γὰρ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἦρξαν ἐς αὐτὸν πρῆγμα ἀτάσθαλον ποιήσαντες.

50

1 Ἐπεῖτε γὰρ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ γυναῖκα Μέλισσαν Περιάνδρος ἀπέκτεινε, συμφορὴν τοιήνδε οἱ ἄλλην συνέβη πρὸς τῇ γεγυνύῃ γενέσθαι. ἦσαν οἱ ἐκ Μελίσσης δύο παῖδες, ἡλικίην ὃ μὲν ἑπτακαίδεκα ὃ δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεα γεγονώς. 2 τούτους ὁ μητροπάτωρ Προκλῆς ἐὼν Ἐπιδάουρου τύραννος μεταπεμψάμενος παρ' ἐωυτὸν ἐφιλοφρονέετο, ὡς οἶκος ἦν θυγατρὸς ἐόντας τῆς ἐωυτοῦ παῖδας. ἐπεῖτε δὲ σφέας ἀπέπέμπετο, εἶπε προπέμπων αὐτοὺς 3 “ἄρα ἴστε, ὧ παῖδες, ὅς ὑμέων τὴν μητέρα ἀπέκτεινε;,, τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος αὐτῶν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο· ὁ δὲ νεώτερος, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Λυκόφρων, ἤλγησε ἀκούσας οὕτω ὥστε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον ἄτε φονέα τῆς μητρὸς τὸν πατέρα οὔτε προσεῖπε, διαλεγομένῳ τε οὔτε προσδιελέγετο ἱστορέοντί τε λόγον οὐδένα ἐδίδου. τέλος δὲ μιν περιθύμως ἔχων ὁ Περιάνδρος ἐξελαύνει ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων.

51

1 Ἐξέλασας δὲ τοῦτον ἱστόρει τὸν πρεσβύτερον τά σφι ὁ μητροπάτωρ διελέχθη. ὁ δὲ οἱ ἀπηγέετο ὡς σφέας φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο· ἐκείνου δὲ τοῦ ἔπεος τό σφι ὁ Προκλῆς ἀποστέλλων εἶπε, ἄτε οὐ νόῳ λαβὼν, οὐκ ἐμέμνητο. Περιάνδρος δὲ οὐδεμίαν μηχανὴν ἔφη εἶναι μὴ οὐ σφι ἐκείνον ὑποθέσθαι τι, ἐλιπάρεε τε ἱστορέων· ὁ δὲ ἀναμνησθεὶς εἶπε καὶ τοῦτο. 2 Περιάνδρος δὲ νόῳ λαβὼν [καὶ τοῦτο]

καὶ μαλακὸν ἐνδιδόναι βουλόμενος οὐδέν, τῇ ὁ ἐξελασθῆις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παῖς δίαίταν ἐποιέετο, ἐς τούτους πέμπων ἄγγελον ἀπηγόρευε μὴ μιν δέκεσθαι οἰκίοισι. 3 ὁ δὲ ὅκως ἀπελαυνόμενος ἔλθοι ἐς ἄλλην οἰκίην, ἀπηλαύνετ' ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης, ἀπειλέοντός τε τοῦ Περιάνδρου τοῖσι δεξαμένοισι καὶ ἐξέργειν κελεύοντος· ἀπελαυνόμενος δ' ἂν ἦε ἐπ' ἐτέρην τῶν ἐταίρων· οἱ δὲ ἅτε Περιάνδρου ἐόντα παῖδα καίπερ δειμαίνοντες ὁμως ἐδέκοντο.

52

1 Τέλος δὲ ὁ Περιάνδρος κήρυγμα ἐποίησατο, ὃς ἂν ἡ οἰκίοισι ὑποδέξηται μιν ἢ προσδιαλεχθῇ, ἱρὴν ζημίην τοῦτον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὀφείλειν, ὅσῃν δὴ εἶπας. 2 πρὸς ὧν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα οὔτε τίς οἱ διαλέγεσθαι οὔτε οἰκίοισι δέκεσθαι ἤθελε· πρὸς δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐδικαίου πειρᾶσθαι ἀπειρημένου, ἀλλὰ διακαρτερέων ἐν τῇσι στοῇσι ἐκαλινδέετο. 3 τετάρτῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἰδὼν μιν ὁ Περιάνδρος ἀλουσίσῃ τε καὶ ἀσιτίῃσι συμπεπτωκότα οἴκτειρε· ὑπεῖς δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ἦε ἄσσον καὶ ἔλεγε “ὦ παῖ, κότερα τούτων αἰρετώτερα ἐστί, ταῦτα τὸ νῦν ἔχων πρήσσεις, ἢ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ νῦν ἐγὼ ἔχω, ταῦτα ἐόντα τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιτήδεον παραλαμβάνειν, 4 ὃς ἐὼν ἐμός τε παῖς καὶ Κορίνθου τῆς εὐδαίμονος βασιλεὺς ἀλήτην βίον εἶλεν, ἀντιστατέων τε καὶ ὀργῇ χρεώμενος ἐς τὸν σε ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν. εἰ γάρ τις συμφορὴ ἐν αὐτοῖσι γέγονε, ἐξ ἧς ὑποψίην ἐς ἐμὲ ἔχεις, ἐμοί τε αὕτη γέγονε καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτῆς τὸ πλεῦν μέτοχος εἰμί, ὅσῳ αὐτὸς σφεα ἐξεργασάμην. 5 σὺ δὲ μαθὼν ὅσῳ φθονέεσθαι κρέσσον ἐστὶ ἢ οἰκτείρεσθαι, ἅμα τε ὁκοῖόν τι ἐς τοὺς τοκέας καὶ ἐς τοὺς κρέσσοντας τεθυμῶσθαι, ἅπιθι ἐς τὰ οἰκία.,. 6 Περιάνδρος μὲν τούτοις αὐτὸν κατελάμβανε· ὁ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἀμείβεται τὸν πατέρα, ἔφη δὲ μιν ἱρὴν ζημίην ὀφείλειν τῷ θεῷ ἐωυτῷ ἐς λόγους ἀπικόμενον. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Περιάνδρος ὡς ἄπορόν τι τὸ κακὸν εἶη τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἀνίκητον, ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν μιν ἀποπέμπεται στείλας πλοῖον ἐς Κέρκυραν· ἐπεκράτεε γὰρ καὶ ταύτης· 7 ἀποστείλας δὲ τοῦτον ὁ Περιάνδρος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν πενθερὸν Προκλέα ὡς τῶν παρεόντων οἱ πρηγμάτων ἐόντα αἰτιώτατον, καὶ εἶλε μὲν τὴν Ἐπίδauρον, εἶλε δὲ αὐτὸν Προκλέα καὶ ἐζώγρησε.

53

1 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνοντος ὁ τε Περιάνδρος παρηβήκεε

καὶ συνεγινώσκετο ἑωυτῷ οὐκέτι εἶναι δυνατὸς τὰ πρήγματα ἐπορᾶν τε καὶ διέπειν, πέμψας ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀπεκάλεε τὸν Λυκόφρωνα ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν παίδων οὐκ ὦν ἑνώρα, ἀλλὰ οἱ κατεφαίνετο εἶναι νωθέστερος. 2 ὁ δὲ Λυκόφρων οὐδὲ ἀνακρίσιος ἠξίωσε τὸν φέροντα τὴν ἀγγελίην. Περίανδρος δὲ περιεχόμενος τοῦ νηνίεω δεύτερα ἀπέστειλε ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τὴν ἀδελφεήν, ἑωυτοῦ δὲ θυγατέρα, δοκέων μιν μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἂν πείθεσθαι. 3 ἀπικομένης δὲ ταύτης καὶ λεγοῦσης, “ὦ παῖ, βούλει τὴν τε τυραννίδα ἐς ἄλλους πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς διαφορηθέντα μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὸς σφεα ἀπελθὼν ἔχειν; ἅπιθι ἐς τὰ οἰκία, παῦσαι σεωυτὸν ζημιῶν. 4 φιλοτιμίῃ κτῆμα σκαιόν. μὴ τῷ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰῶ. πολλοὶ τῶν δικαίων τὰ ἐπιεικέστερα προτιθεῖσι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἤδη τὰ μητρῴα διζήμενοι τὰ πατρῴα ἀπέβαλον. τυραννὶς χρῆμα σφαλερόν, πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρασταὶ εἰσι, ὁ δὲ γέρων τε ἤδη καὶ παρηβηκῶς· μὴ δῶς τὰ σεωυτοῦ ἀγαθὰ ἄλλοις, 5 ἢ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπαγωγότατα διδαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ ὑποκρινάμενος ἔφη οὐδαμὰ ἤξειν ἐς Κόρινθον, ἔστ’ ἂν πυνθάνηται περιέοντα τὸν πατέρα. 6 ἀπαγγειλάσης δὲ ταύτης ταῦτα, τὸ τρίτον Περίανδρος κήρυκα πέμπει βουλόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς Κέρκυραν ἵκειν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἐκέλευε ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικόμενον διάδοχον γίνεσθαι τῆς τυραννίδος. 7 καταινέσαντος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῦ παιδός, ὁ μὲν Περίανδρος ἐστέλλετο ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, ὁ δὲ παῖς οἱ ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τούτων ἕκαστα, ἵνα μὴ σφι Περίανδρός ἐς τὴν χώραν ἀπίκηται, κτείνουσι τὸν νηνίσκον. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν Περίανδρος Κερκυραίους ἐτιμωρέετο.

54

1 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ὥς ἀπίκοντο, ἐπολιόρκεον Σάμον· προσβαλόντες δὲ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ μὲν πρὸς θαλάσση ἐστεῶτος πύργου κατὰ τὸ προάστειον τῆς πόλιος ἐπέβησαν, μετὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ βοηθήσαντος Πολυκράτεος χειρὶ πολλῇ ἀπηλάσθησαν. 2 κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐπάνω πύργον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ῥάχιος τοῦ ὄρεος ἐπεόντα ἐπεξήλθον οἱ τε ἐπίκουροι καὶ αὐτῶν Σαμίων συγχοί, δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπ’ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἔφευγον ὀπίσω, οἱ δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἔκτεινον.

55

1 Εἰ μὲν νυν οἱ παρεόντες Λακεδαιμονίων ὅμοιοι ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην Ἀρχίη τε καὶ Λυκώπη, αἰρέθη ἂν Σάμος· Ἀρχίης γὰρ καὶ Λυκώπης μῶνοι συνεσπεσόντες φεύγουσι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τοῖσι Σαμίοισι καὶ ἀποκληισθέντες τῆς ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ ἀπέθανον ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ Σαμίων. 2 τρίτῳ δὲ ἀπ' Ἀρχίῳ τούτου γεγονότι ἄλλῳ Ἀρχίῃ τῷ Σαμίου τοῦ Ἀρχίῳ αὐτὸς ἐν Πιτάνῃ συνεγενόμην (δήμου γὰρ τούτου ἦν), ὃς ξείνων πάντων μάλιστα ἐτίμα τε Σαμίους καὶ οἱ τῷ πατρὶ ἔφη Σάμιον τοῦνομα τεθῆναι, ὅτι οἱ ὁ πατὴρ Ἀρχίης ἐν Σάμῳ ἀριστεύσας ἐτελεύτησε· τιμᾶν δὲ Σαμίους ἔφη, διότι ταφήναι οἱ τὸν πάππον δημοσίῃ ὑπὸ Σαμίων.

56

1 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὥς σφι τεσσεράκοντα ἐγεγόνεσαν ἡμέραι πολιορκέουσι Σάμον ἐς τὸ πρόσω τε οὐδὲν προεκόπτετο τῶν πρηγμάτων, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Πελοπόννησον. 2 ὥς δὲ ὁ ματαιότερος λόγος ὄρμηται, λέγεται Πολυκράτεα ἐπιχώριον νόμισμα κόψαντα πολλὸν μολύβδου καταχρυσώσαντα δοῦναι σφι, τοὺς δὲ δεξαμένους οὕτω δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. ταύτην πρώτην στρατηίην ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δωριέες ἐποιήσαντο.

57

1 Οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα στρατευσάμενοι Σαμίων, ἐπεὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολιπεῖν ἔμελλον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπέπλεον ἐς Σίφνον, 2 χρημάτων γὰρ ἐδέοντο, τὰ δὲ τῶν Σιφνίων πρήγματα ἤκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, καὶ νησιωτέων μάλιστα ἐπλούτεον, ἅτε ἐόντων αὐτοῖσι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ χρυσέων καὶ ἀργυρέων μετάλλων, οὕτω ὥστε ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης τῶν γινομένων αὐτόθεν χρημάτων θησαυρὸς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀνάκειται ὅμοια τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοισι· αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ γινόμενα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκάστῳ χρήματα διενέμοντο. 3 ὅτε ὦν ἐποιεῦντο τὸν θησαυρόν, ἐχρέωντο τῷ χρηστηρίῳ εἰ αὐτοῖσι τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ οἷά τε ἐστὶ πολλὸν χρόνον παραμένειν· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἔχρησέ σφι τάδε.

58

1 Τοῦτον τὸν χρησμόν οὐκ οἰοί τε ἦσαν γινῶναι οὔτε τότε εὐθὺς οὔτε τῶν Σαμίων ἀπιγμένων. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ τάχιστα πρὸς τὴν Σίφνον προσῖσχον οἱ Σάμιοι, ἔπεμπον τῶν νεῶν μίαν πρέσβεας ἄγουσιν ἐς

τὴν πόλιν. 2 τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἅπασαι αἱ νέες ἦσαν μιλητληφέες, καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἢ Πυθίη προηγόρευε τοῖσι Σιφνίοισι, φυλάσσασθαι τὸν ξύλινον λόχον κελεύουσα καὶ κήρυκα ἐρυθρόν. 3 ἀπικόμενοι ὧν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐδέοντο τῶν Σιφνίων δέκα τάλαντά σφι χρῆσαι· οὐ φασκόντων δὲ χρήσειν τῶν Σιφνίων αὐτοῖσι, οἱ Σάμιοι τοὺς χώρους αὐτῶν ἐπόρθεον. 4 πυθόμενοι δὲ εὐθὺς ἦκον οἱ Σίφνιοι βοηθέοντες καὶ συμβαλόντες αὐτοῖσι ἐσσώθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἀπεκλήσθησαν τοῦ ἄστεος ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων, καὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἔπρηξαν.

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1 Παρὰ δὲ Ἑρμιονέων νῆσον ἀντὶ χρημάτων παρέλαβον Ὑδρέην τὴν ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ αὐτὴν Τροιζηνίοισι παρακατέθεντο· αὐτοὶ δὲ Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ ἔκτισαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο πλέοντες ἀλλὰ Ζακυνθίους ἐξελῶντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου. 2 ἔμειναν δ' ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ εὐδαιμόνησαν ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε, ὥστε τὰ ἱρὰ τὰ ἐν Κυδωνίῃ ἐόντα νῦν οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες [καὶ τὸν τῆς Δικτύνης νηόν]. 3 ἔκτω δὲ ἔτει Αἰγινῆται αὐτοὺς ναυμαχίῃ νικήσαντες ἠνδραποδίσαντο μετὰ Κρητῶν, καὶ τῶν νεῶν καπρίους ἐχουσέων τὰς πρῶρας ἠκρωτηρίασαν καὶ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐν Αἰγίνῃ. 4 ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίησαν ἔγκοτον ἔχοντες Σαμίοισι Αἰγινῆται· πρότεροι γὰρ Σάμιοι ἐπ' Ἀμφικράτεος βασιλεύοντος ἐν Σάμῳ στρατευσάμενοι ἐπ' Αἰγιναν μεγάλα κακὰ ἐποίησαν Αἰγινήτας καὶ ἔπαθον ὑπ' ἐκείνων. ἡ μὲν αἰτίη αὕτη.

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1 Ἐμήκυνα δὲ περὶ Σαμίων μᾶλλον, ὅτι σφι τρία ἐστὶ μέγιστα ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐξεργασμένα, ὄρεός τε ὑψηλοῦ ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιάς, τούτου ὄρυγμα κάτωθεν ἀρξάμενον, ἀμφίστομον. 2 τὸ μὲν μῆκος τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἐπτὰ στάδιοι εἰσί, τὸ δὲ ὕψος καὶ εὖρος ὀκτὼ ἐκάτερον πόδες. διὰ παντὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ὄρυγμα εἰκοσίπηχυ βάθος ὀρώρυκται, τρίπουν δὲ τὸ εὖρος, δι' οὗ τὸ ὕδωρ ὀχετευόμενον διὰ τῶν σωλήνων παραγίνεται ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀγόμενον ἀπὸ μεγάλης πηγῆς. 3 ἀρχιτέκτων δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος τούτου ἐγένετο Μεγαρεὺς Εὐπαλίνος Ναυστρόφου. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐν τῶν τριῶν ἐστὶ, δεύτερον δὲ περὶ λιμένα χῶμα ἐν θαλάσσῃ, βάθος καὶ εἴκοσι ὀργυιέων· μῆκος δὲ τοῦ χώματος μέζον δύο σταδίων. 4 τρίτον δὲ σφι ἐξέργασται νηὸς

μέγιστος πάντων νηῶν τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτων πρῶτος ἐγένετο Ῥοῖκος Φιλέω ἐπιχώριος. τούτων εἵνεκεν μᾶλλον τι περὶ Σαμίων ἐμήκυνα.

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¹ Καμβύση δὲ τῷ Κύρου χρονίζοντι περὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ παραφρονήσαντι ἐπανιστέαται ἄνδρες Μάγοι δύο ἀδελφεοί, τῶν τὸν ἕτερον καταλελοίπεε τῶν οἰκίων μελεδωνὸν ὁ Καμβύσης. οὗτος δὴ ὧν οἱ ἐπανεστη μαθὼν τε τὸν Σμέρδιος θάνατον ὡς κρύπτοιο γενόμενος, καὶ ὡς ὀλίγοι εἶησαν οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτὸν Περσέων, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ περιέοντα μιν εἰδείσαν. ² πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευσας τάδε ἐπεχείρησε τοῖσι βασιλῆιοισι. ἦν οἱ ἀδελφεός, τὸν εἰπά οἱ συνεπαναστῆναι, οἰκῶς μάλιστα τὸ εἶδος Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου, τὸν ὁ Καμβύσης ἐόντα ἐωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὸν ἀπέκτεινε· ἦν τε δὴ ὁμοιος εἶδος τῷ Σμέρδι καὶ δὴ καὶ οὖνομα τῷτὸ εἶχε Σμέρδιν. ³ τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἀναγνώσας ὁ Μάγος Πατιζεΐθης ὡς οἱ αὐτὸς πάντα διαπρήξει, εἶσε ἄγων ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον. ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο κήρυκας τῇ τε ἄλλῃ διέπεμπε καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον προερέοντα τῷ στρατῷ ὡς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου ἀκουστέα εἶη τοῦ λοιποῦ ἄλλ' οὐ Καμβύσεω.

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¹ Οἱ τε δὴ ὧν ἄλλοι κήρυκες προηγόρευον ταῦτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ταχθεὶς, εὔρισκε γὰρ Καμβύσεα καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐόντα τῆς Συρίας ἐν Ἀγβατάνοισι, προηγόρευε στὰς ἐς μέσον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἐκ τοῦ Μάγου. ² Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ κήρυκος καὶ ἐλπίσας μιν λέγειν ἀληθέα αὐτός τε προδεδόσθαι ἐκ Πρηξάσπεος (πεμφθέντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὡς ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν οὐ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα), βλέψας ἐς τὸν Πρηξάσπεα εἶπε “Πρηξάσπεες, οὕτω μοι διεπρήξαις τό τοι προσέθηκα πρῆγμα;,, ³ ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀληθέα, ὅκως κοτὲ σοὶ Σμέρδης ἀδελφεὸς σὸς ἐπανεστήκε, οὐδὲ ὅκως τι ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς νεῖκός τοι ἔσται ἢ μέγα ἢ σμικρόν· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτός, ποιήσας τὰ σύ με ἐκέλευες, ἔθασά μιν χερσὶ τῇσι ἐμεωυτοῦ. ⁴ εἰ μὲν νυν οἱ τεθνεῶτες ἀνεστᾶσι, προσδέκεό τοι καὶ Ἀστυάγεα τὸν Μῆδον ἐπαναστήσεσθαι· εἰ δ' ἔστι ὥσπερ πρὸ τοῦ, οὐ μὴ τί τοι ἔκ γε ἐκείνου νεώτερον ἀναβλάσῃ. νῦν ὧν μοι δοκείει μεταδιώξαντας τὸν κήρυκα ἐξετάζειν εἰρωτεύντας παρ' ὅτεν ἤκων προαγορεύει ἡμῖν Σμέρδιος βασιλέος ἀκούειν;,,

¹ Ταῦτα εἶπαντος Πρηξάσπεος, ἤρεσε γὰρ Καμβύση, αὐτίκα μεταδίωντος γενόμενος ὁ κῆρυξ ἦκε· ἀπιγμένον δέ μιν εἶρετο ὁ Πρηξάσπης τάδε. “ὦνθρωπε, φῆς γὰρ ἦκειν παρὰ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου ἄγγελος· νῦν ὦν εἶπας τὴν ἀληθείην ἄπιθι χαίρων, κότερα αὐτός τοι Σμέρδις φαινόμενος ἐς ὅσιν ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα ἢ τῶν τις ἐκείνου ὑπηρετέων;”, ² ὃ δὲ εἶπε “ἐγὼ Σμέρδιν μὲν τὸν Κύρου, ἐξ ὅτε βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης ἤλασε ἐς Αἴγυπτον, οὐκ ὅπωπα· ὁ δέ μοι Μάγος τὸν Καμβύσης ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων ἀπέδεξε, οὗτος ταῦτα ἐνετείλατο, φᾶς Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενον εἶπαι πρὸς ὑμέας;”, ³ ὃ μὲν δὴ σφί ἔλεγε οὐδὲν ἐπικατεψυσμένος, Καμβύσης δὲ εἶπε “Πρήξασπες, σὺ μὲν οἶα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ποιήσας τὸ κελευόμενον αἰτίην ἐκπέφευγας· ἐμοὶ δὲ τίς ἂν εἴη Περσέων ὁ ἐπανεστεῶς ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Σμέρδιος οὐνόματος;”, ὁ δὲ εἶπε ⁴ “ἐγὼ μοι δοκέω συνιέναι τὸ γεγονός τοῦτο, ὃ βασιλεῦ· οἱ Μάγοι εἰσὶ τοι οἱ ἐπανεστεῶτες, τόν τε ἔλιπες μελεδωνὸν τῶν οἰκίων, Πατιζειίθης, καὶ ὁ τοῦτου ἀδελφεὸς Σμέρδις;”.

¹ Ἐνθαῦτα ἀκούσαντα Καμβύσεια τὸ Σμέρδιος οὐνομα ἔτυψε ἢ ἀληθείῃ τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου· ὃς ἐδόκεε ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι τινὰ οἱ ὡς Σμέρδις ἰζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ψαύσειε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. ² μαθὼν δὲ ὡς μάτην ἀπολωλεκῶς εἶη τὸν ἀδελφεόν, ἀπέκλαιε Σμέρδιν· ἀποκλαύσας δὲ καὶ περιημεκτήσας τῇ ἀπάσῃ συμφορῇ ἀναθρόσκει ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Σοῦσα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Μάγον. ³ καὶ οἱ ἀναθρόσκοντι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τοῦ κολεοῦ τοῦ ξίφεος ὁ μύκης ἀποπίπτει, γυμνωθὲν δὲ τὸ ξίφος παίει τὸν μηρόν· τρωματισθεὶς δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τῇ αὐτὸς πρότερον τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θεὸν Ἄπιν ἐπληξε, ὡς οἱ καιρὴν ἔδοξε τετύφθαι, εἶρετο ὁ Καμβύσης ὅ τι τῇ πόλι οὐνομα εἶη· οἱ δὲ εἶπαν ὅτι Ἀγβάτανα. ⁴ τῷ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον ἐκέχρηστο ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ἐν Ἀγβατάνοισι τελευτήσῃν τὸν βίον. ὃ μὲν δὴ ἐν τοῖσι Μηδικοῖσι Ἀγβατάνοισι ἐδόκεε τελευτήσῃν γηραιός, ἐν τοῖσί οἱ ἦν τὰ πάντα πρήγματα· τὸ δὲ χρηστήριον ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Συρίῃ Ἀγβατάνοισι ἔλεγε ἄρα. ⁵ καὶ δὴ ὡς τότε ἐπειρόμενος ἐπύθετο τῆς πόλιος τὸ οὐνομα, ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορῆς τῆς τε ἐκ τοῦ Μάγου ἐκπεπληγμένος καὶ τοῦ τρώματος ἐσωφρόνησε, συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ

θεοπρόπιον εἶπε “ἐνθαῦτα Καμβύσεια τὸν Κύρου ἐστὶ πεπρωμένον τελευτᾶν,,-

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1 Τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα. ἡμέρησι δὲ ὕστερον ὥς εἴκοσι μεταπεμψάμενος Περσέων τῶν παρεόντων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. “ὦ Πέρσαι, καταλελάβηκέ με, τὸ πάντων μάλιστα ἔκρυπτον πρηγμάτων, τοῦτο ἐς ὑμέας ἐκφεῖναι. 2 ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐὼν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ εἶδον ὅσιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, τὴν μηδαμὰ ὄφελον ἰδεῖν· ἐδόκεον δέ μοι ἄγγελον ἐλθόντα ἐξ οἴκου ἀγγέλλειν ὥς Σμέρδης ἰζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ψαύσειε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. 3 δεῖσας δὲ μὴ ἀπαιρεθῆω τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸς τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ, ἐποίησα ταχύτερα ἢ σοφώτερα· ἐν τῇ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄρα τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι ἀποτρέπειν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ μάταιος Πρηξάσπεα ἀποπέμπω ἐς Σοῦσα ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν. ἐξεργασθέντος δὲ κακοῦ τοσοῦτου ἀδεῶς διαιτώμην, οὐδαμὰ ἐπιλεξάμενος μὴ κοτέ τίς μοι Σμέρδιος ὑπαιρημένον ἄλλος ἐπανασταίῃ ἀνθρώπων. 4 παντὸς δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι ἀμαρτῶν ἀδελφεοκτόνος τε οὐδὲν δέον γέγονα καὶ τῆς βασιληΐης οὐδὲν ἥσσον ἐστέρημαι· Σμέρδης γὰρ δὴ ἦν ὁ Μάγος τὸν μοι ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε ἐν τῇ ὄψι ἐπαναστήσεσθαι. 5 τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔργον ἐξέργασταί μοι, καὶ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου μηκέτι ὑμῖν ἐόντα λογίζεσθε· οἱ δὲ ὑμῖν Μάγοι κρατεύουσι τῶν βασιλῆων, τὸν τε ἔλιπον ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων καὶ ὁ ἐκείνου ἀδελφεὸς Σμέρδης. τὸν μὲν νυν μάλιστα χρῆν ἐμεῦ αἰσχρὰ πρὸς τῶν Μάγων πεπονθότος τιμωρέειν ἐμοί, οὗτος μὲν ἀνοσίῳ μόρῳ τετελεύτηκε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐωντοῦ οἰκηιοτάτων· 6 τούτου δὲ μηκέτι ἐόντος, δευτέρα τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν ὦ Πέρσαι γίνεται μοι ἀναγκαιότατον ἐντέλλεσθαι τὰ θέλω μοι γενέσθαι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον· καὶ δὴ ὑμῖν τάδε ἐπισκῆπτω θεοὺς τοὺς βασιλῆιους ἐπικαλέων καὶ πᾶσι ὑμῖν καὶ μάλιστα Ἀχαιμενιδέων τοῖσι παρεούσι, μὴ περιδεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίην αὐτὶς ἐς Μήδους περιελθοῦσαν, ἀλλ’ εἴτε δόλῳ ἔχουσι αὐτὴν κτησάμενοι, δόλῳ ἀπαιρεθῆναι ὑπὸ ὑμέων, εἴτε καὶ σθένει τεῶ κατεργασάμενοι, σθένει κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν ἀνασώσασθαι. 7 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ποιεῦσι ὑμῖν γῇ τε καρπὸν ἐκφέρει καὶ γυναικῆς τε καὶ ποῖμναι τίκτοιεν, ἐοῦσι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐλευθέροισι· μὴ δὲ ἀνασωσαμένοισι τὴν ἀρχὴν μηδ’ ἐπιχειρήσασιν ἀνασώζειν τὰ ἐναντία τούτοις ἀρῶμαι ὑμῖν γενέσθαι, καὶ πρὸς ἔτι τούτοις τὸ τέλος Περσέων ἐκάστῳ ἐπιγενέσθαι οἶον

έμοι ἐπιγέγονε,,. ἅμα τε εἶπας ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπέκλαιε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ πρῆξιν.

66

1 Πέρσαι δὲ ὡς τὸν βασιλέα εἶδον ἀνακλαύσαντα πάντες τὰ τε ἐσθῆτος ἐχόμενα εἶχον, ταῦτα κατηρέικοντο καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἀφθόνῳ διεχρέωντο. 2 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὡς ἐσφακέλισέ τε τὸ ὀστέον καὶ ὁ μηρὸς τάχιστα ἐσάπη, ἀπῆναικε Καμβύσεια τὸν Κύρου, βασιλεύσαντα μὲν τὰ πάντα ἑπτὰ ἔτεα καὶ πέντε μῆνας, ἅπαιδα δὲ τὸ παράπαν ἐόντα ἔρσηνος καὶ θήλεος γόνου. 3 Περσέων δὲ τοῖσι παρεοῦσι ἀπιστίῃ πολλὴ ὑπεκέχυτο τοὺς Μάγους ἔχειν τὰ πρήγματα, ἀλλ' ἠπιστέατο ἐπὶ διαβολῇ εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεια τὰ εἶπε περὶ τοῦ Σμέρδιος θανάτου, ἵνα οἱ ἐκπολεμωθῇ πᾶν τὸ Περσικόν.

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1 Οὗτοι μὲν νυν ἠπιστέατο Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου βασιλέα ἐνέστεῶτα· δεινῶς γὰρ καὶ ὁ Πρηξάσπης ἔξαρνος ἦν μὴ μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι Σμέρδιν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν οἱ ἀσφαλὲς Καμβύσειω τετελευτηκότος φάναι τὸν Κύρου υἱὸν ἀπολωλέκεναι αὐτοχειρίῃ. 2 ὁ δὲ δὴ Μάγος τελευτήσαντος Καμβύσειω ἀδεῶς ἐβασίλευσε, ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ὁμωνύμου Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, μῆνας ἑπτὰ τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους Καμβύση ἐς τὰ ὀκτῶ ἔτεα τῆς πληρώσιος· 3 ἐν τοῖσι ἀπεδέξατο ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους πάντας εὐεργεσίας μεγάλας, ὥστε ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ πόθον ἔχειν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ πάρεξ αὐτῶν Περσέων. διαπέμψας γὰρ ὁ Μάγος ἐς πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ἤρχε προεῖπε ἀτελείην εἶναι στρατηγίας καὶ φόρου ἐπ' ἔτεα τρία.

68

1 Προεῖπε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα αὐτίκα ἐνιστάμενος ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν, ὀγδόῳ δὲ μηνὶ ἐγένετο κατάδηλος τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Ὀτάνης ἦν Φαρνάσπεω μὲν παῖς, γένει δὲ καὶ χρήμασι ὁμοῖος τῷ πρώτῳ Περσέων. 2 οὗτος ὁ Ὀτάνης πρῶτος ὑπόπτεισε τὸν Μάγον ὡς οὐκ εἶη ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδης ἀλλ' ὅς περ ἦν, τῇδε συμβαλλόμενος, ὅτι τε οὐκ ἐξεφοῖτα ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐκάλεε ἐς ὄψιν ἐωυτῷ οὐδένα τῶν λογίμων Περσέων· 3 ὑποπτέυσας δέ μιν ἐποίειε τάδε. ἔσχε αὐτοῦ Καμβύσης θυγατέρα, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Φαῖδύμη· τὴν αὐτὴν δὴ ταύτην εἶχε τότε ὁ Μάγος καὶ ταύτῃ τε συνοίκεε καὶ τῇσι ἄλλῃσι πάσῃσι τῇσι τοῦ

Καμβύσεω γυναιξί. πέμπων δὴ ὢν ὁ Ὀτάνης παρὰ ταύτην τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπυνθάνετο παρ' ὅτεω ἀνθρώπων κοιμῶτο, εἴτε μετὰ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου εἴτε μετὰ ἄλλου τευ. 4 ἡ δέ οἱ ἀντέπεμπε φαμένη οὐ γινώσκειν· οὔτε γὰρ τὸν Κύρου Σμέρδιν ιδέσθαι οὐδαμὰ οὔτε ὅστις εἴη ὁ συνοικέων αὐτῇ εἰδέναι. ἔπεμπε δεύτερα ὁ Ὀτάνης λέγων “εἰ μὴ αὐτὴ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου γινώσκεις, σὺ δὲ παρὰ Ἀτόσσης πύθευ ὅτεω τούτῳ συνοικέει αὐτὴ τε ἐκείνη καὶ σύ· πάντως γὰρ δὴ κου τόν γε ἐωυτῆς ἀδελφεὸν γινώσκει,,. ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ θυγάτηρ 5 “οὔτε Ἀτόσση δύναμαι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν οὔτε ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν ιδέσθαι τῶν συγκατημενέων γυναικῶν. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ τάχιστα οὗτος ὦνθρωπος, ὅστις κοτὲ ἐστί, παρέλαβε τὴν βασιληίην, διέσπειρε ἡμέας ἄλλην ἄλλη τάξας,,.

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1 Ἀκούοντι δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Ὀτάνῃ μᾶλλον κατεφαίνετο τὸ πρῆγμα. τρίτην δὲ ἀγγελίην ἐσπέμπει παρ' αὐτὴν λέγουσαν ταῦτα. 2 “ὦ θύγατερ, δεῖ σε γεγονυῖαν εὖ κίνδυνον ἀναλαβέσθαι τὸν ἂν ὁ πατήρ ὑποδύνειν κελεύῃ. εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ ἐστί ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδης ἀλλὰ τὸν καταδοκέω ἐγώ, οὔτοι μιν σοὶ τε συγκοιμώμενον καὶ τὸ Περσέων κράτος ἔχοντα δεῖ χαίροντα ἀπαλλάσσειν, ἀλλὰ δοῦναι δίκην. 3 νῦν ὢν ποιήσον τάδε· ἐπεὰν σοὶ συνεύδῃ καὶ μάθῃς αὐτὸν κατυπνωμένον, ἄφασον αὐτοῦ τὰ ὦτα· καὶ ἦν μὲν φαίνεται ἔχων ὦτα, νόμιζε σεωυτὴν Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου συνοικέειν, ἦν δὲ μὴ ἔχων, σὺ δὲ τῷ Μάγῳ Σμέρδι,,. 4 ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ Φαιδύμη φαμένη κινδυνεύσειν μεγάλως, ἦν ποιέῃ ταῦτα· εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ τυγχάνει τὰ ὦτα ἔχων, ἐπίλαμπος δὲ ἀφάσσουσα ἔσται, εὖ εἰδέναι ὡς ἀιστώσει μιν· ὅμως μέντοι ποιήσειν ταῦτα. 5 ἡ μὲν δὴ ὑπεδέξατο ταῦτα τῷ πατρὶ κατεργάσσεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Μάγου τούτου τοῦ Σμέρδιος Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω ἄρχων τὰ ὦτα ἀπέταμε ἐπ' αἰτίῃ δὴ τινὶ οὐ σμικρῇ. 6 ἡ ὢν δὴ Φαιδύμη αὕτη, ἡ τοῦ Ὀτάνεω θυγάτηρ, πάντα ἐπιτελέουσα τὰ ὑπεδέξατο τῷ πατρὶ, ἐπεῖτε αὐτῆς μέρος ἐγίνετο τῆς ἀπίξιος παρὰ τὸν Μάγον (ἐν περιτροπῇ γὰρ δὴ αἱ γυναῖκες φοιτέουσι τοῖσι Πέρσησι), ἐλθοῦσα παρ' αὐτὸν ἠΐδε, ὑπνωμένου δὲ καρτερῶς τοῦ Μάγου ἤφασε τὰ ὦτα. μαθοῦσα δὲ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἄλλ' εὐπετέως οὐκ ἔχοντα τὸν ἄνδρα ὦτα, ὡς ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνεε, πέμψασα ἐσήμηνε τῷ πατρὶ τὰ γενόμενα.

1 Ὁ δὲ Ὀτάνης παραλαβὼν Ἀσπαθίνην καὶ Γοβρύην, Περσέων τε πρῶτους ἐόντας καὶ ἐωυτῷ ἐπιτηδεοτάτους ἐς πίστιν, ἀπηγγέσατο πᾶν τὸ πρῆγμα· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄρα ὑπώπτευν οὕτω τοῦτο ἔχειν, ἀνενείκαντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀτάνεω τοὺς λόγους ἐδέξαντο, 2 καὶ ἔδοξέ σφι ἕκαστον ἄνδρα Περσέων προσεταιρίσασθαι τοῦτον ὅτε πιστεύει μάλιστα. Ὀτάνης μὲν νυν ἐσάγεται Ἰνταφρένεα, Γοβρύης δὲ Μεγάβυζον, Ἀσπαθίνης δὲ Ὑδάρνεα. 3 γεγονότων δὲ τούτων ἐξ παραγίνεται ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος ἐκ Περσέων ἥκων· τούτων γὰρ δὴ ἦν οἱ ὁ πατήρ ὕπαρχος. ἐπεὶ ὧν οὗτος ἀπίκετο, τοῖσι ἐξ τῶν Περσέων ἔδοξε καὶ Δαρεῖον προσεταιρίσασθαι.

1 Συνελθόντες δὲ οὗτοι ἐόντες ἐπτὰ ἐδίδοσαν σφίσι πίστις καὶ λόγους. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐς Δαρεῖον ἀπίκετο γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. 2 “ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἐδόκεον μὲν αὐτὸς μόνος ἐπίστασθαι, ὅτι τε ὁ Μάγος εἶη ὁ βασιλεύων καὶ Σμέρδης ὁ Κύρου τετελετύηκε· καὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου εἵνεκεν ἦκω σπουδῇ ὡς συστήσων ἐπὶ τῷ Μάγῳ θάνατον. ἐπεῖτε δὲ συνήνεκε ὥστε καὶ ὑμέας εἰδέναι καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐμέ, ποιέειν αὐτίκα μοι δοκέει καὶ μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον, 3 εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ὀτάνης “ὦ παῖ Ὑστάσπεος, εἰς τε πατρός ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἐκφαίνειν ἔοικας σεωυτὸν ἐόντα τοῦ πατρός οὐδὲν ἥσσω· τὴν μέντοι ἐπιχείρησιν ταύτην μὴ οὕτω συντάχυνε ἀβούλως, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸ σωφρονέστερον αὐτὴν λάμβανε· δεῖ γὰρ πλεῦνας γενομένους οὕτω ἐπιχειρέειν, 4 λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα Δαρεῖος “ἄνδρες οἱ παρεόντες, τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἐξ Ὀτάνεω εἰ χρήσεσθε, ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ἀπολέεσθε κάκιστα· ἐξοίσει γάρ τις πρὸς τὸν Μάγον, ἰδίῃ περιβαλλόμενος ἐωυτῷ κέρδεα. 5 μάλιστα μὲν νυν ὠφείλετε ἐπ’ ὑμέων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι ποιέειν ταῦτα· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ὑμῖν ἀναφέρειν ἐς πλεῦνας ἐδόκεε καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑπερέθεσθε, ἢ ποιέωμεν σήμερον ἢ ἴστε ὑμῖν ὅτι ἦν ὑπερπέση ἢ νῦν ἡμέρη, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος φθὰς ἐμεῦ κατήγορος ἔσται, ἀλλὰ σφεα αὐτὸς ἐγὼ κατερέω πρὸς τὸν Μάγον,·

1 Λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα Ὀτάνης, ἐπειδὴ ὥρα σπερχόμενον Δαρεῖον, “ἐπεῖτε ἡμέας συνταχύνειν ἀναγκάζεις καὶ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι οὐκ ἔαξ, ἴθι ἐξηγέο αὐτὸς ὅτε τρόπῳ πάριμεν ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα καὶ

ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτοῖσι. φυλακὰς γὰρ δὴ διεστεώσας οἶδ' αὖτε καὶ αὐτός, εἰ μὴ ἰδὼν, ἀλλ' ἀκούσας· τὰς τέφ' ἑκείνῳ περήσομεν;,, ἀμείβεται Δαρεῖος τοῖσιδε. 2 “Ὅτάνη, ἥ πολλά ἐστι τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οὐκ οἶα τε δηλώσαι, ἔργῳ δέ· ἄλλα δ' ἐστι τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οἶα τε, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐδὲν ἅπ' αὐτῶν λαμπρὸν γίνεται. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἴστε φυλακὰς τὰς κατεστεώσας ἐούσας οὐδὲν χαλεπὰς παρελθεῖν. 3 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἡμέων ἐόντων τοιῶνδε οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ παρήσει, τὰ μὲν κού καταδεόμενος ἡμέας, τὰ δὲ κού καὶ δειμαίνων· τοῦτο δὲ ἔχω αὐτὸς σκῆψιν εὐπρεπεστάτην τῇ πάριμεν, φὰς ἄρτι τε ἡκεῖν ἐκ Περσέων καὶ βούλεσθαι τι ἔπος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς σημήναι τῷ βασιλεί. 4 ἔνθα γάρ τι δεῖ ψεῦδος λέγεσθαι, λεγέσθω. τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ γλιχόμεθα οἱ τε ψευδόμενοι καὶ οἱ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ διαχρεώμενοι. οἱ μὲν γε ψεύδονται τότε ἐπεὰν τι μέλλωσι τοῖσι ψεύδεσι πείσαντες κερδήσεσθαι, οἱ δ' ἀληθίζονται ἵνα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐπισπάσωνται κέρδος καὶ τι μᾶλλον σφι ἐπιτράπηται. οὕτω οὐ ταῦτα ἀσκεόντες τῷ περὶ τοῦ περιεχόμεθα. 5 εἰ δὲ μηδὲν κερδήσεσθαι μέλλοιεν, ὁμοίως ἂν ὅ τε ἀληθιζόμενος ψευδῆς εἴη καὶ ὁ ψευδόμενος ἀληθής. ὅς ἂν μὲν νυν τῶν πυλουργῶν ἐκὼν παριῇ, αὐτῷ οἱ ἄμεινον ἐς χρόνον ἔσται· ὅς δ' ἂν ἀντιβαίνειν πειρᾶται, δεικνύσθω ἐνθαῦτα ἐὼν πολέμιος, καὶ ἔπειτα ὡσάμενοι ἔσω ἔργου ἐχώμεθα;,,

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1 Λέγει Γοβρύης μετὰ ταῦτα “ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἡμῖν κότε κάλλιον παρέξει ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἢ εἰ γε μὴ οἰοί τε ἐσόμεθα αὐτὴν ἀναλαβεῖν, ἀποθανεῖν; ὅτε γε ἀρχόμεθα μὲν ἐόντες Πέρσαι ὑπὸ Μήδου ἀνδρὸς Μάγου, καὶ τούτου ὧτα οὐκ ἔχοντος. 2 ὅσοι τε ὑμέων Καμβύση νουθετοῦν παρεγένοντο, πάντως κού μέμνησθε τὰ ἐπέσκηψε Πέρσῃσι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον μὴ πειρωμένοισι ἀνακτᾶσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν· τὰ τότε οὐκ ἐνδεκόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαβολῇ ἐδοκέομεν εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεια. 3 νῦν ὧν τίθεμαι ψῆφον πείθεσθαι Δαρείῳ καὶ μὴ διαλύεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου τοῦδε ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν Μάγον ἰθὺς;,, ταῦτα εἶπε Γοβρύης, καὶ πάντες ταύτη αἶνεον.

74

1 Ἐν τῷ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο, ἐγένετο κατὰ συντυχίην τάδε. τοῖσι Μάγοις ἐδοξε βουλευομένοις Πηξιάσπεια φίλον προσθέσθαι, ὅτι τε ἐπεπόνθει πρὸς Καμβύσειον ἀνάρσια, ὅς οἱ τὸν παῖδα τοξεύσας

ἀπολωλέκεε, καὶ διότι μοῦνος ἡπίστατο τὸν Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θάνατον αὐτοχειρὴ μιν ἀπολέσας, πρὸς δ' ἔτι ἐόντα ἐν αἶνῃ μεγίστη τὸν Πρηξάσπεα ἐν Πέρσῃσι. 2 τούτων δὴ μιν εἵνεκεν καλέσαντες φίλον προσεκτῶντο πίστι τε λαβόντες καὶ ὀρκίοισι, ἧ μὲν ἕξιν παρ' ἐωυτῶ μὴδ' ἐξοίσειν μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀπὸ σφέων ἀπάτην ἐς Πέρσας γεγонуῖαν, ὑπισχνέμενοι τὰ πάντα οἱ μυρία δώσειν. 3 ὑποσχομένου δὲ τοῦ Πρηξάσπεος ποιήσιν ταῦτα, ὥς ἀνέπεισάν μιν οἱ Μάγοι, δεύτερα προσέφερον, αὐτοὶ μὲν φάμενοι Πέρσας πάντας συγκαλέειν ὑπὸ τὸ βασιλῆιον τεῖχος, κείνον δ' ἐκέλευον ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ πύργον ἀγορεύσαι ὥς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου Σμέρδιος ἄρχονται καὶ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου. 4 ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω ἐνετέλλοντο ὥς πιστοτάτου δῆθεν ἐόντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃσι καὶ πολλάκις ἀποδεξαμένου γνώμην ὥς περιεῖη ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις, καὶ ἐξαρνησαμένου τὸν φόνον αὐτοῦ.

75

1 Φαμένου δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐτοίμου εἶναι ποιέειν τοῦ Πρηξάσπεος, συγκαλέσαντες Πέρσας οἱ Μάγοι ἀνεβίβασαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πύργον καὶ ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευον. ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐκεῖνοι προσεδέοντο αὐτοῦ, τούτων μὲν ἐκὼν ἐπελήθετο, ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἀπ' Ἀχαμένεος ἐγενεηλόγησε τὴν πατριὴν τὴν Κύρου, μετὰ δὲ ὥς ἐς τοῦτον κατέβη τελευτῶν ἔλεγε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ Κῦρος Πέρσας πεποιήκοι, 2 διεξελθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ἐξέφαινε τὴν ἀληθείην, φάμενος πρότερον μὲν κρύπτειν (οὐ γάρ οἱ εἶναι ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν τὰ γενόμενα), ἐν δὲ τῷ παρεόντι, ἀναγκαίην μιν καταλαμβάνειν φαίνειν. καὶ δὴ ἔλεγε τὸν μὲν Κύρου Σμέρδιν ὥς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Καμβύσειω ἀναγκαζόμενος ἀποκτείνειε, τοὺς Μάγους δὲ βασιλεύειν. 3 Πέρσῃσι δὲ πολλὰ ἐπαρησάμενος εἰ μὴ ἀνακτησαίαιτο ὀπίσω τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τοὺς Μάγους τισαίαιτο, ἀπῆκε ἐωυτὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν φέρεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου κάτω. Πρηξάσπης μὲν νυν ἐὼν τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀνὴρ δόκιμος οὕτω ἐτελεύτησε.

76

1 Οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐπτά τῶν Περσέων ὥς ἐβουλεύσαντο αὐτίκα ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖσι Μάγοισι καὶ μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι, ἦσαν εὐξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, τῶν περὶ Πρηξάσπεα πρηχθέντων εἰδότες οὐδέν. 2 ἐν τε δὴ τῇ ὁδῷ μέσῃ στείχοντες ἐγίνοντο καὶ τὰ περὶ Πρηξάσπεα γεγονότα ἐπυνθάνοντο. ἐνθαῦτα ἐκστάντες τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐδίδοσαν αὐτίς σφίσι λόγους, οἳ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ὀτάνην πάγχυ κελεύοντες

ὑπερβαλέσθαι μηδὲ οἰδεόντων τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐπιτίθεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἄμφι τὸν Δαρεῖον αὐτίκα τε ἰέναι καὶ τὰ δεδογμένα ποιέειν μηδὲ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι. ³ ὠθιζομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἐφάνη ἱρήκων ἑπτὰ ζεύγεα δύο αἰγυπιῶν ζεύγεα διώκοντα καὶ τίλλοντά τε καὶ ἀμύσσοντα. ἰδόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἑπτὰ τὴν τε Δαρείου πάντες αἶνεον γνώμην καὶ ἔπειτα ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλῆα τεθαρσηκότες τοῖσι ὄρνισι.

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¹ Ἐπιστᾷσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγένετο οἷόν τι Δαρεῖω ἢ γνώμῃ ἔφερε· καταιδέομενοι γὰρ οἱ φύλακοι ἄνδρας τοὺς Περσέων πρώτους καὶ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο ὑποπτεύοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔσεσθαι, παρέσαν θείῃ πομπῇ χρεωμένους, οὐδ' ἐπειρώτα οὐδεῖς. ² ἔπειτε δὲ καὶ παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν αὐλήν, ἐνέκυρσαν τοῖσι τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρουσι εὐνούχοισι· οἱ σφεας ἰστόρεον ὅ τι θέλοντες ἤκοιεν, καὶ ἅμα ἰστορέοντες τούτους τοῖσι πυλouroῖσι ἀπέειπον ὅτι σφέας παρῆκαν, ἴσχόν τε βουλομένους τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἐς τὸ πρόσω παρίεναι. ³ οἱ δὲ διακελευσάμενοι καὶ σπασάμενοι τὰ ἐγχειρίδια τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἴσχοντας αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συγκεντέουσι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἦσαν δρόμῳ ἐς τὸν ἀνδρεῶνα.

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¹ Οἱ δὲ Μάγοι ἔτυχον ἀμφοτέρω τῇ τῆνικαῦτα ἐόντες τε ἔσω καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Πρηξάσπεος γενόμενα ἐν βουλῇ ἔχοντες. ἐπεὶ ὧν εἶδον τοὺς εὐνούχους τεθορυβημένους τε καὶ βοῶντας, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον πάλιν ἀμφοτέρω καὶ ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ ποιούμενον πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο. ² ὁ μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν φθάνει τὰ τόξα κατελόμενος, ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν αἰχμὴν ἐτράπετο. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ συνέμισγον ἀλλήλοισι. τῷ μὲν δὴ τὰ τόξα ἀναλαβόντι αὐτῶν, ἐόντων τε ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ προσκειμένων, ἦν χρηστὰ οὐδέν· ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῇ αἰχμῇ ἡμύνητο καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Ἀσπαθίνην παίει ἐς τὸν μηρόν, τοῦτο δὲ Ἰνταφρένεα ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν· καὶ ἐστερήθη μὲν τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος ὁ Ἰνταφρένης, οὐ μέντοι ἀπέθανε γε. ³ τῶν μὲν δὴ Μάγων οὔτερος τρωματίζει τούτους· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος, ἔπειτε οἱ τὰ τόξα οὐδὲν χρηστὰ ἐγένετο, ἦν γὰρ δὴ θάλαμος ἐσέχων ἐς τὸν ἀνδρεῶνα, ἐς τοῦτον καταφεύγει, θέλων αὐτοῦ προσθεῖναι τὰς θύρας, καὶ οἱ συνεσπίπτουσι τῶν ἑπτὰ δύο, Δαρεῖός τε καὶ Γοβρύης. ⁴ συμπλακέντος δὲ Γοβρύεω τῷ Μάγῳ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐπεστεῶς ἠπόρεε οἶα ἐν σκότει, προμηθεόμενος μὴ πλήξῃ τὸν Γοβρύνην. ⁵ ὁρέων δὲ μιν

ἀργὸν ἐπεστεῶτα ὁ Γοβρύης εἶρετο ὃ τι οὐ χρᾶται τῇ χειρί· ὁ δὲ εἶπε “Προμηθεόμενος σέο, μὴ πλήξω,,. Γοβρύης δὲ ἀμείβετο “ὥθεε τὸ ξίφος καὶ δι’ ἀμφοτέρων,,. Δαρείος δὲ πειθόμενος ὥσέ τε τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον καὶ ἔτυχέ κως τοῦ Μάγου.

79

1 Ἀποκτείναντες δὲ τοὺς Μάγους καὶ ἀποταμόντες αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοὺς μὲν τραυματίας ἐσωτῶν αὐτοῦ λείπουνσι καὶ ἀδυνασίης εἵνεκεν καὶ φυλακῆς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, οἱ δὲ πέντε αὐτῶν ἔχοντες τῶν Μάγων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔθεον βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ χρεώμενοι, καὶ Πέρσας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεκαλέοντο ἐξηγεόμενοι τε τὸ πρῆγμα καὶ δεικνύοντες τὰς κεφαλὰς, καὶ ἅμα ἔκτεινον πάντα τινὰ τῶν Μάγων τὸν ἐν ποσὶ γινόμενον. 2 οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι μαθόντες τὸ γεγονὸς ἐκ τῶν ἐπτὰ καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν ἀπάτην, ἐδικαίουν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν, σπασάμενοι δὲ τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔκτεινον ὅκου τινὰ Μάγον εὕρισκον· εἰ δὲ μὴ νῦξ ἐπελθοῦσα ἔσχε, ἔλιπον ἂν οὐδένα Μάγον. 3 ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην θεραπεύουσι Πέρσαι κοινῇ μάλιστα τῶν ἡμερέων, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ὀρτὴν μεγάλην ἀνάγουσι, ἣ κέκληται ὑπὸ Περσέων μαγοφόνια· ἐν τῇ Μάγον οὐδένα ἔξεστι φανῆναι ἐς τὸ φῶς, ἀλλὰ κατ’ οἴκους ἐσωτούς οἱ Μάγοι ἔχουσι τὴν ἡμέρην ταύτην.

80

1 Ἐπεῖτε δὲ κατέστη ὁ θόρυβος καὶ ἐκτὸς πέντε ἡμερέων ἐγένετο, ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μάγοισι περὶ τῶν πάντων πρηγμάτων καὶ ἐλέχθησαν λόγοι ἄπιστοι μὲν ἐνίοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἐλέχθησαν δ’ ὧν. 2 Ὅτάνης μὲν ἐκέλευε ἐς μέσον Πέρσῃσι καταθεῖναι τὰ πρήγματα, λέγων τάδε. “ἐμοὶ δοκέει ἓνα μὲν ἡμέων μούναρχον μηκέτι γενέσθαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἡδὺ οὔτε ἀγαθόν. εἶδετε μὲν γὰρ τὴν Καμβύσεω ὕβριν ἐπ’ ὅσον ἐπεξῆλθε, μετεσχίκατε δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Μάγου ὕβριος. 3 κῶς δ’ ἂν εἴη χρῆμα κατηρημένον μουναρχίῃ, τῇ ἔξεστι ἀνευθύνῳ ποιεῖν τὰ βούλεται; καὶ γὰρ ἂν τὸν ἄριστον ἀνδρῶν πάντων στάντα ἐς ταύτην ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐωθότων νοημάτων στήσειε. ἐγγίνεται μὲν γὰρ οἱ ὕβρις ὑπὸ τῶν παρεόντων ἀγαθῶν, φθόνος δὲ ἀρχῆθεν ἐμφύεται ἀνθρώπῳ. 4 δύο δ’ ἔχων ταῦτα ἔχει πᾶσαν κακότητα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὕβρι κεκορημένος ἔρδει πολλὰ καὶ ἀτάσθαλα, τὰ δὲ φθόνῳ. καίτοι ἄνδρα γε τύραννον ἄφθονον ἔδει εἶναι, ἔχοντά γε πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ. τὸ δὲ ὑπεναντίον τούτου ἐς τοὺς

πολιήτας πέφυκε· φθονέει γάρ τοῖσι ἀρίστοισι περιεοῦσί τε καὶ ζώουσι, χαίρει δὲ τοῖσι κακίστοισι τῶν ἀστῶν, διαβολὰς δὲ ἄριστος ἐνδέκεσθαι. 5 ἀναρμοστότατον δὲ πάντων· ἦν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν μετρίως θωμάζης, ἄχθεται ὅτι οὐ κάρτα θεραπεύεται, ἦν τε θεραπεύῃ τις κάρτα, ἄχθεται ἅτε θωπί. τὰ δὲ δὴ μέγιστα ἔρχομαι ἐρέων· νόμαιά τε κινέει πάτρια καὶ βιάται γυναῖκας κτείνει τε ἀκρίτους. 6 πλῆθος δὲ ἄρχον πρῶτα μὲν οὖνομα πάντων κάλλιστον ἔχει, ἰσονομίην, δεύτερα δὲ τούτων τῶν ὁ μούναρχος ποιεῖ οὐδέν· πάλῳ μὲν ἀρχὰς ἄρχει, ὑπεύθυνον δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχει, βουλευμάτα δὲ πάντα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφέρει. τίθεμαι ὦν γνώμην μετέντας ἡμέας μουναρχίην τὸ πλῆθος ἀέξειν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ πολλῷ ἐνὶ τὰ πάντα,,.

81

1 Ὅτάνης μὲν δὴ ταύτην γνώμην ἐσέφερε· Μεγάβυζος δὲ ὀλιγαρχίῃ ἐκέλευε ἐπιτρέπειν, λέγων τάδε. “τὰ μὲν Ὅτάνης εἶπε τυραννίδα παύων, λελέχθω κάμοι ταῦτα, τὰ δ’ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἄνωγε φέρειν τὸ κράτος, γνώμης τῆς ἀρίστης ἡμάρτηκε· ὁμίλου γὰρ ἀχρηίου οὐδέν ἐστι ἀξυνετώτερον οὐδὲ ὕβριστότερον. 2 καίτοι τυράννου ὕβριν φεύγοντας ἄνδρας ἐς δήμου ἀκολάστου ὕβριν πεσεῖν ἐστὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἴ τι ποιεῖ, γινώσκων ποιεῖ, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ γινώσκειν ἐν· κῶς γὰρ ἂν γινώσκοι ὅς οὗτ’ ἐδιδάχθη οὔτε εἶδε καλὸν οὐδὲν οἰκίον, ὠθέει τε ἐμπεσὼν τὰ πρήγματα ἄνευ νόου, χειμάρρῳ ποταμῷ εἵκελος; 3 δήμῳ μὲν νυν, οἱ Πέρσησι κακὸν νοέουσι, οὗτοι χράσθων, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπιλέξαντες ὁμιλίην τούτοις περιθέωμεν τὸ κράτος· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τούτοις καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνεσόμεθα· ἀρίστων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἶκός ἄριστα βουλευμάτα γίνεσθαι,,.

82

1 Μεγάβυζος μὲν δὴ ταύτην γνώμην ἐσέφερε· τρίτος δὲ Δαρεῖος ἀπεδείκνυτο γνώμην, λέγων “ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν εἶπε Μεγάβυζος ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἔχοντα δοκέει ὀρθῶς λέξαι, τὰ δὲ ἐς ὀλιγαρχίην οὐκ ὀρθῶς. τριῶν γὰρ προκειμένων καὶ πάντων τῷ λόγῳ ἀρίστων ἐόντων, δήμου τε ἀρίστου καὶ ὀλιγαρχίης καὶ μουνάρχου, πολλῷ τοῦτο προέχειν λέγω. 2 ἀνδρὸς γὰρ ἐνὸς τοῦ ἀρίστου οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἂν φανεῖ· γνώμῃ γὰρ τοιαύτῃ χρεώμενος ἐπιτροπεύοι ἂν ἀμωμήτως τοῦ πλήθους, σιγῶτό τε ἂν βουλευμάτα ἐπὶ δυσμενέας ἄνδρας οὕτω μάλιστα. 3 ἐν δὲ ὀλιγαρχίῃ πολλοῖσι ἀρετὴν ἐπασκέουσι ἐς τὸ κοινὸν

ἔχθεα ἴδια ἰσχυρὰ φιλέει ἐγγίνεσθαι· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἕκαστος βουλόμενος κορυφαῖος εἶναι γνώμησίν τε νικᾶν ἐς ἔχθεα μεγάλα ἀλλήλοισι ἀπικνέονται, ἐξ ὧν στάσιες ἐγγίνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στασίων φόνος· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φόνου ἀπέβη ἐς μουναρχίην, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ διέδεξε ὅσῳ ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἄριστον. 4 δήμου τε αὖ ἄρχοντος ἀδύνατα μὴ οὐ κακότητα ἐγγίνεσθαι· κακότητος τοίνυν ἐγγινομένης ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἔχθεα μὲν οὐκ ἐγγίνεται τοῖσι κακοῖσι, φιλίας δὲ ἰσχυραί· οἱ γὰρ κακοῦντες τὰ κοινὰ συγκύψαντες ποιεῦσι. τοῦτο δὲ τοιοῦτο γίνεται ἐς ὃ ἂν προστάς τις τοῦ δήμου τοὺς τοιούτους παύσῃ. ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν θωμάζεται οὗτος δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, θωμαζόμενος δὲ ἂν ὧν ἐφάνη μουνάρχος ἐών, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δηλοῖ καὶ οὗτος ὡς ἡ μουναρχία κράτιστον. 5 ἐνὶ δὲ ἔπει πάντα συλλαβόντα εἰπεῖν, κόθεν ἡμῖν ἡ ἐλευθερία ἐγένετο καὶ τεῦ δόντος; κότερα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ἢ ὀλιγαρχίης ἢ μουνάρχου; ἔχω τοίνυν γνώμην ἡμέας ἐλευθερωθέντας διὰ ἓνα ἄνδρα τὸ τοιοῦτο περιστέλλειν, χωρὶς τε τούτου πατρίους νόμους μὴ λύειν ἔχοντας εὖ· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον,.

83

1 Γνωμαὶ μὲν δὴ τρεῖς αὗται προεκέατο, οἱ δὲ τέσσερες τῶν ἐπτὰ ἀνδρῶν προσέθεντο ταύτη. ὡς δὲ ἐσώθη τῇ γνώμῃ ὁ Ὀτάνης Πέρσησι ἰσονομίην σπεύδων ποιῆσαι, ἔλαξε ἐς μέσον αὐτοῖσι τάδε. 2 “ἄνδρες στασιῶται, δηλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι δεῖ ἓνα γε τινὰ ἡμέων βασιλέα γενέσθαι, ἥτοι κλήρῳ γε λαχόντα, ἢ ἐπιτρεψάντων τῷ Περσέων πλήθει τὸν ἂν ἐκεῖνο ἔλθῃ, ἢ ἄλλη τινὶ μηχανῇ. ἐγὼ μὲν νυνὶ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐναγωνιεύμαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἄρχειν οὔτε ἄρχεσθαι ἐθέλω· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ὑπεξίσταμαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπ’ ᾧ τε ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς ὑμέων ἄρξομαι, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὔτε οἱ ἀπ’ ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ γινόμενοι,.” 3 τούτου εἰπαντος ταῦτα ὡς συνεχώρεον οἱ ἕξ ἐπὶ τούτοις, οὗτος μὲν δὴ σφί οὐκ ἐνηγωνίζετο ἀλλ’ ἐκ μέσου κατήστο, καὶ νῦν αὕτη ἡ οἰκίη διατελέει μούνη ἐλευθέρῃ ἐοῦσα Περσέων καὶ ἄρχεται τοσαῦτα ὅσα αὕτη θέλει, νόμους οὐκ ὑπερβαίνουσα τοὺς Περσέων.

84

1 Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐβουλεύοντο ὡς βασιλέα δικαιοτάτα στήσονται· καὶ σφί ἐδοξε Ὀτάνῃ μὲν καὶ τοῖσι ἀπὸ Ὀτάνεω αἰεὶ γινομένοις, ἣν ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἔλθῃ ἢ βασιλίῃ, ἐξαίρετα δίδοσθαι ἐσθιῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ἔτεος ἐκάστου καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δωρεὴν ἢ

γίνεται ἐν Πέρσῃσι τιμιωτάτῃ. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκεν ἐβούλευσάν οἱ δίδοσθαι ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐβούλευσέ τε πρῶτος τὸ πρῆγμα καὶ συνέστησε αὐτούς. 2 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ὀτάνῃ ἐξαίρετα, τάδε δὲ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐβούλευσαν, παριέναι ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν ἐπτά ἄνευ ἐσαγγελέος, ἣν μὴ τυγχάνῃ εὐδῶν μετὰ γυναικὸς βασιλεύς, γαμέειν δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἄλλοθεν τῷ βασιλεί ἢ ἐκ τῶν συνεπαναστάντων. 3 περὶ δὲ τῆς βασιληίης ἐβούλευσαν τοιόνδε· ὅτεν ἂν ὁ ἵππος ἡλίου ἐπανατέλλοντος πρῶτος φθέγξῃται, ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ αὐτῶν ἐπιβεβηκότων, τοῦτον ἔχειν τὴν βασιληίην.

85

1 Δαρεῖω δὲ ἦν ἵπποκόμος ἀνὴρ σοφός, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Οἰβάρης. πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐπεῖτε διελύθησαν, ἔλεξε Δαρεῖος τάδε. “Οἰβαρες, ἡμῖν δέδοκται περὶ τῆς βασιληίης ποιέειν κατὰ τάδε· ὅτεν ἂν ὁ ἵππος πρῶτος φθέγξῃται ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι αὐτῶν ἐπαναβεβηκότων, τοῦτον ἔχειν τὴν βασιληίην. νῦν ὦν εἴ τινα ἔχεις σοφίην, μηχανῶ ὥς ἂν ἡμεῖς σχῶμεν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας καὶ μὴ ἄλλος τις,, 2 ἀμείβεται Οἰβάρης τοῖσιδε. “εἰ μὲν δὴ ὧ δέσποτα ἐν τούτῳ τοι ἐστὶ ἢ βασιλέα εἶναι ἢ μὴ, θάρσσε τούτου εἵνεκεν καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν, ὥς βασιλεὺς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος πρὸ σεῦ ἔσται· τοιαῦτα ἔχω φάρμακα,, λέγει Δαρεῖος “εἰ τοίνυν τι τοιοῦτον ἔχεις σόφισμα, ὥρῃ μηχανᾶσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναβάλλεσθαι, ὥς τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρης ὁ ἀγὼν ἡμῖν ἐστὶ,, 3 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Οἰβάρης ποιέει τοιόνδε· ὥς ἐγένετο ἡ νύξ, τῶν θηλέων ἵππων μίαν, τὴν ὁ Δαρείου ἵππος ἔστεργε μάλιστα, ταύτην ἀγαγὼν ἐς τὸ προάστειον κατέδησε καὶ ἐπήγαγε τὸν Δαρείου ἵππον, καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ περιῆγε ἀγχοῦ τῇ ἵπῳ ἐγχρίμπτων τῇ θηλέῃ, τέλος δὲ ἐπῆκε ὀχεῦσαι τὸν ἵππον.

86

1 Ἄμ’ ἡμέρῃ δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ οἱ ἕξ κατὰ συνεθήκαντο παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων· διεξελαινόντων δὲ κατὰ τὸ προάστειον, ὥς κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐγίνοντο ἵνα τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς κατεδέδετο ἡ θήλεα ἵππος, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Δαρείου ἵππος προσδραμὼν ἐχρεμέτισε· 2 ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἵπῳ τοῦτο ποιήσαντι ἀστραπὴ ἐξ αἰθρίας καὶ βροντὴ ἐγένετο. ἐπιγενόμενα δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Δαρεῖῳ ἐτελέωσέ μιν ὥσπερ ἐκ συνθέτου τευ γενόμενα· οἱ δὲ καταθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων προσεκύνεον τὸν Δαρεῖον.

¹ Οἱ μὲν δὴ φασὶ τὸν Οἰβάρεα ταῦτα μηχανήσασθαι, οἱ δὲ τοιάδε (καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων), ὥς τῆς ἵππου ταύτης τῶν ἄρθρων ἐπιψάσας τῇ χειρὶ ἔχοι αὐτὴν κρύψας ἐν τῇσι ἀναξυρίσι· ὥς δὲ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι ἀπίεσθαι μέλλειν τοὺς ἵππους, τὸν Οἰβάρεα τοῦτον ἐξείραντα τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς τοῦ Δαρείου ἵππου τοὺς μυκτῆρας προσενεῖκαι, τὸν δὲ αἰσθόμενον φριμάξασθαι τε καὶ χρεμετίσαι.

¹ Δαρεῖός τε δὴ ὁ Ὑστάσπεος βασιλεὺς ἀπεδέδεκτο, καὶ οἱ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ πάντες κατήκοοι πλὴν Ἀραβίων, Κύρου τε καταστρεψαμένου καὶ ὕστερον αὐτὶς Καμβύσεω. Ἀράβιοι δὲ οὐδαμὰ κατήκουσαν ἐπὶ δουλοσύνῃ Πέρσῃσι, ἀλλὰ ξεῖνοι ἐγένοντο παρέντες Καμβύσεα ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον· ἀεκόντων γὰρ Ἀραβίων οὐκ ἂν ἐσβάλοιεν Πέρσαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ² γάμους τε τοὺς πρώτους ἐγάμεε Πέρσῃσι ὁ Δαρεῖος, Κύρου μὲν δύο θυγατέρας Ἄτοσσάν τε καὶ Ἀρτυστώνην, τὴν μὲν Ἄτοσσαν προσυνοικήσασαν Καμβύσῃ τε τῷ ἀδελφεῷ καὶ αὐτὶς τῷ Μάγῳ, τὴν δὲ Ἀρτυστώνην παρθένον· ³ ἐτέρην δὲ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θυγατέρα ἔγημε, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Πάρμυς· ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὀτάνεω θυγατέρα, ἣ τὸν Μάγον κατάδηλον ἐποίησε· δυνάμιός τε πάντα οἱ ἐπιμπλέατο. πρῶτον μὲν νυν τύπον ποιησάμενος λίθινον ἔστησε· ζῶον δὲ οἱ ἐνῆν ἀνὴρ ἱππεύς, ἐπέγραψε δὲ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· “Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος σὺν τε τοῦ ἵππου τῇ ἀρετῇ, τὸ οὖνομα λέγων “καὶ Οἰβάρεος τοῦ ἱπποκόμου ἐκτίσατο τὴν Περσέων βασιληίην,·.

¹ Ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Πέρσῃσι ἀρχὰς κατεστήσατο εἴκοσι, τὰς αὐτοὶ καλέουσι σατραπείας· καταστήσας δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπιστήσας ἐτάξατο φόρους οἱ προσιέναι κατὰ ἔθνεα τε καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ἔθνεσι τοὺς πλησιοχώρους προστάσσω, καὶ ὑπερβαίνων τοὺς προσεχέας τὰ ἐκαστέρῳ ἄλλοισι ἄλλα ἔθνεα νέμων. ² ἀρχὰς δὲ καὶ φόρων πρόσδοδον τὴν ἐπέτειον κατὰ τάδε διεῖλε. τοῖσι μὲν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον ἀπαγινέουσι εἴρητο Βαβυλώνιον σταθμὸν τάλαντον ἀπαγινέειν, τοῖσι δὲ χρυσίον ἀπαγινέουσι Εὐβοϊκόν. τὸ δὲ Βαβυλώνιον τάλαντον δύναται Εὐβοΐδας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα

μνέας. 3 ἐπὶ γὰρ Κύρου ἄρχοντος καὶ αὗτις Καμβύσεω ἦν κατεστηκὸς οὐδὲν φόρου πέρι, ἀλλὰ δῶρα ἀγίνεον. διὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐπίταξιν τοῦ φόρου καὶ παραπλήσια ταύτῃ ἄλλα λέγουσι Πέρσαι ὡς Δαρεῖος μὲν ἦν κάπηλος, Καμβύσης δὲ δεσπότης, Κῦρος δὲ πατὴρ, ὃ μὲν ὅτι ἐκαπήλευε πάντα τὰ πρήγματα, ὃ δὲ ὅτι χαλεπὸς τε ἦν καὶ ὀλίγωρος, ὃ δὲ ὅτι ἥπιός τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ σφι πάντα ἐμχανήσατο.

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1 Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰώνων καὶ Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Αἰολέων καὶ Καρῶν καὶ Λυκίων καὶ Μιλυέων καὶ Παμφύλων (εἷς γὰρ ἦν οἱ τεταγμένος οὗτος φόρος) προσήιε τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος οὗτός οἱ νομὸς κατεστήκεε, ἀπὸ δὲ Μυσῶν καὶ Λυδῶν καὶ Λασονίων καὶ Καβαλέων καὶ Ὑτεννέων πεντακόσια τάλαντα· δεύτερος νομὸς οὗτος. 2 ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑλλησποντίων τῶν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσπλέοντι καὶ Φρυγῶν καὶ Θρηίκων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Παφλαγόνων καὶ Μαριανδυνῶν καὶ Συρίων ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα ἦν φόρος· νομὸς τρίτος οὗτος. 3 ἀπὸ δὲ Κιλικίων ἵπποι τε λευκοὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσιοι, ἐκάστης ἡμέρης εἷς γινόμενος, καὶ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πεντακόσια· τούτων δὲ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς τὴν φρουρέουσιν ἵππον τὴν Κιλικίην χώραν ἀναισιμοῦτο, τὰ δὲ τριηκόσια καὶ ἐξήκοντα Δαρείῳ ἐφοίτα· νομὸς τέταρτος οὗτος.

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1 Ἀπὸ δὲ Ποσιδηίου πόλιος, τὴν Ἀμφίλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω οἴκισε ἐπ' οὖροισι τοῖσι Κιλικίων τε καὶ Σύρων, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ ταύτης μέχρι Αἰγύπτου, πλὴν μοίρης τῆς Ἀραβίων (ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν ἀτελέα), πεντήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα φόρος ἦν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ Φοινίκη τε πᾶσα καὶ Συρία ἢ Παλαιστίνη καλεομένη καὶ Κύπρος· νομὸς πέμπτος οὗτος. 2 ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου δὲ καὶ Λιβύων τῶν προσεχέων Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Κυρήνης τε καὶ Βάρκης (ἐς γὰρ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον νομὸν αὗται ἐκεκοσμέατο) ἑπτακόσια προσήιε τάλαντα, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Μοίριος λίμνης γινομένου ἀργυρίου, τὸ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων· 3 τούτου τε δὴ χωρὶς τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῦ [ἐπιμετρομένου] σίτου προσήιε ἑπτακόσια τάλαντα· σίτου γὰρ δύο καὶ δέκα μυριάδας Περσέων τε τοῖσι ἐν τῷ Λευκῷ τείχεϊ τῷ ἐν Μέμφι κατοικημένοισι καταμετρέουσι καὶ τοῖσι τούτων ἐπικούροισι. νομὸς ἕκτος οὗτος. 4 Σατταγύδαι δὲ καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι τε καὶ

Ἀπαρύται ἐς τὸν τεταγμένοι ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα προσέφερον· νομὸς δὲ οὗτος ἑβδομος. ἀπὸ Σούσων δὲ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Κισσίων χώρας τριηκόσια· νομὸς ὄγδοος οὗτος.

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¹ Ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος δὲ καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀσσυρίας χίλια οἱ προσήιε τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ παῖδες ἑκτομῖαι πεντακόσιοι· νομὸς εἵνατος οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀγβατάνων καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Μηδικῆς καὶ Παρικανίων καὶ Ὀρθοκορυβαντίων πεντήκοντά τε καὶ τετρακόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς δέκατος οὗτος. ² Κάσπιοι δὲ καὶ Πανσίκαι καὶ Παντίμαθοι τε καὶ Δαρεῖται ἐς τὸντὸ συμφέροντες διηκόσια τάλαντα ἀπαγίνεον· νομὸς ἐνδέκατος οὗτος.

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¹ Ἀπὸ Βακτριανῶν δὲ μέχρι Αἰγλῶν ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα φόρος ἦν· νομὸς δυωδέκατος οὗτος. ἀπὸ Πακτυϊκῆς δὲ καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων μέχρι τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου τετρακόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς τρίτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. ² ἀπὸ δὲ Σαγαρτίων καὶ Σαραγγέων καὶ Θαμαναίων καὶ Οὐτίων καὶ Μύκων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇσι νήσοισι οἰκεόντων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ, ἐν τῇσι τοὺς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους κατοικίζει βασιλεύς, ἀπὸ τούτων πάντων ἐξακόσια τάλαντα ἐγένετο φόρος· νομὸς τέταρτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. ³ Σάκαι δὲ καὶ Κάσπιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκόσια ἀπαγίνεον τάλαντα· νομὸς πέμπτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμιοι καὶ Σόγδοι τε καὶ Ἀρειοὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος.

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¹ Παρικάνιοι δὲ καὶ Αἰθίοπες οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀπαγίνεον· νομὸς ἑβδομος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Ματιηνοῖσι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρσι καὶ Ἀλαροδίοισι διηκόσια ἐπετέτακτο τάλαντα· νομὸς ὄγδοος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. ² Μόσχοισι δὲ καὶ Τιβαρηνοῖσι καὶ Μάκρῳσι καὶ Μοσσυνοίκοισι καὶ Μαρσί τριηκόσια τάλαντα προεῖρητο· νομὸς εἵνατος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Ἰνδῶν δὲ πλεῖστός τε πολλῶ πλεῖστον ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ φόρον ἀπαγίνεον πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα ψήγματος· νομὸς εἰκοστὸς οὗτος.

¹ Τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀργύριον τὸ Βαβυλώνιον πρὸς τὸ Εὐβοϊκὸν συμβαλλόμενον τάλαντον γίνεται ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσια καὶ εἰνακισχίλια τάλαντα· τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τρισκαιδεκαστάσιον λογιζόμενον, τὸ ψῆγμα εὐρίσκεται ἐδὼν Εὐβοϊκῶν ταλάντων ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίων καὶ τετρακισχιλίων. ² τούτων ὧν πάντων συντιθεμένων τὸ πλῆθος Εὐβοϊκὰ τάλαντα συνελέγετο ἐς τὸν ἐπέτειον φόρον Δαρείῳ μύρια καὶ τετρακισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ ἑξήκοντα· τὸ δ' ἔτι τούτων ἔλασσον ἀπιεῖς οὐ λέγω.

¹ Οὗτος Δαρείῳ προσήιε φόρος ἀπὸ τῆς τε Ἀσίης καὶ τῆς Λιβύης ὀλιγαχόθεν. προϊόντος μέντοι τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἀπὸ νήσων προσήιε ἄλλος φόρος καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ μέχρι Θεσσαλίας οἰκημένων. ² τοῦτον τὸν φόρον θησαυρίζει βασιλεὺς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐς πίθους κεραμίνους τήξας καταχέει, πλήσας δὲ τὸ ἄγγος περιαιρέει τὸν κέραμον· ἐπεὰν δὲ δεηθῇ χρημάτων, κατακόπτει τοσοῦτο ὅσου ἂν ἐκάστοτε δέηται.

¹ Αὐταὶ μὲν ἀρχαὶ τε ἦσαν καὶ φόρων ἐπιτάξεις. ἡ Περσίς δὲ χώρα μούνη μοι οὐκ εἴρηται δασμοφόρος· ἀτελέα γὰρ Πέρσαι νέμονται χώραν. ² οἷδε δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ἐτάχθησαν φέρειν, δῶρα δὲ ἀγίνεον· Αἰθίοπες οἱ πρόσουροι Αἰγύπτῳ, τοὺς Καμβύσης ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας κατεστρέψατο, οἱ τε περί τε Νύσῃν τὴν ἱρὴν κατοίκηνται καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀνάγουσι τὰς ὀρτάς· [οὔτοι οἱ Αἰθίοπες καὶ οἱ πλησιόχωροι τούτοις σπέρματι μὲν χρέωνται τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ καὶ οἱ Καλλαντία Ἰνδοί, οἰκήματα δὲ ἔκتهνται κατάγια.] ³ οὔτοι συναμφοτέροι διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἀγίνεον, ἀγινέουσι δὲ καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, δύο χοίνικας ἀπύρου χρυσοῦ καὶ διηκοσίας φάλαγγας ἐβένου καὶ πέντε παῖδας Αἰθίοπας καὶ ἐλέφαντος ὀδόντας μεγάλους εἴκοσι. ⁴ Κόλχοι δὲ τὰ ἐτάξαντο ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν καὶ οἱ προσεχές μέχρι Καυκάσιος ὄρεος (ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄρος ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι ἄρχεται, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον τοῦ Καυκάσιος Περσέων οὐδὲν ἔτι φροντίζει), οὔτοι ὧν δῶρα τὰ ἐτάξαντο ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ διὰ πεντετηρίδος ἀγίνεον, ἑκατὸν παῖδας καὶ ἑκατὸν παρθένους. ⁵ Ἀράβιοι δὲ χίλια τάλαντα ἀγίνεον λιβανωτοῦ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. ταῦτα

μὲν οὗτοι δῶρα πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου βασιλεί ἐκόμιζον.

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1 Τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τοῦτον τὸν πολλὸν οἱ Ἰνδοί, ἀπ' οὗ τὸ ψῆγμα τῷ βασιλεί τὸ εἰρημένον κομίζουσι, τρόπῳ τοιῶδε κτῶνται. 2 ἔστι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς χώρας τὸ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ψάμμος· τῶν γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τῶν καὶ περὶ ἀτρεκές τι λέγεται, πρῶτοι πρὸς ἡῶ καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς οἰκέουσι ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἰνδοί· Ἰνδῶν γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἐρημίῃ ἐστὶ διὰ τὴν ψάμμον. 3 ἔστι δὲ πολλὰ ἔθνεα Ἰνδῶν καὶ οὐκ ὁμόφωνα σφίσι, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν νομάδες εἰσὶ οἱ δὲ οὐ, οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖσι ἔλlesi οἰκέουσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἰχθύας σιτέονται ὠμούς, τοὺς αἰρέουσι ἐκ πλοίων καλαμίνων ὀρμώμενοι· καλάμου δὲ ἐν γόνυ πλοῖον ἕκαστον ποιεῖται. 4 οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἰνδῶν φορέουσι ἐσθῆτα φλοῖνην· ἐπεὰν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φλοῦν ἀμήσωσι καὶ κόψωσι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν φορμοῦ τρόπον καταπλέξαντες ὥς θώρηκα ἐνδύνουσι.

99

1 Ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν πρὸς ἡῶ οἰκέοντες τούτων νομάδες εἰσὶ κρεῶν ἐδεσται ὠμῶν, καλέονται δὲ Παδαῖοι, νομαίοισι δὲ τοιοῖσιδε λέγονται χρᾶσθαι· ὃς ἂν κάμη τῶν ἀστῶν, ἦν τε γυνὴ ἦν τε ἀνὴρ, τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἄνδρες οἱ μάλιστά οἱ ὀμιλέοντες κτείνουσι, φάμενοι αὐτὸν τηκόμενον τῇ νοῦσφ τὰ κρέα σφίσι διαφθεῖρεσθαι· ὁ δὲ ἅπαρνος ἐστὶ μὴ μὲν νοσέειν, οἱ δὲ οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι ἀποκτείναντες κατευωχέονται. 2 ἡ δὲ ἂν γυνὴ κάμη, ὡσαύτως αἱ ἐπιχρεώμεναι μάλιστα γυναῖκες ταῦτα τοῖσι ἀνδράσι ποιεῦσι. τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἐς γῆρας ἀπικόμενον θύσαντες κατευωχέονται· ἐς δὲ τούτου λόγον οὐ πολλοὶ τινες αὐτῶν ἀπικνέονται· πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ τὸν ἐς νοῦσον πίπτοντα πάντα κτείνουσι.

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1 Ἐτέρων δὲ ἐστὶ Ἰνδῶν ὅδε ἄλλος τρόπος· οὔτε κτείνουσι οὐδὲν ἔμψυχον οὔτε τι σπεύρουσι οὔτε οἰκίας νομίζουσι ἐκτῆσθαι ποιηφαγέουσιν τε· καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ ὅσον κέγχρος τὸ μέγαθος ἐν κάλυκι, αὐτόματον ἐκ τῆς γῆς γινόμενον, τὸ συλλέγοντες αὐτῇ τῇ κάλυκι ἔψουσί τε καὶ σιτέονται. ὃς δ' ἂν ἐς νοῦσον αὐτῶν πέσῃ, ἐλθὼν ἐς τὴν ἔρημον κεῖται· φροντίζει δὲ οὐδεὶς οὔτε ἀποθανόντος οὔτε κάμνοντος.

¹ Μίξις δὲ τούτων τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν κατέλεξα πάντων ἐμφανής ἐστι κατὰ περ τῶν προβάτων, καὶ τὸ χρῶμα φορέουσι ὅμοιον πάντες καὶ παραπλήσιον Αἰθίοψι. ² ἡ γονὴ δὲ αὐτῶν, τὴν ἀπίενται ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας, οὐ κατὰ περ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ λευκὴ, ἀλλὰ μέλαινα κατὰ περ τὸ χρῶμα. τοιαύτην δὲ καὶ Αἰθίοπες ἀπίενται θορῇ. οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἑκαστέρῳ τῶν Περσέων οἰκέουσι καὶ πρὸς νότου ἀνέμου, καὶ Δαρείου βασιλέως οὐδαμὰ ὑπήκουσαν.

¹ Ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν Κασπατύρῳ τε πόλι καὶ τῇ Πακτυϊκῇ χώρῃ εἰσὶ πρόσουροι, πρὸς ἄρκτου τε καὶ βορέῳ ἀνέμου κατοικημένοι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰνδῶν, οἱ Βακτρίοισι παραπλησίην ἔχουσι δίαιταν. οὗτοι καὶ μαχιμώτατοι εἰσὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσὸν στελλόμενοι εἰσὶ οὗτοι· κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἐρημὴ διὰ τὴν ψάμμον. ² ἐν δὲ ὧν τῇ ἐρημίῃ ταύτῃ καὶ τῇ ψάμμῳ γίνονται μύρμηκες μεγάθεα ἔχοντες κυνῶν μὲν ἐλάσσονα ἀλωπέκων δὲ μέζονα· εἰσὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ παρὰ βασιλείῃ τῷ Περσέων ἐνθεῦτεν θηρευθέντες. οὗτοι ὧν οἱ μύρμηκες ποιεύμενοι οἴκησιν ὑπὸ γῆν ἀναφορέουσι τὴν ψάμμον κατὰ περ οἱ ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι μύρμηκες κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ εἶδος ὁμοιώτατοι· ἡ δὲ ψάμμος ἡ ἀναφερομένη ἐστὶ χρυσίτις. ³ ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ψάμμον στέλλονται ἐς τὴν ἔρημον οἱ Ἰνδοί, ζευξάμενος ἕκαστος καμήλους τρεῖς, σειρηφόρον μὲν ἐκατέρωθεν ἔρσενα παρέλκειν, θήλεαν δὲ ἐς μέσον· ἐπὶ ταύτην δὲ αὐτὸς ἀναβαίνει, ἐπιτηδεύσας ὅκως ἀπὸ τέκνων ὡς νεωτάτων ἀποσπάσας ζεύξει. αἱ γάρ σφι κάμηλοι ἵππων οὐκ ἦσσονες ἐς ταχυτήτα εἰσὶ, χωρὶς δὲ ἄχθεα δυνατώτερα πολλὸν φέρειν.

¹ Τὸ μὲν δὲ εἶδος ὁκοῖόν τι ἔχει ἡ κάμηλος, ἐπισταμένοισι τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι οὐ συγγράφω· τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐπιστέαται αὐτῆς, τοῦτο φράσω· κάμηλος ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθίοισι σκέλεσι ἔχει τέσσερας μηρούς καὶ γούνατα τέσσερα, τὰ τε αἰδοῖα διὰ τῶν ὀπισθίων σκελέων πρὸς τὴν οὐρὴν τετραμμένα.

¹ Οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἰνδοὶ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ καὶ ζεύξι τοιαύτῃ χρεώμενοι

ἐλαύνουσι ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσὸν λελογισμένως ὅκως καυμάτων τῶν θερμοτάτων ἐόντων ἔσονται ἐν τῇ ἀρπαγῇ· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ καύματος οἱ μύρμηκες ἀφανέες γίνονται ὑπὸ γῆν. ² θερμότατος δὲ ἐστὶ ὁ ἥλιος τούτοις τοῖσι ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἐωθινόν, οὐ κατὰ περ τοῖσι ἄλλοις μεσαμβρίας, ἀλλ' ὑπερτείλας μέχρι οὗ ἀγορῆς διαλύσις. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χρόνον καίει πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ μεσαμβρίῃ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὕτω ὥστ' ἐν ὕδατι λόγος αὐτούς ἐστι βρέχεσθαι τηνικαῦτα. ³ μεσοῦσα δὲ ἡ ἡμέρη σχεδὸν παραπλησίως καίει τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς. ἀποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς μεσαμβρίας γίνεται σφι ὁ ἥλιος κατὰ περ τοῖσι ἄλλοις ὁ ἐωθινός, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀπιὼν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ψύχει, ἐς ὃ ἐπὶ δυσμῆσι ἐὼν καὶ τὸ κάρτα ψύχει.

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¹ Ἐπεὰν δὲ ἔλθωσι ἐς τὸν χώρον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἔχοντες θυλάκια, ἐμπλήσαντες ταῦτα τῆς ψάμμου τὴν ταχίστην ἐλαύνουσι ὀπίσω· αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ μύρμηκες ὁδμῇ, ὥς δὴ λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων, μαθόντες διώκουσι. εἶναι δὲ ταχυτῆτα οὐδενὶ ἐτέρῳ ὅμοιον, οὕτω ὥστε, εἰ μὴ προλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν ᾧ τοὺς μύρμηκας συλλέγεσθαι, οὐδένα ἂν σφέων ἀποσώζεσθαι. ² τοὺς μὲν νυν ἔρσενας τῶν καμήλων, εἶναι γὰρ ἥσσονας θέειν τῶν θηλέων, παραλύεσθαι ἐπελκομένους, οὐκ ὁμοῦ ἀμφοτέρους· τὰς δὲ θηλέας ἀναμιμνησκομένας τῶν ἔλιπον τέκνων ἐνδιδόναι μαλακὸν οὐδέν. τὸν μὲν δὴ πλέω τοῦ χρυσοῦ οὕτω οἱ Ἰνδοὶ κτῶνται, ὥς Πέρσαι φασί· ἄλλος δὲ σπανιώτερος ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ὀρυσσόμενος.

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¹ Αἱ δ' ἐσχατιαὶ κως τῆς οἰκεομένης τὰ κάλλιστα ἔλαχον, κατὰ περ ἡ Ἑλλὰς τὰς ὥρας πολλόν τι κάλλιστα κεκρημένας ἔλαχε. ² τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἐσχάτη τῶν οἰκεομενέων ἡ Ἰνδικὴ ἐστὶ, ὥσπερ ὀλίγω πρότερον εἴρηκα· ἐν ταύτῃ τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἔμψυχα, τετράποδά τε καὶ τὰ πετεινά, πολλῷ μᾶζω ἢ ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοις χωρίοις ἐστί, πάρεξ τῶν ἵππων (οὗτοι δὲ ἐσσοῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν, Νησαίων δὲ καλυμμένων ἵππων), τοῦτο δὲ χρυσὸς ἄπλετος αὐτόθι ἐστί, ὃ μὲν ὀρυσσόμενος, ὃ δὲ καταφορεύμενος ὑπὸ ποταμῶν, ὃ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐσήμηνα ἀρπαζόμενος. ³ τὰ δὲ δένδρεα τὰ ἄγρια αὐτόθι φέρει καρπὸν εἴρια καλλονῇ τε προφέροντα καὶ ἀρετῇ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν οἴων· καὶ ἐσθῆτι Ἰνδοὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν δενδρέων χρέωνται.

¹ Πρὸς δ' αὖ μεσαμβρίας ἐσχάτη Ἀραβίῃ τῶν οἰκεομενέων χωρέων ἐστὶ, ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ λιβανωτός τε ἐστὶ μούνη χωρέων πασέων φυόμενος καὶ σμύρνη καὶ κασίη καὶ κινάμωμον καὶ λήδανον. ταῦτα πάντα πλὴν τῆς σμύρνης δυσπετέως κτῶνται οἱ Ἀράβιοι. ² τὸν μὲν γε λιβανωτὸν συλλέγουσι τὴν στύρακα θυμιῶντες, τὴν ἐς Ἑλληνας Φοίνικες ἐξάγουσι· ταύτην θυμιῶντες λαμβάνουσι· τὰ γὰρ δένδρεα ταῦτα τὰ λιβανωτοφόρα ὄφιος ὑπόπτεροι, μικροὶ τὰ μεγάθεα, ποικίλοι τὰ εἶδεα, φυλάσσουσι πλήθει πολλοὶ περὶ δένδρον ἕκαστον, οὗτοι οἱ περ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐπιστρατεύονται, οὐδενὶ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἀπελαύνονται ἀπὸ τῶν δενδρέων ἢ τῆς στύρακος τῷ καπνῷ.

¹ Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τόδε Ἀράβιοι, ὥς πᾶσα ἂν γῆ ἐπίπλατο τῶν ὀφίων τούτων, εἰ μὴ γίνεσθαι κατ' αὐτοὺς οἷόν τι κατὰ τὰς ἐχίδνας ἠπιστάμην γίνεσθαι. ² καὶ κως τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ προνοίῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ οἶκός ἐστι, ἐοῦσα σοφῇ, ὅσα μὲν ψυχὴν τε δειλὰ καὶ ἐδώδιμα, ταῦτα μὲν πάντα πολύγονα πεποίηκε, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιλίπη κατεσθιόμενα, ὅσα δὲ σχέτλια καὶ ἀνηρά, ὀλιγόγονα. ³ τοῦτο μὲν, ὅτι ὁ λαγὸς ὑπὸ παντός θηρεύεται θηρίου καὶ ὄρνιθος καὶ ἀνθρώπου, οὕτω δὴ τι πολύγονον ἐστὶ· ἐπικυῖσκειται μόνον πάντων θηρίων, καὶ τὸ μὲν δασὺ τῶν τέκνων ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ τὸ δὲ ψιλόν, τὸ δὲ ἄρτι ἐν τῇσι μήτρησι πλάσσεται, τὸ δὲ ἀναιρέεται. ⁴ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο ἐστὶ· ἡ δὲ δὴ λέαινα ἐὼν ἰσχυρότατον καὶ θρασύτατον ἅπαξ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τίκτει ἔν· τίκτουσα γὰρ συνεκβάλλει τῷ τέκνῳ τὰς μήτρας. τὸ δὲ αἷτιον τούτου τόδε ἐστὶ· ἐπεὰν ὁ σκύμνος ἐν τῇ μητρὶ ἐὼν ἄρχηται διακινεόμενος, ὁ δὲ ἔχων ὄνυχας θηρίων πολλὸν πάντων ὀξυτάτους ἀμύσσει τὰς μήτρας, αὐξόμενός τε δὴ πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐσικνέεται καταγράφων· πέλας τε δὴ ὁ τόκος ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ παράπαν λείπεται αὐτέων ὑγιὲς οὐδέν.

¹ Ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐχιδναί τε καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀραβίῳσι ὑπόπτεροι ὄφιος εἰ ἐγίνοντο ὥς ἡ φύσις αὐτοῖσι ὑπάρχει, οὐκ ἂν ἦν βιώσιμα ἀνθρώποισι· νῦν δ' ἐπεὰν θορνύωνται κατὰ ζεύγεα καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἢ ὁ ἔρσην τῇ ἐκποιήσῃ, ἀπιεμένου αὐτοῦ τὴν γονὴν ἢ θήλεα ἅπτεται τῆς δειρῆς, καὶ ἐμφῦσα οὐκ ἀνιεῖ πρὶν ἂν διαφάγῃ. ² ὁ μὲν δὴ ἔρσην

ἀποθνήσκει τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ, ἡ δὲ θήλεα τίσιν τοιήνδε ἀποτίνει τῷ ἔρσενι· τῷ γονεὶ τιμωρόντα ἔτι ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ ἐόντα τὰ τέκνα διεσθίει τὴν μητέρα, διαφαγόντα δὲ τὴν νηδὺν αὐτῆς οὕτω τὴν ἔκδυσιν ποιέεται. ³ οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ὄφιοι ἐόντες ἀνθρώπων οὐ δηλήμονες τίκτουσιν τε ὥα καὶ ἐκλέπουσι πολλόν τι χρῆμα τῶν τέκνων. αἱ μὲν νυν ἔχιδνα κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν εἰσὶ, οἱ δὲ ὑπόπτεροι ὄφιοι ἀθρόοι εἰσὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίῃ καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλῃ· κατὰ τοῦτο δοκέουσι πολλοὶ εἶναι.

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¹ Τὸν μὲν δὴ λιβανωτὸν τοῦτον οὕτω κτῶνται Ἀράβιοι, τὴν δὲ κασίην ὧδε. ἐπεὰν καταδήσωνται βύρσησι καὶ δέρμασι ἄλλοισι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον πληγὴν αὐτῶν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὴν κασίην· ἡ δὲ ἐν λίμνῃ φύεται οὐ βαθέη, περὶ δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ αὐλίζεταί κου θηρία περωτά, τῇσι νυκτερίσι προσείκελα μάλιστα, καὶ τέτριγε δεινόν, καὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν ἄλκιμα· τὰ δεῖ ἀπαμυνομένους ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν οὕτω δρέπειν τὴν κασίην.

111

¹ Τὸ δὲ δὴ κινάμωμον ἔτι τούτων θωμαστότερον συλλέγουσι. ὅκου μὲν γὰρ γίνεται καὶ ἥτις μιν γῆ ἢ τρέφουσα ἐστί, οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν, πληγὴν ὅτι λόγῳ οἰκότι χρεώμενοι ἐν τοῖσιδε χωρίοις φασὶ τινὲς αὐτὸ φύεσθαι ἐν τοῖσι ὁ Διόνυσος ἐτράφη· ² ὄρνιθας δὲ λέγουσι μεγάλας φορέειν ταῦτα τὰ κάρφεα τὰ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ Φοινίκων μαθόντες κινάμωμον καλέομεν, φορέειν δὲ τὰς ὄρνιθας ἐς νεοσσιὰς προσπεπλασμένας ἐκ πηλοῦ πρὸς ἀποκρήμνοισι ὄρεσι, ἔνθα πρόσβασιν ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδεμίαν εἶναι. ³ πρὸς ὧν δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀραβίους σοφίζεσθαι τάδε· βοῶν τε καὶ ὄνων τῶν ἀπογινομένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑποζυγίων τὰ μέλα διαταμόντας ὥς μέγιστα κομίζειν ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, καὶ σφεα θέντας ἀγχοῦ τῶν νεοσσιέων ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκὰς αὐτέων· τὰς δὲ ὄρνιθας καταπετομένας τὰ μέλα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀναφορέειν ἐπὶ τὰς νεοσσιὰς, τὰς δὲ οὐ δυναμένας ἴσχειν καταρρήγνυσθαι ἐπὶ γῆν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιόντας συλλέγειν. οὕτω μὲν τὸ κινάμωμον συλλεγόμενον ἐκ τούτων ἀπικνέεσθαι ἐς τὰς ἄλλας χώρας.

112

1 Τὸ δὲ δὴ λήδανον, τὸ καλέουσι Ἀράβιοι λάδανον, ἔτι τούτου θωμασιώτερον γίνεται· ἐν γὰρ δυσοδομοτάτῳ γινόμενον εὐωδέστατον ἐστὶ· τῶν γὰρ αἰγῶν τῶν τράγων ἐν τοῖσι πώγῳσι εὐρίσκεται ἐγγινόμενον οἶον γλοιὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης. χρήσιμον δ' ἐς πολλὰ τῶν μύρων ἐστὶ, θυμῳσί τε μάλιστα τοῦτο Ἀράβιοι.

113

1 Τοσαῦτα μὲν θυωμάτων περὶ εἰρήσθω, ἀπόζει δὲ τῆς χώρας τῆς Ἀραβίης θεσπέσιον ὥς ἡδύ. δύο δὲ γένεα οἷων σφι ἐστὶ θώματος ἄζια, τὰ οὐδαμόθι ἐτέρωθι ἐστὶ. τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ἕτερον ἔχει τὰς οὐρὰς μακράς, τριῶν πηχέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, τὰς εἴ τις ἐπεῖη σφι ἐπέλκειν, ἔλκεα ἂν ἔχοιεν ἀνατριβομενέων πρὸς τῇ γῇ τῶν οὐρέων· 2 νῦν δ' ἅπας τις τῶν ποιμένων ἐπίσταται ξυλουργεῖν ἐς τοσοῦτο· ἀμαξίδας γὰρ ποιεῦντες ὑποδέουσι αὐτὰς τῇσι οὐρῇσι, ἐνὸς ἐκάστου κτήνεος τὴν οὐρὴν ἐπὶ ἀμαξίδα ἐκάστην καταδέοντες. τὸ δὲ ἕτερον γένος τῶν οἷων τὰς οὐρὰς πλατέας φορέουσι καὶ ἐπὶ πῆχυν πλάτους.

114

1 Ἀποκλινομένης δὲ μεσαμβρίας παρήκει πρὸς δύνοντα ἥλιον ἡ Αἰθιοπία χώρα ἐσχάτη τῶν οἰκομενέων· αὕτη δὲ χρυσόν τε φέρει πολλὸν καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἀμφιλαφέας καὶ δένδρεα πάντα ἄγρια καὶ ἔβενον καὶ ἄνδρας μεγίστους καὶ καλλίστους καὶ μακροβιωτάτους.

115

1 Αὐταὶ μὲν νῦν ἐν τε τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἐσχατιαὶ εἰσι καὶ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐσχατιέων ἔχω μὲν οὐκ ἀτρεκέως λέγειν· οὔτε γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐνδέκομαι Ἑριδανὸν καλέεσθαι πρὸς βαρβάρων ποταμὸν ἐκδιδόντα ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον, ἀπ' ὅτεν τὸ ἤλεκτρον φοιτᾷ λόγος ἐστὶ, οὔτε νήσους οἶδα Κασσιτερίδας εἰσάσας, ἐκ τῶν ὁ κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ. 2 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἑριδανὸς αὐτὸ κατηγορεῖ τὸ οὐνομα ὥς ἐστὶ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ οὐ βάρβαρον, ὑπὸ ποιητέῳ δὲ τινὸς ποιηθέν· τοῦτο δὲ οὐδενὸς αὐτόπτεω γενομένου δύναμαι ἀκοῦσαι, τοῦτο μελετῶν, ὅπως θάλασσα ἐστὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα Εὐρώπης. ἐξ ἐσχάτης δ' ὣν ὁ κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ καὶ τὸ ἤλεκτρον.

116

1 Πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτου τῆς Εὐρώπης πολλῷ τι πλεῖστος χρυσὸς

φαίνεται ἐὼν· ὅκως μὲν γινόμενος, οὐκ ἔχω οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀτρεκέως εἶπαι, λέγεται δὲ ὑπὲκ τῶν γρυπῶν ἀρπάζειν Ἀριμασποὺς ἄνδρας μουννοφθάλμους. 2 πείθομαι δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ὅκως μουνόφθαλμοι ἄνδρες φύονται, φύσιν ἔχοντες τὴν ἄλλην ὁμοίην τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι· 3 αἱ δὲ ὧν ἐσχατιαὶ οἴκασι, περικληίουσαι τὴν ἄλλην χώραν καὶ ἐντὸς ἀπεργουσαι, τὰ κάλλιστα δοκέοντα ἡμῖν εἶναι καὶ σπανιώτατα ἔχειν αὐται.

117

1 Ἔστι δὲ πεδίον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ περικεκλιμένον ὄρεϊ πάντοθεν, διασφάγες δὲ τοῦ ὄρεος εἰσὶ πέντε. τοῦτο τὸ πεδίον ἦν μὲν κοτὲ Χορασμίων, ἐν οὖροις ἐὼν Χορασμίων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Ὑρκανίων καὶ Πάρθων καὶ Σαραγγέων καὶ Θαμαναίων, ἐπεῖτε δὲ Πέρσαι ἔχουσι τὸ κράτος, ἐστὶ τοῦ βασιλέως. 2 ἐκ δὴ ὧν τοῦ περικληίουτος ὄρεος τούτου ῥέει ποταμὸς μέγας, οὖνομα δὲ οἱ ἐστὶ Ἄκης. οὗτος πρότερον μὲν ἄρδεσκε διαλελαμμένος πενταχοῦ τούτων τῶν εἰρημένων τὰς χώρας, διὰ διασφάγος ἀγόμενος ἐκάστης ἐκάστοις· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἰσὶ, πεπόνθασι τοιόνδε· 3 τὰς διασφάγας τῶν ὀρέων ἐνδείμας ὁ βασιλεὺς πύλας ἐπ' ἐκάστη διασφάγι ἔστησε· ἀποκεκλιμένου δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ἐξόδου τὸ πεδίον τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν ὀρέων πέλαγος γίνεται, ἐνδιδόντος μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔχοντος δὲ οὐδαμῇ ἐξήλυσιν. 4 οὗτοι ὧν οἱ περ ἔμπροσθε ἐώθεσαν χρᾶσθαι τῷ ὕδατι, οὐκ ἔχοντες αὐτῷ χρᾶσθαι συμφορῇ μεγάλη διαχρέωνται. τὸν μὲν γὰρ χειμῶνα ὕει σφι ὁ θεὸς ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, τοῦ δὲ θέρεος σπεύροντες μελίνην καὶ σήσαμον χρηίσκονται τῷ ὕδατι. 5 ἐπεὰν ὧν μηδὲν σφι παραδιδῶται τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐλθόντες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας αὐτοὶ τε καὶ γυναῖκες, στάντες κατὰ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέως βοῶσι ὠρυόμενοι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῖσι δεομένοις αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐς τοῦτο φερούσας. 6 ἐπεὰν δὲ διάκορος ἢ γῆ σφῶν γένηται πίνουσα τὸ ὕδωρ, αὐταὶ μὲν αἱ πύλαι ἀποκλήιονται, ἄλλας δ' ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν ἄλλοις τοῖσι δεομένοις μάλιστα τῶν λοιπῶν. ὥς δ' ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀκούσας, χρήματα μεγάλα πρησόμενος ἀνοίγει πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου.

118

1 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἔχει οὗτω. τῶν δὲ τῷ Μάγῳ ἐπαναστάντων ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν, ἓνα αὐτῶν Ἰνταφρένεα κατέλαβε ὑβρίσαντα τάδε ἀποθανεῖν

αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν. ἤθελε ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα ἐσελθὼν χρηματίσασθαι τῷ βασιλείᾳ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ νόμος οὕτω εἶχε, τοῖσι ἐπαναστᾶσι τῷ Μάγῳ ἔσοδον εἶναι παρὰ βασιλέα ἄνευ ἀγγέλου, ἢ μὴ γυναικὶ τυγχάνη μισγόμενος βασιλεὺς. 2 οὕκων δὲ Ἰνταφρένης ἐδικαίου οὐδένα οἱ ἐσαγγεῖλαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἦν τῶν ἐπτά, ἐσιέναι ἤθελε. ὁ δὲ πλουρὸς καὶ ὁ ἀγγελιφόρος οὐ περιώρων, φάμενοι τὸν βασιλέα γυναικὶ μίσγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἰνταφρένης δοκέων σφέας ψεύδεα λέγειν ποιέει τοιάδε· σπασάμενος τὸν ἀκινάκεα ἀποτάμνει αὐτῶν τά τε ὦτα καὶ τὰς ῥίνας, καὶ ἀνείρας περὶ τὸν χαλινὸν τοῦ ἵππου περὶ τοὺς αὐχένους σφέων ἔδησε, καὶ ἀπῆκε.

119

1 Οἱ δὲ τῷ βασιλείᾳ δεικνύουσι ἑωυτοὺς καὶ τὴν αἰτίην εἶπον δι' ἣν πεπονθότες εἶσαν. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἀρρώδησας μὴ κοινῷ λόγῳ οἱ ἐξ πεπονηκότες ἔωσι ταῦτα, μεταπεμπόμενος ἓνα ἕκαστον ἀπεπειρᾶτο γνώμης, εἰ συνέπαινοι εἰσὶ τῷ πεπονημένῳ. 2 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐξέμαθε ὥς οὐ σὺν κείνοισι εἶη ταῦτα πεπονηκώς, ἔλαβε αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἰνταφρένεα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκηῖους πάντας, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχων μετὰ τῶν συγγενέων μιν ἐπιβουλεύειν οἱ ἐπανάστασιν, συλλαβὼν δὲ σφέας ἔδησε τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. 3 ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἰνταφρένεος φοιτῶσα ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέως κλαίεσκε ἂν καὶ ὀδυρέσκετο· ποιεῦσα δὲ αἰεὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸν Δαρεῖον ἔπεισε οἰκτεῖραί μιν. πέμψας δὲ ἄγγελον ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ γύναι, βασιλεὺς τοι Δαρεῖος διδοῖ ἓνα τῶν δεδεμένων οἰκηῖων ῥύσασθαι τὸν βούλει ἐκ πάντων,,. 4 ἡ δὲ βουλευσαμένη ὑπεκρίνετο τάδε· “εἰ μὲν δὴ μοι διδοῖ βασιλεὺς ἐνὸς τὴν ψυχὴν, αἰρέομαι ἐκ πάντων τὸν ἀδελφεόν,,. 5 πυθόμενος δὲ Δαρεῖος ταῦτα καὶ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον, πέμψας ἡγόρευε “ὦ γύναι, εἰρωτᾷ σε βασιλεὺς, τίνα ἔχουσα γνώμην, τὸν ἄνδρα τε καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐγκαταλιποῦσα, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν εἵλεω περιεῖναι τοι, ὃς καὶ ἀλλοτριώτερός τοι τῶν παίδων καὶ ἦσσαν κεχαρισμένος τοῦ ἀνδρός ἐστι,,. 6 ἡ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀνὴρ μὲν μοι ἂν ἄλλος γένοιτο, εἰ δαίμων ἐθέλοι, καὶ τέκνα ἄλλα, εἰ ταῦτα ἀποβάλοιμι· πατὴρ δὲ καὶ μητὴρ οὐκέτι μευ ζώντων ἀδελφεὸς ἂν ἄλλος οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ γένοιτο. ταῦτη τῇ γνώμῃ χρεωμένη ἔλεξα ταῦτα,,. 7 εὖ τε δὴ ἔδοξε τῷ Δαρείῳ εἰπεῖν ἡ γυνή, καὶ οἱ ἀπῆκε τοῦτόν τε τὸν παραιτέτο καὶ τῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἡσθεὶς αὐτῇ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέκτεινε πάντας. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐπτά εἰς αὐτίκα

τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀπολώλεε.

120

¹ Κατὰ δέ κου μάλιστα τὴν Καμβύσειω νοῦσον ἐγίνετο τάδε. ὑπὸ Κύρου κατασταθεὶς ἦν Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος Ὀροΐτης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης· οὗτος ἐπεθύμησε πρήγματος οὐκ ὀσίου· οὔτε γάρ τι παθὼν οὔτε ἀκούσας μάταιον ἔπος πρὸς Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Σαμίου, οὐδὲ ἰδὼν πρότερον, ἐπεθύμεε λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι, ὥς μὲν οἱ πλεῖνες λέγουσι, διὰ τοιήνδε τινὰ αἰτίην. ² ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέος θυρέων κατήμενον τόν τε Ὀροΐτα καὶ ἄλλον Πέρσην τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Μιτροβάτα, νομοῦ ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ, τούτους ἐκ λόγων ἐς νείκεα συμπεσεῖν, κρινομένων δὲ περὶ ἀρετῆς εἰπεῖν τὸν Μιτροβάτα τῷ Ὀροΐτῃ προφέροντα ³ “σὺ γὰρ ἐν ἀνδρῶν λόγῳ, ὃς βασιλεῖ νῆσον Σάμον πρὸς τῷ σῶ νομῷ προσκειμένην οὐ προσεκτήσαο, ὧδε δὴ τι ἐοῦσαν εὐπετέα χειρωθῆναι, τὴν τῶν τις ἐπιχωρίων πεντεκαίδεκα ὀπλίτησι ἐπαναστὰς ἔσχε καὶ νῦν αὐτῆς τυραννεύει,, ⁴ οἱ μὲν δὴ μιν φασὶ τοῦτο ἀκούσαντα καὶ ἀλγήσαντα τῷ ὀνειδεῖ ἐπιθυμῆσαι οὐκ οὔτῳ τὸν εἰπαντα ταῦτα τίσασθαι ὥς Πολυκράτα πάντως ἀπολέσαι, δι’ ὄντινα κακῶς ἤκουσε.

121

¹ Οἱ δὲ ἐλάσσονες λέγουσι πέμψαι Ὀροΐτα ἐς Σάμον κήρυκα ὅτεν δὴ χρήματος δεησόμενον (οὐ γὰρ ὢν δὴ τοῦτό γε λέγεται), καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτα τυχεῖν κατακείμενον ἐν ἀνδρεῶνι, παρεῖναι δὲ οἱ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τήιον· ² καὶ κως εἴτ’ ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὸν κατηλογέοντα τὰ Ὀροΐτεω πρήγματα, εἴτε καὶ συντυχίῃ τις τοιαύτη ἐπεγένετο· τόν τε γὰρ κήρυκα τὸν Ὀροΐτεω παρελθόντα διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτα (τυχεῖν γὰρ ἀπεστραμμένον πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον) οὔτε τι μεταστραφῆναι οὔτε ὑποκρίνασθαι.

122

¹ Αἰτίαι μὲν δὴ αὗται διφάσαι λέγονται τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Πολυκράτεος γενέσθαι, πάρεστι δὲ πείθεσθαι ὀκοτέρῃ τις βούλεται αὐτέων. ὁ δὲ ὢν Ὀροΐτης ἰζόμενος ἐν Μαγνησίῃ τῇ ὑπὲρ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ οἰκημένη ἔπεμπε Μύρσον τὸν Γύγεω ἄνδρα Λυδὸν ἐς Σάμον ἀγγελίην φέροντα, μαθὼν τοῦ Πολυκράτεος τὸν νόον. ² Πολυκράτης γὰρ ἐστὶ πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Ἑλλήνων ὃς

θαλασσοκρατέειν ἐπενοήθη, πάρεξ Μίνωός τε τοῦ Κνωσσίου καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος πρότερος τούτου ἦρξε τῆς θαλάσσης· τῆς δὲ ἀνθρωπίνης λεγομένης γενεῆς Πολυκράτης πρῶτος, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχων Ἰωνίης τε καὶ νήσων ἄρξειν. ³ μαθὼν ὧν ταῦτά μιν διανοεύμενον ὁ Ὀροίτης πέμψας ἀγγελίην ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ὀροίτης Πολυκράτει ὧδε λέγει. πυνθάνομαι ἐπιβουλεύειν σε πρήγμασι μεγάλοισι, καὶ χρήματά τοι οὐκ εἶναι κατὰ τὰ φρονήματα. σύ νυν ὧδε ποιήσας ὀρθώσεις μὲν σεαυτόν, σώσεις δὲ καὶ ἐμέ· ἐμοὶ γὰρ βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης ἐπιβουλεύει θάνατον, καὶ μοι τοῦτο ἐξαγγέλλεται σαφηνέως. ⁴ σύ νυν ἐμὲ ἐκκομίσας αὐτὸν καὶ χρήματα, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἔχε, τὰ δὲ ἐμὲ ἔα ἔχειν· εἵνεκέν τε χρημάτων ἄρξεις ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. εἰ δέ μοι ἀπιστέεις τὰ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, πέμψον ὅστις τοι πιστότατος τυγχάνει ἐών, τῷ ἐγὼ ἀποδέξω,,.

123

¹ Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Πολυκράτης ἦσθη τε καὶ ἐβούλετο· καὶ κως ἰμίρετο γὰρ χρημάτων μεγάλως, ἀποπέμπει πρῶτα κατοψόμενον Μαιάνδριον Μαιανδρίου ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν, ὅς οἱ ἦν γραμματιστής· ὅς χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τούτων τὸν κόσμον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρεῶνος τοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον ἀνέθηκε πάντα ἐς τὸ Ἑραιοῖον. ² ὁ δὲ Ὀροίτης μαθὼν τὸν κατάσκοπον ἐόντα προσδόκιμον ἐποίησε τοιάδε· λάρνακας ὀκτὼ πληρώσας λίθων πλὴν κάρτα βραχείας τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰ τὰ χεῖλεα, ἐπιπολῆς τῶν λίθων χρυσὸν ἐπέβαλε, καταδήσας δὲ τὰς λάρνακας εἶχε ἐτοίμας. ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Μαιάνδριος καὶ θεησάμενος ἀπήγγελλε τῷ Πολυκράτει.

124

¹ Ὁ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν μαντίων ἀπαγορευόντων πολλὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων ἐστέλλετο αὐτόσε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἰδούσης τῆς θυγατρὸς ὄψιν ἐνυπνίου τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε οἷ τὸν πατέρα ἐν τῷ ἡέρι μετέωρον ἐόντα λοῦσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός, χρίεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου. ² ταύτην ἰδοῦσα τὴν ὄψιν παντοίῃ ἐγίνετο μὴ ἀποδημῆσαι τὸν Πολυκράτεια παρὰ τὸν Ὀροίτεια, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἰόντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πεντηκόντερον ἐπεφημίζετο. ὁ δὲ οἱ ἠπειλίησε, ἦν σῶς ἀπονοστήσει, πολλόν μιν χρόνον παρθενεύεσθαι. ἦ δὲ ἠρήσατο ἐπιτελέα ταῦτα γενέσθαι· βούλεσθαι γὰρ παρθενεύεσθαι πλέω χρόνον ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς

ἐστερηῆσθαι.

125

ἰ Πολυκράτης δὲ πάσης συμβουλίας ἀλογήσας ἔπλεε παρὰ τὸν Ὅροίτεα, ἅμα ἀγόμενος ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δημοκίδεα τὸν Καλλιφῶντος Κροτωνιήτην ἄνδρα, ἱητρόν τε ἔοντα καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἀσκεόντα ἄριστα τῶν κατ' ἐωυτόν. 2 ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὴν Μαγνησίην ὁ Πολυκράτης διεφθάρη κακῶς, οὔτε ἐωυτοῦ ἀξίως οὔτε τῶν ἐωυτοῦ φρονημάτων· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ οἱ Συρηκοσίων γενόμενοι τύραννοι οὐδὲ εἷς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλληνικῶν τυράννων ἄξιος ἐστὶ Πολυκράτει μεγαλοπρεπεῖν συμβληθῆναι. 3 ἀποκτείνας δὲ μιν οὐκ ἀξίως ἀπηγήσιος Ὅροίτης ἀνεσταύρωσε· τῶν δὲ οἱ ἐπομένων ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν Σάμιοι, ἀπῆκε, κελεύων σφέας ἐωυτῷ χάριν εἰδέναι ἔοντας ἐλευθέρους, ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ξεινοὶ τε καὶ δοῦλοι τῶν ἐπομένων, ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ποιεύμενος εἶχε. 4 Πολυκράτης δὲ ἀνακρεμάμενος ἐπετέλεε πᾶσαν τὴν ὄψιν τῆς θυγατρὸς· ἐλοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὅκως υἱοί, ἐχρίετο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, ἀνιείς αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἰκμάδα.

126

ἰ Πολυκράτεος μὲν δὴ αἱ πολλαὶ εὐτυχίαι ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτησαν τῇ οἱ Ἄμασις ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς προεμαντεύσατο. χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ Ὅροίτεα Πολυκράτεος τίσιες μετῆλθον. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν Καμβύσεω θάνατον καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν βασιληίην μένων ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι Ὅροίτης ὠφέλεε μὲν οὐδὲν Πέρσας ὑπὸ Μήδων ἀπαραιρημένους τὴν ἀρχήν· 2 ὁ δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ταραχῇ κατὰ μὲν ἔκτεινε Μιτροβάτεα τὸν ἐκ Δασκυλείου ὑπαρχον, ὃς οἱ ὠνείδισε τὰ ἐς Πολυκράτεα ἔχοντα, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ Μιτροβάτεω τὸν παῖδα Κρανάσπην, ἄνδρα ἐν Πέρσῃσι δοκίμους, ἄλλα τε ἐξύβρισε παντοῖα καὶ τινα ἀγγελιηφόρον ἐλθόντα Δαρείου παρ' αὐτόν, ὥς οὐ πρὸς ἡδονὴν οἱ ἦν τὰ ἀγγελλλόμενα, κτείνει μιν ὀπίσω κομιζόμενον, ἄνδρας οἱ ὑπέισας κατ' ὁδόν, ἀποκτείνας δὲ μιν ἠφάνισε αὐτῷ ἵππῳ.

127

ἰ Δαρεῖος δὲ ὥς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐπεθύμει τὸν Ὅροίτεα τίσασθαι πάντων τῶν ἀδικημάτων εἵνεκεν καὶ μάλιστα Μιτροβάτεω καὶ τοῦ παιδός. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἰθέης στρατὸν ἐπ' αὐτόν οὐκ ἐδόκεε πέμπειν

ἄτε οἰδεόντων ἔτι τῶν πρηγμάτων, καὶ νεωστὶ ἔχων τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν Ὀροίτεα μεγάλῃν τὴν ἰσχὺν πυνθανόμενος ἔχειν· τὸν χίλιοι μὲν Περσέων ἐδορυφόρεον, εἶχε δὲ νομὸν τόν τε Φρύγιον καὶ Λύδιον καὶ Ἴωνικόν. ² πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὧν ὁ Δαρεῖος τάδε ἐμηχανήσατο. συγκαλέσας Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. “ὦ Πέρσαι, τίς ἂν μοι τοῦτο ὑμέων ὑποστὰς ἐπιτελέσειε σοφίῃ καὶ μὴ βίῃ τε καὶ ὁμίλῳ; ἔνθα γὰρ σοφίης δέει, βίης ἔργον οὐδέν· ³ ὑμέων δὲ ὧν τίς μοι Ὀροίτεα ἢ ζῶοντα ἀγάγοι ἢ ἀποκτείνειε; ὃς ὠφέλησε μὲν κω Πέρσας οὐδέν, κακὰ δὲ μεγάλα ἔοργε· τοῦτο μὲν δύο ἡμέων ἥϊστωσε, Μιτροβάτεά τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς ἀνακαλέοντας αὐτὸν καὶ πεμπομένους ὑπ’ ἐμεῦ κτείνει, ὕβριν οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν φαίνων. πρὶν τι ὧν μέζον ἐξεργάσασθαί μιν Πέρσας κακόν, καταλαμπτέος ἐστὶ ἡμῖν θανάτω,,.

128

¹ Δαρεῖος μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, τῷ δὲ ἄνδρες τριήκοντα ὑπέστησαν, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἐθέλων ποιεῖν ταῦτα. ἐρίζοντας δὲ Δαρεῖος κατελάμβανε κελεύων πάλλεσθαι· παλλομένων δὲ λαγχάνει ἐκ πάντων Βαγαῖος ὁ Ἀρτόντεω· ² λαχὼν δὲ ὁ Βαγαῖος ποιεῖ τάδε· βυβλία γραψάμενος πολλὰ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἔχοντα πρηγμάτων σφρηγῖδά σφι ἐπέβαλε τὴν Δαρείου, μετὰ δὲ ἦε ἔχων ταῦτα ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις. ³ ἀπικόμενος δὲ καὶ Ὀροίτεω ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθὼν, τῶν βυβλίων ἐν ἑκάστῳ περιαιρεόμενος ἐδίδου τῷ γραμματιστῇ τῷ βασιληίῳ ἐπιλέγεσθαι· γραμματιστὰς δὲ βασιληίους οἱ πάντες ὑπαρχοὶ ἔχουσι· ἀποπειρώμενος δὲ τῶν δορυφόρων ἐδίδου τὰ βυβλία ὁ Βαγαῖος, εἰ ἐνδεξαίματο ἀπόστασιν ἀπὸ Ὀροίτεω. ⁴ ὁρέων δὲ σφέας τά τε βυβλία σεβομένους μεγάλως καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐκ τῶν βυβλίων ἔτι μεζόνως, διδοῖ ἄλλο ἐν τῷ ἐνῆν ἔπεα τάδε· “ὦ Πέρσαι, βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ἀπαγορεύει ὑμῖν μὴ δορυφορέειν Ὀροίτεα,,. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες τούτων μετῆκάν οἱ τὰς αἰχμάς. ⁵ ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο σφέας ὁ Βαγαῖος πειθομένους τῷ βυβλίῳ, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ θαρσήσας τὸ τελευταῖον τῶν βυβλίων διδοῖ τῷ γραμματιστῇ, ἐν τῷ ἐγγέγραπτο “βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος Πέρσῃσι τοῖσι ἐν Σάρδισι ἐντέλλεται κτείνειν Ὀροίτεα,,. οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι ὥς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, σπασάμενοι τοὺς ἀκινάκας κτείνουσι παραντίκα μιν, οὕτω δὴ Ὀροίτεα τὸν Πέρσῃν Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Σαμίου τίσιες μετῆλθον.

1 Ἀπικομένων δὲ καὶ ἀνακομισθέντων τῶν Ὀροίτεω χρημάτων ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα, συνήνευκε χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐν ἄγρῃ θηρῶν ἀποθρώσκοντα ἀπ' ἵππου στραφῆναι τὸν πόδα. 2 καὶ κως ἰσχυροτέρως ἐστράφη· ὁ γάρ οἱ ἀστράγαλος ἐξεχώρησε ἐκ τῶν ἄρθρων. νομίζων δὲ καὶ πρότερον περὶ ἐωυτὸν ἔχειν Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς δοκέοντας εἶναι πρώτους τὴν ἱητρικὴν, τούτοισι ἐχρᾶτο. οἱ δὲ στρεβλοῦντες καὶ βιώμενοι τὸν πόδα κακὸν μέζον ἐργάζοντο. 3 ἐπ' ἐπτὰ μὲν δὴ ἡμέρας καὶ ἐπτὰ νύκτας ὑπὸ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀγρυπνίησι εἶχετο· τῇ δὲ δὴ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρῃ ἔχοντί οἱ φλαύρως, παρακούσας τις πρότερον ἔτι ἐν Σάρδισι τοῦ Κροτωνιήτεω Δημοκίδεος τὴν τέχνην ἀγγέλλει τῷ Δαρεῖῳ· ὁ δὲ ἄγειν μιν τὴν ταχίστην παρ' ἐωυτὸν ἐκέλευσε· τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐξεῦρον ἐν τοῖσι Ὀροίτεω ἀνδραπόδοις ὅκου δὴ ἀπημελημένον, παρήγον ἐς μέσον πέδας τε ἔλκοντα καὶ ῥάκεσι ἐσθημένον.

1 Σταθέντα δὲ ἐς μέσον εἰρώτα ὁ Δαρεῖος τὴν τέχνην εἰ ἐπίσταιτο· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ὑπεδέκετο, ἀρρώδεων μὴ ἐωυτὸν ἐκφίνας τὸ παράπαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ ἀπεστερημένος· 2 κατεφάνη τε τῷ Δαρεῖῳ τεχνάζειν ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ τοὺς ἀγαγόντας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε μαστιγὰς τε καὶ κέντρα παραφέρειν ἐς τὸ μέσον. ὁ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὦν ἐκφαίνει, φὰς ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι, ὁμιλήσας δὲ ἱητρῷ φλαύρως ἔχειν τὴν τέχνην. 3 μετὰ δέ, ὥς οἱ ἐπέτρεψε, Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἱήμασι χρεώμενος καὶ ἥπια μετὰ τὰ ἰσχυρὰ προσάγων ὕπνου τέ μιν λαγχάνειν ἐποίησε καὶ ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ ὑγία μιν ἀπέδεξε, οὐδαμὰ ἔτι ἐλπίζοντα ἀρτίπουν ἔσεσθαι. 4 δωρέεται δὴ μιν μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος πεδέων χρυσέων δύο ζεύγεσι· ὁ δὲ μιν ἐπείρετο εἰ οἱ διπλήσιον τὸ κακὸν ἐπίτηδες νέμει, ὅτι μιν ὑγία ἐποίησε. ἤσθεις δὲ τῷ ἔπει ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀποπέμπει μιν παρὰ τὰς ἐωυτοῦ γυναῖκας· παράγοντες δὲ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι ἔλεγον πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας ὡς βασιλεῖ οὗτος εἶη ὃς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπέδωκε. 5 ὑποτύπτουσα δὲ αὐτέων ἐκάστη φιάλη τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἐς θήκην ἐδωρέετο Δημοκίδεα οὕτω δὴ τι δαψιλῇ δωρεῇ ὡς τοὺς ἀποπίπτοντας ἀπὸ τῶν φιαλέων στατῆρας ἐπόμενος ὁ οἰκέτης, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σκίτων, ἀνελέγετο καὶ οἱ χρῆμα πολλόν τι χρυσοῦ συνελέχθη.

1 Ὁ δὲ Δημοκίδης οὗτος ὧδε ἐκ Κρότωνος ἀπιγμένος Πολυκράτει ὠμίλησε· πατρὶ συνείχετο ἐν τῇ Κρότωνι ὀργὴν χαλεπῶ· τοῦτον ἐπεῖτε οὐκ ἐδύνατο φέρειν, ἀπολιπὼν οἴχετο ἐς Αἴγιναν. καταστάς δὲ ἐς ταύτην πρώτῳ ἔτει ὑπερεβάλετο τοὺς ἄλλους ἱητρούς, ἀσκευῆς περ ἐὼν καὶ ἔχων οὐδὲν τῶν ὅσα περὶ τὴν τέχνην ἐστὶ ἐργαλῆια. 2 καὶ μιν δευτέρῳ ἔτει ταλάντου Αἰγινῆται δημοσίῃ μισθοῦνται, τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει Ἀθηναῖοι ἑκατὸν μνέων, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει Πολυκράτης δυὼν ταλάντων. οὕτω μὲν ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Σάμον, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἤκιστα Κροτωνιῆται ἱητροὶ εὐδοκίμησαν. 3 ἐγένετο γὰρ ὧν τοῦτο ὅτε πρώτοι μὲν Κροτωνιῆται ἱητροὶ ἐλέγοντο ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶναι, δεύτεροι δὲ Κυρηναῖοι. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον χρόνον καὶ Ἀργεῖοι ἤκουον μουσικὴν εἶναι Ἑλλήνων πρώτοι.

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1 Τότε δὴ ὁ Δημοκίδης ἐν τοῖσι Σούσοισι ἐξιησάμενος Δαρεῖον οἶκόν τε μέγιστον εἶχε καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος βασιλεῖ ἐγεγόνεε, πλὴν τε ἐνὸς τοῦ ἐς Ἑλληνας ἀπιέναι πάντα τᾶλλα οἱ παρῆν. 2 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἱητρούς, οἱ βασιλέα πρότερον ἰῶντο, μέλλοντας ἀνασκολοπιεῖσθαι ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνος ἱητροῦ ἐσώθησαν, τούτους βασιλέα παραιτησάμενος ἐρρύσατο· τοῦτο δὲ μάντιν Ἥλειον Πολυκράτει ἐπισπόμενον καὶ ἀπημελημένον ἐν τοῖσι ἀνδραπόδοισι ἐρρύσατο. ἦν δὲ μέγιστον πρῆγμα Δημοκίδης παρὰ βασιλεῖ.

133

1 Ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὀλίγῳ μετὰ ταῦτα τάδε ἄλλα συνήνευκε γενέσθαι. Ἀτόσση τῇ Κύρου μὲν θυγατρὶ Δαρείου δὲ γυναικὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μαστοῦ ἔφυ φῦμα, μετὰ δὲ ἐκραγὲν ἐνέμετο πρόσω. ὅσον μὲν δὴ χρόνον ἦν ἔλασσον, ἥ δὲ κρύπτουσα καὶ αἰσχυνομένη ἔφραζε οὐδενί· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐν κακῷ ἦν, μετεπέμψατο τὸν Δημοκίδα καὶ οἱ ἐπέδεξε. 2 ὁ δὲ φὰς ὑγιέα ποιήσιν ἐξορκοῖ μιν ἥ μὲν οἱ ἀντυπουργήσιν ἐκείνην τοῦτο τὸ ἂν αὐτῆς δεηθῇ· δεήσεσθαι δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ὅσα ἐς αἰσχύνην ἐστὶ φέροντα.

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1 Ὡς δὲ ἄρα μιν μετὰ ταῦτα ἰώμενος ὑγιέα ἀπέδεξε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ διδαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημοκίδεος ἡ Ἄτοσσα προσέφερε ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ Δαρείῳ λόγον τοιόνδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἔχων δύναμιν τοσαύτην κάτησαι,

οὔτε τι ἔθνος προσκτώμενος οὔτε δύναμιν Πέρσῃσι. 2 οἰκὸς δὲ ἐστὶ ἄνδρα καὶ νέον καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων δεσπότην φαίνεσθαι τι ἀποδεικνύμενον, ἵνα καὶ Πέρσαι ἐκμάθωσι ὅτι ὑπ' ἄνδρὸς ἄρχονται. ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω δέ τοι συμφέρει ταῦτα ποιέειν, καὶ ἵνα σφέων Πέρσαι ἐπίστανται ἄνδρα εἶναι τὸν προεστεῶτα, καὶ ἵνα τρίβωνται πολέμῳ μηδὲ σχολὴν ἄγοντες ἐπιβουλεύωσί τοι. 3 νῦν γὰρ ἂν τι καὶ ἀποδέξαιο ἔργον, ἕως νέος εἰς ἡλικίην· αὐξομένῳ γὰρ τῷ σώματι συναύξονται καὶ αἱ φρένες, γηράσκοντι δὲ συγγῆράσκουσι καὶ ἐς τὰ πρήγματα πάντα ἀπαμβλύνονται,,. 4 ἥ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ διδαχῆς ἔλεγε, ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “ὦ γύναι, πάντα ὅσα περ αὐτὸς ἐπινοέω ποιήσῃς εἰρηκας· ἐγὼ γὰρ βεβούλευμαι ζεύξας γέφυραν ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ἡπείρου ἐς τὴν ἐτέρην ἡπειρον ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατεύεσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα ὀλίγου χρόνου ἔσται τελεύμενα,,. λέγει Ἄτοσσα τάδε. 5 “ὄρα νυν, ἐπὶ Σκύθας μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἰέναι ἕασον· οὔτοι γάρ, ἐπεὰν σὺ βούλῃ, ἔσονται τοι· σὺ δέ μοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπιθυμέω γὰρ λόγῳ πυνθανομένη Λακαίνας τέ μοι γενέσθαι θεραπαίνας καὶ Ἀργείας καὶ Ἀττικὰς καὶ Κορινθίας. ἔχεις δὲ ἄνδρα ἐπιτηδεότατον ἀνδρῶν πάντων δέξαι τε ἕκαστα τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ κατηγήσασθαι, τοῦτον ὃς σευ τὸν πόδα ἐξήσατο,,. 6 ἀμείβεται Δαρεῖος “ὦ γύναι, ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τοι δοκέει τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡμέας πρῶτα ἀποπειρᾶσθαι, κατασκόπους μοι δοκέει Περσέων πρῶτον ἄμεινον εἶναι ὁμοῦ τούτῳ τῷ σὺ λέγεις πέμψαι ἐς αὐτούς, οἱ μαθόντες καὶ ἰδόντες ἐξαγγελεύουσι ἕκαστα αὐτῶν ἡμῖν· καὶ ἔπειτα ἐξεπιστάμενος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τρέψομαι,,.

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1 Ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ ἅμα ἔπος τε καὶ ἔργον ἐποίηε. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ τάχιστα ἡμέρῃ ἐπέλαμψε, καλέσας Περσέων ἄνδρας δοκίμους πεντεκαίδεκα ἐνετέλλετό σφι ἐπομένους Δημοκῆδεϊ διεξελθεῖν τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅπως τε μὴ διαδρήσεται σφέας ὁ Δημοκῆδης, ἀλλὰ μιν πάντως ὀπίσω ἀπάξουσιν. 2 ἐντειλάμενος δὲ τούτοις ταῦτα, δευτέρα καλέσας αὐτὸν Δημοκῆδεα ἐδέετο αὐτοῦ ὅπως ἐξηγησάμενος πᾶσαν καὶ ἐπιδέξας τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ὀπίσω ἦξει· δῶρα δέ μιν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι ἐκέλευε πάντα τὰ ἐκείνου ἐπιπλα λαβόντα ἄγειν, φὰς ἄλλα οἱ πολλαπλήσια ἀντιδώσειν· πρὸς δὲ ἐς τὰ δῶρα ὀλκάδα οἱ ἔφη συμβαλέεσθαι πλήσας ἀγαθῶν παντοίων, τὴν ἅμα οἱ πλεύσεσθαι. 3 Δαρεῖος μὲν δὴ, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς δολεροῦ

νόου ἐπαγγέλλετο οἱ ταῦτα. Δημοκίδης δὲ δείσας μὴ εὖ ἐκπειρῶτο Δαρεῖος, οὔτι ἐπιδραμὼν πάντα τὰ διδόμενα ἐδέκετο, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἑωυτοῦ κατὰ χώρην ἔφη καταλείψειν, ἵνα ὀπίσω σφέα ἀπελθὼν ἔχοι, τὴν μέντοι ὀλκάδα, τὴν οἱ Δαρεῖος ἐπαγγέλλετο ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν τοῖσι ἀδελφείοις, δέκεσθαι ἔφη. ἐντειλάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀποστέλλει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν.

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1 Καταβάντες δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ Φοινίκης ἐς Σιδῶνα πόλιν αὐτίκα μὲν τριήρεας δύο ἐπλήρωσαν, ἅμα δὲ αὐτῇσι καὶ γαῦλον μέγαν παντοίων ἀγαθῶν· παρεσκευασμένοι δὲ πάντα ἔπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προσίσχοντες δὲ αὐτῇς τὰ παραθαλάσσια ἐθηεῦντο καὶ ἀπεγράφοντο, ἐς ὃ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῇς καὶ ὀνομαστὰ θεησάμενοι ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐς Τάραντα. 2 ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἐκ ῥηστῶνης τῆς Δημοκίδεος Ἀριστοφιλίδης τῶν Ταραντίνων ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦτο μὲν τὰ πηδάλια παρέλυσεν τῶν Μηδικῶν νεῶν, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Πέρσας εἵρξε ὥς κατασκόπους δῆθεν ἐόντας. ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἔπασχον, ὁ Δημοκίδης ἐς τὴν Κρότωνα ἀπικνέεται· ἀπιγμένου δὲ ἤδη τούτου ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ὁ Ἀριστοφιλίδης ἔλυσεν τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ τὰ παρέλαβε τῶν νεῶν ἀπέδωκε σφι.

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1 Πλέοντες δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ διώκοντες Δημοκίδεα ἀπικνέονται ἐς τὴν Κρότωνα, εὐρόντες δὲ μιν ἀγοράζοντα ἄπτοντο αὐτοῦ. 2 τῶν δὲ Κροτωνιτέων οἱ μὲν καταρρώδεοντες τὰ Περσικὰ πρήγματα προΐεναι ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀντάπτοντο καὶ τοῖσι σκυτάλοισι ἔπαιον τοὺς Πέρσας προῖσχομένους ἔπεα τάδε. “ἄνδρες Κροτωνιῆται, ὁρᾶτε τὰ ποιέετε· ἄνδρα βασιλέος δρηπέτην γενόμενον ἐξαίρεσθε. 3 κῶς ταῦτα βασιλεὶ Δαρεῖῳ ἐκχρήσει περιωβρίσθαι; κῶς δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ πιεύμενα ἔξει καλῶς, ἣν ἀπέλησθε ἡμέας; ἐπὶ τίνα δὲ τῆσδε προτέρην στρατευσόμεθα πόλιν; τίνα δὲ προτέρην ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι περιησόμεθα;,, 4 ταῦτα λέγοντες τοὺς Κροτωνιήτας οὐκ ἔπειθον, ἀλλ’ ἐξαιρεθέντες τε τὸν Δημοκίδεα καὶ τὸν γαῦλον τὸν ἅμα ἦγοντο ἀπαιρεθέντες ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐδ’ ἔτι ἐζήτησαν τὸ προσωτέρω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπικόμενοι ἐκμαθεῖν, ἐστερημένοι τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. 5 τοσόνδε μέντοι ἐντειλατό σφι Δημοκίδης ἀναγομένοις, κελεύων εἰπεῖν σφας Δαρεῖῳ ὅτι

ἄρμονται τὴν Μίλωνος θυγατέρα Δημοκίδης γυναῖκα. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ παλαιστέω Μίλωνος ἦν οὖνομα πολλὸν παρὰ βασιλείᾳ· κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο μοι δοκεῖ σπεῦσαι τὸν γάμον τοῦτον τελέσας χρήματα μεγάλα Δημοκίδης, ἵνα φανῇ πρὸς Δαρείου ἔων καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐωυτοῦ δόκιμος.

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1 Ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κρότωνος οἱ Πέρσαι ἐκπίπτουσι τῆσι νηυσὶ ἐς Ἰηπυγίην, καὶ σφεας δουλεύοντας ἐνθαῦτα Γίλλος ἀνὴρ Ταραντῖνος φυγὰς ῥυσάμενος ἀπήγαγε παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον. ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔτοιμος ἦν διδόναι τοῦτο ὃ τι βούλοιτο αὐτός. 2 Γίλλος δὲ αἰρέεται κάτοδόν οἱ ἐς Τάραντα γενέσθαι, προαπηγησάμενος τὴν συμφορὴν· ἵνα δὲ μὴ συνταράξῃ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἦν δι' αὐτὸν στόλος μέγας πλὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίην, Κνιδίους μούνους ἀποχρᾶν οἱ ἔφη τοὺς κατάγοντας γίνεσθαι, δοκεῶν ἀπὸ τούτων ἐόντων τοῖσι Ταραντίνουσι φίλων μάλιστα τὴν κάτοδόν οἱ ἔσεσθαι. 3 Δαρεῖος δὲ ὑποδεξάμενος ἐπετέλεε· πέμψας γὰρ ἄγγελον ἐς Κνίδον κατάγειν σφέας ἐκέλευε Γίλλον ἐς Τάραντα. πειθόμενοι δὲ Δαρεῖω Κνιδιοὶ Ταραντίνους οὐκὼν ἔπειθον, βίην δὲ ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν προσφέρειν. 4 ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐπρήχθη· οὗτοι δὲ πρῶτοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπίκοντο Πέρσαι, καὶ οὗτοι διὰ τοιόνδε πρῆγμα κατάσκοποι ἐγένοντο.

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1 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Σάμον βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος αἰρέει, πολίων πασέων πρώτην Ἑλληνίδων καὶ βαρβάρων, διὰ τοιήνδε τινὰ αἰτίην. Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κύρου στρατευομένου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἄλλοι τε συχνοὶ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκοντο Ἑλλήνων, οἱ μὲν, ὥς οἶκός, κατ' ἐμπορίην στρατευόμενοι, οἱ δὲ τινὲς καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς χώρας θεηταί· τῶν ἦν καὶ Συλοσῶν ὁ Αἰάκεος, Πολυκράτεός τε ἔων ἀδελφεὸς καὶ φεύγων ἐκ Σάμου. 2 τοῦτον τὸν Συλοσῶντα κατέλαβε εὐτυχίῃ τις τοιήδε. λαβὼν χλανίδα καὶ περιβαλόμενος πυρρὴν ἠγόραζε ἐν τῇ Μέμφι· ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν Δαρεῖος, δορυφόρος τε ἔων Καμβύσεω καὶ λόγου οὐδενός κω μεγάλου, ἐπεθύμησε τῆς χλανίδος καὶ αὐτὴν προσελθὼν ὠνέετο. 3 ὁ δὲ Συλοσῶν ὀρέων τὸν Δαρεῖον μεγάλως ἐπιθυμέοντα τῆς χλανίδος, θεῇ τύχῃ χρεώμενος λέγει “ἐγὼ ταύτην πωλέω μὲν οὐδενὸς χρήματος, δίδωμι δὲ ἄλλως, εἴ περ οὕτω δεῖ γενέσθαι πάντως τοι,, αἰνέσας ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος παραλαμβάνει τὸ εἶμα.

1 Ὁ μὲν δὴ Συλοσῶν ἠπίστατο τοῦτό οἱ ἀπολωλέναι δι' εὐηθείην. ὥς δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνοντος Καμβύσης τε ἀπέθανε καὶ τῷ Μάγῳ ἐπανεστήσαν οἱ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ Δαρεῖος τὴν βασιλίην ἔσχε, πυνθάνεται ὁ Συλοσῶν ὥς ἡ βασιλίη περιεληλύθει ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ κοτὲ αὐτὸς ἔδωκε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δεθηέντι τὸ εἶμα. ἀναβὰς δὲ ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα ἵζετο ἐς τὰ πρόθυρα τῶν βασιλέος οἰκίων καὶ ἔφη Δαρείου εὐεργέτης εἶναι. 2 ἀγγέλλει ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ πύλουρος τῷ βασιλεῖ· ὁ δὲ θωμάσας λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν “καὶ τίς ἐστὶ Ἑλλήνων εὐεργέτης τῷ ἐγὼ προαιδεῦμαι, νεωστὶ μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων; ἀναβέβηκε δ' ἡ τις ἢ οὐδεὶς κω παρ' ἡμέας αὐτῶν, ἔχω δὲ χρέος εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἄνδρὸς Ἑλλήνος. ὅμως δὲ αὐτὸν παράγετε ἔσω, ἵνα εἰδῶ τί θέλων λέγει ταῦτα,,. 3 παρῆγε ὁ πύλουρος τὸν Συλοσῶντα, στάντα δὲ ἐς μέσον εἰρώτων οἱ ἑρμηνέες τίς τε εἶη καὶ τί ποιήσας εὐεργέτης φησὶ εἶναι βασιλέος. εἶπε ὧν ὁ Συλοσῶν πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν χλανίδα γενόμενα, καὶ ὥς αὐτὸς εἶη κεῖνος ὁ δούς. 4 ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Δαρεῖος “ὦ γενναιότατε ἀνδρῶν, σὺ κεῖνος εἷς ὃς ἐμοὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντί κω δύναμιν ἔδωκας εἰ καὶ σμικρά, ἀλλ' ὧν ἴση γε ἡ χάρις ὁμοίως ὥς εἰ νῦν κοθέν τι μέγα λάβοιμι· ἀντ' ὧν τοι χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ἄπλετον δίδωμι, ὥς μὴ κοτέ τοι μεταμελήσῃ Δαρεῖον τὸν Ὑστάσπεος εὖ ποιήσαντι,,. λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Συλοσῶν 5 “ἐμοὶ μήτε χρυσὸν ὧ βασιλεῦ μήτε ἄργυρον δίδου, ἀλλ' ἀνασωσάμενός μοι δὸς τὴν πατρίδα Σάμον, τὴν νῦν ἀδελφεοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ Ὀροίτεω ἔχει δοῦλος ἡμέτερος· ταύτην μοι δὸς ἄνευ τε φόνου καὶ ἐξανδραποδίστιος,,.

1 Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Δαρεῖος ἀπέστειλλε στρατιὴν τε καὶ στρατηγὸν Ὀτάνεα ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἑπτὰ γενόμενον, ἐντειλάμενος, ὅσων ἐδεήθη ὁ Συλοσῶν, ταῦτά οἱ ποιέειν ἐπιτελέα. καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὁ Ὀτάνης ἔστειλλε τὴν στρατιήν.

1 Τῆς δὲ Σάμου Μαιάνδριος ὁ Μαιανδρίου εἶχε τὸ κράτος, ἐπιτροπαίην παρὰ Πολυκράτεος λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν· τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ ἀνδρῶν βουλομένῳ γενέσθαι οὐκ ἐξεγένετο. 2 ἐπειδὴ γάρ οἱ ἐξαγγέλθη ὁ Πολυκράτεος θάνατος, ἐποίησε τοιάδε· πρῶτα μὲν Διὸς

ἐλευθερίου βωμὸν ἰδρύσατο καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτὸν οὖρισε τοῦτο τὸ νῦν ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐστί· μετὰ δέ, ὥς οἱ ἐπεποιήτο, ἐκκλησίην συναγείρας πάντων τῶν ἀστών ἔλεξε τάδε. ³ “ἐμοί, ὥς ἴστε καὶ ὑμεῖς, σκῆπτρον καὶ δύναμις πᾶσα ἢ Πολυκράτεος ἐπιτέτραπται, καὶ μοι παρέχει νῦν ὑμέων ἄρχειν. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπιπλήσσω, αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ ποιήσω· οὔτε γάρ μοι Πολυκράτης ἤρεσκε δεσπόζων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίων ἐωυτῷ οὔτε ἄλλος ὅστις τοιαῦτα ποιέει. Πολυκράτης μὲν νυν ἐξέπλησε μοῖραν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐς μέσον τὴν ἀρχὴν τιθεὶς ἰσονομίην ὑμῖν προαγορεύω. ⁴ τοσάδε μέντοι δικαῖῳ γέρεα ἐμεωυτῷ γενέσθαι, ἐκ μὲν γε τῶν Πολυκράτεος χρημάτων ἐξαίρετα ἕξ τάλαντά μοι γενέσθαι, ἱρωσύνην δὲ πρὸς τούτοις αἰρεῦμαι αὐτῷ τέ μοι καὶ τοῖσι ἀπ’ ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ γινομένοις τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐλευθερίου· τῷ αὐτὸς τε ἱδὼν ἰδρυσάμην καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίην ὑμῖν περιτίθηναι, ⁵ ὃ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τοῖσι Σαμίοις ἐπαγγέλλετο· τῶν δέ τις ἐξαναστὰς εἶπε “ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἄξιός εἰς σὺ γε ἡμέων ἄρχειν, γεγονώς τε κακῶς καὶ ἐὼν ὄλεθρος· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅκως λόγον δώσεις τῶν μετεχείρισας χρημάτων,,.

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¹ Ταῦτα εἶπε ἐὼν ἐν τοῖσι ἀστοῖσι δόκιμος, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Τελέσαρχος. Μαιάνδριος δὲ νόφ λαβὼν ὥς εἰ μετήσει τὴν ἀρχήν, ἄλλος τις ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ τύραννος καταστήσεται, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐν νόφ εἶχε μετιέναι αὐτήν, ἀλλ’ ὥς ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, μεταπεμπόμενος ἓνα ἕκαστον ὥς δὴ λόγον τῶν χρημάτων δώσων, συνέλαβε σφέας καὶ κατέδησε. ² οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐδεδέατο, Μαιάνδριον δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα κατέλαβε νοῦσος. ἐλπίζων δὲ μιν ἀποθανέεσθαι ὁ ἀδελφεός, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Λυκάρητος, ἵνα εὐπετεστέρως κατάσχη τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ πράγματα, κατακτείνει τοὺς δεσμώτας πάντας· οὐ γὰρ δὴ, ὥς οἴκασι, ἐβούλοντο εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι.

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¹ Ἐπειδὴ ὧν ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σάμον οἱ Πέρσαι κατάγοντες Συλοσῶντα, οὔτε τίς σφι χεῖρας ἀνταίρεται, ὑπόσπονδοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι ἔτοιμοι οἱ τοῦ Μαιανδρίου στασιῶται καὶ αὐτὸς Μαιάνδριος ἐκχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς νήσου. καταινέσαντος δ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ὀτάνεω καὶ σπεισαμένου, τῶν Περσέων οἱ πλείστου ἄξιοι θρόνους θέμενοι κατεναντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος κατέατο.

1 Μαιανδρίῳ δὲ τῷ τυράννῳ ἦν ἀδελφεὸς ὑπομαργότερος, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Χαρίλεως· οὗτος ὃ τι δὴ ἐξαμαρτῶν ἐν γοργύρῃ ἐδέδετο, καὶ δὴ τότε ἐπακούσας τε τὰ πρησόμενα καὶ διακύψας διὰ τῆς γοργύρης, ὡς εἶδε τοὺς Πέρσας εἰρηναίως κατημένους, ἐβόα τε καὶ ἔφη λέγων Μαιανδρίῳ θέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους. 2 ἐπακούσας δὲ ὁ Μαιάνδριος λύσαντας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε ἄγειν παρ' ἐωυτόν· ὡς δὲ ἄχθη τάχιστα, λαιδορέων τε καὶ κακίζων μιν ἀνέπειθε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, λέγων τοιάδε. “ἐμὲ μὲν, ὃ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ἐόντα σεωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὸν καὶ ἀδικήσαντα οὐδὲν ἄξιον δεσμοῦ δῆσας γοργύρης ἡξίωσας· ὁρέων δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκβάλλοντάς τέ σε καὶ ἄνοικον ποιέοντας οὐ τολμᾷς τίσασθαι, οὕτω δὴ τι ἐόντας εὐπετέας χειρωθῆναι. 3 ἀλλ' εἴ τοι σὺ σφέας καταρρώδηκας, ἐμοὶ δὸς τοὺς ἐπικούρους, καὶ σφεας ἐγὼ τιμωρήσομαι τῆς ἐνθάδε ἀπίξιος· αὐτὸν δέ σε ἐκπέμψαι ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἔτοιμος εἰμί.,.

1 Ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεξε ὁ Χαρίλεως· Μαιάνδριος δὲ ὑπέλαβε τὸν λόγον, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο ἀφροσύνης ἀπικόμενος ὡς δόξαι τὴν ἐωυτοῦ δύναμιν περιέσεσθαι τῆς βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ φθονήσας μᾶλλον Συλοσῶντι εἰ ἀπονητὶ ἔμελλε ἀπολάμπσεσθαι ἀκέραιον τὴν πόλιν. 2 ἐρεθίσας ὦν τοὺς Πέρσας ἤθελε ὡς ἀσθενέστατα ποιῆσαι τὰ Σάμια πρήγματα καὶ οὕτω παραδιδόναι, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος ὡς παθόντες οἱ Πέρσαι κακῶς προσεμπικρανέεσθαι ἔμελλον τοῖσι Σαμίοισι, εἰδῶς τε ἐωυτῷ ἀσφαλέα ἔκδυσιν ἐοῦσαν ἐκ τῆς νήσου τότε ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς βούληται· ἐπεποίητο γάρ οἱ κρυπτὴ διῶρυξ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος φέρουσα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. 3 αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ ὁ Μαιάνδριος ἐκπλέει ἐκ τῆς Σάμου· τοὺς δ' ἐπικούρους πάντας ὀπίσας ὁ Χαρίλεως, καὶ ἀναπετάσας τὰς πύλας, ἐξῆκε ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας οὔτε προσδεκομένους τοιοῦτο οὐδὲν δοκέοντάς τε δὴ πάντα συμβεβάναι. ἐμπεσόντες δὲ οἱ ἐπίκουροι τῶν Περσέων τοὺς διφροφορευμένους τε καὶ λόγου πλείστου ἐόντας ἔκτεινον. 4 καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίουν, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιὴ ἡ Περσικὴ ἐπεβοήθεε· πιεζύμενοι δὲ οἱ ἐπίκουροι ὀπίσω κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

1 Ὅτάνης δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἰδὼν πάθος μέγα Πέρσας πεπονθότας,

ἐντολὰς μὲν τὰς Δαρεϊῶς οἱ ἀποστέλλων ἐνετέλλετο, μήτε κτείνειν μηδένα Σαμίων μήτε ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι ἀπαθέα τε κακῶν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν νῆσον Συλοσῶντι, τουτέων μὲν τῶν ἐντολέων μεμνημένος ἐπελανθάνετο, ὁ δὲ παρήγγειλε τῇ στρατιῇ πάντα τὸν ἂν λάβωσι καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα ὁμοίως κτείνειν. ² ἐνθαῦτα τῆς στρατιῆς οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπολιόρκεον, οἱ δὲ ἔκτεινον πάντα τὸν ἐμποδῶν γινόμενον ὁμοίως ἔν τε ἱρῷ καὶ ἔξω ἱροῦ.

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¹ Μαιάνδριος δὲ ἀποδράς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἐκπλέει ἐς Λακεδαίμονα· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἀνενεικάμενος τὰ ἔχων ἐξεχώρησε, ἐποίεε τοιάδε· ὅκως ποτήρια ἀργυρεά τε καὶ χρύσεια προθεῖτο, οἱ μὲν θεράποντες αὐτοῦ ἐξέσμων αὐτά, ὁ δ' ἂν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῷ Κλεομένει τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδῳ ἐν λόγοισι ἐὼν, βασιλεύοντι Σπάρτης, προῆγέ μιν ἐς τὰ οἰκία· ὅκως δὲ ἴδοιτο Κλεομένης τὰ ποτήρια, ἀπεθώμαζε τε καὶ ἐξεπλήσσετο· ὁ δὲ ἂν ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν ἀποφέρεισθαι αὐτῶν ὅσα βούλοιτο. ² τοῦτο καὶ δις καὶ τρίς εἶπαντος Μαιανδρίου ὁ Κλεομένης δικαιοτάτος ἀνδρῶν γίνεται, ὃς λαβεῖν μὲν διδόμενα οὐκ ἐδικαίου, μαθὼν δὲ ὡς ἄλλοισι διδοὺς τῶν ἀστῶν εὐρήσεται τιμωρίην, βὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους ἄμεινον εἶναι ἔφη τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὸν ξεῖνον τὸν Σάμιον ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἵνα μὴ ἀναπέσῃ ἢ αὐτὸν ἢ ἄλλον τινὰ Σπαρτιητέων κακὸν γενέσθαι. οἱ δ' ὑπακούσαντες ἐξεκήρυξαν Μαιάνδριον.

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¹ Τὴν δὲ Σάμον [σαγηνεύσαντες] οἱ Πέρσαι παρέδοσαν Συλοσῶντι ἔρημον ἐοῦσαν ἀνδρῶν. ὑστέρω μέντοι χρόνῳ καὶ συγκατοίκησε αὐτὴν ὁ στρατηγὸς Ὀτάνης ἐκ τε ὄψιος ὀνείρου καὶ νούσου ἢ μιν κατέλαβε νοσῆσαι τὰ αἰδοῖα.

150

¹ Ἐπὶ δὲ Σάμον στρατεύματος ναυτικοῦ οἰχομένου Βαβυλώνιοι ἀπέστησαν, κάρτα εὖ παρεσκευασμένοι· ἐν ὧν γὰρ ὁ τε Μάγος ἦρχε καὶ οἱ ἐπτὰ ἐπανεστήσαν, ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῇ ταραχῇ ἐς τὴν πολιορκίην παρεσκευάζοντο. ² καὶ κως ταῦτα ποιεῦντες ἐλάνθανον. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἀπέστησαν, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε· τὰς μητέρας ἐξελόντες, γυναῖκα ἕκαστος μίαν

προσεξαίρετο τὴν ἐβούλετο ἐκ τῶν ἐωυτοῦ οἰκίων, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἀπάσας συναγαγόντες ἀπέπνιξαν· τὴν δὲ μίαν ἕκαστος σιτοποιὸν ἐξαίρετο· ἀπέπνιξαν δὲ αὐτάς, ἵνα μὴ σφεων τὸν σῖτον ἀναισιμώσωσι.

151

¹ Πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ συλλέξας πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ δύναμιν ἐστρατεύετο ἐπ’ αὐτούς, ἐπελάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐπολιόρκει φροντίζοντας οὐδὲν τῆς πολιορκίας. ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς προμαχεῶνας τοῦ τείχεος οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καταρχέοντο καὶ κατέσκωπτον Δαρεῖον καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τις αὐτῶν εἶπε τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος. ² “τί κάτησθε ὦ Πέρσαι ἐνθαῦτα, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεσθε; τότε γὰρ αἰρήσετε ἡμέας, ἐπεὰν ἡμίονοι τέκωσι,., τοῦτο εἶπε τῶν τις Βαβυλωνίων οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίζων ἂν ἡμίονον τεκεῖν.

152

¹ Ἐπτα δὲ μηνῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ διεληλυθότος ἤδη ὁ Δαρεῖός τε ἥσχαλλε καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ πᾶσα οὐ δυνατὴ ἐοῦσα ἐλεῖν τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους. καίτοι πάντα σοφίσματα καὶ πάσας μηχανὰς ἐπεποιήκεε ἐς αὐτούς Δαρεῖος· ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ὥς ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν σφεας, ἄλλοισί τε σοφίσμασι πειρησάμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ Κῦρος εἶλε σφέας, καὶ τούτῳ ἐπειρήθη. ἀλλὰ γὰρ δεινῶς ἦσαν ἐν φυλακῇσι οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, οὐδὲ σφέας οἷός τε ἦν ἐλεῖν.

153

¹ Ἐνθαῦτα εἰκοστῷ μηνὶ Ζωπύρῳ τῷ Μεγαβύζου, τούτου ὃς τῶν ἐπτα ἀνδρῶν ἐγένετο τῶν τὸν Μάγον κατελόντων, τούτῳ τῷ Μεγαβύζου παιδὶ Ζωπύρῳ ἐγένετο τέρας τόδε· τῶν οἱ σιτοφόρων ἡμίονων μία ἔτεκε. ὥς δὲ οἱ ἐξαγγέλθη καὶ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας αὐτὸς ὁ Ζώπυρος εἶδε τὸ βρέφος, ἀπείπας τοῖσι ἰδοῦσι μηδενὶ φράζειν τὸ γεγονὸς ἐβουλεύετο. ² καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου ῥήματα, ὃς κατ’ ἀρχὰς ἔφησε, ἐπεὰν περ ἡμίονοι τέκωσι, τότε τὸ τεῖχος ἀλώσεσθαι, πρὸς ταύτην τὴν φήμην Ζωπύρῳ ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀλώσιμος ἡ Βαβυλὼν· σὺν γὰρ θεῷ ἐκεῖνόν τε εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐωυτῷ τεκεῖν τὴν ἡμίονον.

154

¹ Ὡς δὲ οἱ ἐδόκεε μόρσιμον εἶναι ἤδη τῇ Βαβυλῶνι ἀλίσκεσθαι,

προσελθὼν Δαρείου ἀπεπυνθάνετο εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ κάρτα ποιέεται τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐλεῖν. πυθόμενος δὲ ὡς πολλοῦ τιμῶτο, ἄλλο ἐβουλεύετο, ὅπως αὐτός τε ἔσται ὁ ἐλὼν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐωυτοῦ τὸ ἔργον ἔσται· κάρτα γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Πέρσησι αἱ ἀγαθοεργαίαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω μεγάθεος τιμῶνται. ² ἄλλω μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐφράζετο ἔργῳ δυνατὸς εἶναί μιν ὑποχειρίην ποιῆσαι, εἰ δ' ἐωυτὸν λωβησάμενος αὐτομολήσσει ἐς αὐτούς. ἐνθαῦτα ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ποιησάμενος ἐωυτὸν λωβᾷται λώβην ἀνήκεστον· ἀποταμὼν γὰρ ἐωυτοῦ τὴν ῥῖνα καὶ τὰ ὦτα καὶ τὴν κόμην κακῶς περικείρας καὶ μαστιγώσας ἦλθε παρὰ Δαρεῖον.

155

¹ Δαρεῖος δὲ κάρτα βαρέως ἤνεικε ἰδὼν ἄνδρα δοκιμώτατον λελωβημένον, ἔκ τε τοῦ θρόνου ἀναπηδήσας ἀνέβωσέ τε καὶ εἵρετό μιν ὅστις εἴη ὁ λωβησάμενος καὶ ὃ τι ποιήσαντα. ² ὁ δὲ εἶπε “οὐκ ἔστι οὗτος ὠνήρ, ὅτι μὴ σύ, τῷ ἐστὶ δύναμις τοσαύτη ἐμὲ δὴ ὧδε διαθεῖναι· οὐδέ τις ἀλλοτρίων ὧ βασιλεῦ τάδε ἔργασται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἐμεωυτόν, δεινόν τι ποιεύμενος Ἀσσυρίουσι Πέρσησι καταγελᾶν,,. ³ ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο “ὧ σχετλιώτατε ἀνδρῶν, ἔργῳ τῷ αἰσχίστῳ οὖνομα τὸ κάλλιστον ἔθει, φὰς διὰ τοὺς πολιορκεομένους σεωυτὸν ἀνηκέστως διαθεῖναι. τί δ', ὧ μάταιε, λελωβημένου σεῦ θᾶσσον οἱ πολέμιοι παραστήσονται; κῶς οὐκ ἐξέπλωσας τῶν φρενῶν σεωυτὸν διαφθείρας,,. ⁴ ὁ δὲ εἶπε “εἰ μὲν τοι ὑπερετίθεα τὰ ἐμελλον ποιήσιν, οὐκ ἂν με περιεῖδες· νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἐμεωυτοῦ βαλόμενος ἔπρηξα. ἤδη ὦν ἦν μὴ τῶν σῶν δεήσῃ, αἰρέομεν Βαβυλῶνα. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἔχω αὐτομολήσω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ φήσω πρὸς αὐτούς ὡς ὑπὸ σεῦ τάδε ἔπαθον· καὶ δοκέω, πείσας σφέας ταῦτα ἔχειν οὕτω, τεύξεσθαι στρατιῆς. ⁵ σὺ δέ, ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης ἐγὼ ἐσέλθω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐς δεκάτην ἡμέρην τῆς σεωυτοῦ στρατιῆς, τῆς οὐδεμία ἔσται ὥρη ἀπολλυμένης, ταύτης χιλίους τάξον κατὰ τὰς Σεμιράμιος καλεομένας πύλας· μετὰ δὲ αὗτις ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης ἐς ἐβδόμην ἄλλους μοι τάξον δισχιλίους κατὰ τὰς Νινίων καλεομένας πύλας· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐβδόμης διαλείπειν εἴκοσι ἡμέρας, καὶ ἔπειτα ἄλλους κάτισον ἀγαγὼν κατὰ τὰς Χαλδαίων καλεομένας πύλας, τετρακισχιλίους. ἐχόντων δὲ μήτε οἱ πρότεροι μηδὲν τῶν ἀμυνέντων μήτε οὗτοι, πλὴν ἐγχειριδίων· τοῦτο δὲ ἐὰν ἔχειν. ⁶ μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἰκοστὴν ἡμέρην ἰθέως τὴν μὲν ἄλλην στρατιὴν κελεύειν πέριξ προσβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, Πέρσας δὲ μοι τάξον κατὰ τε τὰς

Βηλίδας καλεομένας καὶ Κισσίας πύλας. ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἐμέο μεγάλα ἔργα ἀποδεξαμένου, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐπιτρέπονται ἐμοὶ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν πυλέων τὰς βαλανάγρας· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ τε καὶ Πέρσησι μελήσει τὰ δεῖ ποιέειν,·.

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1 Ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος ἦε ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, ἐπιστρεφόμενος ὥς δὴ ἀληθέως αὐτόμολος. ὀρῶντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τεταγμένοι κατέτρεχον κάτω καὶ ὀλίγον τι παρακλίναντες τὴν ἐτέρην πύλην εἰρώτων τίς τε εἶη καὶ ὅτευ δεόμενος ἦκοι. ὁ δὲ σφι ἠγόρευε ὥς εἶη τε Ζώπυρος καὶ αὐτομολοί ἐς ἐκείνους. 2 ἦγον δὴ μιν οἱ πολουροί, ταῦτα ὥς ἤκουσαν, ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων· καταστὰς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὰ κατοικτίζετο, φὰς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεπονθέναι τὰ ἐπεπόνθεε ὑπ' ἐωυτοῦ, παθεῖν δὲ ταῦτα διότι συμβουλευσαι οἱ ἀπανιστάναι τὴν στρατιήν, ἐπεῖτε δὴ οὐδεὶς πόρος ἐφαίνετο τῆς ἀλώσιος. 3 “νῦν τε,, ἔφη λέγων “ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ὦ Βαβυλώνιοι ἤκω μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, Δαρεῖω δὲ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ καὶ Πέρσησι μέγιστον κακόν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐμέ γε ὧδε λωβησάμενος καταπροΐζεται· ἐπίσταμαι δ' αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων,· τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε.

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1 Οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ὀρῶντες ἄνδρα τὸν ἐν Πέρσησι δοκιμώτατον ῥίνος τε καὶ ὧτων ἐστερημένον, μάλιστα τε καὶ αἵματι ἀναπεφυρμένον, πάγχυ ἐλπίσαντες λέγειν μιν ἀληθέα καὶ σφι ἤκειν σύμμαχον, ἐπιτρέπεσθαι ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν τῶν ἐδέετο σφέων· ἐδέετο δὲ στρατιῆς. 2 ὁ δὲ ἐπεῖτε αὐτῶν τοῦτο παρέλαβε, ἐποίηε τὰ περ τῷ Δαρεῖω συνεθήκατο· ἐξαγαγὼν γὰρ τῇ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ τὴν στρατιὴν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ κυκλωσάμενος τοὺς χιλίους, τοὺς πρώτους ἐντειλατο Δαρεῖω τάξαι, τούτους κατεφόνευσε. 3 μαθόντες δὲ μιν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τοῖσι ἔπεσι τὰ ἔργα παρεχόμενον ὅμοια, πάγχυ περιχαρές ἐόντες πᾶν δὴ ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν ὑπηρετέειν. ὁ δὲ διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας τὰς συγκειμένας, αὐτὶς ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐξήγαγε καὶ κατεφόνευσε τῶν Δαρείου στρατιωτῶν τοὺς δισχιλίους. 4 ἰδόντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι πάντες Ζώπυρον εἶχον ἐν στόμασι αἰνέοντες. ὁ δὲ αὐτὶς διαλιπὼν τὰς συγκειμένας ἡμέρας ἐξήγαγε ἐς τὸ προειρημένον, καὶ κυκλωσάμενος κατεφόνευσε τοὺς

τετρακισχίλιους. ὥς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο κατέργαστο, πάντα δὴ ἦν ἐν τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι Ζώπυρος, καὶ στρατάρχης τε οὗτός σφι καὶ τειχοφύλαξ ἀπεδέδεκτο.

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¹ Προσβολὴν δὲ Δαρείου κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα ποιευμένου πέριξ τὸ τεῖχος, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πάντα τὸν δόλον ὁ Ζώπυρος ἐξέφαινε. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βαβυλώνιοι ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἡμύνοντο τὴν Δαρείου στρατιὴν προσβάλλουσιν, ὁ δὲ Ζώπυρος τάς τε Κισσίας καὶ Βηλίδας καλεομένας πύλας ἀναπετάσας ἐσήκε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ² τῶν δὲ Βαβυλωνίων οἱ μὲν εἶδον τὸ ποιηθέν, οὗτοι μὲν ἔφευγον ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βήλου τὸ ἱρόν· οἱ δὲ οὐκ εἶδον, ἔμενον ἐν τῇ ἐωυτοῦ τάξϊ ἕκαστος, ἐς ὃ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἔμαθον προδεδομένοι.

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¹ Βαβυλὼν μὲν νυν οὕτω τὸ δεῦτερον αἰρέθη. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἐκράτησε τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, τοῦτο μὲν σφέων τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλε καὶ τὰς πύλας πάσας ἀπέσπασε· τὸ γὰρ πρότερον ἔλων Κῦρος τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐποίησε τούτων οὐδέτερον· τοῦτο δὲ ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς κορυφαίους μάλιστα ἐς τρισχίλιους ἀνεσκολόπισε, τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν οἰκέειν. ² ὥς δ' ἔξουσι γυναῖκας οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι ἵνα σφι γενεὴ ὑπογίνηται, τάδε Δαρεῖος προῖδὼν ἐποίησε· τὰς γὰρ ἐωυτῶν, ὥς καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς δεδήλωται, ἀπέπνιξαν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τοῦ σίτου προορέοντες· ἐπέταξε τοῖσι περιοίκοισι ἔθνεσι γυναῖκας ἐς Βαβυλῶνα κατιστάναι, ὅσας δὴ ἐκάστοισι ἐπιτάσσω, ὥστε πέντε μυριάδων τὸ κεφαλαῖωμα τῶν γυναικῶν συνῆλθε· ἐκ τουτέων δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ νῦν Βαβυλώνιοι γεγόνασι.

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¹ Ζωπύρου δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀγαθοεργίην Περσέων ὑπερεβάλετο παρὰ Δαρεῖω κριτῇ οὔτε τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων οὔτε τῶν πρότερον, ὅτι μὴ Κῦρος μούνος· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐδεὶς Περσέων ἠξίωσέ κω ἐωυτὸν συμβαλεῖν. πολλάκις δὲ Δαρεῖον λέγεται γνώμην τήνδε ἀποδέξασθαι, ὥς βούλοιο ἂν Ζώπυρον εἶναι ἀπαθέα τῆς ἀεικείης μᾶλλον ἢ Βαβυλῶνάς οἱ εἴκοσι πρὸς τῇ ἐούσῃ προσγενέσθαι. ² ἐτίμησε δέ μιν μεγάλως· καὶ γὰρ δῶρά οἱ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐδίδου ταῦτα τὰ Πέρσῃσι

ἐστὶ τιμιώτατα, καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνά οἱ ἔδωκε ἀτελέα νέμεσθαι μέχρι τῆς ἐκείνου ζόης, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπέδωκε. Ζωπύρου δὲ τούτου γίνεται Μεγάβυζος, ὃς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀντία Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐστρατήγησε· Μεγαβύζου δὲ τούτου γίνεται Ζώπυρος, ὃς ἐξ Ἀθήνας ἠὺτομόλησε ἐκ Περσέων.

Βιβλίο Δ - Μελοπομένη

1

1 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βαβυλῶνος αἵρεσιν ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Σκύρας αὐτοῦ Δαρείου ἔλασις· ἀνθεύσης γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίης ἀνδράσι καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων συνιόντων, ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Δαρεῖος τίσασθαι Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι πρότεροι ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν καὶ νικήσαντες μάχη τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ὑπῆρξαν ἀδικίης. 2 τῆς γὰρ ἄνω Ἀσίης ἦρξαν, ὥς καὶ πρότερον μοι εἴρηται, Σκύθαι ἔτεα δυῶν δέοντα τριήκοντα. Κιμμερίους γὰρ ἐπιδιώκοντες ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, καταπαύσαντες τῆς ἀρχῆς Μήδους· οὗτοι γὰρ πρὶν ἢ Σκύθας ἀπικέσθαι ἦρχον τῆς Ἀσίης. 3 τοὺς δὲ Σκύθας ἀποδημήσαντας ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα καὶ διὰ χρόνου τοσούτου κατιόντας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἐξεδέξατο οὐκ ἐλάσσων πόνος τοῦ Μηδικοῦ· εὖρον γὰρ ἀντιουμένην σφίσι στρατιὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην. αἱ γὰρ τῶν Σκυθέων γυναῖκες, ὥς σφι οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπῆσαν χρόνον πολλόν, ἐφοίτεον παρὰ τοὺς δούλους.

2

1 Τοὺς δὲ δούλους οἱ Σκύθαι πάντας τυφλοῦσι τοῦ γάλακτος εἵνεκεν τοῦ πίνουσι ποιεῦντες ὧδε. ἐπεὰν φυσητῆρας λάβωσι ὀστεῖνους αὐλοῖσι προσεμφερεστάτους, τούτους ἐσθέντες ἐς τῶν θηλέων ἵππων τὰ ἄρθρα φυσῶσι τοῖσι στόμασι, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλων φυσώντων ἀμέλγουσι. φασὶ δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τοῦτο ποιέειν· τὰς φλέβας τε πίμπλασθαι φυσωμένας τῆς ἵππου καὶ τὸ οὐθαρ κατίεσθαι. 2 ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀμέλξωσι τὸ γάλα, ἐσχέαντες ἐς ξύλινα ἀγγήια κοῖλα καὶ περιστίζαντες κατὰ τὰ ἀγγήια τοὺς τυφλοὺς δονέουσι τὸ γάλα, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάμενον ἀπαρύσαντες ἡγεύνται εἶναι τιμιώτερον, τὸ δ' ὑπιστάμενον ἦσσον τοῦ ἐτέρου. τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα ἅπαντα τὸν ἄν λάβωσι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐκτυφλοῦσι. οὐ γὰρ ἀρόται εἰσὶ ἀλλὰ νομάδες.

3

1 Ἐκ τούτων δὴ ὧν σφι τῶν δούλων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐτράφη νεότης· οἱ ἐπεῖτε ἔμαθον τὴν σφετέρην γένεσιν, ἡντιοῦντο αὐτοῖσι κατιοῦσι ἐκ τῶν Μήδων. 2 καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν χώραν ἀπετάμοντο, τάφρον ὀρυζάμενοι εὐρέαν κατατείνουσιν ἐκ τῶν Ταυρικῶν ὁρέων ἐς τὴν Μαιῆτιν λίμνην, τῇ περ ἐστὶ μεγίστη· μετὰ γε πειρωμένοισι

ἐσβάλλειν τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἀντικατιζόμενοι ἐμάχοντο. ³ γινομένης δὲ μάχης πολλάκις καὶ οὐ δυναμένων οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχειν τῶν Σκυθέων τῇ μάχῃ, εἰς αὐτῶν ἔλεξε τάδε. “οἷα ποιεῦμεν, ἄνδρες Σκύθαι· δούλοισι τοῖσι ἡμετέροισι μαχόμενοι αὐτοὶ τε κτεινόμενοι ἐλάσσονες γινόμεθα καὶ ἐκείνους κτείνοντες ἐλασσόνων τὸ λοιπὸν ἄρξομεν. ⁴ νῦν ὧν μοι δοκεῖ αἰχμὰς μὲν καὶ τόξα μετεῖναι, λαβόντα δὲ ἕκαστον τοῦ ἵππου τὴν μάστιγα ἰέναι ἄσπον αὐτῶν. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ὥρων ἡμέας ὄπλα ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ ἐνόμιζον ὅμοιοί τε καὶ ἐξ ὁμοίων ἡμῖν εἶναι· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἴδωνται μάστιγας ἀντὶ ὀπλῶν ἔχοντας, μαθόντες ὡς εἰσὶ ἡμέτεροι δοῦλοι καὶ συγγνόντες τοῦτο. οὐκ ὑπομενέουσι,,

4

¹ Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἐποίεον ἐπιτελέα· οἱ δὲ ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ γινομένῳ τῆς μάχης τε ἐπελάθοντο καὶ ἔφευγον. οὕτω οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς τε Ἀσίης ἤρξαν καὶ ἐξελασθέντες αὐτὶς ὑπὸ Μήδων κατῆλθον τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐς τὴν σφετέρην. τῶνδε εἵνεκα ὁ Δαρεῖς τίσασθαι βουλόμενος συνήγειρε ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς στράτευμα.

5

¹ Ὡς δὲ Σκύθαι λέγουσι, νεώτατον πάντων ἐθνέων εἶναι τὸ σφέτερον, τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθαι ὧδε. ἄνδρα γενέσθαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἐούσῃ ἐρήμῳ τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Ταργιτάον· τοῦ δὲ Ταργιτάου τούτου τοὺς τοκέας λέγουσι εἶναι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, λέγουσι δ’ ὧν, Δία τε καὶ Βορυσθένης τοῦ ποταμοῦ θυγατέρα. ² γένεος μὲν τοιούτου δὴ τινος γενέσθαι τὸν Ταργιτάον, τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι παῖδας τρεῖς, Λιπόξαϊν καὶ Ἀρπόξαϊν καὶ νεώτατον Κολάξαϊν. ³ ἐπὶ τούτων ἀρχόντων ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φερομένα χρύσεια ποιήματα, ἄροτρον τε καὶ ζυγόν καὶ σάγαριν καὶ φιάλην, πεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν· καὶ τῶν ἰδόντα πρῶτον τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἄσπον ἰέναι βουλόμενον αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν ἐπιόντος καίεσθαι. ⁴ ἀπαλλαχθέντος δὲ τούτου προσιέναι τὸν δεύτερον, καὶ τὸν αὐτὶς ταῦτά ποιέειν. τοὺς μὲν δὴ καιόμενον τὸν χρυσὸν ἀπώσασθαι, τρίτῳ δὲ τῷ νεωτάτῳ ἐπελθόντι κατασβῆναι, καὶ μιν ἐκεῖνον κομίσαι ἐς ἑωυτοῦ· καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀδελφεοὺς πρὸς ταῦτα συγγνόντας τὴν βασιληίην πᾶσαν παραδοῦναι τῷ νεωτάτῳ.

6

1 Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Λιποξάιος γεγενῆσθαι τούτους τῶν Σκυθέων οἱ Αὐχάται γένος καλέονται, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μέσου Ἀρποξάιος οἱ Κατίαροί τε καὶ Τράσπιες καλέονται, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νεωτάτου αὐτῶν τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ καλέονται Παραλάται· 2 σύμπασι δὲ εἶναι οὖνομα Σκολότους, τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπωνυμίην. Σκύθας δὲ Ἑλληνας ὠνόμασαν.

7

1 Γεγονέναι μὲν νυν σφέας ὧδε λέγουσι οἱ Σκύθαι, ἔτεα δὲ σφίσι ἐπεῖτε γεγόνاسι τὰ σύμπαντα λέγουσι εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως Ταργιτάου ἕς τὴν Δαρείου διάβασιν τὴν ἐπὶ σφέας χιλίων οὐ πλέω ἀλλὰ τοσαῦτα. τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τοῦτον τὸν ἱρὸν φυλάσσουσι οἱ βασιλεῖς ἕς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ θυσίῃσι μεγάλῃσι ἰλασκόμενοι μετέρχονται ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. 2 ὃς δ' ἂν ἔχων τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἱρὸν ἐν τῇ ὀρτῇ ὑπαίθριος κατακοιμηθῇ, οὗτος λέγεται ὑπὸ Σκυθέων οὐ διενιαντίζειν. δίδοσθαι δὲ οἱ διὰ τοῦτο ὅσα ἂν ἵπῳ ἐν ἡμέρῃ μιῇ περιέλασθαι αὐτὸς. τῆς δὲ χώρας εὐούσης μεγάλης τριφασίας τὰς βασιληίας τοῖσι παισὶ τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ καταστήσασθαι Κολάζαιν, καὶ τουτέων μίαν ποιῆσαι μεγίστην, ἐν τῇ τὸν χρυσὸν φυλάσσεσθαι. 3 τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην λέγουσι ἄνεμον τῶν ὑπεροίκων τῆς χώρας οὐκ οἶα τε εἶναι ἔτι προσωτέρω οὔτε ὄρᾶν οὔτε διεξιέναι ὑπὸ πτερῶν κεχυμένων· πτερῶν γὰρ καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν ἡέρα εἶναι πλέον, καὶ ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ ἀποκλήιοντα τὴν ὄψιν.

8

1 Σκύθαι μὲν ὧδε ὑπὲρ σφέων τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς κατύπερθε λέγουσι, “Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκέοντες ὧδε. Ἡρακλέα ἐλαύνοντα τὰς Γηρύνεω βοῦς ἀπικέσθαι ἕς γῆν ταύτην ἐοῦσαν ἐρήμην, ἦντινα νῦν Σκύθαι νέμονται. 2 Γηρύνεα δὲ οἰκείειν ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, κατοικημένον τὴν Ἑλληνές λέγουσι Ἐρύθειαν νῆσον τὴν πρὸς Γαδείροισι τοῖσι ἔξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων ἐπὶ τῷ Ὠκεανῷ. τὸν δὲ Ὠκεανὸν λόγῳ μὲν λέγουσι ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων ἀρξάμενον γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ῥέειν, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνῦσι. 3 ἐνθεῦτεν τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀπικέσθαι ἕς τὴν νῦν Σκυθίην χώραν καλεομένην, καὶ καταλαβεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν χειμῶνα τε καὶ κρυμὸν, ἐπειρυσάμενον τὴν λεοντέην κατυπνῶσαι, τὰς δὲ οἱ ἵππους τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος νεμομένας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀφανισθῆναι θεῇ τύχῃ.

1 Ὡς δ' ἐγερθῆναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, δίζησθαι, πάντα δὲ τῆς χώρας ἐπεξελθόντα τέλος ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ὑλαίην καλεομένην γῆν· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ αὐτὸν εὑρεῖν ἐν ἄντρῳ μιζοπάρθενον τινά, ἔχιδναν διφυέα, τῆς τὰ μὲν ἄνω ἀπὸ τῶν γλουτῶν εἶναι γυναικός, τὰ δὲ ἔνερθε ὄφιος. 2 ἰδόντα δὲ καὶ θωμάσαντα ἐπειρέσθαι μιν εἰ κου ἴδοι ἵππους πλανωμένας· τὴν δὲ φάναι ἐωυτὴν ἔχειν καὶ οὐκ ἀποδώσειν ἐκείνῳ πρὶν ἢ οἱ μιχθῇ· τό δὲ Ἡρακλέα μιχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ τούτῳ. 3 κείνην τε δὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν ἵππων, βουλομένην ὥς πλεῖστον χρόνον συνεῖναι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ τὸν κομισάμενον ἐθέλειν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι· τέλος δὲ ἀποδιδοῦσαν αὐτὴν εἰπεῖν Ἴππους μὲν δὴ ταύτας ἀπικομένας ἐνθάδε ἔσωσα τοι ἐγώ, σῶστρά τε σὺ παρέσχε· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκ σεῦ τρεῖς παῖδας ἔχω. 4 τούτους, ἐπεὰν γένωνται τρόφιες, ὃ τι χρή ποιέειν, ἐξηγέο σύ, εἴτε αὐτοῦ κατοικίζω (χώρας γὰρ τῆσδε ἔχω τὸ κράτος αὕτη) εἴτε ἀποπέμπω παρὰ σέ,, τὴν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπειρωτᾶν, τὸν δὲ λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν 5 “ἐπεὰν ἀνδρωθέντας ἴδῃ τοὺς παῖδας, τάδε ποιεῦσα οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοις· τὸν μὲν ἂν ὀρᾷς αὐτῶν τόδε τὸ τόξον ᾧδε διατεινόμενον καὶ τῷ ζωστήρι τῷδε κατὰ τάδε ζωννύμενον, τοῦτον μὲν τῆσδε τῆς χώρας οἰκίτορα ποιεῦ· ὃς δ' ἂν τούτων τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐντέλλομαι λείπηται, ἔκπεμπε ἐκ τῆς χώρας. καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῦσα αὐτὴ τε εὐφρανέαι καὶ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ποιήσεις.

1 Τὸν μὲν δὴ εἰρύσαντα τῶν τόξων τὸ ἕτερον (δύο γὰρ δὴ φορέειν τέως Ἡρακλέα) καὶ τὸν ζωστήρα προδέξαντα, παραδοῦναι τὸ τόξον τε καὶ τὸν ζωστήρα ἔχοντα ἐπ' ἄκρης τῆς συμβολῆς φιάλην χρυσέην, δόντα δὲ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. τὴν δ', ἐπεὶ οἱ γενομένους τοὺς παῖδας ἀνδρωθῆναι, τοῦτο μὲν σφι οὐνόματα θέσθαι, τῷ μὲν Ἀγάθυρσον αὐτῶν, τῷ δ' ἐπομένῳ Γελωνόν, Σκύθην δὲ τῷ νεωτάτῳ, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς μεμνημένην αὐτὴν ποιῆσαι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. 2 καὶ δὴ δύο μὲν οἱ τῶν παίδων, τὸν τε Ἀγάθυρσον καὶ τὸν Γελωνόν, οὐκ οἴους τε γενομένους ἐξικέσθαι πρὸς τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον, οἷχεσθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐκβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς γειναμένης, τὸν δὲ νεώτατον αὐτῶν Σκύθην ἐπιτελέσαντα καταμεῖναι ἐν τῇ χωρῇ. 3 καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Σκύθεω τοῦ Ἡρακλέος γενέσθαι τοὺς αἰεὶ βασιλέας γινομένους Σκυθέων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς φιάλης ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε φιάλας ἐκ

τῶν ζωστήρων φορέειν Σκύθας· τὸ δὴ μόνον μηχανήσασθαι τὴν μητέρα Σκύθη. ταῦτα δὲ Ἑλλήνων οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκέοντες λέγουσι.

11

1 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος ἔχων ὧδε, τῷ μάλιστα λεγομένῳ αὐτός πρόσκειμαι, Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας οἰκέοντας ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, πολέμῳ πιεσθέντας ὑπὸ Μασσαγετέων, οἷχεσθαι διαβάντας ποταμὸν Ἀράξην ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν Κιμμερίην (τὴν γὰρ νῦν νέμονται Σκύθαι, αὕτη λέγεται τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι Κιμμερίων), 2 τοὺς δὲ Κιμμερίους ἐπιόντων Σκυθέων βουλευέσθαι ὡς στρατοῦ ἐπιόντος μεγάλου, καὶ δὴ τὰς γνώμας σφέων κεχωρισμένας, ἐντόνους μὲν ἀμφοτέρας, ἀμείνω δὲ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων· τὴν μὲν γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου φέρειν γνώμην ὡς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι πρῆγμα εἴη μηδὲ πρὸ σποδοῦ μένοντας κινδυνεύειν, τὴν δὲ τῶν βασιλέων διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς χώρας τοῖσι ἐπιούσι. 3 οὐκ ὄν δὴ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι οὔτε τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι τὸν δῆμον οὔτε τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς βασιλέας· τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι βουλευέσθαι ἀμαχητὶ τὴν χωρὴν παραδόντας τοῖσι ἐπιούσι· τοῖσι δὲ βασιλεῦσι δόξαι ἐν τῇ ἐωυτῶν κεῖσθαι ἀποθανόντας μηδὲ συμφεύγειν τῷ δήμῳ, λογισαμένους ὅσα τε ἀγαθὰ πεπόνθασι καὶ ὅσα φεύγοντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος κακὰ ἐπίδοξα καταλαμβάνειν. 4 ὡς δὲ δόξαι σφι ταῦτα, διαστάντας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἴσους γενομένους μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποθανόντας πάντας ὑπ' ἐωυτῶν θάψαι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Κιμμερίων παρὰ ποταμὸν Τύρην (καὶ σφῶν ἔτι δῆλος ἐστὶ ὁ τάφος), θάψαντας δὲ οὕτω τὴν ἔξοδον ἐκ τῆς χώρας ποιέεσθαι· Σκύθας δὲ ἐπελθόντας λαβεῖν τὴν χώραν ἐρήμην.

12

1 Καὶ νῦν ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ Κιμμέρια τείχεα, ἔστι δὲ πορθμήια Κιμμέρια, ἔστι δὲ καὶ χωρὴ οὖνομα Κιμμερίη, ἔστι δὲ Βόσπορος Κιμμέριος καλεόμενος· 2 φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Κιμμέριοι φεύγοντες ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ τὴν χερσόνησον κτίσαντες, ἐν τῇ νῦν Σινώπῃ πόλιν Ἑλλάς οἰκισται. φανεροὶ δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι διώξαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐσβαλόντες ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀμαρτόντες τῆς ὁδοῦ· 3 οἱ μὲν γὰρ Κιμμέριοι αἰεὶ τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Καύκασον ἔχοντες ἐδίωκον ἐς οὗ ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν, ἐς μεσόγαίαν τῆς ὁδοῦ τραφέντες. οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος ξυνὸς Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων

λεγόμενος λόγος εἴρηται.

13

¹ Ἐφη δὲ Ἀριστέης ὁ Καῦστροβίου ἀνὴρ Προκοννήσιος ποιέων ἔπεα, ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ἴσσηδόνας φοιβόλαμπτος γενόμενος, Ἴσσηδόνων δὲ ὑπεροικέειν Ἀριμασποὺς ἄνδρας μουνοφθάλους ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας γρυῖπας, τούτων δὲ τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους κατήκοντας ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. ² τούτους ὧν πάντας πλὴν Ὑπερβορέων, ἀρξάντων Ἀριμασπῶν, αἰεὶ τοῖσι πλησιοχώροισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἀριμασπῶν ἐξωθέεσθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρας Ἴσσηδόνας, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἴσσηδόνων Σκύθας, Κιμμερίους δὲ οἰκέοντας ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσσει ὑπὸ Σκυθέων πιεζομένους ἐκλείπειν τὴν χώραν. οὕτω οὐδὲ οὗτος συμφέρεται περὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης Σκύθησι.

14

¹ Καὶ ὅθεν μὲν ἦν Ἀριστέης ὁ ταῦτα εἶπας, εἴρηκα, τὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἤκουον λόγον ἐν Προκοννήσῳ καὶ Κυζίκῳ, λέξω. Ἀριστέην γὰρ λέγουσι, ἐόντα τῶν ἀστῶν οὐδενὸς γένος ὑποδεέστερον, ἐσελθόντα ἐς κναφήιον ἐν Προκοννήσῳ ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ τὸν κναφέα κατακληίσαντα τὸ ἐργαστήριον οἴχεσθαι ἀγγελέοντα τοῖσι προσήκουσι τῷ νεκρῷ. ² ἐσκεδασμένου δὲ ἤδη τοῦ λόγου ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὥς τεθνεῶς εἶη ὁ Ἀριστέης, ἐς ἀμφισβασίας τοῖσι λέγουσι ἀπικνέεσθαι ἄνδρα Κυζικηνὸν ἤκοντα ἐξ Ἀρτάκης πόλιος, φάντα συντυχεῖν τε οἱ ἰόντι ἐπὶ Κυζίκου καὶ ἐς λόγους ἀπικέσθαι. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ἐντεταμένως ἀμφισβατέειν, τοὺς δὲ προσήκοντας τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπὶ τὸ κναφήιον παρεῖναι ἔχοντας τὰ πρόσφορα ὥς ἀναιρησομένους· ³ ἀνοιχθέντος δὲ τοῦ οἰκήματος οὔτε τεθνεῶτα οὔτε ζῶντα φαίνεσθαι Ἀριστέην. μετὰ δὲ ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει φανέντα αὐτὸν ἐς Προκόννησον ποιῆσαι τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα τὰ νῦν ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων Ἀριμάσπεα καλέεται, ποιήσαντα δὲ ἀφανισθῆναι τὸ δεύτερον.

15

¹ Ταῦτα μὲν αἱ πόλεις αὗται λέγουσι, τάδε δὲ οἶδα Μεταποντίνοισι τοῖσι ἐν Ἰταλίῃ συγκυρήσαντα μετὰ τὴν ἀφάνισιν τὴν δευτέρην Ἀριστέω ἔτεσι τεσσεράκοντα καὶ διηκοσίοισι, ὥς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος ἐν Προκοννήσῳ τε καὶ Μεταποντίῳ εὕρισκον. ² Μεταποντίνοι φασὶ αὐτὸν Ἀριστέην φανέντα σφι ἐς τὴν χώραν

κελεῦσαι βωμὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἰδρύσασθαι καὶ Ἀριστέω τοῦ Προκονησίου ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντα ἀνδριάντα παρ' αὐτὸν ἰστάναι· φάναι γὰρ σφι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἰταλιωτέων μούνοισι δὴ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν χώραν, καὶ αὐτὸς οἱ ἔπεσθαι ὁ νῦν ἐὼν Ἀριστέης· τότε δέ, ὅτε εἶπετο τῷ θεῷ, εἶναι κόραξ. 3 καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα ταῦτα ἀφανισθῆναι, σφέας δὲ Μεταποντῖνοι λέγουσι ἐς Δελφοὺς πέμψαντας τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρωτᾶν ὃ τι τὸ φᾶσμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἴη. τὴν δὲ Πυθίην σφέας κελεύειν πείθεσθαι τῷ φάσματι, πειθομένοισι δὲ ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι. καὶ σφέας δεξαμένους ταῦτα ποιῆσαι ἐπιτελέα. 4 καὶ νῦν ἔστηκε ἀνδριάς ἐπωνυμίην ἔχων Ἀριστέω παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὸν δάφναι ἐστᾶσι· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ ἵδρυται. Ἀριστέω μὲν νυν περὶ τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

16

1 Τῆς δὲ γῆς, τῆς περὶ ὅδε ὁ λόγος ὄρμηται λέγεσθαι, οὐδεὶς οἶδε ἀτρεκέως ὃ τι τὸ κατύπερθε ἐστί· οὐδενὸς γὰρ δὴ αὐτόπτεω εἰδέναι φαιμένου δύναμαι πυθέσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ Ἀριστέης, τοῦ περ ὀλίγω πρότερον τούτων μνήμην ἐποιεῦμην, οὐδὲ οὗτος προσωτέρω Ἰσσηδόνων ἐν αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ποιέων ἔφησε ἀπικέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ κατύπερθε ἔλεγε ἀκοῇ, φασ' Ἰσσηδόνας εἶναι τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας. 2 ἀλλ' ὅσον μὲν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκέως ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἶοι τε ἐγενόμεθα ἀκοῇ ἐξικέσθαι, πᾶν εἰρήσεται.

17

1 Ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθενειτέων ἐμπορίου (τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν παραθαλασσίων μεσαίτατον ἐστὶ πάσης τῆς Σκυθίης), ἀπὸ τούτου πρῶτοι Καλλιπίδαι νέμονται ἐόντες Ἑλληνέες Σκύθαι, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἄλλο ἔθνος οἱ Ἀλαζόνες καλέονται. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Καλλιπίδαι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ ταῦτὰ Σκύθησι ἐπασκέουσι, σῖτον δὲ καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ σιτέονται, καὶ κρόμμυα καὶ σκόροδα καὶ φακοὺς καὶ κέγχρους. 2 ὑπὲρ δὲ Ἀλαζόνων οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἀροτιῆρες, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ σιτήσι σπείρουσι τὸν σῖτον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πρήσι. τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νευροί. Νευρῶν δὲ τὸ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἔρημον ἀνθρώπων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

18

1 Ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ὑπανιν ποταμὸν ἐστὶ ἔθνεα πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Βορυσθέneos· ἀτὰρ διαβάντι τὸν Βορυσθέnea ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρῶτον μὲν ἦ Ὑλαίη, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἄνω ἰόντι οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι γεωργοί, τοὺς Ἑλληνές οἱ οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑπάνι ποταμῷ καλέουσι Βορυσθενεΐτας, σφέας δὲ αὐτοὺς Ὀλβιοπολίτας. 2 οὗτοι ὧν οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι νέμονται τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδοῦ, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ ποταμὸν τῷ οὐνομα κεῖται Παντικάπης, τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον πλόον ἀνὰ τὸν Βορυσθέnea ἡμερέων ἑνδεκα. ἤδη δὲ κατύπερθε τούτων ἦ ἔρημος ἐστὶ ἐπὶ πολλόν. 3 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔρημον Ἀνδροφάγοι οἰκέουσι, ἔθνος ἐὼν ἴδιον καὶ οὐδαμῶς Σκυθικόν. τὸ δὲ τούτων κατύπερθε ἔρημον ἤδη ἀληθέως καὶ ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων οὐδέν, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

19

1 Τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῶν γεωργῶν τούτων Σκυθέων, διαβάντι τὸν Παντικάπην ποταμόν, νομάδες ἤδη Σκύθαι νέμονται, οὔτε τι σπεύροντες οὐδέν οὔτε ἀρουῖντες· ψιλή δὲ δενδρέων ἢ πᾶσα αὕτη πλήν τῆς Ὑλαίης. οἱ δὲ νομάδες οὗτοι τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἡμερέων τεσσέρων καὶ δέκα ὁδὸν νέμονται χώραν κατατείνουσιν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Γέρρον.

20

1 Πέρην δὲ τοῦ Γέρρου ταῦτα δὴ τὰ καλούμενα βασιλῆα ἐστὶ καὶ Σκύθαι οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ πλείστοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομίζοντες Σκύθας δούλους σφετέρους εἶναι· κατήκουσι δὲ οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρὸς μεσαμβρίην ἐς τὴν Ταυρικὴν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἡῶ ἐπὶ τε τάφρον, τὴν δὴ οἱ ἐκ τῶν τυφλῶν γενόμενοι ὠρυξαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος τὸ ἐμπόριον τὸ καλέεται Κρημνοί· τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν κατήκουσι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Τάναϊν. 2 τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον τῶν βασιλῆων Σκυθέων οἰκέουσι Μελάγχλαινοι, ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ οὐ Σκυθικόν. Μελαγχλαίνων δὲ τὸ κατύπερθε λίμναι καὶ ἔρημος ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπων, κατ' ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

21

1 Τάναϊν δὲ ποταμὸν διαβάντι οὐκέτι Σκυθική, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν πρώτη τῶν λαζίων Σαυροματέων ἐστί, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ μυχοῦ ἀρξάμενοι τῆς Μαιήτιδος λίμνης νέμονται τὸ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἡμερέων

πεντεκαίδεκα ὁδόν, πᾶσαν ἐοῦσαν ψιλὴν καὶ ἀγρίων καὶ ἡμέρων
δενδρέων· ὑπεροικέουσι δὲ τούτων δευτέρην λάξιν ἔχοντες
Βουδῖνοι, γῆν νεμόμενοι πᾶσαν δασεάν ὕλη παντοίην.

22

¹ Βουδίνων δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἐστὶ πρώτη μὲν ἔρημος ἐπ’
ἡμερέων ἑπτὰ ὁδόν, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔρημον ἀποκλίνοντι μᾶλλον πρὸς
ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον νέμονται Θυσσαγέται, ἔθνος πολλὸν καὶ ἴδιον·
ζῶσι δὲ ἀπὸ θήρης. ² συνεχέες δὲ τούτοις ἐν τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι τόποις
κατοικημένοι εἰσὶ τοῖσι οὖνομα κεῖται Ἰύρκαί, καὶ οὗτοι ἀπὸ θήρης
ζῶντες τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· λοχᾷ ἐπὶ δένδρεον ἀναβάς, τὰ δὲ ἐστὶ πυκνὰ
ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν· ἵππος δὲ ἐκάστῳ δεδιδασκευμένος ἐπὶ γαστέρα
κεῖσθαι ταπεινότητος εἵνεκα ἔτοιμος ἐστὶ καὶ κύων· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίδῃ
τὸ θηρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ δενδρέου, τοξεύσας ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον διώκει,
καὶ ὁ κύων ἔχεται, ³ ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἀποκλίνοντι
οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἄλλοι, ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλῆων Σκυθέων ἀποστάντες καὶ
οὕτω ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον.

23

¹ Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῆς τούτων τῶν Σκυθέων χώρας ἐστὶ ἡ
καταλεχθεῖσα πᾶσα πεδιάς τε γῆ καὶ βαθύγαιος, τὸ δ’ ἀπὸ τούτου
λιθώδης τ’ ἐστὶ καὶ τρηχέα. ² διεξελθόντι δὲ καὶ τῆς τρηχέως χώρας
πολλὸν οἰκέουσι ὑπώρεαν ὁρέων ὑψηλῶν ἄνθρωποι λεγόμενοι εἶναι
πάντες φαλακροὶ ἐκ γενετῆς γινόμενοι, καὶ ἔρσενες καὶ θήλεια
ὁμοίως, καὶ σιμοὶ καὶ γένεια ἔχοντες μεγάλα, φωνὴν δὲ ἰδίην ἰέντες,
ἐσθῆτι δὲ χρεώμενοι Σκυθικῇ, ζῶντες δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρέων. ³ ποντικὸν
μὲν οὖνομα τῷ δενδρέῳ ἀπ’ οὗ ζῶσι, μέγαθος δὲ κατὰ συκὴν
μάλιστα κη. καρπὸν δὲ φορέει κυάμῳ ἴσον, πυρῆνα δὲ ἔχει. τοῦτο
ἐπεὰν γένηται πέπον, σακκέουσι ἱματίοις, ἀπορῥέει δὲ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ
παχὺ καὶ μέλαν· οὖνομα δὲ τῷ ἀπορρέοντι ἐστὶ ἄσχυ· τοῦτο καὶ
λείχουσι καὶ γάλακτι συμμίσγοντες πίνουσι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς παχύτητος
αὐτοῦ τῆς τρυγὸς παλάθας συντιθεῖσι καὶ ταύτας σιτέονται. ⁴
πρόβατα γάρ σφι οὐ πολλὰ ἐστὶ. οὐ γάρ τι σπουδαῖαι αἱ νομαὶ αὐτόθι
εἰσὶ. ὑπὸ δενδρέῳ δὲ ἕκαστος κατοίκεται, τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα ἐπεὰν τὸ
δένδρεον περικαλύψῃ πύλῳ στεγνῷ λευκῷ, τὸ δὲ θέρος ἄνευ πύλου. ⁵
τούτους οὐδεὶς ἀδικεῖ ἀνθρώπων· ἱροὶ γὰρ λέγονται εἶναι· οὐδέ τι
ἄρηιον ὄπλον ἐκτέεται. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοῖσι περιοικέουσι οὗτοι εἰσὶ

οἱ τὰς διαφορὰς διαιρέοντες, τοῦτο δὲ ὅς ἂν φεύγων καταφύγῃ ἐς τούτους, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀδικέεται· οὖνομα δὲ σφι ἐστὶ Ἀργιππαῖοι.

24

1 Μέχρι μὲν νυν τῶν φαλακρῶν τούτων πολλὴ περιφανείῃ τῆς χώρας ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθε ἐθνέων· καὶ γὰρ Σκυθέων τινὲς ἀπικνεύονται ἐς αὐτούς, τῶν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ πυθέσθαι καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐκ Βορυσθένεος τε ἐμπορίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ποντικῶν ἐμπορίων· Σκυθέων δὲ οἱ ἂν ἔλθωσι ἐς αὐτούς, δι' ἑπτὰ ἐρμηνέων καὶ δι' ἑπτὰ γλωσσέων διαπρήσσονται.

25

1 Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων γινώσκεται, τὸ δὲ τῶν φαλακρῶν κατύπερθε οὐδεὶς ἀτρεκέως οἶδε φράσαι. ὄρεα γὰρ ὑψηλὰ ἀποτάμνει ἄβατα καὶ οὐδεὶς σφεα ὑπερβαίνει. οἱ δὲ φαλακροὶ οὗτοι λέγουσι, ἔμοι μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, οἰκέειν τὰ ὄρεα αἰγίποδας ἄνδρας, ὑπερβάντι δὲ τούτους ἀνθρώπους ἄλλους οἱ τὴν ἐξάμηνον κατεύδουσι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι τὴν ἀρχήν, 2 ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἡῶ τῶν φαλακρῶν γινώσκεται ἀτρεκέως ὑπὸ Ἰσσηδόνων οἰκεόμενον, τὸ μέντοι κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον οὐ γινώσκεται οὔτε τῶν φαλακρῶν οὔτε τῶν Ἰσσηδόνων, εἰ μὴ ὅσα αὐτῶν τούτων λεγόντων.

26

1 Νόμοισι δὲ Ἰσσηδόνες τοῖσιδε λέγονται χρᾶσθαι. ἐπεὰν ἀνδρὶ ἀποθάνῃ πατήρ, οἱ προσήκοντες πάντες προσάγουσι πρόβατα, καὶ ἔπειτα ταῦτα θύσαντες καὶ καταταμόντες τὰ κρέα κατατάμνουσι καὶ τὸν τοῦ δεκομένου τεθνεῶτα γονέα, ἀναμίξαντες δὲ πάντα τὰ κρέα δαῖτα προτίθενται· 2 τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ψιλώσαντες καὶ ἐκκαθήραντες καταχρυσοῦσι καὶ ἔπειτα ἅτε ἀγάλματι χρέωνται, θυσίας μεγάλας ἐπετείους ἐπιτελέοντες. παῖς δὲ πατρὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖ, κατὰ περ Ἑλλήνες τὰ γενέσια. ἄλλως δὲ δίκαιοι καὶ οὗτοι λέγονται εἶναι, ἰσοκρατέες δὲ ὁμοίως αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖσι ἀνδράσι.

27

1 Γινώσκονται μὲν δὴ καὶ οὗτοι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων τὸ κατύπερθε Ἰσσηδόνες εἰσὶ οἱ λέγοντες μονοφθάλμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ χρυσοφύλακας γρυῖπας εἶναι· παρὰ δὲ τούτων Σκύθαι παραλαβόντες

λέγουσι, παρὰ δὲ Σκυθέων ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄλλοι νενομίκαμεν καὶ ὀνομάζομεν αὐτοὺς σκυθιστὶ Ἀριμασπούς· ἄριμα γὰρ ἐν καλέουσι Σκύθαι, σποῦ δὲ ὀφθαλμόν.

28

1 Δυσχεΐμερος δὲ αὕτη ἡ καταλεχθεῖσα πᾶσα χώρα οὕτω δὴ τι ἐστὶ, ἔνθα τοὺς μὲν ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἀφόρητος οἶος γίνεται κρυμός, ἐν τοῖσι ὕδωρ ἐκχέας πηλὸν οὐ ποιήσεις, πῦρ δὲ ἀνακαίων ποιήσεις πηλόν· ἡ δὲ θάλασσα πηγνυται καὶ ὁ Βόσπορος πᾶς ὁ Κιμμέριος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου οἱ ἐντὸς τάφρου Σκύθαι κατοικημένοι στρατεύονται καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας ἐπελαύνουσι πέρην ἐς τοὺς Σίνδους. 2 οὕτω μὲν δὴ τοὺς ὀκτὼ μῆνας διατελεεὶ χειμῶν ἐών, τοὺς δ' ἐπιλοίπους τέσσερας ψύχρα αὐτόθι ἐστὶ. κεχώρισται δὲ οὗτος ὁ χειμῶν τοὺς τρόπους πᾶσι τοῖσι ἐν ἄλλοισι χωρίοισι γινομένοισι χειμῶσι, ἐν τῷ τὴν μὲν ὠραίην οὐκ ἔχει λόγου ἄξιον οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ θέρος ὕων οὐκ ἀνιεῖ· 3 βρονταὶ τε ἤμος τῇ ἄλλῃ γίνονται, τηνικαῦτα μὲν οὐ γίνονται, θέρεος δὲ ἀμφιλαφές· ἦν δὲ χειμῶνος βροντὴ γένηται, ὥς τέρας νενόμισται θωμάζεσθαι. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἦν σεισμός γένηται ἦν τε θέρεος ἦν τε χειμῶνος ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ, τέρας νενόμισται. 4 ἵπποι δὲ ἀνεχόμενοι φέρουσι τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον, ἡμίονοι δὲ οὐδὲ ὄνοι οὐκ ἀνέχονται ἀρχὴν· τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἵπποι μὲν ἐν κρυμῷ ἐστεῶτες ἀποσφακελίζουσι, ὄνοι δὲ καὶ ἡμίονοι ἀνέχονται.

29

1 Δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν βοῶν τὸ κόλον διὰ ταῦτα οὐ φύειν κέρρα αὐτόθι· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ Ὀμήρου ἔπος ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐῃ ἔχον ὧδε,

καὶ Λιβύην, ὅθι τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσι,

ὀρθῶς εἰρημένον, ἐν τοῖσι θερμοῖσι ταχὺ παραγίνεσθαι τὰ κέρρα, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι ἰσχυροῖσι ψύχεσι ἢ οὐ φύειν κέρρα τὰ κτήνεα ἀρχὴν ἢ φύοντα φύειν μόγις.

30

1 Ἐνθαῦτα μὲν νυν διὰ τὰ ψύχρα γίνεται ταῦτα. θωμάζω δὲ (προσθήκας γὰρ δὴ μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδίζητο) ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἠλεΐῃ πάσῃ χώρῃ οὐ δυνάεσθαι γίνεσθαι ἡμίονοι, οὔτε ψυχροῦ τοῦ χώρου ἐόντος οὔτε ἄλλου φανεροῦ αἰτίου οὐδενός. φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἠλεῖοι ἐκ

κατάρης τευ οὐ γίνεσθαι σφίσι ἡμιόνους, ² ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν προσίῃ ἡ ὥρη
κυῖσκεσθαι τὰς ἵππους, ἐξελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους αὐτάς,
καὶ ἔπειτά σφι ἐν τῇ τῶν πέλας ἐπιεῖσι τοὺς ὄνους, ἐς οὗ ἂν σχῶσι αἱ
ἵπποι ἐν γαστρί· ἔπειτα δὲ ἀπελαύνουσι.

31

¹ Περὶ δὲ τῶν πτερῶν τῶν Σκύθαι λέγουσι ἀνάπλεον εἶναι τὸν
ἥερα, καὶ τούτων εἵνεκα οὐκ οἷοί τε εἶναι οὔτε ἰδεῖν τὸ πρόσω τῆς
ἡπείρου οὔτε διεξιέναι, τήνδε ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην· τὰ κατύπερθε
ταύτης τῆς χώρας αἰεὶ νίφεται, ἐλάσσονι δὲ τοῦ θέρους ἢ τοῦ
χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ καὶ οἰκός. ² ἤδη ὦν ὅστις ἀγγόθεν χιόνα ἀδρήν
πίπτουσιν εἶδε οἶδε τὸ λέγω· ἔοικε γὰρ ἡ χιὼν πτεροῖσι καὶ διὰ τὸν
χειμῶνα τοῦτον ἐόντα τοιοῦτον ἀνοίκτη τὰ πρὸς βορέην ἐστὶ τῆς
ἡπείρου ταύτης. τὰ ὦν περὰ εἰκάζοντας τὴν χιόνα τοὺς Σκύθας τε
καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους δοκέω λέγειν. ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὰ λέγεται
μακρότατα εἴρηται.

32

¹ Ὑπερβορέων δὲ περὶ ἀνθρώπων οὔτε τι Σκύθαι λέγουσι οὐδὲν
οὔτε τινὲς ἄλλοι τῶν ταύτη οἰκημένων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα Ἰσσηδόνες. ὥς δὲ
ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐδ' οὔτοι λέγουσι οὐδέν· ἔλεγον γὰρ ἂν καὶ Σκύθαι, ὥς
περὶ τῶν μουννοφθάλμων λέγουσι. ἀλλ' Ἡσιόδῳ μὲν ἐστὶ περὶ
Ὑπερβορέων εἰρημένα, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ ἐν Ἐπιγόνουσι, εἰ δὴ τῷ
ἐόντι γε Ὀμηρος ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα ἐποίησε.

33

¹ Πολλῷ δέ τι πλεῖστα περὶ αὐτῶν Δῆλιοι λέγουσι, φάμενοι ἱρὰ
ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν καλάμῃ πυρῶν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων φερόμενα
ἀπικνέεσθαι ἐς Σκύθας, ἀπὸ δὲ Σκυθέων ἤδη δεκομένους αἰεὶ τοὺς
πλησιοχώρους ἐκάστους κομίζειν αὐτὰ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἐκαστάτω
ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρήν, ² ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην προπεμπόμενα
πρώτους Δωδωναίους Ἑλλήνων δέκεσθαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων
καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Μηλιά κὸλπον καὶ διαπορεύεσθαι ἐς Εὐβοίαν,
πόλιν τε ἐς πόλιν πέμπειν μέχρι Καρύστου, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκλιπεῖν
Ἄνδρον· Καρυστίους γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς κομίζοντας ἐς Τήνον, Τηνίους
δὲ ἐς Δῆλον. ³ ἀπικνέεσθαι μὲν νυν οὕτω ταῦτα τὰ ἱρὰ λέγουσι ἐς
Δῆλον· πρῶτον δὲ τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους πέμψαι φερούσας τὰ ἱρὰ δὺο

κόρας, τὰς ὀνομάζουσι Δήλιοι εἶναι Ὑπερόχην τε καὶ Λαοδίκην· ἅμα δὲ αὐτῇσι ἀσφαλείης εἵνεκεν πέμψαι τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους τῶν ἀστῶν ἄνδρας πέντε πομπούς, τούτους οἱ νῦν Περφερέες καλέονται τιμὰς μεγάλας ἐν Δήλῳ ἔχοντες. 4 ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖσι Ὑπερβορείοις τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέντας ὀπίσω οὐκ ἀπονοστέειν, δεινὰ ποιευμένους εἰ σφέας αἰεὶ καταλάμπεται ἀποστέλλοντας μὴ ἀποδέκεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ φέροντας ἐς τοὺς οὖρους τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν πυρῶν καλάμῃ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἐπισκῆπτειν κελεύοντας προπέμπειν σφέα ἀπὸ ἐωυτῶν ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος. 5 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω προπεμπόμενα ἀπικνέεσθαι λέγουσι ἐς Δήλον. οἶδα δὲ αὐτὸς τούτοις τοῖσι ἱροῖσι τόδε ποιούμενον προσφερές, τὰς Θρηκίας καὶ τὰς Παιονίδας γυναῖκας, ἐπεὰν θύωσι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ βασιλείῃ, οὐκ ἄνευ πυρῶν καλάμης ἐχούσας τὰ ἱρὰ.

34

1 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτας οἶδα ποιεύσας· τῇσι δὲ παρθένοισι ταύτῃσι τῇσι ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων τελευτησάσῃσι ἐν Δήλῳ κείρονται καὶ αἱ κόραι καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Δηλίων· αἱ μὲν πρὸ γάμου πλόκαμον ἀποταμνόμεναι καὶ περὶ ἄτρακτον εἰλίζασαι ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα τιθεῖσι 2 (τὸ δὲ σῆμα ἐστὶ ἔσω ἐς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός, ἐπιπέφυκε δὲ οἱ ἐλαίῃ), ὅσοι δὲ παῖδες τῶν Δηλίων, περὶ χλόην τινὰ εἰλίζαντες τῶν τριχῶν τιθεῖσι καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα.

35

1 Αὐταὶ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τιμὴν ἔχουσι πρὸς τῶν Δήλου οἰκητόρων. φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ τὴν Ἀργὴν τε καὶ τὴν Ὠπιν εἰσάσας παρθένους ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἀνθρώπους πορευομένας ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Δήλον ἔτι πρότερον Ὑπερόχης τε καὶ Λαοδίκης. 2 ταύτας μὲν νυν τῇ Εἰλειθυίᾳ ἀποφερούσας ἀντὶ τοῦ ὠκυτόκου τὸν ἐτάξαντο φόρον ἀπικέσθαι, τὴν δὲ Ἀργὴν τε καὶ τὴν Ὠπιν ἅμα αὐτοῖσι θεοῖσι ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι καὶ σφι τιμὰς ἄλλας δεδόσθαι πρὸς σφέων· 3 καὶ γὰρ ἀγείρειν σφι τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπονομαζούσας τὰ οὐνόματα ἐν τῷ ὕμνῳ τὸν σφι Ὡλὴν ἀνὴρ Λύκιος ἐποίησε, παρὰ δὲ σφέων μαθόντας νησιώτας τε καὶ Ἴωνας ὑμνέειν Ὡπὶν τε καὶ Ἀργὴν ὀνομάζοντάς τε καὶ ἀγείροντας (οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ὡλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παλαιοὺς ὕμνους ἐποίησε ἐκ Λυκίης ἐλθὼν τοὺς ἀειδομένους ἐν Δήλῳ), 4 καὶ τῶν μηρίων καταγιζομένων ἐπὶ τῷ

βωμῷ τὴν σποδὸν ταύτην ἐπὶ τὴν θήκην τῆς Ὠπιός τε καὶ Ἀργῆς ἀναισιμοῦσθαι ἐπιβαλλομένην. ἡ δὲ θήκη αὐτέων ἐστὶ ὀπισθε τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, πρὸς ἣν τετραμμένη, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κηίων ἱστοητορίου.

36

1 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ὑπερβορέων πέρι εἰρήσθω· τὸν γὰρ περὶ Ἀβάριος λόγον τοῦ λεγομένου εἶναι Ὑπερβορέου οὐ λέγω, ὥς τὸν οἰστὸν περιέφερε κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν οὐδὲν σιτεόμενος. εἰ δὲ εἰσι ὑπερβόρειοι τινὲς ἄνθρωποι, εἰσὶ καὶ ὑπερνότιοι ἄλλοι. 2 γελῶ δὲ ὀρέων γῆς περιόδους γράψαντας πολλοὺς ἤδη καὶ οὐδένα νοονεχόντως ἐξηγησάμενον· οἱ Ὠκεανόν τε ρέοντα γράφουσι πέριξ τὴν γῆν ἐοῦσαν κυκλοτερέα ὥς ἀπὸ τόρνου, καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ποιεύντων ἴσην. ἐν ὀλίγοις γὰρ ἐγὼ δηλώσω μέγαθός τε ἐκάστης αὐτέων καὶ οἷ τις ἐστὶ ἐς γραφὴν ἐκάστη.

37

1 Πέρσαι οἰκέουσι κατήκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν νοτὴν θάλασσαν τὴν, Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην, τούτων δὲ ὑπεροικέουσι πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον Μῆδοι, Μήδων δὲ Σάσπειρες, Σασπείρων δὲ Κόλχοι κατήκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν βορήϊν θάλασσαν, ἐς τὴν Φᾶσις ποταμὸς ἐκδιδοῖ. ταῦτα τέσσαρα ἔθνεα οἰκεῖ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς θάλασσαν.

38

1 Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἀκταὶ διφάσαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς κατατείνουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, τὰς ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι· 2 ἔνθεν μὲν ἡ ἀκτὴ ἢ ἑτέρα τὰ πρὸς βορέην ἀπὸ Φάσιος ἀρξαμένη παρατέταται ἐς θάλασσαν παρὰ τε τὸν Πόντον καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μέχρι Σιγείου τοῦ Τρωικοῦ· τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότου ἢ αὕτη αὕτη ἀκτὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μυριανδικοῦ κόλπου τοῦ πρὸς Φοινίκη κειμένου τείνει τὰ ἐς θάλασσαν μέχρι Τριοπίου ἄκρης. οἰκεῖ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκτῇ ταύτῃ ἔθνεα ἀνθρώπων τριήκοντα.

39

1 Αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ ἑτέρα τῶν ἀκτέων, ἡ δὲ δὴ ἑτέρα ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀρξαμένη παρατέταται ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν, ἣ τε Περσικὴ καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκδεκομένη ἡ Ἀσσυρίη καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀσσυρίης ἡ Ἀραβίη· λήγει δὲ αὕτη, οὐ λήγουσα εἰ μὴ νόμῳ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον, ἐς τὸν Δαρεῖος ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυχα ἐσήγαγε. 2 μέχρι μὲν νυν

Φοινίκης ἀπὸ Περσέων χῶρος πλατὺς καὶ πολλός ἐστι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Φοινίκης παρήκει διὰ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἢ ἀκτὴ αὕτη παρά τε Συρίην τὴν Παλαιστίνην καὶ Αἴγυπτον, ἐς τὴν τελευτᾷ· ἐν τῇ ἔθνεα ἐστὶ τρία μοῦνα.

40

1 Ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ Περσέων τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τῆς Ἀσίας ἔχοντα ἐστὶ· τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε Περσέων καὶ Μήδων καὶ Σασπειρών καὶ Κόλγων, τὰ πρὸς ἡῶ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, ἔνθεν μὲν ἢ Ἐρυθρῇ παρήκει θάλασσα, πρὸς βορέω δὲ ἢ Κασπίῃ τε θάλασσα καὶ ὁ Ἀράξης ποταμός, ῥέων πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα. 2 μέχρι δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς οἰκέεται Ἀσίῃ· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔρημος ἤδη τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, οὐδὲ ἔχει οὐδείς φράσαι οἷον δὴ τι ἐστὶ.

41

1 Τοιαύτη μὲν καὶ τοσαύτη ἡ Ἀσίῃ ἐστὶ, ἢ δὲ Λιβύῃ ἐν τῇ ἀκτῇ τῇ ἐτέρῃ ἐστὶ· ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου Λιβύῃ ἤδη ἐκδέκεται. κατὰ μὲν νυν Αἴγυπτον ἢ ἀκτὴ αὕτη στεινὴ ἐστὶ· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν δέκα μυριάδες εἰσὶ ὀργυιέων, αὗται δ' ἂν εἶεν χίλιοι στάδιοι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ στεينوῦ τούτου κάρτα πλατέα τυγχάνει ἐοῦσα ἢ ἀκτὴ ἥτις Λιβύῃ κέκληται.

42

1 Θωμάζω ὢν τῶν διουρισάντων καὶ διελόντων Λιβύην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Εὐρώπην· οὐ γὰρ σμικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα αὐτέων ἐστὶ· μήκεϊ μὲν γὰρ παρ' ἀμφοτέρας παρήκει ἢ Εὐρώπη, εὖρεος δὲ πέρι οὐδὲ συμβάλλειν ἀξίῃ φαίνεται μοι εἶναι. 2 Λιβύῃ μὲν γὰρ δηλοῖ ἐωυτὴν ἐοῦσα περίρρυτος, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίην οὐρίζει, Νεκῶ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέος πρώτου τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν καταδέξαντος· ὃς ἐπέιτε τὴν διώρυχα ἐπαύσατο ὀρύσσων τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διέχουσαν ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, ἀπέπεμψε Φοίνικας ἄνδρας πλοίοισι, ἐντειλάμενος ἐς τὸ ὀπίσω δι' Ἡρακλέων στηλέων ἐκπλέειν ἕως ἐς τὴν βορηίην θάλασσαν καὶ οὕτω ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπικνέεσθαι. 3 ὀρμηθέντες ὢν οἱ Φοίνικες ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἔπλεον τὴν νοτίην θάλασσαν· ὅκως δὲ γίνοιτο φθινόπωρον προσσχόντες ἂν σπείρεσκον τὴν γῆν, ἵνα ἐκάστοτε τῆς Λιβύης πλέοντες γινοίατο, καὶ μένεσκον τὸν ἄμητον· 4 θερίσαντες δ' ἂν τὸν

σῖτον ἔπλεον, ὥστε δύο ἐτέων διεξελθόντων τρίτῳ ἔτει κάμψαντες Ἡρακλέας στήλας ἀπίκοντο ἐς Αἴγυπτον. καὶ ἔλεγον ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά, ἄλλω δὲ δὴ τεῶ, ὡς περιπλῶντες τὴν Λιβύην τὸν ἥλιον ἔσχον ἐς τὰ δεξιὰ.

43

1 Οὕτω μὲν αὕτη ἐγνώσθη τὸ πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰσὶ οἱ λέγοντες· ἐπεὶ Σατάσπης γε ὁ Τεάσπιος ἀνὴρ Ἀχαιμενίδης οὐ περιέπλωσε Λιβύην, ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεμφθεὶς, ἀλλὰ δεῖσας τὸ τε μῆκος τοῦ πλόου καὶ τὴν ἐρημίην ἀπῆλθε ὀπίσω, οὐδ' ἐπετέλεσε τὸν ἐπέταξε οἱ ἢ μήτηρ ἄεθλον. 2 θυγατέρα γὰρ Ζωπύρου τοῦ Μεγαβύζου ἐβίησατο παρθένον· ἔπειτα μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην ἀνασκολοπιεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Χέρξεω βασιλέως, ἢ μήτηρ τοῦ Σατάσπεος ἐοῦσα Δαρείου ἀδελφεὴ παραιτήσατο, φῶσά οἱ αὐτὴ μέζω ζημίην ἐπιθήσειν ἢ περ ἐκείνον· 3 Λιβύην γάρ οἱ ἀνάγκην ἔσεσθαι περιπλῶειν, ἐς ὃ ἂν ἀπίκηται περιπλέων αὐτὴν ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ Χέρξεω ἐπὶ τούτοισι, ὁ Σατάσπης ἀπικόμενος ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ λαβὼν νέα τε καὶ ναύτας παρὰ τούτων ἔπλεε ἐπὶ Ἡρακλέας στήλας· 4 διεκπλώσας δὲ καὶ κάμψας τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Λιβύης τῷ οὔνομα Σολόεις ἐστί, ἔπλεε πρὸς μεσαμβρίην· περήσας δὲ θάλασσαν πολλὴν ἐν πολλοῖσι μησί, ἐπεῖτε τοῦ πλεῦνος αἰεὶ ἔδεε, ἀποστρέψας ὀπίσω ἀπέπλεε ἐς Αἴγυπτον. 5 ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἀπικόμενος παρὰ βασιλέα Χέρξεα ἔλεγε φῶς τὰ προσωτάτω ἀνθρώπους μικροὺς παραπλέειν ἐσθῆτι φοινικίῃ διαχρεωμένους, οἱ ὅκως σφεῖς καταγοῖατο τῇ νηὶ φεύγεσκον πρὸς τὰ ὄρεα λείποντες τὰς πόλιας· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀδικεῖν οὐδὲν ἐσιόντες, βρωτὰ δὲ μούνα ἐξ αὐτέων λαμβάνειν. 6 τοῦ δὲ μὴ περιπλῶσαι Λιβύην παντελέως αἴτιον τότε ἔλεγε, τὸ πλοῖον τὸ πρόσω οὐ δυνατόν ἔτι εἶναι προβαίνειν ἀλλ' ἐνίσχεσθαι. Χέρξης δὲ οὐ οἱ συγγινώσκων λέγειν ἀληθέα οὐκ ἐπιτελέσαντά τε τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον ἀνεσκολόπισε, τὴν ἀρχαίην δίκην ἐπιτιμῶν. 7 τούτου δὲ τοῦ Σατάσπεος εὐνοῦχος ἀπέδρη ἐς Σάμον, ἐπεῖτε ἐπύθετο τάχιστα τὸν δεσπότηα τετελευτηκότα, ἔχων χρήματα μεγάλα, τὰ Σάμιος ἀνὴρ κατέσχε, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὔνομα ἐκὼν ἐπιλήθομαι.

44

1 Τῆς δὲ Ἀσίας τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξευρέθη, ὃς βουλόμενος

Ἴνδον ποταμόν, ὃς κροκοδείλους δεύτερος οὗτος ποταμῶν πάντων παρέχεται, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν εἰδέναι τῇ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, πέμπει πλοίοισι ἄλλους τε τοῖσι ἐπίστευε τὴν ἀληθείην ἐρέειν καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύλακα ἄνδρα Καρυανδέα. 2 οἱ δὲ ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Κασπατύρου τε πόλιος καὶ τῆς Πακτυκῆς γῆς ἔπλεον κατὰ ποταμὸν πρὸς ἧῷ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐς θάλασσαν, διὰ θαλάσσης δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρην πλέοντες τριηκοστῷ μηνὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον ὅθεν ὁ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς τοὺς Φοίνικας τοὺς πρότερον εἶπα ἀπέστειλε περιπλῶειν Λιβύην. 3 μετὰ δὲ τούτους περιπλώσαντας Ἰνδοὺς τε κατεστρέψατο Δαρεῖος καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ ταύτῃ ἐχρᾶτο. οὕτω καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας, πλὴν τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, τὰ ἄλλα ἀνεύρηται ὅμοια παρεχομένη τῇ Λιβύῃ.

45

1 Ἡ δὲ Εὐρώπη πρὸς οὐδαμῶν φανερὴ ἐστὶ γινωσκομένη, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα οὔτε τὰ πρὸς βορέην, εἰ περιῖρρυτος ἐστὶ· μήκεϊ δὲ γινώσκεται παρ' ἀμφοτέρας παρήκουσα. 2 οὐδ' ἔχω συμβαλέσθαι ἐπ' ὅτεν μὴ εὐόση γῇ οὐνόματα τριφάσια κέεται ἐπωνυμίας ἔχοντα γυναικῶν, καὶ οὐρίσματα αὐτῇ Νεῖλός τε ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ποταμὸς ἐτέθη καὶ Φᾶσις ὁ Κόλχος (οἱ δὲ Τάναιν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαιήτην καὶ πορθμήια τὰ Κιμμέρια λέγουσι), οὐδὲ τῶν διουρισάντων τὰ οὐνόματα πυθέσθαι, καὶ ὅθεν ἔθεντο τὰς ἐπωνυμίας. 3 ἥδη γὰρ Λιβύη μὲν ἐπὶ Λιβύης λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔχειν τὸ οὐνομα γυναικὸς αὐτόχθονος, ἡ δὲ Ἀσίη ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθέος γυναικὸς τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. καὶ τούτου μὲν μεταλαμβάνονται τοῦ οὐνόματος Λυδοί, φάμενοι ἐπὶ Ἀσίῳ τοῦ Κότυος τοῦ Μάνεω κεκληῖσθαι τὴν Ἀσίην, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθέος Ἀσίας. ἀπ' ὅτεν καὶ τὴν ἐν Σάρδισι φυλὴν κεκληῖσθαι Ἀσιάδα. 4 ἡ δὲ δὴ Εὐρώπη οὔτε εἰ περιῖρρυτος ἐστὶ γινώσκεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὔτε ὁκόθεν τὸ οὐνομα ἔλαβε τοῦτο, οὔτε ὅστις οἱ ἦν ὁ θέμενος φαίνεται, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρίας φήσομεν Εὐρώπης λαβεῖν τὸ οὐνομα τὴν χώραν· πρότερον δὲ ἦν ἄρα ἀνώνυμος ὥσπερ αἱ ἔτεροι. 5 ἀλλ' αὕτη γε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τε φαίνεται ἐοῦσα καὶ οὐκ ἀπικομένη ἐς τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἥτις νῦν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Εὐρώπη καλέεται, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐς Κρήτην, ἐκ Κρήτης δὲ ἐς Λυκίην. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· τοῖσι γὰρ νομιζομένοισι αὐτῶν χρησόμεθα.

¹ Ὁ δὲ Πόντος ὁ Εὐξείνιος, ἐπ' ὃν ἐστρατεύετο ὁ Δαρεῖος, χωρέων πασέων παρέχεται ἔξω τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνεα ἀμαθέστατα. οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνος τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ Πόντου οὐδὲν ἔχομεν προβαλέσθαι σοφίης πέρι οὔτε ἄνδρα λόγιον οἶδαμεν γενόμενον, πάρεξ τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνεος καὶ Ἀναχάρσιος. ² τῷ δὲ Σκυθικῷ γένει ἐν μὲν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀνθρωπινῶν πρηγμάτων σοφώτατα πάντων ἐξεύρηται τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα οὐκ ἄγαμαι· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον οὕτω σφι ἀνεύρηται ὥστε ἀποφυγεῖν τε μηδένα ἐπελθόντα ἐπὶ σφέας, μὴ βουλομένους τε ἐξευρεθῆναι καταλαβεῖν μὴ οἶον τε εἶναι. ³ τοῖσι γὰρ μήτε ἄστεα μήτε τείχεα ἢ ἐκτισμένα, ἀλλὰ φερέοικοι ἐόντες πάντες ἔωσι ἱπποτοξόται, ζῶντες μὴ ἀπ' ἀρότου ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων, οἰκήματα τε σφι ἢ ἐπὶ ζευγέων, κῶς οὐκ ἂν εἶψαν οὗτοι ἅμαχοι τε καὶ ἄποροι προσμίσγειν;

¹ Ἐξεύρηται δέ σφι ταῦτα τῆς τε γῆς ἐούσης ἐπιτηδέης καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐόντων σφι συμμαχῶν. ἢ τε γὰρ γῇ ἐοῦσα πεδιάς αὕτη ποιῶδης τε καὶ εὐνδρος ἐστί, ποταμοὶ τε δι' αὐτῆς ρέουσι οὐ πολλῶ τεω ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονες τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διωρύχων. ² ὅσοι δὲ ὀνομαστοὶ τε εἰσὶ αὐτῶν καὶ προσπλωτοὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τούτους ὀνομανέω.... Ἰστρος μὲν πεντάστομος, μετὰ δὲ Τύρης τε καὶ Ὑπανίς καὶ Βορυσθένης καὶ Παντικάπης καὶ Ὑπάκυρις καὶ Γέρρος καὶ Τάναϊς. ρέουσι δὲ οἶδε κατὰ τάδε.

¹ Ἰστρος μὲν, ἐὼν μέγιστος ποταμῶν πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἴσος αἰεὶ αὐτὸς ἐωυτῷ ρέει καὶ θέρεος καὶ χειμῶνος, πρῶτος δὲ τὸ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ ρέων κατὰ τοιόνδε μέγιστος γέγονε· ποταμῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκδιδόντων ² εἰσὶ δὴ οἶδε οἱ μέγαν αὐτὸν ποιεῦντες, διὰ μὲν γε τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρας πέντε μὲν οἱ ρέοντες, τὸν τε Σκύθαι Πόρατα καλέουσι Ἕλληνες δὲ Πυρετόν, καὶ ἄλλος Τιάραντος καὶ Ἀραρος τε καὶ Νάπαρις καὶ Ὀρδησσός. ³ ὁ μὲν πρῶτος λεχθεὶς τῶν ποταμῶν μέγας καὶ πρὸς ἣν ρέων ἀνακοινοῦται τῷ Ἰστρῳ τὸ ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος λεχθεὶς Τιάραντος πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐλάσσων, ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀραρός τε καὶ ὁ Νάπαρις καὶ ὁ Ὀρδησσός καὶ μέσου τούτων ἰόντες ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον.

1 Οὗτοι μὲν αὐθιγενέες Σκυθικοὶ ποταμοὶ συμπληθύνουσι αὐτόν, ἐκ δὲ Ἀγαθύρσων Μάρις ποταμὸς ῥέων συμμίσγεται τῷ Ἰστρῳ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Αἴμου τῶν κορυφῶν τρεῖς ἄλλοι μεγάλοι ῥέοντες πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς αὐτόν, Ἄτλας καὶ Αὖρας καὶ Τίβισις. διὰ δὲ Θρηίκης καὶ Θρηίκων τῶν Κροβύζων ῥέοντες Ἄθρυς καὶ Νόης καὶ Ἀρτάνης ἐκδιδούσι ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον· ἐκ δὲ Παιόνων καὶ ὄρεος Ῥοδόπης Κίος ποταμὸς μέσον σχίζων τὸν Αἴμον ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς αὐτόν. 2 ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν δὲ ῥέων πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον Ἀγγρος ποταμὸς ἐσβάλλει ἐς πεδῖον τὸ Τριβαλικὸν καὶ ἐς ποταμὸν Βρόγγον, ὁ δὲ Βρόγγος ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον· οὕτω ἀμφοτέρους ἐόντας μεγάλους ὁ Ἰστρος δέκεται. ἐκ δὲ τῆς κατύπερθε χώρας Ὀμβρικῶν Κάρπις ποταμὸς καὶ ἄλλος Ἄλπις ποταμὸς πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον καὶ οὗτοι ῥέοντες ἐκδιδούσι ἐς αὐτόν· 3 ῥέει γὰρ δὴ διὰ πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης ὁ Ἰστρος, ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν, οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων μετὰ Κύνητας οἰκεῖν τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ· ῥέων δὲ διὰ πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς Σκυθίης ἐσβάλλει.

1 Τούτων ὧν τῶν καταλεχθέντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν συμβαλλομένων τὸ σφέτερον ὕδωρ γίνεται ὁ Ἰστρος ποταμῶν μέγιστος, ἐπεὶ ὕδωρ γε ἐν πρὸς ἐν συμβάλλειν ὁ Νεῖλος πλήθει ἀποκρατέει. ἴσος δὲ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον οὔτε ποταμὸς οὔτε κρήνη οὐδεμία ἐσδιδούσα ἐς πληθὸς οἱ συμβάλλεται. 2 ἴσος δὲ αἰεὶ ῥέει ἐν τε θέρει καὶ χειμῶνι ὁ Ἰστρος κατὰ τοιόνδε τι, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ· τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος ἐστὶ ὅσος περ ἐστὶ, ὀλίγῳ τε μέζων τῆς ἐωυτοῦ φύσιος γίνεται· ὕεται γὰρ ἡ γῆ αὕτη τοῦ χειμῶνος πάμπαν ὀλίγῳ, νιφετῷ δὲ πάντα χρᾶται· 3 τοῦ δὲ θέρους ἡ χιὼν ἢ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι πεσοῦσα, ἐοῦσα ἀμφιλαφής, τηκομένη πάντοθεν ἐσδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον. αὕτη τε δὴ ἡ χιὼν ἐσδιδούσα ἐς αὐτόν συμπληθύνει καὶ ὄμβροι πολλοὶ τε καὶ λάβροι σὺν αὐτῇ· ὕει γὰρ δὴ τὸ θέρος. 4 ὅσω δὲ πλεόν ἐπ' ἐωυτὸν ὕδωρ ὁ ἡλίος ἐπέλκεται ἐν τῷ θέρει ἢ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι, τοσοῦτω τὰ συμμίσγόμενα τῷ Ἰστρῳ πολλαπλήσια ἐστὶ τοῦ θέρους ἢ περ τοῦ χειμῶνος· ἀντιτιθέμενα δὲ ταῦτα ἀντισήκωσις γίνεται, ὥστε ἴσον μιν αἰεὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐόντα.

1 Εἷς μὲν δὴ τῶν ποταμῶν τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἐστὶ ὁ Ἴστρος, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Τύρης, ὃς ἀπὸ βορέω μεγάλης ἢ οὐρίζει τὴν τε Σκυθικὴν καὶ Νευρίδα γῆν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ κατοικῆνται Ἕλληνες οἱ Τυρίται καλέονται.

52

1 Τρίτος δὲ Ὑπανὶς ποταμὸς ὁρμαῖται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ῥέει δὲ ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης τὴν πέριξ νέμονται ἵπποι ἄγριοι λευκοί· καλέεται δὲ ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὀρθῶς μήτηρ Ὑπάνιος. 2 ἐκ ταύτης ὧν ἀνατέλλων ὁ Ὑπανὶς ποταμὸς ῥέει ἐπὶ μὲν πέντε ἡμερέων πλόον βραχὺς καὶ γλυκύς ἐστι, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου πρὸς θαλάσσης τεσσέρων ἡμερέων πλόον πικρὸς δεινῶς· 3 ἐκδιδοῖ γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν κρήνη πικρὴ, οὕτω δὴ τι ἐοῦσα πικρὴ, ἣ μεγάλῃ σμικρῇ ἐοῦσα κινρᾷ τὸν Ὑπανὶν ἐόντα ποταμὸν ἐν ὀλίγοισι μέγαν. ἔστι δὲ ἡ κρήνη αὕτη ἐν οὖροισι χώρης τῆς τε ἁροτήρων Σκυθέων καὶ Ἀλαζόνων· οὖνομα δὲ τῇ κρήνῃ καὶ ὅθεν ῥέει τῷ χώρῳ σκυθιστὶ μὲν Ἑξαμπαῖος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Ἰραὶ ὁδοί. 4 συνάγουσι δὲ τὰ τέρματα ὃ τε Τύρης καὶ ὁ Ὑπανὶς κατὰ Ἀλαζόνας, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀποστρέψας ἐκάτερος ῥέει εὐρύνων τὸ μέσον.

53

1 Τέταρτος δὲ Βορυσθένης ποταμὸς, ὃς ἐστὶ τε μέγιστος μετὰ Ἴστρον τούτων καὶ πολυαρκέστατος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας οὔτι μόνον τῶν Σκυθικῶν ποταμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, πλὴν Νείλου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐκ οἶά τε ἐστὶ συμβαλεῖν ἄλλον ποταμόν· 2 τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν Βορυσθένης ἐστὶ πολυαρκέστατος, ὃς νομάς τε καλλίστας καὶ εὐκομιδεστάτας κτήνεσι παρέχεται ἰχθύας τε ἀρίστους διακριδὸν καὶ πλείστους, πίνεσθαι τε ἥδιστος ἐστὶ, ῥέει τε καθαρὸς παρὰ θολεροῖσι, σπόρος τε παρ' αὐτὸν ἄριστος γίνεται, ποίη τε, τῇ οὐ σπείρεται ἡ χώρα, βαθυτάτῃ· 3 ἄλεις τε ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ αὐτόματοι πηγνυνται ἄπλετοι· κήτεά τε μεγάλα ἀνάκανθα, τὰ ἀντακαίους καλέουσι, παρέχεται ἐς ταρίχευσιν, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ θωμάσαι ἄξια. 4 μέχρι μὲν νυν Γερρέων χώρου, ἐς τὸν τεσσεράκοντα ἡμερέων πλόος ἐστὶ, γινώσκεται ῥέων ἀπὸ βορέω ἀνέμου· τὸ δὲ κατ' ὑπερθε δι' ὧν ῥέει ἀνθρώπων οὐδεὶς ἔχει φράσαι· φαίνεται δὲ ῥέων δι' ἐρήμου ἐς τῶν γεωργῶν Σκυθέων τὴν χώραν· οὗτοι γὰρ οἱ Σκύθαι παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμερέων πλόον νέμονται. 5 μούνου δὲ

τούτου τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Νεῖλου οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι τὰς πηγάς, δοκέω δέ, οὐδὲ οὐδεὶς Ἑλλήνων. ἀγχοῦ τε δὴ θαλάσσης ὁ Βορυσθένης ῥέων γίνεται καὶ οἱ συμμίσγεται ὁ Ὑπανὶς ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔλος ἐκδιδοῦς. 6 τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν ποταμῶν τούτων, ἐὼν ἔμβολον τῆς χώρας, Ἰππόλεω ἄκρῃ καλέεται, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ, ἱρὸν Διμήτρος ἐνίδρυται· πέρην δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑπάνι Βορυσθενεῖται κατοίκεται.

54

1 Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν, μετὰ δὲ τούτους πέμπτος ποταμὸς ἄλλος, τῷ οὐνομα Παντικᾶπης, ῥέει μὲν καὶ οὗτος ἀπὸ βορέω τε καὶ ἐκ λίμνης, καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ τούτου τε καὶ τοῦ Βορυσθέneos νέμονται οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ὑβλαίνην, παραμειψάμενος δὲ ταύτην τῷ Βορυσθένει συμμίσγεται.

55

1 Ἐκτος δὲ Ὑπάκυρις ποταμός, ὃς ὁρμᾶται μὲν ἐκ λίμνης, διὰ μέσων δὲ τῶν νομάδων Σκυθέων ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ κατὰ Καρκινίτιν πόλιν, ἐς δεξιὴν ἀπέργων τὴν τε Ὑλαίνην καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλήιον δρόμον καλεόμενον.

56

1 Ἐβδομος δὲ Γέρρος ποταμὸς ἀπέσχισται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθέneos κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς χώρας ἐς ὃ γινώσκεται ὁ Βορυσθένης· ἀπέσχισται μὲν νυν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου, οὐνομα δὲ ἔχει τό περ ὁ χῶρος αὐτός, Γέρρος, ῥέων δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν οὐρίζει τὴν τε τῶν νομάδων χώραν καὶ τὴν τῶν βασιλείων Σκυθέων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὑπάκυριν.

57

1 Ὀγδοος δὲ δὴ Τάναϊς ποταμός, ὃς ῥέει τάνεκαθεν ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης ὁρμώμενος, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς μέζω ἔτι λίμνην καλεόμενον Μαιήτιν, ἣ οὐρίζει Σκύθας τε τοὺς βασιλείους καὶ Σαυρομάτας. ἐς δὲ Τάναϊν τοῦτον ἄλλος ποταμὸς ἐσβάλλει τῷ οὐνομα ἐστὶ Ὑργις.

58

1 Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ὀνομαστοῖσι ποταμοῖσι οὕτω δὴ τι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐσκευάδαται, τοῖσι δὲ κτήνεσι ἢ ποιῇ ἀναφυομένη ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ ἐστὶ ἐπιχλωτάτη πασέων ποιέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· ἀνοιγομένοισι δὲ

τοῖσι κτήγεσι ἐστὶ σταθμώσασθαι ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχει.

59

1 Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα οὕτω σφι εὖπορα ἐστί, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ νόμαια κατὰ τάδε σφι διακέεται. θεοὺς μὲν μούνους τούσδε ἰλάσκονται, Ἰστίην μὲν μάλιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ Δία καὶ Γῆν, νομίζοντες τὴν Γῆν τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι γυναικα, μετὰ δὲ τούτους, Απόλλωνά τε καὶ οὐρανίην Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Ἥρακλέα καὶ Ἄρεα. τούτους μὲν πάντες Σκύθαι νενομίκασι, οἱ δὲ καλεόμενοι βασιλῆιοι Σκύθαι καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέωνι θύουσι. 2 ὀνομάζεται δὲ σκυθιστὶ Ἰστίη μὲν Ταβιτί, Ζεὺς δὲ ὀρθότατα κατὰ γνώμην γε τὴν ἐμὴν καλεόμενος Παπαῖος, Γῆ δὲ Ἀπί. Απόλλων δὲ Γοιτόσυρος, οὐρανίη δὲ Ἀφροδίτη Ἀργίμπασα, Ποσειδέων δὲ Θαγμιασάδας. ἀγάλματα δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ νηοὺς οὐ νομίζουσι ποιεῖν πλὴν Ἄρεϊ. τούτῳ δὲ νομίζουσι.

60

1 Θυσίῃ δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ πᾶσι κατέστηκε περὶ πάντα τὰ ἱρὰ ὁμοίως, ἐρδομένη ὧδε· τὸ μὲν ἱρήιον αὐτὸ ἐμπεποδισμένον τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας ἔστηκε, ὁ δὲ θύων ὀπισθε τοῦ κτήγεος ἐστεῶς σπάσας τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ στρόφου καταβάλλει μιν, 2 πίπτοντος δὲ τοῦ ἱρήιου ἐπικαλεῖ τὸν θεὸν τῷ ἂν θύῃ, καὶ ἔπειτα βρόχῳ περὶ ὧν ἔβαλε τὸν αὐχένα, σκυταλίδα δὲ ἐμβαλὼν περιάγει καὶ ἀποπνίγει, οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαύσας οὔτε καταρξάμενος οὔτ' ἐπισπείσας· ἀποπνίξας δὲ καὶ ἀποδείρας τρέπεται πρὸς ἔψησιν.

61

1 Τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς Σκυθικῆς αἰνῶς ἀξύλου ἐούσης ὧδε σφι ἐς τὴν ἔψησιν τῶν κρεῶν ἐξεύρηται· ἐπειδὰν ἀποδείρῳσι τὰ ἱρήια, γυμνοῦσι τὰ ὀστέα τῶν κρεῶν, ἔπειτα ἐσβάλλουσι, ἣν μὲν τύχῳσι ἔχοντες, ἐς λέβητας ἐπιχωρίους, μάλιστα Λεσβίοισι κρητῆρσι προσεικέλους, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι πολλῶ μέζονας· ἐς τούτους ἐσβάλλοντες ἔψουσι ὑποκαίοντες τὰ ὀστέα τῶν ἱρήιων. ἣν δὲ μή σφι παρῇ, ὁ λέβης, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς γαστέρας τῶν ἱρήιων ἐσβάλλοντες τὰ κρέα πάντα καὶ παραμίζαντες ὕδωρ ὑποκαίουσι τὰ ὀστέα· 2 τὰ δὲ αἵθεται κάλλιστα, αἱ δὲ γαστέρες χωρέουσι εὐπετέως τὰ κρέα ἐνπιλωμένα τῶν ὀστέων· καὶ οὕτω βοῦς τε ἐωυτὸν ἐξέψει καὶ τᾶλλα ἱρήια ἐωυτὸ ἕκαστον. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐψηθῇ τὰ κρέα, ὁ θύσας τῶν κρεῶν καὶ τῶν

σπλάγγων ἀπαρξάμενος ρίπτει ἐς τὸ ἔμπροσθε. θύουσι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρόβατα καὶ ἵππους μάλιστα.

62

1 Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἄλλοισι τῶν θεῶν οὕτω θύουσι καὶ ταῦτα τῶν κτηνέων, τῷ δὲ Ἄρει ὧδε. κατὰ νομοὺς ἐκάστους τῶν ἀρχέων ἐσίδρυται σφι Ἄρεος ἱρὸν τοιόνδε φρυγάνων φάκελοι συννεέσθαι ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ σταδίους τρεῖς μῆκος καὶ εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ ἔλασσον· ἄνω δὲ τούτου τετράγωνον ἄπεδον πεποιήται, καὶ τὰ μὲν τρία τῶν κώλων ἐστὶ ἀπότομα, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν ἐπιβατόν. 2 ἔτεος δὲ ἐκάστου ἀμάξας πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπινέουσι φρυγάνων· ὑπονοστέει γὰρ δὴ αἰεὶ ὑπὸ τῶν χειμώνων. ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ σηκοῦ ἀκινάκης σιδήρεος ἵδρυται ἀρχαῖος ἐκάστοισι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἄρεος τὸ ἄγαλμα. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀκινάκῃ θυσίας ἐπετείους προσάγουσι προβάτων καὶ ἵππων, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσινδ' ἔτι πλέω θύουσι ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι· 3 ὅσους ἂν τῶν πολέμιων ζωγρήσωσι, ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἄνδρα θύουσι τρόπῳ οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' ἑτεροίῳ. ἐπεὰν γὰρ οἶνον ἐπισπείσωσι κατὰ τῶν κεφαλέων, ἀποσφάζουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐς ἄγγος καὶ ἔπειτα ἀνενείκαντες ἄνω ἐπὶ τὸν ὄγκον τῶν φρυγάνων καταχέουσι τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀκινάκεω. 4 ἄνω μὲν δὴ φορέουσι τοῦτο, κάτω δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἱρὸν ποιεῦσι τάδε· τῶν ἀποσφαγέντων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς δεξιοὺς ὤμους πάντας ἀποταμόντες σὺν τῇσι χερσὶ ἐς τὸν ἡέρα ἰεῖσι, καὶ ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέρξαντες ἰρήνια ἀπαλλάσσουνται. χεὶρ δὲ τῇ ἂν πέσῃ κέεται, καὶ χωρὶς ὁ νεκρός.

63

1 Θυσίαι μὲν νυν αὐταῖ σφι κατεστᾶσι. ὅσι δὲ οὗτοι οὐδὲν νομίζουσι, οὐδὲ τρέφειν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τὸ παράπαν θέλουσι.

64

1 Τὰ δ' ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα ὧδέ σφι διακέσθαι· ἐπεὰν τὸν πρῶτον ἄνδρα καταβάλῃ ἀνὴρ Σκύθης, τοῦ αἵματος ἐμπίνει, ὅσους δ' ἂν φονεύσῃ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποφέρει τῷ βασιλεί. ἀπενείκας μὲν γὰρ κεφαλὴν τῆς λήϊης μεταλαμβάνει τὴν ἂν λάβῃ, μὴ ἐνείκας δὲ οὐ. 2 ἀποδείρει δὲ αὐτὴν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· περιταμὼν κύκλῳ περὶ τὰ ὦτα καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκσεῖει, μετὰ δὲ σαρκίσας βοδὸς πλευρῇ δέψει τῇσι χερσὶ, ὀργάσας δὲ αὐτὸ ἄτε

χειρόμακτρον ἔκτῃται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν χαλινῶν τοῦ ἵππου τὸν αὐτὸς ἐλαύνει, ἐκ τούτου ἐξάπτει καὶ ἀγάλλεται· ὃς γὰρ ἂν πλεῖστα δέρματα χειρόμακτρα ἔχῃ, ἀνὴρ ἄριστος οὗτος κέκριται. 3 πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀποδερμάτων καὶ χλαίνας ἐπείνυσθαι ποιεῦσι, συρράπτοντες κατὰ περ βαίτας. πολλοὶ δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχθρῶν τὰς δεξιὰς χεῖρας νεκρῶν ἐόντων ἀποδεύραντες αὐτοῖσι ὄνυξι καλύπτρας τῶν φαρετρέων ποιεῦνται. δέρμα δὲ ἀνθρώπου καὶ παχὺ καὶ λαμπρὸν ἦν ἄρα, σχεδὸν δερμάτων πάντων λαμπρότατον λευκότητι. 4 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὅλους ἄνδρας ἐκδεύραντες καὶ διατείναντες ἐπὶ ξύλων ἐπ' ἵππων περiferοῦσι.

65

1 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω σφι νενόμισται, αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς, οὔτι πάντων ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων, ποιεῦσι τάδε· ἀποπρίσας ἕκαστος πᾶν τὸ ἔνερθε τῶν ὀφρύων ἐκκαθαίρει· καὶ ἦν μὲν ἡ πένης, ὁ δὲ ἔξωθεν ὁμοβοέην μούνην περιτείνας οὕτω χρᾶται, ἦν δὲ ἡ πλούσιος, τὴν μὲν ὁμοβοέην περιτείνει, ἔσωθεν δὲ καταχρυσώσας οὕτω χρᾶται ποτηρίῳ. 2 ποιεῦσι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκῆϊων ἦν σφι διάφοροι γένωνται καὶ ἦν ἐπικρατήσῃ αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ξείνων δὲ οἱ ἐλθόντων τῶν ἂν λόγον ποιέηται, τὰς κεφαλὰς ταύτας παραφέρει καὶ ἐπιλέγει ὥς οἱ ἐόντες οἰκῆιοι πόλεμον προσεθήκαντο καὶ σφεων αὐτὸς ἐπεκράτησε, ταύτην ἀνδραγαθίην λέγοντες.

66

1 Ἄπαξ δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκάστου ὁ νομάρχης ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἐωυτοῦ νομῷ κινῶ κρητῆρα οἴνου, ἀπ' οὗ πίνουνσι τῶν Σκυθέων τοῖσι ἂν ἄνδρες πολέμιοι ἀραιορημένοι ἔωσι. τοῖσι δ' ἂν μὴ κατεργασμένον ἢ τοῦτο, οὐ γεύονται τοῦ οἴνου τούτου, ἀλλ' ἡτιμωμένοι ἀποκατέαται· ὄνειδος δὲ σφι ἐστὶ μέγιστον τοῦτο. ὅσοι δὲ ἂν αὐτῶν καὶ κάρτα πολλοὺς ἄνδρας ἀραιορηκότες ἔωσι, οὗτοι δὲ σύνδυο κύλικας ἔχοντες πίνουνσι ὁμοῦ.

67

1 Μάντιες δὲ Σκυθέων εἰσὶ πολλοί, οἱ μαντεύονται ῥάβδοισι ἱτεῖνησι πολλῇσι ὧδε· ἐπεὰν φακέλους ῥάβδων μεγάλους ἐνεῖκωνται, θέντες χαμαὶ διεξειλίσσουσι αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπὶ μίαν ἐκάστην ῥάβδον τιθέντες θεσπίζουσι, ἅμα τε λέγοντες ταῦτα συνειλέουσι τὰς ῥάβδους

ὀπίσω καὶ αὐτὶς κατὰ μίαν συντιθεῖσι. 2 αὕτη μὲν σφί ἡ μαντικὴ πατρωίῃ ἐστί. οἱ δὲ Ἐνάρεες οἱ ἀνδρόγυνοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην σφίσι λέγουσι μαντικὴν δοῦναι· φιλύρης δ' ὧν φλοιῷ μαντεύονται· ἐπεὰν τὴν φιλύρην τρίχα σχίσῃ, διαπλέκων ἐν τοῖσι δακτύλοισι τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ καὶ διαλύων χρᾶ.

68

1 Ἐπεὰν δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων κάμη, μεταπέμπεται τῶν μαντίων ἄνδρας τρεῖς τοὺς εὐδοκιμέοντας μάλιστα, οἱ τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ μαντεύονται· καὶ λέγουσι οὗτοι ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν μάλιστα τάδε, ὡς τὰς βασιληίας ἰστίας ἐπιώρκηκε ὃς καὶ ὅς, λέγοντες τῶν ἀστῶν τὸν ἄν δὴ λέγωσι. 2 τὰς δὲ βασιληίας ἰστίας νόμος Σκύθησι τὰ μάλιστα ἐστὶ ὁμνῦναι τότε ἐπεὰν τὸν μέγιστον ὄρκον ἐθέλωσι ὁμνῦναι. αὐτίκα δὲ διαλελαμμένος ἄγεται οὗτος τὸν ἄν δὴ φῶσι ἐπιορκῆσαι, ἀπιγμένον δὲ ἐλέγχουσι οἱ μάντιες ὡς ἐπιορκήσας φαίνεται ἐν τῇ μαντικῇ τὰς βασιληίας ἰστίας καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀλγέει ὁ βασιλεὺς· ὁ δὲ ἀρνέεται, οὐ φάμενος ἐπιορκῆσαι, καὶ δεινολογέεται. 3 ἀρνεομένου δὲ τούτου ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταπέμπεται ἄλλους διπλησίους μάντιας· καὶ ἦν μὲν καὶ οὗτοι ἐσορῶντες ἐς τὴν μαντικὴν καταδήσωσι ἐπιορκῆσαι, τοῦ δὲ ἰθέως τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτάμνουσι, καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ διαλαγχάνουσι οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν μαντίων· 4 ἦν δὲ οἱ ἐπελθόντες μάντιες ἀπολύσωσι, ἄλλοι πάρεισι μάντιες καὶ μάλα ἄλλοι. ἦν ὧν οἱ πλεῦνες τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπολύσωσι, δέδοκται τοῖσι πρῶτοις τῶν μαντίων αὐτοῖσι ἀπόλλυσθαι.

69

1 Ἀπολλῦσι δῆτα αὐτοὺς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐπεὰν ἄμαξαν φρυγάνων πλήσωσι καὶ ὑποζεύξωσι βοῦς, ἐμποδίσαντες τοὺς μάντιας καὶ χεῖρας ὀπίσω δῆσαντες καὶ στομῶσαντες κατεργνῶσι ἐς μέσα τὰ φρύγανα, ὑποπρήσαντες δὲ αὐτὰ ἀπιεῖσι φοβήσαντες τοὺς βοῦς. 2 πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ συγκατακαίονται τοῖσι μάντισι βόες, πολλοὶ δὲ περικεκαυμένοι ἀποφεύγουσι, ἐπεὰν αὐτῶν ὁ ῥυμὸς κατακαυθῇ. κατακαίουσι δὲ τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ καὶ δι' ἄλλας αἰτίας τοὺς μάντιας, ψευδομάντιας καλέοντες. 3 τοὺς δ' ἄν ἀποκτείνῃ βασιλεὺς, τούτων οὐδὲ τοὺς παῖδας λείπει, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ ἔρσενα κτείνει, τὰ δὲ θήλεα οὐκ ἀδικεῖ.

¹ Ὅρκια δὲ ποιεῦνται Σκύθαι ὧδε πρὸς τοὺς ἂν ποιέωνται· ἐς κύλικα μεγάλην κεραμίνην οἶνον ἐγχέαντες αἷμα συμμίσγουσι τῶν τὸ ὄρκιον ταμινομένων, τύψαντες ὑπέατι ἢ ἐπιταμόντες μαχαίρῃ σμικρὸν τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβάσαντες ἐς τὴν κύλικα ἀκινάκην καὶ ὀιστοὺς καὶ σάγαριν καὶ ἀκόντιον· ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, κατεύχονται πολλὰ καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποπίνουσι αὐτοὶ τε οἱ τὸ ὄρκιον ποιέμενοι καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων οἱ πλείστου ἄξιοι.

¹ Ταφαὶ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἐν Γέρροισι εἰσὶ ἐς ὃ ὁ Βορυσθένης ἐστὶ προσπλωτός· ἐνθαῦτα, ἐπεὰν σφι ἀποθάνῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὄρυγμα γῆς μέγα ὀρύσσουσι τετράγωνον, ἔτοιμον δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὸν νεκρὸν, κατακεκηρωμένον μὲν τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ νηδὺν ἀνασχισθεῖσαν καὶ καθαρθεῖσαν, πλέην κυτέρου κεκομμένου καὶ θυμῆματος καὶ σελίνου σπέρματος καὶ ἀννήσου, συνερράμμενῃ ὀπίσω, καὶ κομίζουσι ἐν ἀμάξῃ ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος. ² οἱ δὲ ἂν παραδέξωνται κομισθέντα τὸν νεκρὸν, ποιεῦσι τὰ περ οἱ βασιλῆιοι Σκύθαι· τοῦ ὧτος ἀποτάμνονται, τρίχας περικεῖρονται, βραχίονας περιτάμνονται, μέτωπον καὶ ῥίνα καταμύσσονται, διὰ τῆς ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ὀιστοὺς διαβυνέονται. ³ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κομίζουσι ἐν τῇ ἀμάξῃ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν νέκυν ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος τῶν ἄρχουσι· οἱ δὲ σφι ἔπονται ἐς τοὺς πρότερον ἦλθον. ἐπεὰν δὲ πάντας περιέλθωσι τὸν νέκυν κομίζοντες, ἔν τε Γέρροισι ἔσχατα κατοικημένοισι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν ἄρχουσι καὶ ἐν τῇσι ταφῇσι. ⁴ καὶ ἔπειτα, ἐπεὰν θέωσι τὸν νέκυν ἐν τῇσι θήκησι ἐπὶ στιβάδος, παραπήξαντες αἰχμὰς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τοῦ νεκροῦ ξύλα ὑπερτείνουσι καὶ ἔπειτα ῥίπῃ καταστεγάζουσι, ἐν δὲ τῇ λοιπῇ εὐρυχωρίῃ τῆς θήκης τῶν παλλακέων τε μίαν ἀποπνίξαντες θάπτουσι καὶ τὸν οἰνοχόον καὶ μάγειρον καὶ ἵπποκόμον καὶ διήκονον καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρον καὶ ἵππους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἀπαρχὰς καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας· ἀργύρῳ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χαλκῷ χρέωνται. ⁵ ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες χοῦσι πάντες χῶμα μέγα, ἀμιλλώμενοι καὶ προθυμέμενοι ὥς μέγιστον ποιῆσαι.

¹ Ἐνιαντοῦ δὲ περιφερομένου αὐτὶς ποιεῦσι τοιόνδε· λαβόντες τῶν λοιπῶν θεραπόντων τοὺς ἐπιτηδεοτάτους (οἱ δὲ εἰσὶ Σκύθαι

ἐγγενέες· οὗτοι γὰρ θεραπεύουσι τοὺς ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς κελεύσῃ ἀργυρώνητοι δὲ οὐκ εἰσὶ σφι θεράποντες),² τούτων ὧν τῶν διηκόνων ἐπεὰν ἀποπνίξωσι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἵππους τοὺς καλλίστους πεντήκοντα, ἐξελόντες αὐτῶν τὴν κοιλίην καὶ καθήραντες ἐμπιπλάσι ἀχύρων καὶ συρῥάπτουσι.³ ἀψίδος δὲ ἥμισυ ἐπὶ δύο ξύλα στήσαντες ὑπτιον καὶ τὸ ἕτερον ἥμισυ τῆς ἀψίδος ἐπ' ἕτερα δύο, καταπήξαντες τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ πολλὰ ταῦτα, ἔπειτα τῶν ἵππων κατὰ τὰ μήκεα ξύλα παχέα διελάσαντες μέχρι τῶν τραχήλων ἀναβιβάζουσι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀψίδας·⁴ τῶν δὲ αἱ μὲν πρότεραι ἀψίδες ὑπέχουσι τοὺς ὄμους τῶν ἵππων, αἱ δὲ ὀπισθε παρὰ τοὺς μηρούς τὰς γαστέρας ὑπολαμβάνουσι· σκέλεα δὲ ἀμφοτέρα κατακρέματα μετέωρα. χαλινοὺς δὲ καὶ στόμια ἐμβαλόντες ἐς τοὺς ἵππους κατατείνουσι ἐς τὸ πρόσθε αὐτῶν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐκ πασσάλων δέουσι.⁵ τῶν δὲ δὴ νεηνίσκων τῶν ἀποπεπνιγμένων τῶν πεντήκοντα ἓνα ἕκαστον ἀναβιβάζουσι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, ὧδε ἀναβιβάζοντες, ἐπεὰν νεκροῦ ἐκάστου παρὰ τὴν ἄκανθαν ξύλον ὀρθὸν διελάσῃ μέχρι τοῦ τραχήλου· κάτωθεν δὲ ὑπερέχει τοῦ ξύλου τούτου τὸ ἐς τὸρμον πηγνύουσι τοῦ ἑτέρου ξύλου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἵππου. ἐπιστήσαντες δὲ κύκλῳ τὸ σῆμα ἱπέας τοιούτους ἀπελαύνουσι.

73

¹ Οὕτω μὲν τοὺς βασιλέας θάπτουσι· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Σκύθας, ἐπεὰν ἀποθάνωσι, περιάγουσι οἱ ἀγχοτάτω προσήκοντες κατὰ τοὺς φίλους ἐν ἀμάξεισι κειμένους. τῶν δὲ ἕκαστος ὑποδεκόμενος εὐωχέει τοὺς ἐπομένους, καὶ τῷ νεκρῷ ἀπάντων παραπλησίως παρατίθῃσι ὅσα τοῖσι ἄλλοις. ἡμέρας δὲ τεσσεράκοντα οὕτω οἱ ἰδιῶται περιάγονται, ἔπειτα θάπτονται.² θάψαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύψαι καθαίρονται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. σηησάμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ ἐκπλυνάμενοι ποιεῦσι περὶ τὸ σῶμα τάδε ἐπεὰν ξύλα στήσωσι τρία ἐς ἄλληλα κεκλιμένα, περὶ ταῦτα πῖλους εἰρινέους περιτείνουσι, συμφράξαντες δὲ ὡς μάλιστα λίθους ἐκ πυρὸς διαφανέας ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς σκάφην κειμένην ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ξύλων τε καὶ τῶν πέλων.

74

¹ Ἔστι δέ σφι κάρναβις φανομένη ἐν τῇ χώρῃ πλην παχύτητος καὶ μεγάλους τῷ λίνῳ ἐμφορεστάτη· ταύτη δὲ πολλῷ ὑπερφέρει ἢ κάρναβις. αὕτη καὶ αὐτομάτη καὶ σπειρομένη φύεται, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς

Θρήικες μὲν καὶ εἴματα ποιεῦνται τοῖσι λινέοισι ὁμοιότατα· οὐδ' ἄν, ὅστις μὴ κάρτα τρίβων εἴη αὐτῆς, διαγνοίη λίνου ἢ καννάβιος ἐστὶ· ὃς δὲ μὴ εἶδε κω τὴν κανναβίδα, λίνεον δοκήσει εἶναι τὸ εἶμα.

75

1 Ταύτης ὧν οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς καννάβιος τὸ σπέρμα ἐπεὰν λάβωσι, ὑποδύνουσι ὑπὸ τοὺς πέλους, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπιβάλλουσι τὸ σπέρμα ἐπὶ τοὺς διαφανέας λίθους τῷ πυρί· τὸ δὲ θυμιᾶται ἐπιβαλλόμενον καὶ ἀτμίδα παρέχεται τοσαύτην ὥστε Ἑλληνικὴ οὐδεμία ἄν μιν πυρὶν ἀποκρατήσῃ. 2 οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἀγάμενοι τῇ πυρὶ ὠρύονται. τοῦτό σφι ἀντὶ λουτροῦ ἐστὶ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ λούονται ὕδατι τὸ παράπαν τὸ σῶμα. 3 αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ὕδωρ παραχέουσιν κατασώχουσι περὶ λίθον τρηχὺν τῆς κυπαρίσσου καὶ κέδρου καὶ λιβάνου ξύλου, καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ κατασωχόμενον τοῦτο παχὺ ἐὼν καταπλάσσονται πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον· καὶ ἅμα μὲν εὐωδίῃ σφέας ἀπὸ τούτου ἴσχει, ἅμα δὲ ἀπαιρέουσιν τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὴν καταπλαστὴν γίνονται καθαροὶ καὶ λαμπροί.

76

1 Ξεινικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι καὶ οὗτοι φεύγουσιν αἰνῶς χρᾶσθαι, μήτε τεῶν ἄλλων, Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ καὶ ἥκιστα, ὥς διέδεξαν Ἀνάχαρσις τε καὶ δευτέρα αὐτῆς Σκύλης. 2 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀνάχαρσις ἐπεῖτε γῆν πολλὴν θεωρήσας καὶ ἀποδεξάμενος κατ' αὐτὴν σοφίην πολλὴν ἐκομίζετο ἐς ἥθεα τὰ Σκυθέων, πλέων δι' Ἑλλησπόντου προσίσχει ἐς Κύζικον. 3 καὶ εὗρε γὰρ τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀνάγοντας τοὺς Κυζικηνοὺς ὀρθὴν μεγαλοπρεπέως κάρτα, εὗξατο τῇ μητρὶ ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἣν σῶς καὶ ὑγιὲς ἀπονοστήσῃ ἐς ἑωυτοῦ, θύσειν τε κατὰ ταῦτα κατὰ ὥρα τοὺς Κυζικηνοὺς ποιεῦντας καὶ παννυχίδα στήσῃ. 4 ὥς δὲ ἀπύκετο ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν καταδύς ἐς τὴν καλεομένην Ὑλαίην (ἢ δ' ἐστὶ μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλήιον δρόμον, τυγχάνει δὲ πᾶσα ἐοῦσα δενδρέων παντοίων πλέη), ἐς ταύτην δὴ καταδύς ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις τὴν ὀρθὴν ἐπετέλεε πᾶσαν τῇ θεῷ, τύμπανον τε ἔχων καὶ ἐκδησάμενος ἀγάλματα. 5 καὶ τῶν τις Σκυθέων καταφρασθεὶς αὐτὸν ταῦτα ποιεῦντα ἐσήμηνε τῷ βασιλεῖ Σαυλίῳ· ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπικόμενος ὥς εἶδε τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν ποιεῦντα ταῦτα, τοξεύσας αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ νῦν ἦν τις εἴρηται περὶ Ἀναχάρσιος, οὐ φασὶ μιν Σκύθαι γινώσκειν, διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι ἐξεδήμησέ τε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ξεινικοῖσι ἔθεσι

διεχρήσατο. 6 ὥς δ' ἐγὼ ἤκουσα Τύμνεω τοῦ Ἀριαπεΐθεος ἐπιτρόπου, εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἰδανθύρσου τοῦ Σκυθέων βασιλέος πάτρων, παῖδα δὲ εἶναι Γνούρου τοῦ Λύκου τοῦ Σπαργαπεΐθεος. εἰ ὦν ταύτης ἦν τῆς οἰκίης ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἴστω ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἀποθανών· Ἰδανθύρσος γὰρ ἦν παῖς Σαυλίου, Σαύλιος δὲ ἦν ὁ ἀποκτείνας Ἀνάχαρσιν.

77

1 Καίτοι τινὰ ἤδη ἤκουσα λόγον ἄλλον ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων λεγόμενον, ὥς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκυθέων βασιλέος Ἀνάχαρσις ἀποπεμφθεὶς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μαθητὴς γένοιτο, ὀπίσω τε ἀπονοστήσας φαίη πρὸς τὸν ἀποπέμψαντα Ἑλληνας πάντας ἀσχόλους εἶναι ἐς πᾶσαν σοφίην πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, τούτοισι δὲ εἶναι μούνοισι σωφρόνως δοῦναι τε καὶ δέξασθαι λόγον. 2 ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ὁ λόγος ἄλλως πέπλασται ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁ δ' ὦν ἀνὴρ ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰρέθη διεφθάρη.

78

1 Οὗτος μὲν νυν οὕτω δὴ ἔπρηξε διὰ ξεινικά τε νόμια καὶ Ἑλληνικὰς ὁμιλίας. πολλοῖσι δὲ κάρτα ἔτεσι ὕστερον Σκύλης ὁ Ἀριαπεΐθεος ἔπαθε παραπλήσια τούτῳ. Ἀριαπεΐθει γὰρ τῷ Σκυθέων βασιλεί γίνεται μετ' ἄλλων παίδων Σκύλης· ἐξ Ἰστρινῆς δὲ γυναικὸς οὗτος γίνεται καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐγχωρίης· τὸν ἢ μήτηρ αὕτη γλῶσσάν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ γράμματα ἐδίδαξε. 2 μετὰ δὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον Ἀριαπεΐθης μὲν τελευτᾷ δόλῳ ὑπὸ Σπαργαπεΐθεος τοῦ Ἀγαθύρσων βασιλέος, Σκύλης δὲ τὴν τε βασιληίην παρέλαβε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πατρός, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Ὀποίη· ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἢ Ὀποίη ἀστή, ἐξ ἧς ἦν Ὅρικος Ἀριαπεΐθει παῖς. 3 βασιλεύων δὲ Σκυθέων ὁ Σκύλης διαίτη οὐδαμῶς ἠρέσκετο Σκυψικῇ, ἀλλὰ πολλὸν πρὸς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μᾶλλον τετραμμένος ἦν ἀπὸ παιδευσίου τῆς ἐπεπαιδευτο, ἐποίεε τε τοιοῦτο· εὖτε ἀγάγοι τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Σκυθέων ἐς τὸ Βορυσθενειέων ἄστν (οἱ δὲ Βορυσθενεῖται οὗτοι λέγουσι σφέας αὐτοὺς εἶναι Μιλησίους), ἐς τούτους ὅκως ἔλθοι ὁ Σκύλης, τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν καταλίπεσκε ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, 4 αὐτὸς δὲ ὅκως ἔλθοι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγκλήσειε, τὴν στολὴν ἀποθέμενος τὴν Σκυθικὴν λάβεσκε ἂν Ἑλληνίδα ἐσθῆτα, ἔχων δ' ἂν ταύτην ἡγόραζε οὔτε δορυφόρων ἐπομένων οὔτε ἄλλου οὐδενός· τὰς δὲ πύλας ἐφύλασσον, μὴ τίς μιν Σκυθέων ἴδοι ἔχοντα ταύτην τὴν στολήν· καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐχρᾶτο διαίτη Ἑλληνικῇ καὶ θεοῖσι ἱρὰ ἐποίεε κατὰ

νόμους τοὺς Ἑλλήνων. 5 ὅτε δὲ διατρίψειε μῆνα ἢ πλεον τούτου, ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐνδὺς τὴν Σκυθικὴν στολήν. ταῦτα ποιέεσκε πολλάκις καὶ οἰκία τε ἐδείματο ἐν Βορυσθένει καὶ γυναῖκα ἔγῃμε ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπιχωρίην.

79

1 Ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἔδεέ οἱ κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγένετο ἀπὸ προφάσιος τοιῆσδε. ἐπεθύμησε Διονύσῳ Βακχεῖῳ τελεσθῆναι· μέλλοντι δέ οἱ ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι τὴν τελετὴν ἐγένετο φάσμα μέγιστον. 2 ἦν οἱ ἐν Βορυσθενειτέων τῇ πόλι οἰκίης μεγάλης καὶ πολυτελέος περιβολή, τῆς καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην εἶχον, τὴν πέριξ λευκοῦ λίθου σφίγγες τε καὶ γρυῖπες ἔστασαν· ἐς ταύτην ὁ θεὸς ἐνέσκηψε βέλος. καὶ ἡ μὲν κατεκάη πᾶσα, Σκύλης δὲ οὐδὲν τούτου εἶνεκα ἦσσαν ἐπετέλεσε τὴν τελετὴν. 3 Σκύθαι δὲ τοῦ βακχεύειν πέρι Ἑλλήσι ὀνειδίζουσι· οὐ γὰρ φασὶ οἶκός εἶναι θεὸν ἐξευρίσκειν τοῦτον ὅστις μαίνεσθαι ἐνάγει ἀνθρώπους. 4 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐτετέλεσθη τῷ Βακχεῖῳ ὁ Σκύλης, διεπρήστευσε τῶν τις Βορυσθενειτέων πρὸς τοὺς Σκύθας λέγων “ἡμῖν γὰρ καταγεῶνται, ὧ Σκύθαι, ὅτι βακχεύομεν καὶ ἡμέας ὁ θεὸς λαμβάνει· νῦν οὗτος ὁ δαίμων καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον βασιλέα λελάβηκε, καὶ βακχεύει τε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαίνεται. εἰ δέ μοι ἀπιστέετε, ἔπεσθε, καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ δέξω,,. 5 εἵποντο τῶν Σκύθεων οἱ προεστεῶτες, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀναγαγὼν ὁ Βορυσθενειτῆς λάθρῃ ἐπὶ πύργον κατεῖσε. ἐπεῖτε δὲ παρήιε σὺν τῷ θιάσῳ ὁ Σκύλης καὶ εἰδὼν μιν βακχεύοντα οἱ Σκύθαι, κάρτα συμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο, ἐξελθόντες δὲ ἐσήμαινον πάσῃ τῇ στρατιῇ τὰ ἴδιοιεν.

80

1 Ὡς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξήλανε ὁ Σκύλης ἐς ἥθεα τὰ ἑωυτοῦ, οἱ Σκύθαι προστησάμενοι τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Ὁκταμασάδην, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Τήρεω θυγατρὸς, ἐπανιστέατο τῷ Σκύλῃ. 2 ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὸ γινόμενον ἐπ’ ἑωυτῷ καὶ τὴν αἰτίην δι’ ἣν ἐποιέετο, καταφεύγει ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ὁκταμασάδης ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Θρηίκην. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰστρῳ ἐγένετο, ἡγντίασάν μιν οἱ Θρηίκες, μελλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν συνάψειν ἔπεμψε Σιτάλκης παρὰ τὸν Ὁκταμασάδην λέγων τοιάδε. 3 “τι δεῖ ἡμέας ἀλλήλων πειρηθῆναι; εἷς μὲν μευ τῆς ἀδελφεῆς παῖς, ἔχεις δέ μευ ἀδελφεόν. σὺ δέ μοι ἀπόδος τοῦτον, καὶ ἐγὼ σοὶ τὸν σὸν Σκύλην

παραδίδωμι· στρατιῇ δὲ μήτε σὺ κινδυνεύσης μήτ' ἐγώ,,. 4 ταῦτά οἱ πέμψας ὁ Σιτάλκης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο· ἦν γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Ὀκταμασάδῃ ἀδελφεὸς Σιτάλκεω πεφευγώς. ὁ δὲ Ὀκταμασάδης καταινέει ταῦτα, ἐκδοὺς δὲ τὸν ἐωυτοῦ μήτρῳ Σιτάλκῃ ἔλαβε τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σκύλην. 5 καὶ Σιτάλκης μὲν παραλαβὼν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἀπήγετο, Σκύλῳ δὲ Ὀκταμασάδης αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἀπέταμε τὴν κεφαλὴν. οὕτω μὲν περιστέλλουσι τὰ σφέτερα νόμῳ Σκύθαι, τοῖσι δὲ παρακτωμένοισι ξεινικοὺς νόμους τοιαῦτα ἐπιτίμια διδοῦσι.

81

1 Πλῆθος δὲ τὸ Σκυθέων οὐκ οἶος τε ἐγενόμην ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ διαφόρους λόγους περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἤκουον· καὶ γὰρ κάρτα πολλοὺς εἶναι σφέας καὶ ὀλίγους ὡς Σκύθας εἶναι. 2 τοσόνδε μέντοι ἀπέφαινόν μοι ἐς ὄψιν. ἔστι μεταξὺ Βορυσθενέος τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὑπάνιος χώρος, οὖνομα δὲ οἱ ἐστὶ Ἐξαμπαῖος· τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην εἶχον, φάμενος ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνην ὕδατος πικροῦ εἶναι, ἀπ' ἧς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπορρέον τὸν Ὑπανιν ἄποτον ποιεῖν. 3 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ κέεται χαλκήιον, μεγάλῃ καὶ ἐξαπλήσιον τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου κρητῆρος, τὸν Πausanias ὁ Κλεομβρότου ἀνέθηκε. 4 ὃς δὲ μὴ εἶδε κω τοῦτον, ὧδε δηλώσω. ἐξακοσίους ἀμφορέας εὐπετέως χωρέει τὸ ἐν Σκύθησι χαλκήιον, πάχος δὲ τὸ Σκυθικὸν τοῦτο χαλκήιον ἐστὶ δακτύλων ἑξ. τοῦτο ὧν ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἀπὸ ἀρδίων γενέσθαι. 5 βουλόμενον γὰρ τὸν σφέτερον βασιλέα, τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Ἀριάνταν, τοῦτον εἰδέναι τὸ πλῆθος τὸ Σκυθέων κελεύειν μιν πάντας Σκύθας ἄρδιν ἕκαστον μίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰστοῦ κομίσαι. ὃς δ' ἂν μὴ κομίσῃ, θάνατον ἀπέλκε. 6 κομισθῆναι τε δὴ χρῆμα πολλὸν ἀρδίων καὶ οἱ δόξαι ἐξ αὐτέων μνημόσυον ποιήσαντι λιπέσθαι. ἐκ τουτέων δὲ μιν τὸ χαλκήιον ποιῆσαι τοῦτο καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν Ἐξαμπαῖον τοῦτον. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ Σκυθέων ἤκουον.

82

1 Θωμάσια δὲ ἡ χώρα αὕτη οὐκ ἔχει, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι ποταμούς τε πολλῶν μεγίστους καὶ ἀριθμὸν πλείστους. τὸ δὲ ἀποθωμάσαι ἄξιον καὶ πάρεξ τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ τοῦ μεγάλθους τοῦ πεδίου παρέχεται, εἰρήσεται. ἵχνος Ἡρακλέος φαίνουσι ἐν πέτρῃ ἐνεόν, τὸ ἔοικε μὲν βήματι ἀνδρός, ἔστι δὲ τὸ μέγαθος δίπηχυ, παρὰ τὸν Τύρην ποταμόν.

τοῦτο μὲν νυν τοιοῦτο ἐστί, ἀναβήσομαι δὲ ἐς τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἥια λέξων λόγον.

83

1 Παρασκευαζομένου Δαρείου ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ ἐπιπέμποντος ἀγγέλους ἐπιτάξοντας τοῖσι μὲν πεζὸν στρατόν, τοῖσι δὲ νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ ζεύγνυσθαι τὸν Θρηίκιον Βόσπορον Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος, ἀδελφεὸς ἐὼν Δαρείου, ἐχρήριζε μηδαμῶς αὐτὸν στρατηίην ἐπὶ Σκύθας ποιέεσθαι, καταλέγων τῶν Σκυθέων τὴν ἀπορίην. 2 ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε συμβουλεύων οἱ χρηστά, ὃ μὲν ἐπέπαυτο, ὃ δέ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τὰ ἅπαντα παρεσκεύαστο, ἐξήλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ Σούσων.

84

1 Ἐνθαῦτα τῶν Περσέων Οἰόβαζος ἐδεήθη Δαρείου τριῶν ἐόντων οἱ παίδων καὶ πάντων στρατευομένων ἕνα αὐτῷ καταλειφθῆναι. ὃ δὲ ἔφη ὡς φίλῳ ἐόντι καὶ μετρίῳ δεδομένῳ πάντας τοὺς παῖδας καταλείψειν. 2 ὃ μὲν δὴ Οἰόβαζος περιχαρὴς ἦν, ἐλπίζων τοὺς υἱέας στρατηίης ἀπολελύσθαι. ὃ δὲ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτων ἐπεστεῶτας ἀποκτεῖναι πάντας τοὺς Οἰοβάζου παῖδας.

85

1 Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἀποσφαγέντες αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἐλείποντο· Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπεῖτε πορευόμενος ἐκ Σούσων ἀπίκετο τῆς Καλχηδονίης ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον ἵνα ἔξευκτο ἢ γέφυρα, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐσβάς ἐς νέα ἔπλεε ἐπὶ τὰς Κυανέας καλυμένας, τὰς πρότερον πλαγκτὰς Ἑλλήνες φασὶ εἶναι, ἐξόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ ῥίῳ ἐθηεῖτο τὸν Πόντον ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον. 2 πελαγέων γὰρ ἀπάντων πέφυκε θωμασιώτατος· τοῦ τὸ μὲν μῆκος στάδιοι εἰσὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μῦριοι, τὸ δὲ εὖρος, τῇ εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ, στάδιοι τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. 3 τούτου τοῦ πελάγεος τὸ στόμα ἐστὶ εὖρος τέσσερες στάδιοι· μῆκος δὲ, τοῦ στόματος ὁ αὐχὴν, τὸ δὴ Βόσπορος κέκληται, κατ' ὃ δὴ ἔξευκτο ἢ γέφυρα, ἐπὶ σταδίους εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐστί. τείνει δ' ἐς τὴν Προποντίδα ὁ Βόσπορος· 4 ἢ δὲ Προποντὶς εὐρὺσα εὖρος μὲν σταδίων πεντακοσίων, μῆκος δὲ τετρακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, καταδιδοὶ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐόντα στεινότητα μὲν ἐπὶ σταδίους, μῆκος δὲ τετρακοσίους. ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἐς χάσμα πελάγεος τὸ δὴ

1 Μεμέτρηται δὲ ταῦτα ὧδε. νηὺς ἐπίπαν μάλιστα κη κατανύει ἐν μακρημερίῃ ὀργυιᾶς ἑπτακισμυρίας, νυκτὸς δὲ ἑξακισμυρίας. 2 ἤδη ὧν ἐς μὲν Φᾶσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Πόντου μακρότατον) ἡμερέων ἑννέα πλόος ἐστὶ καὶ νυκτῶν ὀκτώ· αὗται ἑνδεκα μυριάδες καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιέων γίνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀργυιέων τουτέων στάδιοι ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι εἰσί. 3 ἐς δὲ Θεμισκύρην τὴν ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι ποταμῷ ἐκ τῆς Σινδικῆς (κατὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Πόντου εὐρύτατον) τριῶν τε ἡμερέων καὶ δύο νυκτῶν πλόος· αὗται δὲ τρεῖς μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα ὀργυιέων γίνονται, στάδιοι δὲ τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. 4 ὁ μὲν νυν Πόντος οὗτος καὶ Βόσπορος τε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος οὕτω τέ μοι μεμετρέεται καὶ κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα πεφύκασι, παρέχεται δὲ καὶ λίμνην ὁ Πόντος οὗτος ἐκδιδοῦσαν ἐς αὐτὸν οὐ πολλῷ τεφ ελάσσω ἐωυτοῦ, ἣ Μαιήτις τε καλέεται καὶ μήτηρ τοῦ Πόντου.

1 Ὁ δὲ Δαρεῖος ὡς ἐθεήσατο τὸν Πόντον, ἔπλεε ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, τῆς ἀρχιτέκτων ἐγένετο Μανδροκλέης Σάμιος· θεησάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Βόσπορον στήλας ἔστησε δύο ἐπ' αὐτοῦ λίθου λευκοῦ, ἑνταμὼν γράμματα ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀσσύρια ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικά, ἔθνεα πάντα ὅσα περ ἦγε· ἦγε δὲ πάντα τῶν ἦρχε. τούτων μυριάδες ἐξηριθμήθησαν, χωρὶς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἑβδομήκοντα σὺν ἱππεῦσι, νέες δὲ ἑξακόσiai συνελέχθησαν. 2 τῇσι μὲν νυν στήλῃσι ταύτησι Βυζάντιοι κομίσαντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὕστερον τούτων ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν τῆς Ὁρθωσίης Ἀρτέμιδος, χωρὶς ἐνὸς λίθου· οὗτος δὲ κατελείφθη παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν νηὸν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, γραμμάτων Ἀσσυρίων πλέος. τοῦ δὲ Βοσπόρου ὁ χώρος τὸν ἔξευξε βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει συμβαλλομένῳ, μέσον ἐστὶ Βυζαντίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι ἱροῦ.

1 Δαρεῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἦσθεις τῇ σχεδίῃ τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς Μανδροκλέα τὸν Σάμιον ἐδωρήσατο πᾶσι δέκα· ἀπ' ὧν δὴ Μανδροκλέης ἀπαρχὴν ζῶα γραψάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν ζευξίν τοῦ

Βοσπόρου καὶ βασιλέα τε Δαρεῖον ἐν προεδρίῃ κατήμενον καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ διαβαίνοντα ταῦτα γραψάμενος ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὸ Ἑραιοον, ἐπιγράψας τάδε.

*2 Βόσπορον ἰχθυόεντα γεφυρώσας ἀνέθηκε
Μανδροκλέης Ἡρῇ μνημόσυνον σχεδῖης,
αὐτῷ μὲν στέφανον περιθείς, Σαμίοισι δὲ κῦδος,
Δαρείου βασιλέος ἐκτελέσας κατὰ νοῦν.*

89

1 Ταῦτα μὲν νυν τοῦ ζεύξαντος τὴν γέφυραν μνημόσυνα ἐγένετο. Δαρεῖος δὲ δωρησάμενος Μανδροκλέα διέβαινε ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, τοῖσι Ἴωσι παραγγείλας πλέειν ἐς τὸν Πόντον μέχρι Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπικῶνται ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον, ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὸν περιμένειν ζευγνύντας τὸν ποταμόν. τὸ γὰρ δὴ ναυτικὸν ἦγον Ἴωνές τε καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι. 2 ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς Κυανέας διεκπλώσας ἔπλεε ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἰστρου, ἀναπλώσας δὲ ἀνὰ ποταμὸν δυῶν ἡμερέων πλὸν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν αὐχένα, ἕκ τοῦ σχίζεται τὰ στόματα τοῦ Ἰστρου, ἐξεύγνυε. 3 Δαρεῖος δὲ ὡς διέβη τὸν Βόσπορον κατὰ τὴν σχεδῖν, ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Τέαρου ποταμοῦ τὰς πηγὰς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἡμέρας τρεῖς.

90

1 Ὁ δὲ Τέαρος λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων εἶναι ποταμῶν ἄριστος τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐς ἄκεσιν φέροντα καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ ἵπποισι ψώρην ἀκέσασθαι. εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ δυῶν δέουσαι τεσσεράκοντα, ἐκ πέτρης τῆς αὐτῆς ρέουσαι, καὶ αἱ μὲν αὐτέων εἰσὶ ψυχραὶ αἱ δὲ θερμαί. 2 ὁδὸς δ' ἐπ' αὐτάς ἐστι ἴση ἐξ Ἡραίου τε πόλιος τῆς παρὰ Περίνθῳ καὶ ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίης τῆς ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ, δυῶν ἡμερέων ἑκατέρῃ. ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ὁ Τέαρος οὗτος ἐς τὸν Κοντάδεσδον ποταμόν, ὁ δὲ Κοντάδεσδος ἐς τὸν Ἀγριάνην, ὁ δὲ Ἀγριάνης ἐς τὸν Ἑβρον, ὁ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν παρ' Αἴνῳ πόλι.

91

1 Ἐπὶ τοῦτον ὢν τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπικόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος ὡς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἡσθεὶς τῷ ποταμῷ στήλην ἔστησε καὶ ἐνθαῦτα, γράμματα ἐγγράψας λέγοντα τάδε. 2 “Τέαρου ποταμοῦ κεφαλαὶ ὕδωρ

ἄριστόν τε καὶ κάλλιστον παρέχονται πάντων ποταμῶν· καὶ ἐπ' αὐτάς ἀπίκετο ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατὸν ἀνὴρ ἄριστος τε καὶ κάλλιστος πάντων ἀνθρώπων, Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος, Περσέων τε καὶ πάσης τῆς ἡπείρου βασιλεύς,· ταῦτα δὲ ἐνθαῦτα ἐγράφη.

92

1 Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμηθεὶς ἀπίκετο ἐπ' ἄλλον ποταμὸν τῷ οὐνόμα Ἀρτησκός ἐστι, ὃς διὰ Ὀδρυσέων ῥέει. ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπικόμενος ἐποίησε τοιόνδε· ἀποδέξας χωρίον τῇ στρατιῇ ἐκέλευε πάντα ἄνδρα λίθον ἓνα παρεξίοντα τιθέναι ἐς τὸ ἀποδεδεγμένον τοῦτο χωρίον. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐπετέλεσε, ἐνθαῦτα κολωνοὺς μεγάλους τῶν λίθων καταλιπὼν ἀπήλαυνε τὴν στρατιήν.

93

1 Πρὶν δὲ ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον, πρώτους αἰρέει Γέτας τοὺς ἀθανατίζοντας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Σαλμυδησὸν ἔχοντες Θρήικες καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίης τε καὶ Μεσαμβρίας πόλιος οἰκημένοι, καλεῦμενοι δὲ Κυρμιάναι καὶ Νιψαῖοι, ἀμαχητὶ σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδωσαν Δαρεῖω· οἱ δὲ Γέται πρὸς ἀγνωμοσύνην τραπόμενοι αὐτίκα ἐδουλώθησαν, Θρηίκων ἐόντες ἀνδρηότατοι καὶ δικαιοτάτοι.

94

1 Ἀθανατίζουνσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· οὔτε ἀποθνήσκειν ἐωυτοὺς νομίζουσι ἵεναι τε τὸν ἀπολλύμενον παρὰ Σάλμοξιν δαίμονα· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζουσι Γεβελείζιν· 2 διὰ πεντετηρίδος τε τὸν πάλω λαχόντα αἰεὶ σφέων αὐτῶν ἀποπέμπουσι ἄγγελον παρὰ τὸν Σάλμοξιν, ἐντελλόμενοι τῶν ἂν ἐκάστοτε δέωνται, πέμπουσι δὲ ὧδε· οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ταχθέντες ἀκόντια τρία ἔχουσι, ἄλλοι δὲ διαλαβόντες τοῦ ἀποπεμπομένου παρὰ τὸν Σάλμοξιν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, ἀνακινήσαντες αὐτὸν μετέωρον ῥίπτουσι ἐς τὰς λόγχας. ἦν μὲν δὴ ἀποθάνῃ ἀναπαρεῖς, τοῖσι δὲ ἴλεος ὁ θεὸς δοκεῖ εἶναι· 3 ἦν δὲ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ, αἰτιῶνται αὐτὸν τὸν ἄγγελον, φάμενοί μιν ἄνδρα κακὸν εἶναι, αἰτησάμενοι δὲ τοῦτον ἄλλον ἀποπέμπουσι· ἐντέλλονται δὲ ἔτι ζῶντι. 4 οὗτοι οἱ αὐτοὶ Θρήικες καὶ πρὸς βροντὴν τε καὶ ἀστραπὴν τοξεύοντες ἄνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπειλέουσι τῷ θεῷ, οὐδένα ἄλλον θεὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι εἰ μὴ τὸν σφέτερον.

¹ Ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκεόντων Ἑλλήνων καὶ Πόντον, τὸν Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον ἐόντα ἄνθρωπον δουλεῦσαι ἐν Σάμῳ, δουλεῦσαι δὲ Πυθαγόρῃ τῷ Μνησάρχῳ, ² ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὸν γενόμενον ἐλεύθερον χρήματα κτήσασθαι μεγάλα, κτησάμενον δὲ ἀπελθεῖν ἐς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ. ἅτε δὲ κακοβίων τε ἐόντων τῶν Θρηίκων καὶ ὑπαφρονεστέρων, τὸν Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον ἐπιστάμενον δίαίταν τε Ἰάδα καὶ ἥθεα βαθύτερα ἢ κατὰ Θρήικας, οἷα Ἑλλῆσι τε ὁμιλήσαντα καὶ Ἑλλήνων οὐ τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ σοφιστῇ Πυθαγόρῃ, ³ κατασκευάσασθαι ἀνδρεῶνα, ἐς τὸν πανδοκεύοντα τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς πρώτους καὶ εὐωχέοντα ἀναδιδάσκειν ὥς οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε οἱ συμπόται αὐτοῦ οὔτε οἱ ἐκ τούτων αἰεὶ γινόμενοι ἀποθανέονται, ἀλλ' ἥξουσι ἐς χῶρον τοῦτον ἵνα αἰεὶ περιόντες ἔξουσι τὰ πάντα ἀγαθὰ. ⁴ ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἐποίεε τὰ καταλεχθέντα καὶ ἔλεγε ταῦτα, ἐν τούτῳ κατάγαιον οἶκημα ἐποίεετο. ὥς δὲ οἱ παντελέως εἶχε τὸ οἶκημα, ἐκ μὲν τῶν Θρηίκων ἠφανίσθη, καταβάς δὲ κάτω ἐς τὸ κατάγαιον οἶκημα διαιτᾶτο ἐπ' ἔτεα τρία· ⁵ οἱ δὲ μιν ἐπόθεόν τε καὶ ἐπένθεον ὥς τεθνεῶτα. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἐφάνη τοῖσι Θρήιξι, καὶ οὕτω πιθανά σφι ἐγένετο τὰ ἔλεγε ὁ Σάλμοξις. ταῦτα φασὶ μιν ποιῆσαι.

¹ Ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτου καὶ τοῦ καταγαίου οἰκήματος οὔτε ἀπιστέω οὔτε ὧν πιστεύω τι λήν, δοκέω δὲ πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τὸν Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον γενέσθαι Πυθαγόρεω. ² εἴτε δὲ ἐγένετό τις Σάλμοξις ἄνθρωπος, εἴτ' ἐστὶ δαίμων τις Γέτησι οὗτος ἐπιχώριος, χαιρέτω. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ χρεώμενοι ὥς ἐχειρώθησαν ὑπὸ Περσέων, εἶποντο τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ.

¹ Δαρεῖος δὲ ὥς ἀπύκετο καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἅμ' αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον, ἐνθαῦτα διαβάντων πάντων Δαρεῖος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τε Ἴωνας τὴν σχεδίην λύσαντας ἔπεσθαι κατ' ἡπειρον ἐωυτῷ καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν στρατόν. ² μελλόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰόνων λύειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ κελευόμενα, Κῶης ὁ Ἐρξάνδρου στρατηγὸς ἐὼν Μυτιληναίων ἔλεξε Δαρεῖω τάδε, πυθόμενος πρότερον εἰ οἱ φίλον εἴη γνώμην ἀποδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βουλομένου ἀποδείκνυσθαι. ³ “ὧ βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ γῆν γὰρ μέλλεις στρατεῦεσθαι τῆς οὔτε ἀρηρομένον φανήσεται

οὐδὲν οὔτε πόλις οἰκεομένη· σύ νυν γέφυραν ταύτην ἕα κατὰ χώρην ἐστάναι, φυλάκους αὐτῆς λιπὼν τούτους οἵπερ μιν ἔζευξαν. 4 καὶ ἦν τε κατὰ νόον πρήξωμεν εὐρόντες Σκύθας, ἔστι ἄποδος ἡμῖν, ἦν τε καὶ μὴ σφεας εὐρεῖν δυνώμεθα, ἥ γε ἄποδος ἡμῖν ἀσφαλῆς· οὐ γὰρ ἔδδισά κω μὴ ἐσσωθέωμεν ὑπὸ Σκυθέων μάχῃ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ δυνάμενοι σφέας εὐρεῖν πάθωμεν τι ἀλώμενοι. 5 καὶ τὰδε λέγειν φαίη τις ἂν με ἐμεωυτοῦ εἵνεκεν, ὥς καταμένω· ἐγὼ δὲ γνώμην μὲν τὴν εὕρισκον ἀρίστην σοί, βασιλεῦ, ἐς μέσον φέρω, αὐτὸς μέντοι ἔψομαί τοι καὶ οὐκ ἂν λειφθεῖν.,. 6 κάρτα τε ἦσθη τῇ γνώμῃ Δαρεῖος καὶ μιν ἀμείψατο τοῖσιδε. “ζεῖνε Λέσβιε, σωθέντος ἐμεῦ ὀπίσω ἐς οἶκον τὸν ἐμὸν ἐπιφάνηθί μοι πάντως, ἵνα σε ἀντὶ χρηστῆς συμβουλῆς χρηστοῖσι ἔργοισι ἀμείψωμαι.,.

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1 Ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἀπάσας ἅμματα ἐξήκοντα ἐν ἱμάντι καλέσας ἐς λόγους τοὺς Ἴωνων τυράννους ἔλεγε τὰδε. 2 “ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἡ μὲν πρότερον γνώμη ἀποδεχθεῖσα ἐς τὴν γέφυραν μετείσθω μοι, ἔχοντες δὲ τὸν ἱμάντα τόνδε ποιέετε τὰδε. ἐπεὰν ἐμὲ ἴδητε τάχιστα πορευόμενον ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἀπὸ τούτου ἀρξάμενοι τοῦ χρόνου λύετε ἅμμα ἐν ἐκάστης ἡμέρης· ἦν δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ παρέω ἀλλὰ διεξέλθωσι ὑμῖν αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν ἀμμάτων, ἀποπλέετε ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρεην αὐτῶν. 3 μέχρι δὲ τούτου, ἐπεῖτε οὕτω μετέδοξε, φυλάσσετε τὴν σχεδίην, πᾶσαν προθυμίην σωτηρίας τε καὶ φυλακῆς παρεχόμενοι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῦντες ἐμοὶ μεγάλως χαριεῖσθε.,. Δαρεῖος μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐπείγετο.

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1 Τῆς δὲ Σκυθικῆς γῆς ἡ Θρηίκη τὸ ἐς θάλασσαν πρόκειται· κόλπου δὲ ἀγομένου τῆς γῆς ταύτης, ἡ Σκυθική τε ἐκδέκεται καὶ ὁ Ἰστρος ἐκδίδοι ἐς αὐτήν, πρὸς εὖρον ἄνεμον τὸ στόμα τετραμμένος. 2 τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰστρου ἔρχομαι σημανέων τὸ πρὸς θάλασσαν αὐτῆς τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρας ἐς μέτρησιν. ἀπὸ Ἰστρου αὕτη ἦδη ἡ ἀρχαίη Σκυθίη ἐστί, πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον ἄνεμον κειμένη, μέχρι πόλιος Καρκινίτιδος καλεομένης. 3 τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν αὐτὴν φέρουσαν, ἐοῦσαν ὀρεινὴν τε χώρην καὶ προκειμένην τὸ ἐς Πόντον, νέμεται τὸ Ταυρικὸν ἔθνος μέχρι χερσονήσου τῆς τρηχέης καλεομένης· αὕτη δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς ἀπηνιώτην

ἄνεμον κατήκει. 4 ἔστι γὰρ τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ δύο μέρη τῶν οὖρων ἐς θάλασσαν φέροντα, τὴν τε πρὸς μεσαμβρίην καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ, κατὰ περ τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρας· καὶ παραπλήσια ταύτῃ καὶ οἱ Ταῦροι νέμονται τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ὥς εἰ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἀθηναῖοι νεμοίαιτο τὸν γουνὸν τὸν Σουνιακόν, μᾶλλον ἐς τὸν πόντον τὴν ἄκρην ἀνέχοντα, τὸν ἀπὸ Θορικοῦ μέχρι Αναφλύστου δήμου· 5 λέγω δὲ ὥς εἶναι ταῦτα σμικρὰ μεγάλοισι συμβάλλειν· τοιοῦτον ἡ Ταυρικὴ ἐστὶ. ὃς δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ταῦτα μὴ παραπέπλωκε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄλλως δηλώσω· ὥς εἰ τῆς Ἱηπυγίης ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἱήπυγες ἀρξάμενοι ἐκ Βρεντεσίου λιμένος ἀποταμοίαιτο μέχρι Τάραντος καὶ νεμοίαιτο τὴν ἄκρην. δύο δὲ λέγων ταῦτα πολλὰ λέγω παρόμοια, τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἔοικε ἡ Ταυρικὴ.

100

1 Τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ταυρικῆς ἤδη Σκύθαι τὰ κατύπερθε τῶν Ταύρων καὶ τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης τῆς ἠοίης νέμονται, τοῦ τε Βοσπόρου τοῦ Κιμμερίου τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρης καὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαϊήτιδος μέχρι Τανάιδος ποταμοῦ, ὃς ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς μυχὸν τῆς λίμνης ταύτης. 2 ἤδη ὢν ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰστρου τὰ κατύπερθε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα ἀποκλήϊεται ἡ Σκυθικὴ ὑπὸ πρώτων Ἀγαθύρσων, μετὰ δὲ Νευρῶν, ἔπειτα δὲ Ἀνδροφάγων, τελευταίων δὲ Μελαγχλαίνων.

101

1 Ἔστι ὢν τῆς Σκυθικῆς ὥς εὐούσης τετραγώνου, τῶν δύο μερέων κατηκόντων ἐς θάλασσαν, πάντῃ ἴσον τό τε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέρον καὶ τὸ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν. 2 ἀπὸ γὰρ Ἰστρου ἐπὶ Βορυσθένεα δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδὸς ἀπὸ Βορυσθένεος τε ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Μαϊήτιν ἑτερέων δέκα· καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἐς τοὺς Μελαγχλαίνους τοὺς κατύπερθε Σκυψέων οἰκημένους εἴκοσι ἡμερέων ὁδός. 3 ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ἡ ἡμερησίῃ ἀνὰ διηκόσια στάδια συμβέβληται μοι. οὕτω ἂν εἴη τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ ἐπικάρσια τετρακισχιλίων σταδίων καὶ τὰ ὄρθια τὰ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα ἑτέρων τοσούτων σταδίων. ἡ μὲν νυν γῆ αὕτη ἐστὶ μέγαθος τοσαύτη.

102

1 Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι δόντες σφίσι λόγον ὥς οὐκ οἴοι τε εἰσὶ τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἰθυμαχίῃ διώσασθαι μοῦνοι, ἔπεμπον ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους

ἀγγέλους· τῶν δὲ καὶ δὴ οἱ βασιλέες συνελθόντες ἐβουλευόντο ὡς στρατοῦ ἐπελαύνοντος μεγάλου. ² ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συνελθόντες βασιλέες Ταύρων καὶ Ἀγαθύρσων καὶ Νευρῶν καὶ Ἀνδροφάγων καὶ Μελαγχλαίνων καὶ Γελωνῶν καὶ Βουδίνων καὶ Σαυροματέων.

103

¹ Τούτων Ταῦροι μὲν νόμοισι τοιοῖσιδε χρέωνται· θύουσι μὲν τῇ, παρθένῳ τοὺς τε ναηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄν λάβωσι Ἑλλήνων ἐπαναχθέντες τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ² καταρξάμενοι ῥοπάλῳ παίουσιν τὴν κεφαλὴν. οἱ μὲν δὲ λέγουσι ὡς τὸ σῶμα ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ ὠθέουσι κάτω (ἐπὶ γὰρ κρημνοῦ ἵδρυται τὸ ἱρόν), τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυροῦσι· οἱ δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁμολογεῖν, τὸ μέντοι σῶμα οὐκ ὠθέεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ λέγουσι ἀλλὰ γῇ κρύπτεσθαι. τὴν δὲ δαίμονα ταύτην τῇ θύουσι λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Ταῦροι Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος εἶναι. ³ πολεμίους δὲ ἄνδρας τοὺς ἄν χειρώσωνται ποιεῦσι τάδε· ἀποταμὼν ἕκαστος κεφαλὴν ἀποφέρεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ ξύλου μεγάλου ἀναπείρας ἰστᾶ ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκίης ὑπερέχουσιν πολλόν, μάλιστα δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς καπνοδόκης. φασὶ δὲ τούτους φυλάκους τῆς οἰκίης πάσης ὑπεραιωρέεσθαι. ζῶσι δὲ ἀπὸ λήϊς τε καὶ πολέμου.

104

¹ Ἀγάθυρσοι δὲ ἀβρότατοι ἀνδρῶν εἰσι καὶ χρυσοφόροι τὰ μάλιστα, ἐπικοινωνοῦν δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν μῆξιν ποιεῦνται, ἵνα κασίγνητοι τε ἀλλήλων ἔωσι καὶ οἰκίηιοι ἐόντες πάντες μήτε φθόνῳ μήτε ἔχθει χρέωνται ἐς ἀλλήλους. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα νόμια Θρήϊζι προσκεχωρήκασιν.

105

¹ Νευροὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν χρέωνται Σκυθικοῖσι, γενεῇ δὲ μῆτι πρότερον σφέας τῆς Δαρείου στρατηλασίης κατέλαβε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ὑπὸ ὀφίων· ὄφιας γάρ σφι πολλοὺς μὲν ἢ χώραν ἀνέφαινε, οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες ἄνωθέν σφι ἐκ τῶν ἐρήμων ἐπέπεσον, ἐς ὃ πιεζόμενοι οἴκησαν μετὰ Βουδίνων τὴν ἐσωτῶν ἐκλιπόντες. κινδυνεύουσι δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι γόητες εἶναι. ² λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ κατοικημένων ὡς ἔτεος ἐκάστου ἅπαξ τῶν Νευρῶν ἕκαστος λύκος γίνεται ἡμέρας ὀλίγας καὶ

αὐτίς ὀπίσω ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν κατίσταται. ἐμὲ μὲν νυν ταῦτα λέγοντες οὐ
πείθουσι, λέγουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἤσσαν, καὶ ὁμνῶσι δὲ λέγοντες.

106

1 Ἀνδροφάγοι δὲ ἀγριώτατα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔχουσι ἥθεα, οὔτε
δίκην νομίζοντες οὔτε νόμῳ οὐδενὶ χρεώμενοι· νομάδες δὲ εἰσι,
ἐσθῆτά τε φορέουσι τῇ Σκυθικῇ ὁμοίην, γλῶσσαν δὲ ἰδίην,
ἀνδροφαγέουσι δὲ μοῦνοι τούτων.

107

1 Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ εἵματα μὲν μέλανα φορέουσι πάντες, ἐπ' ὧν
καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχουσι, νόμοισι δὲ Σκυθικοῖσι χρέωνται.

108

1 Βουδῖνοι δὲ ἔθνος ἐὼν μέγα καὶ πολλὸν γλαυκὸν τε πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς
ἐστί καὶ πυρρὸν· πόλις δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖσι πεπόλισται ξυλίνη, οὔνομα δὲ
τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ Γελωνός. τοῦ δὲ τείχεος μέγαθος κῶλον ἕκαστον
τριήκοντα σταδίων ἐστί, ὑψηλὸν δὲ καὶ πᾶν ξύλινον, καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι
αὐτῶν ξύλιναι καὶ τὰ ἱρά. 2 ἐστὶ γὰρ δὴ αὐτόθι Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν ἱρὰ
Ἑλληνικῶς κατεσκευασμένα ἀγάλμασί τε καὶ βωμοῖσι καὶ νηοῖσι
ξύλινοισι, καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τριετηρίδας ἀνάγουσι καὶ βακχεύουσι.
εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ Γελωνοὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον Ἑλλήνες, ἐκ τῶν δὲ ἐμπορίων
ἐξαναστάντες οἴκησαν ἐν τοῖσι Βουδῖνοισι· καὶ γλώσσει τὰ μὲν
Σκυθικῇ, τὰ δὲ Ἑλληνικῇ χρέωνται.

109

1 Βουδῖνοι δὲ οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ γλώσσῃ χρέωνται καὶ Γελωνοί, οὐδὲ
δαίαιτα ἢ αὐτῇ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βουδῖνοι ἐόντες αὐτόχθονες νομάδες τε
εἰσὶ καὶ φθειροτραγέουσι μοῦνοι τῶν ταύτῃ, Γελωνοὶ δὲ γῆς τε
ἐργάται καὶ σιτοφάγοι καὶ κήπους ἐκτημένοι, οὐδὲν τὴν ἰδέην ὅμοιοι
οὐδὲ τὸ χρῶμα. ὑπὸ μέντοι Ἑλλήνων καλέονται καὶ οἱ Βουδῖνοι
Γελωνοί, οὐκ ὁρθῶς καλεόμενοι. 2 ἡ δὲ χώρα σφέων πᾶσα ἐστὶ
δασέα ἴδησι παντοίῃσι· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἴδῃ τῇ πλείστη ἐστὶ λίμνη μεγάλη τε
καὶ πολλή καὶ ἔλος καὶ κάλαμος περὶ αὐτήν. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ ἐνύδριες
ἀλίσκονται καὶ κάστορες καὶ ἄλλα θηρία τετραγωνοπρόσωπα, τῶν τὰ
δέρματα παρὰ τὰς σισύρνας παραρῥάπτεται, καὶ οἱ ὄρχεις αὐτοῖσι
εἰσὶ χρήσιμοι ἐς ὑστερέων ἄκεσιν.

1 Σαυροματέων δὲ περὶ ᾧδε λέγεται. ὅτε Ἕλληνες Ἀμαζόσι ἐμαχέσαντο (τὰς δὲ Ἀμαζόνas καλέουσι Σκύθαι Οἰόρπατα, δύναται δὲ τὸ οὖνομα τοῦτο κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἀνδροκτόνοι· οἶορ γὰρ καλέουσι ἄνδρα, τὸ δὲ πατὰ κτείνειν), τότε λόγος τοὺς Ἕλληνας νικήσαντας τῇ ἐπὶ Θερμῳδοντι μάχῃ ἀποπλέειν ἄγοντας τρισὶ πλοίοισι τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ὅσας ἐδυνάετο ζωγρῆσαι, τὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐπιθεμένas ἐκκόψαι τοὺς ἄνδρας. 2 πλοῖα δὲ οὐ γινώσκειν αὐτὰς οὐδὲ πηδαλίοισι χρᾶσθαι οὐδὲ ἰστίοισι οὐδὲ εἰρεσίῃ· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐξέκοψαν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐφέροντο κατὰ κῦμα καὶ ἄνεμον, καὶ ἀπικνέονται τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Κρημνούς· οἱ δὲ Κρημνοὶ εἰσὶ γῆς τῆς Σκυθέων τῶν ἐλευθέρων. ἐνθαῦτα ἀποβᾶσαι ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ὁδοιπόρεον ἐς τὴν οἰκεομένην. ἐντυχοῦσαι δὲ πρώτῳ ἵπποφορβίῳ τοῦτο διήρπασαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἵπαζόμεναι ἐληίζοντο τὰ τῶν Σκυθέων.

1 Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι τὸ πρῆγμα· οὔτε γὰρ φωνὴν οὔτε ἐσθῆτα οὔτε τὸ ἔθνος ἐγίνωσκον, ἀλλ' ἐν θώματι ἦσαν ὁκόθεν ἔλθοιεν, ἐδόκεον δ' αὐτὰς εἶναι ἄνδρας τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην ἔχοντας, μάχην τε δὴ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐποιεῦντο. ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης τῶν νεκρῶν ἐκράτησαν οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ οὕτω ἔγνωσαν ἐούσας γυναῖκας. 2 βουλευομένοισι ὧν αὐτοῖσι ἔδοξε κτείνειν μὲν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἔτι αὐτάς, ἐωυτῶν δὲ τοὺς νεωτάτους ἀποπέμψαι ἐς αὐτάς, πληθος εἰκάσαντας ὅσαι περ ἐκεῖναι ἦσαν τούτους δὲ στρατοπεδεύεσθαι πλησίον ἐκεινέων καὶ ποιέειν τὰ περ ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖναι ποιέωσι. ἦν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωσι, μάχεσθαι μὲν μὴ, ὑποφεύγειν δέ· ἐπεὰν δὲ παύσωνται, ἐλθόντας αὐτὶς πλησίον στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ταῦτα ἐβουλεύσαντο οἱ Σκύθαι βουλόμενοι ἐξ αὐτέων παῖδας ἐκγενήσεσθαι. ἀποπεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ νεηνίσκοι ἐποίεον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα.

1 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθον αὐτοὺς αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἐπ' οὐδεμιῇ δηλήσι ἀπιγμένους, ἔων χαίρειν· προσεχώρεον δὲ πλησιαιτέρῳ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπ' ἡμέρη ἐκάστη. εἶχον δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδ' οἱ νεηνίσκοι, ὥσπερ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους,

ἀλλὰ ζῶν ἔζων τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνησι, θηρεύοντές τε καὶ ληιζόμενοι.

113

¹ Ἐποίευν δὲ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἐς τὴν μεσαμβρίην τοιόνδε· ἐγίνοντο σποράδες κατὰ μίαν τε καὶ δύο, πρόσω δὴ ἀπ' ἀλληλέων ἐς εὐμαρείην ἀποσκιδνάμεναι. μαθόντες δὲ καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ἐποίευν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο. καὶ τις μουνωθείσέων τινὶ αὐτέων ἐνεχρίμπετο, ² καὶ ἡ Ἀμαζὼν οὐκ ἀπωθέετο ἀλλὰ περιεῖδε χρήσασθαι. καὶ φωνῆσαι μὲν οὐκ εἶχε, οὐ γὰρ συνέσαν ἀλλήλων, τῇ δὲ χειρὶ ἔφραζε ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἕτερον ἄγειν, σημαίνουσα δύο γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτὴ ἑτέραν ἄξειν. ³ ὁ δὲ νεηνίσκος, ἐπεὶ ἀπῆλθε, ἔλεξε ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς λοιπούς· τῇ δὲ δευτεραιῇ ἦλθε ἐς τὸ χωρίον αὐτός τε οὗτος καὶ ἕτερον ἦγε, καὶ τὴν Ἀμαζόνα εὗρε δευτέρην αὐτὴν ὑπομένουσαν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ νεηνίσκοι ὥς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκτιλώσαντο τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν Ἀμαζόνων.

114

¹ Μετὰ δὲ συμμίζαντες τὰ στρατόπεδα οἶκεον ὁμοῦ, γυναῖκα ἔχων ἕκαστος ταύτην τῇ τὸ πρῶτον συνεμίχθη. τὴν δὲ φωνὴν τὴν μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ἐδυνάετο μαθεῖν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἱ γυναῖκες συνέλαβον. ² ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆκαν ἀλλήλων, ἔλεξαν πρὸς τὰς Ἀμαζόνας τάδε οἱ ἄνδρες. “ἡμῖν εἰσὶ μὲν τοκέες, εἰσὶ δὲ κτήσιες· νῦν ὧν μηκέτι πλεῦνα χρόνον ζῶν τοιήνδε ἔχωμεν, ἀλλ' ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὸ πλῆθος διαιτώμεθα. γυναῖκας δὲ ἔξομεν ὑμέας καὶ οὐδαμὰς ἄλλας,,. αἱ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεξαν τάδε. ³ “ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα οἰκέειν μετὰ τῶν ὑμετερέων γυναικῶν· οὐ γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ νόμια ἡμῖν τε κάκεινησι ἐστί. ἡμεῖς μὲν τοξεύομεν τε καὶ ἀκοντίζομεν καὶ ἱππαζόμεθα, ἔργα δὲ γυναικῆα οὐκ ἐμάθομεν· αἱ δὲ ὑμέτεραι γυναῖκες τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν ἡμεῖς κατελέξαμεν ποιεῦσι, ἔργα δὲ γυναικῆα ἐργάζονται μένουσαι ἐν τῇσι ἀμάξεισι, οὗτ' ἐπὶ θήρην ἰοῦσαι οὔτε ἄλλῃ οὐδαμῇ. ⁴ οὐκ ἂν ὧν δυναίμεθα ἐκείνησι συμφέρεσθαι. ἀλλ' εἰ βούλεσθε γυναῖκας ἔχειν ἡμέας καὶ δοκέειν εἶναι δίκαιοι, ἐλθόντες παρὰ τοὺς τοκέας ἀπολάχετε τῶν κτημάτων τὸ μέρος, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντες οἰκώμεν ἐπὶ ἡμέων αὐτῶν,,. ἐπείθοντο καὶ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα οἱ νεηνίσκοι.

115

1 Ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀπολαχόντες τῶν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἦλθον ὀπίσω παρὰ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας, ἔλεξαν αἱ γυναῖκες πρὸς αὐτοὺς τάδε. 2 “ἡμέας ἔχει φόβος τε καὶ δέος ὅπως χρή οἰκέειν ἐν τῷδε τῷ χώρῳ, τοῦτο μὲν ὑμέας ἀποστερησάσας πατέρων, τοῦτο δὲ γῆν τὴν ὑμετέρην δηλησαμένας πολλά. 3 ἀλλ’ ἐπεῖτε ἀξιοῦτε ἡμέας γυναῖκας ἔχειν, τάδε ποιέετε ἅμα ἡμῖν· φέρετε ἐξαναστέωμεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῆσδε καὶ περήσαντες Τάναιν ποταμὸν οἰκώμεν.,,

116

1 Ἐπεῖθοντο καὶ ταῦτα οἱ νεηνίσκοι, διαβάντες δὲ τὸν Τάναϊν ὁδοιπόρεον πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα τριῶν μὲν ἡμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ Τανάιδος ὁδόν, τριῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος πρὸς βορρην ἄνεμον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χώρον ἐν τῷ νυν κατοίκηνται, οἰκησαν τοῦτον. 2 καὶ διαίτη ἀπὸ τούτου χρέωνται τῇ παλαιῇ τῶν Σαυροματέων αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἐπὶ θήρην ἐπ’ ἵππων ἐκφοιτῶσαι ἅμα τοῖσι ἀνδράσι καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ἐς πόλεμον φοιτῶσαι καὶ στολὴν τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι φορέουσαι.

117

1 Φωνῇ δὲ οἱ Σαυρομάται νομίζουσι Σκυθικῇ, σολοικίζοντες αὐτῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, ἐπεὶ οὐ χρηστῶς ἐξέμαθον αὐτὴν αἱ Ἀμαζόνες. τὰ περὶ γάμων δὲ ὧδέ σφι διακέεται. οὐ γαμέεται παρθένος οὐδεμία πρὶν ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ἄνδρα ἀποκτείνῃ· αἱ δὲ τινὲς αὐτέων καὶ τελευτῶσι γηραιαὶ πρὶν γήμασθαι, οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλῆσαι,

118

1 Ἐπὶ τούτων ὧν τῶν καταλεχθέντων ἐθνέων τοὺς βασιλέας ἀλισμένους ἀπικόμενος τῶν Σκυθέων οἱ ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον ἐκδιδάσκοντες ὡς ὁ Πέρσης, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῇ ἐτέρῃ πάντα κατέστραπται, γέφυραν ζεύξας ἐπὶ τῷ αὐχένι τοῦ Βοσπόρου διαβέβηκε ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡπειρον, διαβάς δὲ καὶ καταστρεψάμενος Θρήικας γεφυροὶ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον, βουλόμενος καὶ τάδε πάντα ὑπ’ ἐωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. 2 “ὑμεῖς ὧν μηδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι περιίδητε ἡμέας διαφθαρέντας, ἀλλὰ τῷντὸ νοήσαντες ἀντιάζωμεν τὸν ἐπιόντα. οὐκὼν ποιήσετε ταῦτα; ἡμεῖς μὲν πιεζόμενοι ἢ ἐκλείψομεν τὴν χώραν ἢ μένοντες ὁμολογίῃ

χρησόμεθα. 3 τί γὰρ πάθωμεν μὴ βουλομένων ὑμῶν τιμωρέειν; ὑμῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔσται ἐλαφρότερον. ἥκει γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπ' ὑμέας, οὐδέ οἱ καταχρήσει ἡμέας καταστρεψαμένῳ ὑμῶν ἀπέχεσθαι. 4 μέγα δὲ ὑμῖν λόγων τῶνδε μαρτύριον ἐρέομεν. εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' ἡμέας μούνους ἐστρατηλάτεε ὁ Πέρσης τίσασθαι τῆς πρόσθε δουλοσύνης βουλόμενος, χρῆν αὐτὸν πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεχόμενον ἵεναι οὕτω ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην, καὶ ἂν ἐδήλου πᾶσι ὥς ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐλαύνει καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. 5 νῦν δὲ ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα διέβη ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡπειρον, τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐμποδῶν γινομένους ἡμεροῦται πάντας· τοὺς τε δὴ ἄλλους ἔχει ὑπ' ἐαυτῷ Θρήικας καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἡμῖν ἐόντας πλησιοχώρους Γέτας,·.

119

1 Ταῦτα Σκυθέων ἐπαγγελιομένων ἐβουλευόντο οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνέων ἦκοντες, καὶ σφεων ἐσχίσθησαν αἱ γνώμαι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Γελωνὸς καὶ ὁ Βουδῖνος καὶ ὁ Σαυρομάτης κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ γινόμενοι ὑπεδέκοντο Σκύθησι τιμωρήσειν, ὁ δὲ Ἀγάθυρσος καὶ Νευρὸς καὶ Ἀνδροφάγος καὶ οἱ τῶν Μελαγχλαίνων καὶ Ταύρων τάδε Σκύθησι ὑπεκρίναντο. 2 “εἰ μὲν μὴ ὑμεῖς ἔατε οἱ πρότεροι ἀδικήσαντες Πέρσας καὶ ἄρξαντες πολέμου, τούτων δεόμενοι τῶν νῦν δέεσθε λέγειν τε ἂν ἐφαίνεσθε ἡμῖν ὀρθά, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπακούσαντες τὸ αὐτὸ ἂν ὑμῖν ἐπρήσσομεν. 3 νῦν δὲ ὑμεῖς τε ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων ἐσβαλόντες γῆν ἄνευ ἡμῶν ἐπεκρατέετε Περσέων ὅσον χρόνον ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς παρεδίδου, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, ἐπεὶ σφεας ὠντός θεὸς ἐγείρει, τὴν ὁμοίην ὑμῖν ἀποδίδουσι. 4 ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε τι τότε ἡδίκησαμεν τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους οὐδὲν οὔτε νῦν πρότεροι πειρησόμεθα ἀδικεῖν. ἦν μέντοι ἐπὶ καὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην ἄρξην τε ἀδικέων, καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐ πεισόμεθα, μέχρι δὲ τοῦτο ἴδωμεν, μενέομεν παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖσι· ἥκειν γὰρ δοκέομεν οὐκ ἐπ' ἡμέας Πέρσας ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀδικίης γενομένους,·.

120

1 Ταῦτα ὥς ἀπενειχθέντα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Σκύθαι, ἐβουλευόντο ἰθυμαχίην μὲν μηδεμίαν ποιέεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος, ὅτε δὴ σφι οὗτοι γε σύμμαχοι οὐ προσεγίνοντο, ὑπεξιόντες δὲ καὶ ὑπεξελαύνοντες τὰ φρέατα τὰ παρεξίονεν αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰς κρήνας συγχοῦν, τὴν ποίην τε ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκτρίβειν, διχοῦ σφέας διελόντες. 2 καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν μίαν

τῶν μοιρέων, τῆς ἐβασίλευε Σκώπασις, προσχωρέειν Σαυρομάτας·
τούτους μὲν δὴ ὑπάγειν, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τράπηται ὁ Πέρσης ἰθὺ
Τανάιδος ποταμοῦ παρὰ τὴν Μαιῆτιν λίμνην ὑποφεύγοντας,
ἀπελαύνοντος τε τοῦ Πέρσεω ἐπιόντας διώκειν. αὕτη μὲν σφι μία ἦν
μοῖρα τῆς βασιλῆϊς, τεταγμένη ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἥ περ εἴρηται· 3 τὰς
δὲ δύο τῶν βασιλῆϊων, τὴν τε μεγάλην τῆς ἥρχε Ἰδάνθурсος καὶ τὴν
τρίτην τῆς ἐβασίλευε Τάξαις, συνελθούσας ἐς τὸν καὶ Γελωνῶν
τε καὶ Βουδίνων προσγενομένων, ἡμέρης καὶ τούτους ὁδῶ
προέχοντας τῶν Περσέων ὑπεξάγειν, ὑπιόντας τε καὶ ποιεῦντας τὰ
βεβουλευμένα· 4 πρῶτα μὲν νυν ὑπάγειν σφέας ἰθὺ τῶν χωρέων τῶν
ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίην, ἵνα καὶ τούτους
ἐκπολεμώσωσι· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐκόντες γε ὑπέδυσαν τὸν πόλεμον τὸν
πρὸς Πέρσας, ἀλλ' ἀέκοντας ἐκπολεμώσειν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο
ὑποστρέφειν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἣν δὴ βουλευομένοισι
δοκῇ.

121

1 Ταῦτα οἱ Σκύθαι βουλευσάμενοι ὑπηγνίαζον τὴν Δαρείου
στρατιήν, προδρόμους ἀποστείλαντες τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἀρίστους. τὰς
δὲ ἀμάξας ἐν τῇσι σφι διαιτᾶτο τὰ τέκνα καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες πάσας καὶ
τὰ πρόβατα πάντα, πλὴν ὅσα σφι ἐς φορβὴν ἱκανὰ ἦν τοσαῦτα
ὑπολιπόμενοι, τὰ ἄλλα ἅμα τῇσι ἀμάξῃσι προέπεμψαν, ἐντειλάμενοι
αἰεὶ τὸ πρὸς βορέω ἐλαύνειν.

122

1 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ προεκομίζετο. τῶν δὲ Σκυθέων οἱ πρόδρομοι ὥς
εὗρον τοὺς Πέρσας ὅσον τε τριῶν ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπέχοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ
Ἰστρου, οὗτοι μὲν τούτους εὐρόντες, ἡμέρης ὁδῶ προέχοντες,
ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυόμενα λεαίνοντες, 2 οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι
ὥς εἶδον ἐπιφανεῖσαν τῶν Σκυθέων τὴν ἵππον, ἐπήισαν κατὰ στίβον
αἰεὶ ὑπαγόντων· καὶ ἔπειτα (πρὸς γὰρ τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρέων ἴθυσαν)
οἱ Πέρσαι ἐδίωκον πρὸς ἡῶ τε καὶ ἰθὺ Τανάιδος. 3 διαβάντων δὲ
τούτων τὸν Τάναιν ποταμὸν οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπιδιαβάντες ἐδίωκον, ἐς ὃ
τῶν Σαυροματέων τὴν χώραν διεξεληθόντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν τῶν
Βουδίνων.

123

¹ Ὅσον μὲν δὴ χρόνον οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν διὰ τῆς Σκυθικῆς καὶ τῆς Σαυρομάτιδος χώρας, οἱ δὲ εἶχον οὐδὲν σίνεσθαι ἄτε τῆς χώρας ἐούσης χέρσου· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων χώραν ἐσέβαλλον, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐντυχόντες τῷ ξυλίνῳ τείχεϊ, ἐκλελοιπότες τῶν Βουδίνων καὶ κεκενωμένου τοῦ τείχεος πάντων, ἐνέπρησαν αὐτό. ² τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες εἶποντο αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω κατὰ στίβον, ἐς ὃ διεξελθόντες ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἔρημον ἀπίκοντο. ἡ δὲ ἔρημος αὕτη ὑπὸ οὐδαμῶν νέμεται ἀνδρῶν, κέεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Βουδίνων χώρας ἐοῦσα πλῆθος ἐπὶ ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ. ³ ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἐρήμου Θυσσαγέται οἰκεῖουσιν, ποταμοὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τέσσερες μεγάλοι ῥέοντες διὰ Μαιητέων ἐκδιδοῦσιν ἐς τὴν λίμνην τὴν καλεομένην Μαιῆτιν, τοῖσι οὐνόματα κέεται τάδε, Λύκος Ὅαρος Τάναις Σύργις.

124

¹ Ἐπεὶ ὧν ὁ Δαρεῖος ἦλθε ἐς τὴν ἔρημον, παυσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου ἵδρυσεν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ὁάρῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ὁκτὼ τείχεα ἐτείχεε μεγάλα, ἴσον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντα, σταδίους ὡς ἐξήκοντα μάλιστα κη· τῶν ἑτὶ ἐς ἐμὲ τὰ ἐρείπια σόα ἦν. ² ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτος πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτράπετο, οἱ διωκόμενοι Σκύθαι περιελθόντες τὰ κατύπερθε ὑπέστρεφον ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν. ἀφανισθέντων δὲ τούτων τὸ παράπαν, ὡς οὐκέτι ἐφαντάζοντό σφι, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Δαρεῖος τείχεα μὲν ἐκεῖνα ἡμίεργα μετήκε, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποστρέψας ἦεν πρὸς ἐσπέρην, δοκέων τούτους τε πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας εἶναι καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην σφέας φεύγειν.

125

¹ Ἐλαύνων δὲ τὴν ταχίστην τὸν στρατὸν ὡς ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἀπίκετο, ἐνέκυρσε ἀμφοτέρησι τῇσι μοίρησι τῶν Σκυθέων, ἐντυχὼν δὲ ἐδίωκε ὑπεκφέροντας ἡμέρης ὁδῷ. ² καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει ἐπιὼν ὁ Δαρεῖος, οἱ Σκύθαι κατὰ τὰ βεβουλευμένα ὑπέφευγον ἐς τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίην, πρώτην δὲ ἐς τῶν Μελαγχλαίνων τὴν γῆν. ³ ὡς δὲ ἐσβαλόντες τούτους ἐτάραξαν οἱ τε Σκύθαι καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι, κατηγέοντο οἱ Σκύθαι ἐς τῶν Ἀνδροφάγων τοὺς χώρους· ταραχθέντων δὲ καὶ τούτων ὑπῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν Νευρίδα· ταρασσομένων δὲ καὶ τούτων ἦσαν ὑποφεύγοντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἐς τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους. ⁴ Ἀγαθύρσοι δὲ ὀρέοντες καὶ τοὺς ὁμούρους φεύγοντας ὑπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ τεταραγμένους, πρὶν ἢ σφι ἐμβαλεῖν τοὺς Σκύθας

πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἀπηγόρευον Σκύθησι μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν τῶν σφετέρων οὖρων, προλέγοντες ὡς εἰ πειρήσονται ἐσβαλόντες, σφίσι πρῶτα διαμαχήσονται. ⁵ Ἀγάθурсοι μὲν προείπαντες ταῦτα ἐβοήθειον ἐπὶ τοὺς οὖρους, ἐρύκειν ἐν νόφ' ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐπιόντας· Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ καὶ Ἀνδροφάγοι καὶ Νευροὶ ἐσβαλόντων τῶν Περσέων ἅμα Σκύθησι οὔτε πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο ἐπιλαθόμενοι τε τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἔφευγον αἰεὶ τὸ πρὸς βορέῳ ἐς τὴν ἔρημον τεταραγμένοι. ⁶ οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐς μὲν τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους οὐκέτι ἀπείπαντας ἀπικνέοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Νευρίδος χώρας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην κατηγέοντο τοῖσι Πέρσησι.

126

¹ Ὡς δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγίνετο καὶ οὐκ ἐπαύετο, πέμψας Δαρεῖος ἱπέα παρὰ τὸν Σκυθέων βασιλέα Ἰδάνθурсον ἔλεγε τάδε. “δαίμονιε ἀνδρῶν, τί φεύγεις αἰεὶ, ἐξέόν τοι τῶνδε τὰ ἕτερα ποιέειν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀξιοχρεὸς δοκέεις εἶναι σεωυτῷ τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι ἀντιωθῆναι, σὺ δὲ τάς τε καὶ παυσάμενος πλάνης μάχεσθαι· εἰ δὲ συγγινώσκειαι εἶναι ἥσσω, σὺ δὲ καὶ οὕτω παυσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου δεσπότη τῷ σῷ δῶρα φέρων γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐλθὲ ἐς λόγους,,.

127

¹ Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Σκυθέων βασιλεὺς Ἰδάνθурсος λέγει τάδε. “οὕτω τὸ ἐμὸν ἔχει, ὦ Πέρσα. ἐγὼ οὐδένα κω ἀνθρώπων δείσας ἔφυγον οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε νῦν σὲ φεύγω, οὐδέ τι νεώτερον εἰμὶ ποιήσας νῦν ἢ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐώθεα ποιέειν. ² ὅ τι δὲ οὐκ αὐτίκα μάχομαι τοι, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο σημανέω. ἡμῖν οὔτε ἄστεα οὔτε γῆ πεφυτευμένη ἐστί, τῶν πέρι δείσαντες μὴ ἀλῶ, ἢ καρῇ ταχύτερον ἂν ὑμῖν συμμίσγοιμεν ἐς μάχην. εἰ δὲ δέοι πάντως ἐς τοῦτο κατὰ τάχος ἀπικνέεσθαι, τυγχάνουσι ἡμῖν ἐόντες τάφοι πατρώιοι· ³ φέρετε, τούτους ἀνευρόντες συγγέειν πειρᾶσθε αὐτούς, καὶ γνώσεσθε τότε εἴτε ὑμῖν μαχησόμεθα περὶ τῶν τάφων εἴτε καὶ οὐ μαχησόμεθα. πρότερον δέ, ἦν μὴ ἡμέας λόγος αἰρέῃ, οὐ συμμίζομεν τοι. ⁴ ἀμφὶ μὲν μάχῃ τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω, δεσπότης δὲ ἐμοὺς ἐγὼ Δία τε νομίζω τὸν ἐμὸν πρόγονον καὶ Ἰστίην τὴν Σκυθέων βασιλείαν μούνους εἶναι. σοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν δώρων γῆς τε καὶ ὕδατος δῶρα πέμψω τοιαῦτα οἷα σοὶ πρέπει ἐλθεῖν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ὅτι δεσπότης ἔφησας εἶναι ἐμός, κλαίειν λέγω,,. τοῦτο ἐστί ἢ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ῥῆσις.

1 Ὁ μὲν δὴ κῆρυξ οἰχώκεε ἀγγελέων ταῦτα Δαρείῳ, οἱ δὲ Σκυθέων βασιλέες ἀκούσαντες τῆς δουλοσύνης τὸ οὐνομα ὀργῆς ἐπλήσθησαν.
 2 τὴν μὲν δὴ μετὰ Σαυροματέων μοῖραν ταχθεῖσαν, τῆς ἥρχε Σκώπασις, πέμπουσι Ἴωσι κελεύοντες ἐς λόγους ἀπικέσθαι, τούτοισι οἱ τὸν Ἴστρον ἐξευγμένον ἐφρούρεον· αὐτῶν δὲ τοῖσι ὑπολειπομένοισι ἔδοξε πλανᾶν μὲν μηκέτι Πέρσας, σῖτα δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἀναιρεομένοισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι. νομῶντες ὧν σῖτα ἀναιρεομένους τοὺς Δαρείου ἐποίειν τὰ βεβουλευμένα. 3 ἡ μὲν δὴ ἵππος τὴν ἵππον αἰεὶ τράπεσκε ἡ τῶν Σκυθέων, οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσέων ἱππῶται φεύγοντες ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τὸν πεζόν, ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ἂν ἐπεκούρεε· οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐσαράζαντες τὴν ἵππον ὑπέστρεφον τὸν πεζὸν φοβεόμενοι. ἐποιέοντο δὲ καὶ τὰς νύκτας παραπλησίας προσβολὰς οἱ Σκύθαι.

1 Τὸ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι τε ἦν σύμμαχον καὶ τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἀντίζοον ἐπιτιθεμένοισι τῷ Δαρείου στρατοπέδῳ, θῶμα μέγιστον ἐρέω, τῶν τε ὄνων ἢ φωνῇ καὶ τῶν ἡμιόνων τὸ εἶδος. 2 οὔτε γὰρ ὄνον οὔτε ἡμίονον γῇ ἢ Σκυθικῇ φέρει, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, οὐδὲ ἔστι ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ πάσῃ χώρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὔτε ὄνος οὔτε ἡμίονος διὰ τὰ ψύχρα. ὑβρίζοντες ὧν οἱ ὄνοι ἐτάρασσον τὴν ἵππον τῶν Σκυθέων. 3 πολλάκις δὲ ἐπελαυνόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας μεταξὺ ὅπως ἀκούσειαν οἱ ἵπποι τῶν ὄνων τῆς φωνῆς, ἐταράσσοντο τε ὑποστρεφόμενοι καὶ ἐν θώματι ἔσκον, ὀρθὰ ἰστάντες τὰ ὦτα, ἅτε οὔτε ἀκούσαντες πρότερον φωνῆς τοιαύτης οὔτε ἰδόντες τὸ εἶδος.

1 Ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐπὶ σμικρόν τι ἐφέροντο τοῦ πολέμου. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ὅπως τοὺς Πέρσας ἴδοιεν τεθορυβημένους, ἵνα παραμένοιεν τε ἐπὶ πλέω χρόνον ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ καὶ παραμένοντες ἀνιώατο τῶν πάντων ἐπιδευέες ἐόντες, ἐποίειν τοιάδε· ὅπως τῶν προβάτων τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν καταλίποιεν μετὰ τῶν νομέων, αὐτοὶ ἂν ὑπεξήλαινον ἐς ἄλλον χώρον. οἱ δὲ ἂν Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες λάβεσκον τὰ πρόβατα καὶ λαβόντες ἐπηείροντο ἂν τῷ πεπονημένῳ.

1 Πολλάκις δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου, τέλος Δαρεῖος τε ἐν ἀπορίῃσι

εἶχετο, καὶ οἱ Σκυθέων βασιλέες μαθόντες τοῦτο ἔπεμπον κήρυκα δῶρα Δαρείῳ φέροντα ὄρνιθά τε καὶ μῦν καὶ βάτραχον καὶ οἰστοὺς πέντε. 2 Πέρσαι δὲ τὸν φέροντα τὰ δῶρα ἐπειρώτεον τὸν νόον τῶν διδομένων. ὁ δὲ οὐδέν. ἔφη οἱ ἐπεστάλθαι ἄλλο ἢ δόντα τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι· αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκέλευε, εἰ σοφοὶ εἴσι, γνῶναι τὸ θέλει τὰ δῶρα λέγειν.

132

1 Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Πέρσαι ἐβουλεύοντο. Δαρείου μὲν νυν ἡ γνώμη ἦν Σκύθας ἐωυτῷ διδόναι σφέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, εἰκάζων τῇδε, ὥς μῦς μὲν ἐν γῇ γίνεται καρπὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ σιτεόμενος, βάτραχος δὲ ἐν ὕδατι, ὄρνις δὲ μάλιστα ἔοικε ἵπῳ, τοὺς δὲ οἰστοὺς ὥς τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἀλκὴν παραδιδούσι. 2 αὕτη μὲν Δαρείῳ ἀπεδέδεκτο ἡ γνώμη. συνεστήκεε δὲ ταύτη τῇ γνώμῃ ἡ Γοβρύεω, τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐνὸς τῶν τὸν Μάγον κατελόντων, εἰκάζοντος τὰ δῶρα λέγειν 3 “ἦν μὴ ὄρνιθες γενόμενοι ἀναπτῆσθε ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὦ Πέρσαι, ἢ μύες γενόμενοι κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύητε, ἢ βάτραχοι γενόμενοι ἐς τὰς λίμνας ἐσπηδήσητε, οὐκ ἀπονοστήσετε ὀπίσω ὑπὸ τῶνδε τῶν τοξευμάτων βαλλόμενοι,·.

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1 Πέρσαι μὲν δὴ τὰ δῶρα εἵκαζον. ἡ δὲ Σκυθέων μία μοῖρα ἡ ταχθεῖσα πρότερον μὲν παρὰ τὴν Μαιῆτιν λίμνην φρουρέειν, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρὸν Ἰῶσι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν, ὥς ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, ἔλεγε τάδε. 2 “ἄνδρες Ἰῶνες, ἐλευθερίην ἤκομεν ὑμῖν φέροντες, ἦν πέρ γε ἐθέλητε ἐσακούειν. πυνθανόμεθα γὰρ Δαρεῖον ἐντείλασθαι ὑμῖν ἐξήκοντα ἡμέρας μούνας φρουρήσαντας τὴν γέφυραν, αὐτοῦ μὴ παραγενομένου ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην. 3 νῦν ὧν ὑμεῖς τάδε πολεῦντες ἐκτὸς μὲν ἔσεσθε πρὸς ἐκείνου αἰτίης, ἐκτὸς δὲ πρὸς ἡμέων· τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας παραμείναντες τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀπαλλάσσεσθε,·. οὗτοι μὲν νυν ὑποδεξαμένων Ἰώνων ποιήσιν ταῦτα ὀπίσω τὴν ταχίστην ἐπείγοντο.

134

1 Πέρσῃσι δὲ μετὰ τὰ δῶρα ἐλθόντα Δαρείῳ ἀντετάχθησαν οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες Σκύθαι πεζῷ καὶ ἵπποισι ὥς συμβαλέοντες. τεταγμένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Σκύθησι λαγὸς ἐς τὸ μέσον διήϊξε. τῶν δὲ ὥς

ἕκαστοι ὥρων τὸν λαγὸν ἐδίωκον. ταραχθέντων δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων καὶ βοῇ χρεωμένων, εἶρετο ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων τὸν θόρυβον· πυθόμενος δὲ σφέας τὸν λαγὸν διώκοντας, εἶπε ἄρα πρὸς τοὺς περ ἐώθεε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα λέγειν ² “οὗτοι ὧνδρες ἡμέων πολλὸν καταφρονέουσι, καὶ μοι νῦν φαίνεται Γοβρύης εἶπαι περὶ τῶν Σκυθικῶν δώρων ὀρθῶς. ὡς ὧν οὕτω ἤδη δοκεόντων καὶ αὐτῷ μοι ἔχειν, βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς δεῖ, ὅπως ἀσφαλέως ἢ κομιδῇ ἡμῖν ἔσται τὸ ὀπίσω,,. πρὸς ταῦτα Γοβρύης εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ σχεδὸν μὲν καὶ λόγῳ ἠπιστάμην τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ἀπορίην, ἐλθὼν δὲ μᾶλλον ἐξέμαθον, ὁρέων αὐτοὺς ἐμπαίζοντας ἡμῖν. ³ νῦν ὧν μοι δοκεῖ, ἐπεὰν τάχιστα νῦξ ἐπέλθῃ, ἐκκαύσαντας τὰ πυρὰ ὡς ἐώθαμεν καὶ ἄλλοτε ποιέειν, τῶν στρατιωτέων τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους ἐς τὰς τालαιπωρίας ἐξαπατήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ὄνους πάντας καταδήσαντας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ἰθῦσαι Σκύθας λύσοντας τὴν γέφυραν, ἢ καὶ τι Ἴωσι δόξας τὸ ἡμέας οἶον τε ἔσται ἐξεργάσασθαι,,.

135

¹ Γοβρύης μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευε. μετὰ δὲ νύξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ Δαρεῖος ἐχρᾶτο τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ· τοὺς μὲν καματηροὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ἦν ἐλάχιστος ἀπολλυμένων λόγος, καὶ τοὺς ὄνους πάντας καταδήσας κατέλιπε αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ² κατέλιπε δὲ τοὺς τε ὄνους καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενέας τῆς στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα οἱ μὲν ὄνοι βοὴν παρέχωνται· οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἀσθενεῖς μὲν εἵνεκεν κατελείποντο, προφάσιος δὲ τῆσδε δηλαδή, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν σὺν τῷ καθαρῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπιθήσεσθαι μέλλοι τοῖσι Σκύθησι, οὗτοι δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ῥυοῖατο. ³ ταῦτα τοῖσι ὑπολειπόμενοισι ὑποθέμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ πυρὰ ἐκκαύσας τὴν ταχίστην ἐπέειπε ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον. οἱ δὲ ὄνοι ἐρημωθέντες τοῦ ὁμίλου οὕτω δὴ μᾶλλον πολλῷ ἴεσαν τῆς φωνῆς· ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι τῶν ὄνων πάγχυ κατὰ χώραν ἠλπιζον τοὺς Πέρσας εἶναι.

136

¹ Ἡμέρης δὲ γενομένης γνόντες οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες ὡς προδομένοι εἶεν ὑπὸ Δαρείου, χεῖράς τε προετείνοντο τοῖσι Σκύθησι καὶ ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα· οἱ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα τὴν ταχίστην συστραφέντες, αἱ τε δύο μοῖραι τῶν Σκυθέων καὶ ἡ μία καὶ

Σαυρομάται καὶ Βουδῖνοι καὶ Γελωνοί, ἐδίωκον τοὺς Πέρσας ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἰστρου. 2 ἅτε δὲ τοῦ Περσικοῦ μὲν τοῦ πολλοῦ ἐόντος πεζοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς οὐκ ἐπισταμένου, ὥστε οὐ τετμημενέων τῶν ὁδῶν, τοῦ δὲ Σκυθικοῦ ἰππότεω καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐπισταμένου, ἀμαρτόντες ἀλλήλων, ἔφθησαν πολλῶ οἱ Σκύθαι τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἀπικόμενοι. 3 μαθόντες δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας οὐκῶ ἀπιγμένους ἔλεγον πρὸς τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐόντας ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ “ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, αἱ τε ἡμέραι ὑμῖν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ διοίχονται καὶ οὐ ποίετε δίκαια ἔτι παραμένοντες. 4 ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ πρότερον δειμαίνοντες ἐμένετε, νῦν λύσαντες τὸν πόρον τὴν ταχίστην ἅπιτε χαίροντες ἐλεύθεροι, θεοῖσί τε καὶ Σκύθησι εἰδότες χάριν. τὸν δὲ πρότερον ἐόντα ὑμέων δεσπότην ἡμεῖς παραστησόμεθα οὕτω ὥστε ἐπὶ μηδαμὸς ἔτι ἀνθρώπους αὐτὸν στρατεύσασθαι,.

137

1 Πρὸς ταῦτα Ἴωνες ἐβουλεύοντο. Μιλτιάδεω μὲν τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, στρατηγέοντος καὶ τυραννεύοντος Χερσονησιτέων τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, ἣν γνώμη πείθεσθαι Σκύθησι καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν Ἰωνίην, 2 Ἰστιαίου δὲ τοῦ Μιλησίου ἐναντίη ταύτῃ, λέγοντος ὡς νῦν μὲν διὰ Δαρεῖον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τυραννεύει πόλις· τῆς Δαρείου δὲ δυνάμιος καταيرهθείσης οὔτε αὐτὸς Μιλησίων οἶος τε ἔσσεσθαι ἄρχειν οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα οὐδαμῶν· βουλήσεσθαι γὰρ ἐκάστην τῶν πολιῶν δημοκρατέεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννεύεσθαι. 3 Ἰστιαίου δὲ γνώμην ταύτην ἀποδεικνυμένου αὐτίκα πάντες ἦσαν τετραμμένοι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν γνώμην, πρότερον τὴν Μιλτιάδεω αἰρεόμενοι.

138

1 Ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι οἱ διαφέροντές τε τὴν ψῆφον καὶ ἐόντες λόγου πρὸς βασιλέος, Ἑλλησποντίων μὲν τύραννοι Δάφνης τε Ἀβυδηνὸς καὶ Ἴπποκλος Λαμψακηνὸς καὶ Ἡρόφαντος Παρινηνὸς καὶ Μητροδωρος Προκοννήσιος καὶ Ἀρισταγόρης Κυζικηνὸς καὶ Ἀρίστων Βυζάντιος. 2 οὗτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἀπ’ Ἰωνίης δὲ Στράτις τε Χῖος καὶ Αἰάκης Σάμιος καὶ Λαοδάμας Φωκαεὺς καὶ Ἰστιαῖος Μιλήσιος, τοῦ ἣν γνώμη ἢ προκειμένη ἐναντίη τῇ Μιλτιάδεω. Αἰολέων δὲ παρῆν λόγιμος μόνος Ἀρισταγόρης, Κυμαῖος.

139

1 Οὗτοι ὦν ἐπεῖτε τὴν Ἰστιαίου αἰρέοντο γνώμην, ἔδοξε σφι πρὸς ταύτῃ τάδε ἔργα τε καὶ ἔπεα προσθεῖναι, τῆς μὲν γεφύρης λύειν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σκύθας ἐόντα, λύειν δὲ ὅσον τόξευμα ἐξικνέεται, ἵνα καὶ ποιέειν τι δοκέωσι ποιεῦντες μηδὲν καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι μὴ πειρώατο βιώμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι διαβῆναι τὸν Ἰστρον κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν, εἰπεῖν τε λύοντας τῆς γεφύρης τὸ ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἔχον ὡς πάντα ποιήσουσι τὰ Σκύθησι ἐστὶ ἐν ἡδονῇ. 2 ταῦτα μὲν προσέθηκαν τῇ γνώμῃ. μετὰ δὲ ἐκ πάντων ὑπεκρίνατο Ἰστιαῖος τάδε λέγων. Ἄνδρες Σκύθαι, χρηστὰ ἤκετε φέροντες καὶ ἐς καιρὸν, ἐπείγεσθε· καὶ τά τε ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν, χρηστῶς ὁδοῦται καὶ τὰ ἀπ' ἡμέων ἐς ὑμέας ἐπιτηδέως ὑπηρετέεται. ὥς γὰρ ὁρᾶτε, καὶ λύομεν τὸν πόρον καὶ προθυμίην πᾶσαν ἔχομεν θέλοντες εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι. 3 ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡμεῖς τάδε λύομεν, ὑμέας καιρὸς ἐστὶ δίξισθαι ἐκείνους, εὐρόντας δὲ ὑπὲρ τε ἡμέων καὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν τίσασθαι οὕτω ὡς κείνους πρέπει,.

140

1 Σκύθαι μὲν τὸ δεύτερον Ἵωσι πιστεύσαντες λέγειν ἀληθέα ὑπέστρεφον ἐπὶ ζήτησιν τῶν Περσέων, καὶ ἡμάρτανον πάσης τῆς ἐκείνων διεξόδου. αἴτιοι δὲ τούτου αὐτοὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ἐγένοντο, τὰς νομὰς τῶν ἵππων τὰς ταύτῃ διαφθείραντες καὶ τὰ ὕδατα συγχώσαντες. 2 εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα μὴ ἐποίησαν, παρεῖχε ἂν σφι, εἰ ἐβούλοντο, εὐπετέως ἐξευρεῖν τοὺς Πέρσας. νῦν δὲ τά σφι ἐδόκεε ἄριστα βεβουλευσθαι, κατὰ ταῦτα ἐσφάλησαν. 3 Σκύθαι μὲν νυν τῆς σφετέρης χώρας τῇ χλὸς τε τοῖσι ἵπποισι καὶ ὕδατα ἦν, ταύτῃ διεξιόντες ἐδίζηντο τοὺς ἀντιπολεμίους, δοκέοντες καὶ ἐκείνους διὰ τοιούτων τὴν ἀπόδρησιν ποιέεσθαι. οἱ δὲ δὴ Πέρσαι τὸν πρότερον ἐωυτῶν γενόμενον στίβον, τοῦτον φυλάσσοντες ἦσαν, καὶ οὕτω μόγις εὗρον τὸν πόρον. 4 οἷα δὲ νυκτὸς τε ἀπικόμενοι καὶ λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρης ἐντυχόντες, ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρώδιην ἀπίκοντο μὴ σφεας οἱ Ἵωνες ἔωσι ἀπολελοιπότες.

141

1 Ἦν δὲ περὶ Δαρεῖον ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος φωνέων μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων· τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα καταστάντα ἐπὶ τοῦ χεῖλεος τῷ Ἵστρου ἐκέλευε Δαρεῖος καλέειν Ἰστιαῖον Μιλήσιον. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐποίεε ταῦτα, Ἰστιαῖος δὲ ἐπακούσας τῷ πρώτῳ κελεύσματι τὰς τε νέας ἀπάσας παρεῖχε διαπορθμεύειν τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἔξευξε.

¹ Πέρσαι μὲν ὧν οὕτω ἐκφεύγουσι Σκύθαι δὲ διζήμενοι καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἡμαρτον τῶν Περσέων, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὡς ἐόντας Ἴωνας ἐλευθέρους κακίστους τε καὶ ἀνανδροτάτους κρίνουσι εἶναι πάντων ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο δέ, ὡς δούλων ἐόντων τὸν λόγον ποιεύμενοι, ἀνδράποδα φιλοδέσποτα φασὶ εἶναι καὶ ἄδρηστα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Σκύθησι ἐς Ἴωνας ἀπέρριπται.

¹ Δαρεῖος δὲ διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης πορευόμενος ἀπίκητο ἐς Σηστὸν τῆς Χερσονήσου. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν διέβη τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λείπει δὲ στρατηγὸν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Μεγάβαζον ἄνδρα Πέρσην· τῷ Δαρεῖος κοτὲ ἔδωκε γέρας, τοιόνδε εἶπας ἐν Πέρσῃσι ἔπος. ² ὀρμημένου Δαρείου ροιᾶς τρώγειν, ὡς ἄνοιξε τάχιστα τὴν πρώτην τῶν ροιέων, εἶρετο αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφεὸς Ἀρτάβανος ὃ τι βούλοιτ' ἂν οἱ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος γενέσθαι ὅσοι ἐν τῇ ροιῇ κόκκοι· Δαρεῖος δὲ εἶπε Μεγαβάζους ἂν οἱ τοσούτους ἀριθμὸν γενέσθαι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπήκοον. ³ ἐν μὲν δὴ Πέρσῃσι ταῦτά μιν εἶπας ἐτίμα, τότε δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπέλιπε στρατηγὸν ἔχοντα τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ὀκτὼ μυριάδας.

¹ Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Μεγάβαζος εἶπας τόδε τὸ ἔπος ἐλίπετο ἀθάνατον μνήμην πρὸς Ἑλλησποντίων. ² γενόμενος γὰρ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπύθετο ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτεσι πρότερον Καλχηδονίους κτίσαντας τὴν χώραν Βυζαντίων, πυθόμενος δὲ ἔφη Καλχηδονίους τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυγχάνειν ἐόντας τυφλοὺς· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦ καλλίονος παρεόντος κτίζεε χώραν τὸν αἰσχίονα ἐλέσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἦσαν τυφλοί. ³ οὗτος δὴ ὧν τότε ὁ Μεγάβαζος στρατηγὸς λειφθεὶς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ Ἑλλησποντίων τοὺς μὴ μηδίζοντας κατεστρέφετο.

¹ Οὗτος μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔπραττε. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον χρόνον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Λιβύῃν ἄλλος στρατιῆς μέγας στόλος, διὰ πρόφασιν τὴν ἐγὼ ἀπηγγήσομαι προδιηγησάμενος πρότερον τάδε. ² τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐπιβατέων παίδων παῖδες ἐξελασθέντες ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν τῶν ἐκ Βραυρῶνος ληισαμένων τὰς Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας, ὑπὸ τούτων

ἐξελασθέντες ἐκ, Λήμνου οἷχοντο πλέοντες ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, ἰζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Τηϋγέτῳ πῦρ ἀνέκαιον. ³ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἰδόντες ἄγγελον ἔπεμπον πεισόμενοι τίνες τε καὶ ὁκόθεν εἰσί· οἱ δὲ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ εἰρωτῶντι ἔλεγον ὥς εἶησαν μὲν Μινύαι, παῖδες δὲ εἶεν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ πλεόντων ἡρώων, προσσχόντας δὲ τούτους ἐς Λήμνον φυτεῦσαι σφέας. ⁴ οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκηκοότες τὸν λόγον τῆς γενεῆς τῶν Μινυέων, πέμψαντες τὸ δεύτερον εἰρώτων τί θέλοντες ἥκοιέν τε ἐς τὴν χώραν καὶ πῦρ αἶθοιεν. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ἐκβληθέντες ἥκειν ἐς τοὺς πατέρας· δικαιοτάτον γὰρ εἶναι οὕτω τοῦτο γίνεσθαι. δέεσθαι δὲ οἰκέειν ἅμα τούτοισι μοῖράν τε τιμέων μετέχοντες καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπολαχόντες. ⁵ Λακεδαιμονίοισι δὲ ἔαδε δέκεσθαι τοὺς Μινύας ἐπ' οἷσι θέλουσι αὐτοί. μάλιστα δὲ ἐνῆγε σφέας ὥστε ποιέειν ταῦτα τῶν Τυνδαριδέων ἡ ναυτιλὴ ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ. δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μινύας γῆς τε μετέδοσαν καὶ ἐς φυλὰς διεδάσαντο. οἱ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν γάμους ἔγμαν, τὰς δὲ ἐκ Λήμνου ἦγοντο ἐξέδοσαν ἄλλοισι.

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¹ Χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διεξελθόντος αὐτίκα οἱ Μινύαι ἐξύβρισαν, τῆς τε βασιληΐης μεταιτέοντες καὶ ἄλλα ποιέοντες οὐκ ὅσια. ² τοῖσι ὦν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἔδοξε αὐτοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι, συλλαβόντες δὲ σφέας κατέβαλον ἐς ἐρκτὴν. κτείνουσι δὲ τοὺς ἄν κτείνωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι νυκτός, μετ' ἡμέρην δὲ οὐδένα. ³ ἐπεὶ ὦν ἔμελλον σφέας καταχρήσασθαι, παραιτήσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Μινυέων, ἐοῦσαι ἀσταί τε καὶ τῶν πρώτων Σπαρτιητέων θυγατέρες, ἐσελθεῖν τε ἐς τὴν ἐρκτὴν καὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν ἐκάστη τῷ ἐωυτῆς ἀνδρί. οἱ δὲ σφέας παρήκαν, οὐδένα δόλον δοκέοντες ἐξ αὐτέων ἔσεσθαι. ⁴ αἱ δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἐσῆλθον, ποιέουσι τοιάδε· πᾶσαν τὴν εἶχον ἐσθῆτα παραδοῦσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι αὐταὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔλαβον, οἱ δὲ Μινύαι ἐνδύντες τὴν γυναικὴν ἐσθῆτα ἅτε γυναῖκες ἐξήσαν ἔξω, ἐκφυγόντες δὲ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἵζοντο αὖτις ἐς τὸ Τηϋγέτον.

147

¹ Τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον Θήρας ὁ Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνεΐκεος ἔστελλε ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος· ² ἦν δὲ ὁ Θήρας οὗτος, γένος ἐὼν Καδμεΐος, τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφεὸς τοῖσι Ἀριστοδήμου παισὶ Εὐρυσθένει καὶ Προκλέε.

έόντων δὲ ἔτι τῶν παίδων τούτων νηπίων ἐπιτροπαίην εἶχε ὁ Θήρας τὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιληίην. ³ αὐξηθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀδελφιδέων καὶ παραλαβόντων τὴν ἀρχήν, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Θήρας δεινὸν ποιεύμενος ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπεῖτε ἐγεύσατο ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἔφη μένειν ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι ἀλλ' ἀποπλεύσεσθαι ἐς τοὺς συγγενέας. ⁴ ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ νῦν Θήρῃ καλεομένη νήσῳ, πρότερον δὲ Καλλίστῃ τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ, ἀπόγονοι Μεμβλιάρου τοῦ Ποικίλειω ἀνδρὸς Φοῖνικος. Κάδμος γὰρ ὁ Ἀγήνορος Εὐρώπῃν διζήμενος προσέσχε ἐς τὴν νῦν Θήρην καλεομένην· προσσχόντι δὲ εἶτε δὴ οἱ ἡ χώρα ἤρесе, εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι τοῦτο· καταλείπει γὰρ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ ἄλλους τε τῶν Φοινίκων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἐωυτοῦ συγγενέων Μεμβλίारον. ⁵ οὗτοι ἐνέμοντο τὴν Καλλίστην καλεομένην ἐπὶ γενεάς, πρὶν ἢ Θήραν ἐλθεῖν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, ὁκτῶ ἀνδρῶν.

148

¹ Ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ ὧν ὁ Θήρας λεὼν ἔχων ἀπὸ τῶν φυλέων ἔστελλε, συνοικήσων τούτοισι καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐξελῶν αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ κάρτα οἰκηιούμενος. ² ἐπεῖτε δὲ καὶ οἱ Μινύαι ἐκδράντες ἐκ τῆς ἐρκτῆς ἴζοντο ἐς τὸ Τηϋγετον, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βουλευομένων σφέας ἀπολλύναι παραιτέεται ὁ Θήρας, ὅπως μήτε φόνος γένηται, αὐτὸς τε ὑπεδέκετο σφέας ἐξάξειν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. ³ συγχωρησάντων δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, τρισὶ τριηκοντέροισι ἐς τοὺς Μεμβλιάρου ἀπογόνους ἔπλωσε, οὗτι πάντας ἄγων τοὺς Μινύας ἀλλ' ὀλίγους τινάς. ⁴ οἱ γὰρ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν ἐτράποντο ἐς τοὺς Παρωρεάτας καὶ Καύκωνας, τούτους δὲ ἐξελάσαντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἐξ μοίρας διεῖλον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἔκτισαν πόλιος τάσδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι, Λέπρεον Μάκιστον Φρίζας Πύργον Ἐπιον Νούδιον. τουτέων δὲ τὰς πλεῦνας ἐπ' ἐμέο Ἥλειοι ἐπόρθησαν. τῇ δὲ νήσῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκιστέω Θήρα ἢ ἐπωνυμίῃ ἐγένετο.

149

¹ Ὁ δὲ παῖς οὐ γὰρ ἔφη οἱ συμπλεύσεσθαι, τοιγαρῶν ἔφη αὐτὸν καταλείψειν ὅιν ἐν λύκοισι. ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔπεος τούτου οὖνομα τῷ νεηνίσκῳ τούτῳ Οἰόλυκος ἐγένετο, καὶ κως τὸ οὖνομα τοῦτο ἐπεκράτησε. Οἰολύκου δὲ γίνεται Αἰγεύς, ἐπ' οὗ Αἰγεῖδαι καλέονται φυλὴ μεγάλη ἐν Σπάρτῃ. ² τοῖσι δὲ ἐν τῇ φυλῇ ταύτῃ ἀνδράσι οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν τὰ τέκνα, ἰδρύσαντο ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἐρινύων τῶν Λαΐου

τε καὶ Οἰδιπόδεω ἱρόν· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὑπέμειναν.... τὸν τοῦτο καὶ ἐν Θήῃ τοῖσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων γεγονόσι.

150

¹ Μέχρι μὲν νυν τούτου τοῦ λόγου Λακεδαιμόνιοι Θηραίοισι κατὰ ταῦτα λέγουσι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μοῦνοι Θηραῖοι ὧδε γενέσθαι λέγουσι. ² Γρῖννος ὁ Αἰσανίου ἐὼν Ψήρα τούτου ἀπόγονος καὶ βασιλεύων Θήρης τῆς νήσου ἀπῆκετο ἐς Δελφούς, ἄγων ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐκατόμβην· εἶποντο δὲ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν πολιητέων καὶ δὴ καὶ Βάττος ὁ Πολυμνήστου, ἐὼν γένος Εὐφημίδης τῶν Μινυέων. ³ χρεωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Γρίνῳ τῷ, βασιλεί τῶν Θηραίων περὶ ἄλλων χρᾶ ἢ Πυθίη κτίζειν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλιν. ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων “ἐγὼ μὲν ὧναξ πρεσβύτερός τε ἤδη εἰμὶ καὶ βαρὺς ἀείρεσθαι· σὺ δὲ τινὰ τῶνδε τῶν νεωτέρων κέλευε ταῦτα ποιεῖν,, ἅμα τε ἔλεγε ταῦτα καὶ ἐδείκνυε ἐς τὸν Βάττον. ⁴ τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα. μετὰ δὲ ἀπελθόντες ἀλογίην εἶχον τοῦ χρηστηρίου, οὔτε Λιβύην εἰδότες ὅκου γῆς εἴη οὔτε τολμῶντες ἐς ἀφανὲς χρῆμα ἀποστέλλειν ἀποικίην.

151

¹ Ἐπτα δὲ ἐτέων μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ὕε τὴν Θήρην, ἐν τοῖσι τὰ δένδρεα πάντα σφι τὰ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πλὴν ἐνὸς ἐξαυάνθη. χρεωμένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Θηραίοισι προέφερε ἢ Πυθίη τὴν ἐς Λιβύην ἀποικίην. ² ἐπεῖτε δὲ κακοῦ οὐδὲν ἦν σφι μῆχος, πέμπουσι ἐς Κρήτην ἀγγέλους διζημένους εἴ τις Κρητῶν ἢ μετοίκων ἀπιγμένος εἴη ἐς Λιβύην. περιπλανώμενοι δὲ αὐτὴν οὗτοι ἀπῆκοντο καὶ ἐς Ἴτανον πόλιν, ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ συμμίσγουσι ἀνδρὶ πορφυρέϊ τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Κορώβιος, ὃς ἔφη ὑπ’ ἀνέμων ἀπενειχθεὶς ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Λιβύην καὶ Λιβύης ἐς Πλατέαν νήσον. ³ μισθῷ, δὲ τοῦτον πείσαντες ἦγον ἐς Θήρην, ἐκ δὲ Θήρης ἔπλεον κατάσκοποι ἄνδρες τὰ πρῶτα οὐ πολλοί· κατηγορησαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κορωβίου ἐς τὴν νήσον ταύτην δὴ τὴν Πλατέαν, τὸν μὲν Κορώβιον λείπουσι, σιτία καταλιπόντες ὅσων δὴ μηνῶν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἔπλεον τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαγγελέοντες Θηραίοισι περὶ τῆς νήσου.

152

¹ Ἀποδημεόντων δὲ τούτων πλέω χρόνον τοῦ συγκειμένου τὸν Κορώβιον ἐπέλιπε τὰ πάντα, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα νηὺς Σαμίη, τῆς

ναύκληρος ἦν Κωλαῖος, πλέουσα ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπηνείχθη ἐς τὴν Πλατέαν ταύτην· πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Σάμιοι παρὰ τοῦ Κορωβίου τὸν πάντα λόγον, σιτία οἱ ἐνιαυτοῦ καταλείπουσι. ² αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀναχθέντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου καὶ γλιχόμενοι Αἰγύπτου ἐπλεον, ἀποφερόμενοι ἀπηλιώτη ἀνέμῳ· καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει τὸ πνεῦμα, Ἑρακλέας στήλας διεκπερήσαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ταρτησσόν, θείῃ πομπῇ χρεώμενοι. ³ τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον τοῦτο ἦν ἀκήρατον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ὥστε ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι ὀπίσω μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκείην ἴδμεν ἐκ φορτίων ἐκέρδησαν, μετὰ γε Σώστρατον τὸν Λαοδάμαντος Αἰγινήτην· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐκ οἶά τε ἐστὶ ἐρίσαι ἄλλον. ⁴ οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐπικερδίων ἐξελόντες ἕξ τάλαντα ἐποιήσαντο χαλκήιον κρητῆρος Ἀργολικοῦ τρόπον· περίξ δὲ αὐτοῦ γρυπῶν κεφαλαι πρόκροσσοι/ εἰσι. καὶ ἀνέθηκαν ἐς τὸ Ἑρραϊον, ὑποστήσαντες αὐτῷ τρεῖς χαλκέους κολοσσούς ἐπταπῆχας τοῖσι γούνασι ἐρηρυσμένους. ⁵ Κυρηναίοισι δὲ καὶ Θηραίοισι ἐς Σαμίους ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου πρῶτα φιλῖαι μεγάλαι συνεκρήθησαν.

153

¹ Οἱ δὲ Θηραῖοι ἐπέιτε τὸν Κορώβιον λιπόντες ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Θήρην, ἀπήγγελλον ὥς σφι εἴη νῆσος ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ ἐκτισμένη. Θηραίοισι δὲ ἔαδε ἀδελφεόν τε ἀπ' ἀδελφεοῦ πέμπειν πάλῳ λαγχάνοντα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν χώρων ἀπάντων ἐπὶ ἐόντων ἄνδρας, εἶναι δὲ σφέων καὶ ἡγεμόνα καὶ βασιλέα Βάττον. οὕτω δὲ στέλλουσι δύο πεντηκόντερος ἐς τὴν Πλατέαν.

154

¹ Ταῦτα δὲ Θηραῖοι λέγουσι, τὰ δ' ἐπίλοιπα τοῦ λόγου συμφέρονται ἤδη Θηραῖοι Κυρηναίοισι. Κυρηναῖοι γὰρ τὰ περὶ Βάττον οὐδαμῶς ὁμολογεῖν Θηραίοισι λέγουσι γὰρ οὕτω. ἔστι τῆς Κρήτης Ὁαξὸς πόλις, ἐν τῇ ἐγένετο Ἐτέαρχος βασιλεύς, ὃς ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ ἀμήτορι τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Φρονίμη, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἔγημε ἄλλην γυναῖκα. ² ἡ δὲ ἐπεσελθοῦσα ἐδिकाίου καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ εἶναι μητρυνὴ τῇ Φρονίμη, παρέχουσα τε κακὰ καὶ πᾶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ μηχανωμένη, καὶ τέλος μαχλοσύνην ἐπενείκασά οἱ πείθει τὸν ἄνδρα ταῦτα ἔχειν οὕτω. ὁ δὲ ἀναγνωσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔργον οὐκ ὅσιον ἐμηχανᾶτο ἐπὶ τῇ; θυγατρὶ. ³ ἦν γὰρ δὴ Θεμίσων ἀνὴρ Θηραῖος ἔμπορος ἐν τῇ Ὁαξῷ· τοῦτον ὁ Ἐτέαρχος παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ ξείνια ἐξορκοῖ ἢ μὲν οἱ

διηκονήσιν ὅ τι ἂν δεηθῇ. ἐπεῖτε δὴ ἐξώρκωσε, ἀγαγὼν οἱ παραδιδόει τὴν ἐωυτοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ ταύτην ἐκέλευε καταποντῶσαι ἀπαγαγόντα. 4 ὁ δὲ Θεμίσων περιημεκτήσας τῇ ἀπάτῃ τοῦ ὅρκου καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὴν ξεινίην ἐποίεε τοιάδε· παραλαβὼν τὴν παῖδα ἀπέπλεε· ὥς δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πελάγει, ἀποσιεύμενος τὴν ἐξώρκωσιν τοῦ Ἑτεάρχου, σχοινίοισι αὐτὴν διαδήσας κατήκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνασπᾶσας δὲ ἀπῖκετο ἐς τὴν Θήρην.

155

1 Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὴν Φρονίμην παραλαβὼν πολύμνηστος, ἐὼν τῶν Θηραίων ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, ἐπαλλακεῦτο. χρόνου δὲ περιόντος ἐξεγένετό οἱ παῖς ισχύφωνος καὶ τραυλός, τῷ οὖνομα ἐτέθη Βάττος, ὥς Θηραῖοι τε καὶ Κυρηναῖοι λέγουσι, ὥς μέντοι ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἄλλο τι· 2 Βάττος δὲ μετωνομάσθη, ἐπεῖτε ἐς Λιβύην ἀπῖκετο, ἀπὸ τε τοῦ χρηστηρίου τοῦ γενομένου ἐν Δελφοῖσι αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς τὴν ἔσχε τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιούμενος. Λίβυες γὰρ βασιλέα βάττον καλέουσι, καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέω θεσπίζουσιν τὴν Πυθίην καλέσαι μιν Λιβυκῇ γλώσσῃ, εἰδυῖαν ὥς βασιλεὺς ἔσται ἐν Λιβύῃ. 3 ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ἡνδρώθη οὗτος, ἦλθε ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῆς φωνῆς· ἐπειρωτῶντι δὲ οἱ χρᾶ ἡ Πυθίη τάδε.

Βάττ' ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθες. ἄναξ δέ σε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων ἐς Λιβύην πέμπει μηλοτρόφον οἰκιστῆρα,

ὥσπερ εἰ εἶποι Ἑλλάδι γλώσσῃ χρεωμένη “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθες,, 4 ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “ὦναξ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἦλθον παρὰ σέ χρησάμενος περὶ τῆς φωνῆς, σὺ δέ μοι ἄλλα ἀδύνατα χρᾶς, κελεύων Λιβύην ἀποικίζειν τέφρῃ δυνάμι, κοίῃ χειρί,, ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄλλα οἱ χρᾶν· ὥς δε κατὰ ταῦτα ἐθέσπιζέ οἱ καὶ πρότερον, οἷχετο μεταξὺ ἀπολιπὼν ὁ Βάττος ἐς τὴν Θήρην.

156

1 Μετὰ δὲ αὐτῷ τε τούτῳ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις Θηραίοις συνεφέρετο παλιγκότως. ἀγνοεῦντες δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς οἱ Θηραῖοι ἔεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν. 2 ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε συγκτίζουσι Βάττῳ Κυρήνην τῆς Λιβύης ἄμεινον πρήξειν. ἀπέστελλον μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Βάττον οἱ Θηραῖοι δύο πεντηκοντέροις. πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Λιβύην οὗτοι, οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ὅ τι ποιέωσι ἄλλο, ὀπίσω ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Θήρην. 3 οἱ δὲ Θηραῖοι καταγομένους

ἐβαλλον καὶ οὐκ ἔων τῇ γῇ προσίσchein, ἀλλ' ὀπίσω πλώειν ἐκέλευον. οἱ δὲ ἀναγκάζομενοι ὀπίσω ἀπέπλεον καὶ ἔκτισαν νῆσον ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ κειμένην, τῇ οὖνομα, ὥς καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, ἐστὶ Βλατέα. λέγεται δὲ ἴση εἶναι ἢ νῆσος τῇ νῦν Κυρηναίων πόλει.

157

1 Ταύτην οἰκέοντες δύο ἔτεα, οὐδὲν γάρ σφι χρηστὸν συνεφέρετο, ἓνα αὐτῶν καταλιπόντες οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς Δελφούς, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐχρέωντο, φάμενοι οἰκέειν τε τὴν Λιβύην καὶ οὐδὲν ἄμεινον πρήσσειν οἰκεῦντες. 2 ἢ δὲ Πυθίη σφι πρὸς ταῦτα χρᾶ τάδε.

αἱ τὸ ἐμεῦ Λιβύην μηλοτρόφον οἶδας ἄμεινον, μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐλθόντος, ἄγαν ἄγαμαι σοφίην σευρῶ.

ἀκούσαντες δὲ τούτων οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Βάπτον ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω· οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφέας ἀπίει ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀποικίης, πρὶν δὴ ἀπίκωνται ἐς αὐτὴν Λιβύην. 3 ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ ἀναλαβόντες τὸν ἔλιπον, ἔκτισαν αὐτῆς τῆς Λιβύης χῶρον ἀντίον τῆς νήσου τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Ἄζιρις· τὸν νάπαι τε κάλλισται ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω συγκληίουσι καὶ ποταμὸς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα παραρρέει.

158

1 Τοῦτον οἶκεον τὸν χῶρον ἔξ ἔτεα, ἐβδόμῳ δὲ σφέας ἔτει παραιτησάμενοι οἱ Λίβυες ὥς ἐς ἀμείνονα χῶρον ἄξουσι, ἀνέγνωσαν ἐκλιπεῖν. 2 ἦγον δὲ σφέας ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Λίβυες ἀναστήσαντες πρὸς ἐσπέρην, καὶ τὸν κάλλιστον τῶν χώρων ἵνα διεξιόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες μὴ ἴδοιεν, συμμετρησάμενοι τὴν ὥρην τῆς ἡμέρης νυκτὸς παρῆγον. ἔστι δὲ τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ οὖνομα Ἰρασα. 3 ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφέας ἐπὶ κρήνην λεγομένην εἶπαι Ἀπόλλωνος εἶπαν “ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐνθαῦτα ὑμῖν ἐπιτήδεον οἰκέειν. ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται,,.

159

1 Ἐπὶ μὲν νυν Βάττου τε τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς ζόης, ἄρξαντος ἐπὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα, καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω ἄρξαντος ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτεα, οἴκεον οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἐόντες τοσοῦτοι ὅσοι ἀρχὴν ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἐστάλησαν. 2 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου, Βάττου τοῦ εὐδαίμονος καλεομένου, Ἑλληνας πάντας ὥρμησε χρήσασα ἡ Πυθίη πλέειν συνοικήσοντας Κυρηναίοισι Λιβύην· ἐπεκαλέοντο γὰρ οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῶ· 3 ἔχρησε δὲ ὧδε ἔχοντα.

ὅς δέ κεν ἐς Λιβύην πολυήρατον ὕστερον ἔλθῃ γὰς ἀναδαιομένας, μετὰ οἷ ποκα φαμί μελήσειν.

4 συλλεχθέντος δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην, περιταμνόμενοι γῆν πολλὴν οἱ περίοικοι Λίβυες καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀδικράν, οἷα τῆς τε χώρας στερισκόμενοι καὶ περιυβριζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων, πέμψαντες ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀπρίῃ τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεί. 5 ὁ δὲ συλλέξας στρατὸν Αἰγυπτίων πολλὸν ἔπεμψε ἐπὶ τὴν Κυρήνην. οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι ἐκστρατευσάμενοι ἐς Ἰρασα χῶρον καὶ ἐπὶ κρήνην Θέστην συνέβαλόν τε τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ ἐνίκησαν τῇ συμβολῇ. 6 ἅτε γὰρ οὐ πεπειρημένοι πρότερον οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι Ἑλλήνων καὶ παραχρεώμενοι διεφθάρησαν οὕτω ὥστε ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ἀπενόστησαν ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἀντὶ τούτων Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι Ἀπρίῃ ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

160

1 Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Βάττου παῖς γίνεται Ἀρκεσίλεως. ὃς βασιλεύσας πρῶτα τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ ἀδελφείοισι ἐστασίασε, ἐς ὃ μιν οὗτοι ἀπολιπόντες οἶχοντο ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον τῆς Λιβύης καὶ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν βαλόμενοι ἔκτισαν πόλιν ταύτην ἣ τότε καὶ νῦν Βάρκη κλέεται· κτίζοντες δὲ ἅμα αὐτὴν ἀπιστᾶσι ἀπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων τοὺς Λίβυας. 2 μετὰ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐς τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους τε τῶν Λιβύων καὶ ἀποστάντας τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἐστρατεύετο· οἱ δὲ Λίβυες δείσαντες αὐτὸν οἶχοντο φεύγοντες πρὸς τοὺς ἡοίους τῶν Λιβύων. 3 ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως εἶπετο φεύγουσι, ἐς οὗ ἐν Λεύκωνι τε τῆς Λιβύης ἐγίνετο ἐπιδιώκων καὶ ἔδοξε τοῖσι Λίβυσι ἐπιθέσθαι οἱ. συμβαλόντες δὲ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Κυρηναίους τοσοῦτο ὥστε ἐπτακισχλίους ὀπλίτας Κυρηναίων ἐνθαῦτα πεσεῖν. 4 μετὰ δὲ τὸ τῷμα τοῦτο Ἀρκεσίλεων μὲν κάμνοντά τε καὶ φάρμακον πεπωκότα ὁ ἀδελφεὸς Ἀλίαρχος

ἀποπνίγει, Ἀλίαρχον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ Ἀρκεσίλεω δόλῳ κτείνει, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Ἑρυξώ.

161

¹ Διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν βασιληίην τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω ὁ παῖς Βάττος, χολός τε ἐὼν καὶ οὐκ ἀρτίπους. οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι πρὸς τὴν καταλαβοῦσαν συμφορὴν ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησομένους ὄντινα τρόπον καταστησάμενοι κάλλιστα ἂν οἰκέοιεν. ² ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἐκέλευε ἐκ Μαντινέης τῆς Ἀρκάδων καταρτιστῆρα ἀγαγέσθαι. αἶτεον ὧν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, καὶ οἱ Μαντινέες ἔδοσαν ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Δημῶναξ. ³ οὗτος ὧν ὠνὴρ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην καὶ μαθὼν ἕκαστα τοῦτο μὲν τριφύλους ἐποίησε σφεας, τῇδε διαθείς· Θηραίων μὲν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων μίαν μοῖραν ἐποίησε, ἄλλην δὲ Πελοποννησίων καὶ Κρητῶν, τρίτην δὲ νησιωτέων πάντων. τοῦτο δὲ τῷ βασιλεί Βάττῳ τεμένεα ἐξελὼν καὶ ἰρυσύνας, τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ πρότερον εἶχον οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐς μέσον τῷ δῆμῳ ἔθηκε.

162

¹ Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ Βάττου οὕτω διετέλεε ἐόντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τούτου παιδὸς Ἀρκεσίλεω πολλὴ ταραχὴ περὶ τῶν τιμῶν ἐγένετο. ² Ἀρκεσίλεως γὰρ ὁ Βάττου τε τοῦ χολοῦ καὶ Φερετίμης οὐκ ἔφη ἀνέξεσθαι κατὰ τὰ ὁ Μαντινεὺς Δημῶναξ ἔταξε, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε τὰ τῶν προγόνων γέρεα. ἐνθεῦτεν στασιάζων ἐσώθη καὶ ἔφυγε ἐς Σάμον, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ οἱ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα τῆς Κύπρου ἔφυγε. ³ τῆς δὲ Σαλαμῖνος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπεκράτεε Εὐέλθων, ὃς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θυμητήριον, ἐὸν ἀξιοθέητον ἀνέθηκε, τὸ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ κέεται. ἀπικομένη δὲ παρὰ τοῦτον ἡ Φερετίμη ἐδέετο στρατιῆς ἡ κατὰξει σφέας ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην. ⁴ ὁ δὲ Εὐέλθων πᾶν μᾶλλον ἡ στρατιὴν οἱ ἐδίδου· ἡ δὲ λαμβάνουσα τὸ διδόμενον καλὸν μὲν ἔφη καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι, κάλλιον δὲ ἐκεῖνο, τὸ δοῦναί οἱ δεομένη στρατιήν. ⁵ τοῦτο ἐπὶ παντὶ γὰρ τῷ διδομένῳ ἔλεγε, τελευταῖόν οἱ ἐξέπεμψε δῶρον ὁ Εὐέλθων ἄτρακτον χρύσειον καὶ ἡλακάτην, προσῆν δὲ καὶ εἴριον. ἐπειπάσης δὲ αὐτὶς τῆς Φερετίμης τῷτο ἔπος, ὁ Εὐέλθων ἔφη τοιούτοισι γυναῖκας δωρέεσθαι ἀλλ' οὐ στρατιῇ.

163

1 Ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐὼν ἐν Σάμῳ συνήγειρε πάντα ἄνδρα ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ· συλλεγομένου δὲ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ, ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφοὺς Ἀρκεσίλεως χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ περὶ κατόδου. 2 ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ τάδε. “ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσαρας Βᾶττους καὶ Ἀρκεσίλεως τέσσαρας, ὀκτὼ ἀνδρῶν γενεάς, διδοῖ ὑμῖν Λοξίης βασιλεύειν Κυρήνης, 3 πλέον μέντοι τούτου οὐδὲ πειρᾶσθαι παραινέει. σὺ μέντοι ἥσυχος εἶναι κατελθὼν ἐς τὴν σεωυτοῦ. ἦν δὲ τὴν κάμινον εὖρης πλέην ἀμφορέων, μὴ ἐξοπτήσης τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἄλλ’ ἀπόπεμπε κατ’ οὖρον· εἰ δὲ ἐξοπτήσεις τὴν κάμινον, μὴ ἐσέλθης ἐς τὴν ἀμφίρρυντον· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀποθανεῖαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ταῦρος ὁ καλλιστεύων,,. ταῦτα ἡ Πυθίη Ἀρκεσίλεω χρᾶ.

164

1 Ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου κατῆλθε ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην, καὶ ἐπικρατήσας τῶν πρηγμάτων τοῦ μαντηίου οὐκ ἐμέμνητο, ἀλλὰ δίκας τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας αἵτεε τῆς ἐωυτοῦ φυγῆς. 2 τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπαλλάσσοντο, τοὺς δὲ τινὰς χειρωσάμενος ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐς Κύπρον ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ διαφθορῇ. τούτους μὲν νυν Κνίδιοι ἀπενειχθέντας πρὸς τὴν σφετέρην ἐρρύσαντο καὶ ἐς Θήρην ἀπέστειλαν· ἑτέρους δὲ τινὰς τῶν Κυρηναίων ἐς πύργον μέγαν Ἀγλωμάχου καταφυγόντας ἰδιωτικὸν ὕλην περινήσας ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐνέπρησε. 3 μαθὼν δὲ ἐπ’ ἐξεργασμένοισι τὸ μαντήιον ἐὼν τοῦτο, ὅτι μιν ἡ Πυθίη οὐκ ἔα εὐρόντα ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἐξοπτῆσαι, ἔργετο ἐκὼν τῆς τῶν Κυρηναίων πόλιος, δειμαίνων τε τὸν κεχρησμένον θάνατον καὶ δοκέων ἀμφίρρυντον τὴν Κυρήνην εἶναι. 4 εἶχε δὲ γυναῖκα συγγενέα ἐωυτοῦ, θυγατέρα δὲ τῶν Βαρκαίων τοῦ βασιλέως, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀλάζειρ· παρὰ τοῦτον ἀπικνέεται, καὶ μιν Βαρκαῖοί τε ἄνδρες καὶ τῶν ἐκ Κυρήνης φυγάδων τινὲς καταμαθόντες ἀγοράζοντα κτείνουσι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν πενθερὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀλάζειρα. Ἀρκεσίλεως μὲν νυν εἴτε ἐκὼν εἴτε ἀέκων ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐξέπλησε μοῖραν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ.

165

1 Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ Φερετίμη, ἕως μὲν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐν τῇ Βάρκῃ διαιτᾶτο ἐξεργασμένος ἐωυτῷ κακόν, ἡ δὲ εἶχε αὐτὴ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ γέρεα ἐν Κυρήνῃ καὶ τᾶλλα νεμομένη καὶ ἐν βουλῇ παρίζουσα. 2 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἔμαθε ἐν τῇ Βάρκῃ ἀποθανόντα οἱ τὸν παῖδα, φεύγουσα

οιχώκεε ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἦσαν γάρ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω εὐεργεσίαι ἐς Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου πεποιημένοι· οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ὃς Κυρήνην Καμβύση ἔδωκε καὶ φόρον ἐτάξατο. ³ ἀπικομένη δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἡ Φερετίμη Ἀρυάνδεω ἰκέτις ἕζετο, τιμωρῆσαι ἐωυτῇ κελεύουσα, προισχυομένη πρόφασιν ὥς διὰ τὸν μηδισμὸν ὁ παῖς οἱ τέθηκε.

166

¹ Ὁ δὲ Ἀρυάνδης ἦν οὗτος τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὑπαρχος ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω κατεστεῶς, ὃς ὑστέρω χρόνῳ τούτων παρισούμενος Δαρεῖω διεφθάρη. πυθόμενος γὰρ καὶ ἰδὼν Δαρεῖον ἐπιθυμέοντα μνημόσυνον ἐωυτοῦ λιπέσθαι τοῦτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλω εἶη βασιλείᾳ κατεργασμένον, ἐμιμέτο τοῦτον, ἐς οὗ ἔλαβε τὸν μισθόν. ² Δαρεῖος μὲν γὰρ χρυσίον καθαρώτατον ἀπεψήσας ἐς τὸ δυνατώτατον νόμισμα ἐκόψατο, Ἀρυάνδης δὲ ἄρχων Αἰγύπτου ἀργύριον τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίηε, καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ ἀργύριον καθαρώτατον τὸ Ἀρυανδικόν. μαθὼν δὲ μιν Δαρεῖος ταῦτα ποιεῦντα, αἰτίην οἱ ἄλλην ἐπενείκας ὥς οἱ ἐπανίσταται, ἀπέκτεινε.

167

¹ Τότε δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἀρυάνδης κατοικτεῖρας Φερετίμην διδοῖ αὐτῇ στρατὸν τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἅπαντα καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὸν ναυτικόν· στρατηγὸν δὲ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ Ἄμασιν ἀπέδεξε ἄνδρα Μαράφιον, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Βάδρην ἐόντα Πασαργάδην γένους. ² πρὶν δὲ ἡ ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν στρατιήν, ὁ Ἀρυάνδης πέμψας ἐς τὴν Βάρκην κήρυκα ἐπυνθάνετο τίς εἴη ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεων ἀποκτείνας. οἱ δὲ Βαρκαῖοι αὐτοῖς ὑπεδέκοντο πάντες· πολλὰ τε γὰρ καὶ κακὰ πάσχειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀρυάνδης οὕτω δὴ τὴν στρατιήν ἀπέστειλε ἅμα τῇ Φερετίμῃ. ³ αὕτη μὲν νυν αἰτίη πρόσχημα τοῦ στόλου ἐγένετο, ἀπεπέμπετο δὲ ἡ στρατιή, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐπὶ Λιβύης καταστροφῇ. Λιβύων γὰρ δὴ ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐστί, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὀλίγα βασιλέος ἦν ὑπήκοα, τὰ δὲ πλέω ἐφρόντιζε Δαρεῖου οὐδέν.

168

¹ Οἰκέουσι δὲ κατὰ τάδε Λίβυες. ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι Ἀδурμαχίδαί Λιβύων κατοίκηνται, οἳ νόμοισι μὲν τὰ πλέω Αἰγυπτίοισι χρέωνται, ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι οἷον περ οἱ ἄλλοι Λίβυες.

αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ψέλιον περὶ ἑκατέρῃ τῶν κνημέων φορέουσι
χάλκεον· τὰς κεφαλὰς δὲ κομῶσαι, τοὺς φθειρας ἐπεὰν λάβωσι τοὺς
ἑωυτῆς ἐκάστη ἀντιδάκνει καὶ οὕτω ρίπτει. 2 οὗτοι δὲ μοῦνοι Λιβύων
τοῦτο ἐργάζονται, καὶ τῷ βασιλεί μοῦνοι τὰς παρθένους μελλούσας
συνοικέειν ἐπιδεικνύουσι. ἥ δὲ ἂν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀρεστὴ γένηται, ὑπὸ
τούτου διαπαρθελεύεται. παρήκουσι δὲ οὗτοι οἱ Ἀδυρμαχίδαι ἀπ’
Αἰγύπτου μέχρι λιμένος τῷ οὐνομα Πλυνός ἐστι.

169

1 Τούτων δὲ ἔχονται Γιλιγάμαι, νεμόμενοι τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην χώραν
μέχρι Ἀφροδισιάδος νήσου. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τούτου χώρῳ ἢ τε
Πλατέα νήσος ἐπικέεται, τὴν ἔκτισαν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡπίρῳ
Μενέλαος λιμὴν ἐστὶ καὶ Ἄξιρις, τὴν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι οἴκεον, καὶ τὸ
σίλφιον ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τούτου· 2 παρήκει δὲ ἀπὸ Πλατέης νήσου μέχρι
τοῦ στόματος τῆς Σύρτιος τὸ σίλφιον. νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται οὗτοι
παραπλησίοις τοῖσι ἐτέροισι.

170

1 Γιλιγαμέων δὲ ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Ἀσβύσαι. οὗτοι ὑπὲρ
Κυρήνης οἰκέουσι. ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ οὐ κατήκουσι Ἀσβύσαι τὸ γὰρ
παρὰ θάλασσαν Κυρηναῖοι νέμονται. τεθριπποβάται δὲ οὐκ ἦκιστα
ἀλλὰ μάλιστα Λιβύων εἰσὶ, νόμους δὲ τοὺς πλεῦνας μιμέεσθαι
ἐπιτηδεύουσι τοὺς Κυρηναίων.

171

1 Ἀσβυστέων δὲ ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Αὐσχίσαι· οὗτοι ὑπὲρ
Βάρκης οἰκέουσι, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατ’ Εὐεσπερίδας.
Αὐσχισέων δὲ κατὰ μέσον τῆς χώρας οἰκέουσι Βάκαλες, ὀλίγον
ἔθνος, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατὰ Ταύχειρα πόλιν τῆς Βαρκαίης·
νόμοισι δὲ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ὑπὲρ Κυρήνης.

172

1 Αὐσχισέων δὲ τούτων τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἔχονται Νασαμῶνες,
ἔθνος ἐὼν πολλόν, οἱ τὸ θέρος καταλείποντες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ τὰ
πρόβατα ἀναβαίνουνσι ἐς Αὐγίλα χώρον ὅπωριεῦντες τοὺς φοίνικας.
οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀμφιλαφές πεφύκασι, πάντες ἐόντες καρποφόροι.
τοὺς δὲ ἀττελέβους ἐπεὰν θηρεύσωσι, αὐήναντες πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον
καταλέουσι καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ γάλα ἐπιπάσσοντες πίνουσι. 2 γυναῖκας δὲ

νομίζοντες πολλὰς ἔχειν ἕκαστος ἐπίκοινον αὐτέων τὴν μῆξιν ποιεῦνται τρὸς παραπλησίῳ τῷ καὶ Μασσαγέται· ἐπεὰν σκίπωνα προστήσωνται, μίσγονται. πρῶτον δὲ γαμέοντος Νασαμῶνος ἀνδρὸς νόμος ἐστὶ τὴν νύμφην νυκτὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διὰ πάντων διεξελεθεῖν τῶν δαιτυμόνων μισγομένην· τῶν δὲ ὡς ἕκαστος οἱ μιχθῇ, διδοῖ δῶρον τὸ ἂν ἔχη φερόμενος ἐξ οἴκου. ³ ὀρκίοισι δὲ καὶ μαντικῇ χρέωνται τοιγδε· ὁμνύουσι μὲν τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι ἄνδρας δικαιοτάτους καὶ ἀρίστους λεγομένους γενέσθαι, τούτους, τῶν τύμβων ἀπτόμενοι· μαντεύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων φοιτέοντες τὰ σήματα, καὶ κατευξάμενοι ἐπικατακοιμῶνται· τὸ δ' ἂν ἴδη ἐν τῇ, ὅπῃ ἐνύπνιον, τούτῳ χρᾶται. ⁴ πίστισι δὲ τοιγσιδε χρέωνται· ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς διδοῖ πιεῖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἐτέρου πίνει. ἦν δὲ μὴ ἔχουσι ὕγρον μηδὲν, οἱ δὲ τῆς χαμᾶθεν σποδοῦ λαβόντες λείχουσι.

173

¹ Νασαμῶσι δὲ προσόμουροι εἰσὶ Ψύλλοι. οὗτοι ἐξαπολώλασι τρὸς τοιγδε· ὁ νότος σφι πνέων ἄνεμος τὰ ἔλυτρα τῶν ὑδάτων ἐξηύηνε, ἡ δὲ χώρα σφι ἅπασα ἐντὸς ἐοῦσα τῆς Σύρτιος ἦν ἄνυδρος. οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι κοινῷ λόγῳ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τὸν νότον (λέγω δὲ ταῦτα τὰ λέγουσι Λίβυες), καὶ ἐπεῖτε ἐγίνοντο ἐν τῇ ψάμμῳ, πνεύσας ὁ νότος κατέχωσε σφέας. ἐξαπολομένων δὲ τούτων ἔχουσι τὴν χώραν οἱ Νασαμῶνες.

174

¹ Τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον ἐν τῇ, θηριώδεϊ οἰκέουσι Γαράμαντες, οἱ πάντα ἄνθρωπον φεύγουσι καὶ παντὸς ὁμιλίην, καὶ οὔτε ὄπλον ἐκτέεται ἀρήιον οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀμύνεσθαι ἐπιστέεται.

175

¹ Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νασαμώνων· τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Μάκαι, οἱ λόφους κείρονται, τὸ μὲν μέσον τῶν τριχῶν ἀνιέντες αὔξεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κείροντες ἐν χροῖ, ἐς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον στρουθῶν καταγαίων δορὰς φορέουσι προβλήματα. ² διὰ δὲ αὐτῶν Κῖνυψ ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐκ λόφου καλυμένου Χαρίτων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδόι. ὁ δὲ λόφος οὗτος ὁ Χαρίτων δασὺς ἴδησι ἐστί, ἐούσης τῆς ἄλλης τῆς

προκαταλεχθείσης Λιβύης ψιλῆς· ἀπὸ θαλάσσης δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν στάδιοι
διηκόσιοι εἰσί.

176

1 Μακέων δὲ τούτων ἐχόμενοι Γινδᾶνες εἰσί, τῶν αἱ γυναῖκες
περισφύρια δερμάτων πολλὰ ἐκάστη φορέει κατὰ τοιόνδε τι, ὡς
λέγεται· κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον μιχθέντα περισφύριον περιδέεται· ἡ δὲ
ἂν πλείστα ἔχη, αὕτη ἀρίστη δέδοκται εἶναι ὡς ὑπὸ πλείστων ἀνδρῶν
φιληθεῖσα.

177

1 Ἀκτὴν δὲ προέχουσαν ἐς τὸν πόντον τούτων τῶν Γινδάνων
νέμονται Λωτοφάγοι, οἱ τὸν καρπὸν μούνον τοῦ λωτοῦ τρώγοντες
ζώουσι. ὁ δὲ τοῦ λωτοῦ καρπὸς ἐστὶ μέγαθος ὅσον τε τῆς σχίνου,
γλυκύτητα δὲ τοῦ φοίνικος τῷ καρπῷ προσείκελος. ποιεῦνται δὲ ἐκ
τοῦ καρποῦ τούτου οἱ Λωτοφάγοι καὶ οἶνον.

178

1 Λωτοφάγων δὲ τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχονται Μάχλυνες, τῷ λωτῷ
μὲν καὶ οὗτοι χρεώμενοι, ἀτὰρ ἦσσαν γε τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων,
κατήκουσι δὲ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν μέγαν τῷ οὐνομα Τρίτων ἐστί· ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ
οὗτος ἐς λίμνην μεγάλην Τριτωνίδα. ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ, νῆσος ἓν τῇ,
οὐνομα Φλά. ταύτην δὲ τὴν νῆσον Λακεδαιμονίοισι φασὶ λόγιον
εἶναι κτίσαι.

179

1 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁδε λόγος λεγόμενος. Ἰήσονα, ἐπεῖτε οἱ ἐξεργάσθη
ὑπὸ τῷ Πηλίῳ ἢ Ἀργῷ, ἐσθέμενον ἐς αὐτὴν ἄλλην τε ἐκατόμβην καὶ
δὴ καὶ τρίποδα χάλκεον περιπλώειν Πελοπόννησον, βουλόμενον ἐς
Δελφοὺς ἀπικέσθαι. 2 καὶ μιν, ὡς πλέοντα γενέσθαι κατὰ Μαλέην,
ὑπολαβεῖν ἄνεμον βορέην καὶ ἀποφέρειν πρὸς τὴν Λιβύην· πρὶν δὲ
κατιδέσθαι γῆν, ἐν τοῖσι βράχεσι γενέσθαι λίμνης τῆς Τριτωνίδος.
καὶ οἱ ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἐξαγωγὴν λόγος ἐστὶ φανῆναι Τρίτωνα καὶ
κελεύειν τὸν Ἰήσονα ἐωυτῷ δοῦναι τὸν τρίποδα, φάμενόν σφι καὶ
τὸν πόρον δέξειν καὶ ἀπήμονας ἀποστελέειν. 3 πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ
Ἰήσονος, οὕτω δὴ τὸν τε διέκπλοον τῶν βραχέων δεικνύναι τὸν
Τρίτωνά σφι καὶ τὸν τρίποδα θεῖναι ἐν τῷ ἐωυτοῦ ἱρῷ,
ἐπιθεσπίσαντά τε τῷ τρίποδι καὶ τοῖσι σὺν Ἰήσωνι σημήναντα τὸν

πάντα λόγον, ὥς ἐπεὰν τὸν τρίποδα κομίσηται τῶν ἐκγόνων τις τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ συμπλεόντων, τότε ἑκατὸν πόλιας οἰκῆσαι περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην Ἑλληνίδας πᾶσαν εἶναι ἀνάγκη. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους τῶν Λιβύων κρῦψαι τὸν τρίποδα.

180

1 Τούτων δὲ ἔχοντας τῶν Μαχλύων Αὐσέες· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Μάχλυες πέριξ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην οἰκέουσι, τὸ μέσον δὲ σφι οὐρίζει ὁ Τρίτων. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μάχλυες τὰ ὀπίσω κομῶσι τῆς κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ Αὐσέες τὰ ἔμπροσθε. 2 ὁρτῇ δὲ ἐνιαυσίῃ Ἀθηναίης αἱ παρθένοι αὐτῶν δίχα διαστᾶσαι μάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλας λίθοις τε καὶ ξύλοις, τῷ αὐθιγενεῖ θεῷ λέγουσαι τὰ πάτρια ἀποτελεεῖν, τὴν Ἀθηναίην καλέομεν. τὰς δὲ ἀποθνησκούσας τῶν παρθένων ἐκ τῶν τραμάτων ψευδοπαρθένους καλέουσι. 3 πρὶν δὲ ἀνεῖναι αὐτὰς μάχεσθαι, τάδε ποιεῦσι κοινῇ. παρθένον τὴν καλλιστεύουσαν ἑκάστοτε κοσμήσαντες κυνέη τε Κορινθίῃ καὶ πανοπλίῃ Ἑλληνικῇ καὶ ἐπ' ἄρμα ἀναβιβάσαντες περιάγουσι τὴν λίμνην κύκλῳ. 4 ὅτεοις δὲ τὸ πάλαι ἐκόσμεον τὰς παρθένους πρὶν ἢ σφι Ἑλληνας παροικισθῆναι, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκέω δ' ὧν Αἰγυπτίοις ὅπλοις κοσμέεσθαι αὐτὰς· ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ κράνος φημί ἀπῆχθαι ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας. 5 τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναίην φασὶ Ποσειδέωνος εἶναι θυγατέρα καὶ τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης, καὶ μιν μεμφεῖσάν τι τῷ πατρὶ δοῦναι ἔωυτήν τῷ Δίῃ, τὸν δὲ Δία ἔωυτοῦ μιν ποιήσασθαι θυγατέρα. ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι, μῖζιν δὲ ἐπικοινων τῶν γυναικῶν ποιέονται, οὔτε συνοικέοντες κτηνηδόν τε μισγόμενοι. 6 ἐπεὰν δὲ γυναικὶ τὸ παιδίον ἀδρὸν γένηται, συμφοιτῶσι ἐς τὸν αὐτὸ οἱ ἄνδρες τρίτου μηνός, καὶ τῷ ἂν οἴκῃ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ παιδίον, τούτου παῖς νομίζεται.

181

1 Οὗτοι μὲν οἱ παραθαλάσσιοι τῶν νομάδων Λιβύων εἰρέεται, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἡ θηριώδης ἐστὶ Λιβύη, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς θηριώδους ὀφρὺ ψάμμης κατῆκει παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ Θηβέων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐπ' Ἡρακλέας στήλας. 2 ἐν δὲ τῇ ὀφρὺ ταύτῃ μάλιστα διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ ἄλός ἐστι τρύφεια κατὰ χόνδρους μεγάλους ἐν κολωνοῖς, καὶ ἐν κορυφῇσι ἑκάστου τοῦ κολωνοῦ ἀνακοντίζει ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ἄλός ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν καὶ γλυκύ, περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἄνθρωποι οἰκέουσι ἔσχατοι πρὸς τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς θηριώδους, πρῶτοι

μὲν ἀπὸ Θηβέων διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ Ἀμμώνιοι, ἔχοντες τὸ ἱρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θηβαίου Διός· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Θήβησι, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται μοι, κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Διὸς τῷγαλμα ἐστί. ³ τυγχάνει δὲ καὶ ἄλλο σφι ὕδωρ κρηναῖον ἐὸν, τὸ τὸν μὲν ὄρθρον γίνεται χλιαρόν, ἀγορῆς δὲ πληθυσούσης ψυχρότερον, μεσαμβρίῃ τε ἐστί καὶ τὸ κάρτα γίνεται ψυχρόν· ⁴ τηνικαῦτα δὲ ἄρδουσι τοὺς κήπους· ἀποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρης ὑπίεται τοῦ ψυχροῦ, ἐς οὗ δύεται τε ὁ ἥλιος καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ γίνεται χλιαρόν. ἐπὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἰὸν ἐς τὸ θερμὸν ἐς μέσας νύκτας πελάζει, τηνικαῦτα δὲ ζέει ἀμβολάδην· παρέρχονται τε μέσαι νύκτες καὶ ψύχεται μέχρι ἐς ἡῶ. ἐπὶ κλησιν δὲ αὕτη ἡ κρήνη καλέεται ἡλίου.

182

¹ Μετὰ δὲ Ἀμμωνίους διὰ τῆς ὀφρύης τῆς ψάμμου δι' ἀλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ κολωνός τε ἁλός ἐστι ὅμοιος τῷ Ἀμμωνίῳ καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι· τῷ δὲ χώρῳ τούτῳ οὐνομα Αὐγίλα ἐστί. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χώρον οἱ Νασαμῶνες ὀπωριεῦντες τοὺς φοίνικας φοιτῶσι.

183

¹ Ἀπὸ δὲ Αὐγίλων διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ἀλλέων ὁδοῦ ἕτερος ἁλὸς κολωνός καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ φοίνικες καρποφόροι πολλοί, κατὰ περ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἐτέροισι· καὶ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέουσι ἐν αὐτῷ τοῖσι οὐνομα Γαράμαντες ἐστί, ἔθνος μέγα ἰσχυρῶς, οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλα γῆν ἐπιφορέοντες οὕτω σπείρουσι. ² συντομώτατον δ' ἐστί ἐς τοὺς Λωτοφάγους, ἐκ τῶν τριήκοντα ἡμερέων ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁδός ἐστι· ἐν τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ὀπισθονόμοι βόες γίνονται· ὀπισθονόμοι δὲ διὰ τόδε εἰσι. τὰ κέρεια ἔχουσι κεκυφότα ἐς τὸ ἔμπροσθε· ³ διὰ τοῦτο ὀπίσω ἀναχωρέοντες νέμονται· ἐς γὰρ τὸ ἔμπροσθε οὐκ οἶοι τε εἰσὶ προεμβαλλόντων ἐς τὴν γῆν τῶν κερέων. ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν διαφέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων βοῶν ὅτι μὴ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ δέρμα ἐς παχύτητά τε καὶ τριῖψιν. ⁴ οἱ Γαράμαντες δὴ οὗτοι τοὺς τρωγλοδύτας Αἰθίοπας θηρεύουσι τοῖσι τεθρίπποισι· οἱ γὰρ τρωγλοδύται Αἰθίοπες πόδας τάχιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων εἰσὶ τῶν ἡμεῖς περὶ λόγους ἀποφερομένους ἀκούομεν. σιτέονται δὲ οἱ τρωγλοδύται ὄφις καὶ σαύρους καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἐρπετῶν· γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐδεμιῇ ἄλλῃ παρομοίην νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τετρίγασιν κατὰ περ αἱ νυκτερίδες.

1 Ἀπὸ δὲ Γαραμάντων δι' ἁλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ ἄλλος ἁλός τε κολωνὸς καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι τοῖσι οὕνομα ἐστὶ Ἀτάραντες, οἱ ἀνώνυμοι εἰσὶ μοῦνοι ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· ἁλέσι μὲν γάρ σφι ἐστὶ Ἀτάραντες οὕνομα, ἐνὶ δὲ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν οὕνομα οὐδὲν κέεται. 2 οὗτοι τῷ ἡλίῳ ὑπερβάλλοντι καταρῶνται καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις πάντα τὰ αἰσχροῖα λοιδοροῦνται, ὅτι σφέας καίων ἐπιτρίβει, αὐτούς τε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. 3 μετὰ δὲ δι' ἁλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ἄλλος κολωνὸς ἁλός καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι. ἔχεται δὲ τοῦ ἁλὸς Τούτου ὄρος τῷ οὕνομα ἐστὶ Ἀτλας, ἔστι δὲ στεινὸν καὶ κυκλοτερές πάντη, ὑψηλὸν δὲ οὕτω δὴ τι λέγεται ὥς τὰς κορυφὰς αὐτοῦ οὐκ οἶα τε εἶναι ἰδέσθαι. οὐδέποτε γὰρ αὐτὰς ἀπολείπειν νέφεα οὔτε θέρεος οὔτε χειμῶνος. τοῦτο τὸν κίονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι εἶναι. 4 ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ ὄρους οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι ἐπώνυμοι ἐγένοντο· καλέονται γὰρ δὴ Ἀτλαντες. λέγονται δὲ οὔτε ἔμψυχον οὐδὲν σιτέεσθαι οὔτε ἐνύπνια ὁρᾶν.

1 Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀτλάντων τούτων ἔχω τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀφρῦῃ κατοικημένων καταλέξει, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτων οὐκέτι. διήκει δ' ὧν ἡ ὀφρῦῃ μέχρι Ἡρακλέων στηλέων καὶ τὸ ἔξω τουτέων. 2 ἔστι δὲ ἁλός τε μέταλλον ἐν αὐτῇ διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέοντες. τὰ δὲ οἰκία τοῦτοις πᾶσι ἐκ τῶν ἀλίνων χόνδρων οἰκοδομέαται. ταῦτα γὰρ ἤδη τῆς Λιβύης ἄνομβρα ἐστί· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἡδυνέατο μένειν οἱ τοῖχοι ἐόντες ἄλινοι, εἰ ὕε. 3 ὁ δὲ ἅλς αὐτόθι καὶ λευκὸς καὶ πορφύρεος τὸ εἶδος ὀρύσσεται. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ὀφρῦνης τὸ πρὸς νότου καὶ ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς Λιβύης ἔρημος καὶ ἄνυδρος καὶ ἄθηρος καὶ ἄνομβρος καὶ ἄξυλος ἐστὶ ἡ χώρα, καὶ ἰκμάδος ἐστὶ ἐν αὐτῇ οὐδέν.

1 Οὕτω μὲν μέχρι τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου νομάδες εἰσὶ κρεοφάγοι τε καὶ γαλακτοπόται Λίβυες, καὶ θηλέων τε βοῶν οὔτι γευόμενοι, διότι περ οὐδὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ὕς οὐ τρέφοντες. 2 βοῶν μὲν νυν θηλέων οὐδ' αἱ Κυρηναίων γυναῖκες δικαιουσι πατέεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἰσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νηστηίας αὐτῇ καὶ

ὀρτὰς ἐπιτελέουσι. αἱ δὲ τῶν Βαρκαίων γυναῖκες οὐδὲ ὕῶν πρὸς τῇσι βουσί γεύονται.

187

1 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἔχει. τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρης τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης οὐκέτι νομάδες εἰσὶ Λίβυες οὐδὲ νόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρεώμενοι, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰ παιδιά ποιεῦντες οἷον τι καὶ οἱ νομάδες ἐώθασι ποιέειν. 2 οἱ γὰρ δὴ τῶν Λιβύων νομάδες, εἰ μὲν πάντες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ποιεῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν συργοὶ τοιάδε· τῶν παιδίων τῶν σφετέρων, ἐπεὰν τετραέτεα γένηται, οἷσπη προβάτων καίουσι τὰς ἐν τῇσι κορυφῇσι φλέβας, μετεξέτεροι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς ἐν τοῖσι κροτάφοισι, τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὥς μὴ σφεας ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον καταρρέον φλέγμα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς δηλέηται. 3 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σφέας λέγουσι εἶναι ὑγιηροτάτους· εἰσὶ γὰρ ὥς ἀληθέως οἱ Λίβυες ἀνθρώπων πάντων ὑγιηρότατοι τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, εἰ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, ὑγιηρότατοι δ' ὧν εἰσὶ. ἦν δὲ καίουσι τὰ παιδιά σπασμὸς ἐπιγένηται, ἐξεύρηται σφι ἄκος· τράγου γὰρ οὖρον σπείσαντες ῥύονται σφέα. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Λίβυες.

188

1 Θυσίαι δὲ τοῖσι νομάσι εἰσὶ αἶδε. ἐπεὰν τοῦ ὠτὸς ἀπάρξωνται τοῦ κτήνεος, ῥιπτέουσι ὑπὲρ τὸν δόμον, τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀποστρέφουσι τὸν αὐχένα αὐτοῦ· θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ μούνουσι. τούτοις μὲν νυν πάντες Λίβυες θύουσι, ἀτὰρ οἱ περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην νέμοντες τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ μάλιστα, μετὰ δὲ τῷ· Τρίτωνι καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέωνι.

189

1 Τὴν δὲ ἄρα ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὰς αἰγίδας τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐκ τῶν Λιβυσσέων ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες· πλὴν γὰρ ἢ ὅτι σκυτίνη ἢ ἐσθῆς τῶν Λιβυσσέων ἐστὶ καὶ οἱ θύσανοι οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰγίδων αὐτῇσι οὐκ ὄφινες εἰσὶ ἀλλὰ ἱμάντινοι, τά γε ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ τὸντο ἔσταλται. 2 καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα κατηγορεῖ ὅτι ἐκ Λιβύης ἦκει ἢ στολὴ τῶν Παλλαδίων· αἰγέας γὰρ περιβάλλονται ψιλὰς περὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα θυσανωτὰς αἱ Λίβυσσαι κεχριμένας ἐρευθεδάνῳ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν αἰγέων τουτέων αἰγίδας οἱ Ἕλληνες μετωνόμασαν. 3 δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ὀλολυγὴ ἐν ἱροῖσι ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον γενέσθαι· κάρτα γὰρ

ταύτη χρέωνται καλῶς αἱ Λίβυσσαι. καὶ τέσσερας ἵππους συζευγνύναι παρὰ Λιβύων οἱ Ἕλληνες μεμαθήκασι.

190

¹ Θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας οἱ νομάδες κατὰ περ οἱ Ἕλληνες, πλὴν Νασαμώνων· οὗτοι δε κατημένους θάπτουσι, φυλάσσοντες, ἐπεὰν ἀπιῇ τὴν ψυχὴν, ὅκως μιν κατίσουςι μηδὲ ὕπτιος ἀποθανέεται. οἰκήματα δὲ σύμπηκτα ἐξ ἀνθερίκων ἐνείρμενων περὶ σχοίνους ἐστί, καὶ ταῦτα περιφορητά. νόμοισι μὲν τοιούτοισι οὗτοι χρέωνται.

191

¹ Τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ Αὐσέων ἔχονται ἀροτῆρες ἤδη Λίβυες καὶ οἰκίας νομίζοντες ἐκτῆσθαι, τοῖσι οὖνομα κέεται Μάξυες. οἱ τὰ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῶν κεφαλέων κομώωσι, τὰ δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ κείρουσι, τὸ δὲ σῶμα χρίονται μίλτω. φασὶ δὲ οὗτοι εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀνδρῶν. ² ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ τῆς Λιβύης ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέρην πολλῶ θηριωδεστέρα τε καὶ δασυτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν νομάδων χώρας. ³ ἡ μὲν γὰρ δὴ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῆς Λιβύης, τὴν οἱ νομάδες νέμουςι, ἐστὶ ταπεινὴ τε καὶ ψαμμώδης μέχρι τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἡ τῶν ἀροτήρων ὀρεινὴ τε κάρτα καὶ δασέα καὶ θηριώδης· ⁴ καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄφιοι οἱ ὑπερμεγάθεις καὶ οἱ λέοντες κατὰ τούτους εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντές τε καὶ ἄρκτοι καὶ ἄσπιδες τε καὶ ὄνοι οἱ τὰ κέρεια ἔχοντες καὶ οἱ κυνοκέφαλοι καὶ οἱ ἀκέφαλοι οἱ ἐν τοῖσι στήθεσι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες, ὥς δὴ λέγονται γε ὑπὸ Λιβύων, καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες ἄγριαι, καὶ ἄλλα πλήθει πολλὰ θηρία ἀκατάψευστα.

192

¹ Κατὰ τοὺς νομάδας δὲ ἐστὶ τούτων οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τοιάδε, πύγαργοι καὶ ζορκάδες καὶ βουβάλιες καὶ ὄνοι, οὐκ οἱ τὰ κέρεια ἔχοντες ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἅποτοι (οὐ γὰρ δὴ πίνουσι), καὶ ὄρυες, τῶν τὰ κέρεια τοῖσι φοίνιξι οἱ πήχες ποιεῦνται (μέγαθος δὲ τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο κατὰ βούν ἐστι), ² καὶ βασσάρια καὶ ὕαινα καὶ ὕστριχες καὶ κριοὶ ἄγριοι καὶ δίκτυες καὶ θῶες καὶ πάνθηρες καὶ βόρυες, καὶ κροκόδειλοι ὅσον τε τριπῆχες χερσαῖοι, τῇσι σαύρησι ἐμφερέστατοι, καὶ στρουθοὶ κατάγαιοι, καὶ ὄφιοι μικροί, κέρας ἐν

ἕκαστος ἔχοντες· ταῦτά τε δὴ αὐτόθι ἐστὶ θηρία καὶ τὰ περ τῇ ἄλλῃ, πλὴν ἐλάφου τε καὶ ὑὸς ἀγρίου· ἔλαφος δὲ καὶ ὕς ἄγριος ἐν Λιβύῃ πάμπαν οὐκ ἔστι. 3 μυῶν δὲ γένεα τριζὰ αὐτόθι ἔστι· οἱ μὲν δίποδες καλέονται, οἱ δὲ ζεγέριες (τὸ δὲ οὖνομα τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν Λιβυστικόν, δύναται δὲ κατ' Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν βουνοί), οἱ δὲ ἐχινέες. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ γαλαῖ ἐν τῷ σιλφίῳ γινόμεναι τῇσι Ταρτησσίησι ὁμοιόταται. τοσαῦτα μὲν νυν θηρία ἢ τῶν νομάδων Λιβύων γῇ ἔχει, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἱστορέοντες ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἰοί τε ἐγενόμεθα ἐξικέσθαι.

193

1 Μαξύων δὲ Λιβύων Ζαύηκες ἔχονται, τοῖσι αἱ γυναῖκες ἡνιοχεῦσι τὰ ἄρματα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον.

194

1 Τούτων δὲ Γύζαντες ἔχονται, ἐν τοῖσι μέλι πολλὸν μὲν μέλισσαι κατεργάζονται, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλέον λέγεται δημοεργοὺς ἄνδρας ποιεῖν. μιλτοῦνται δ' ὧν πάντες οὗτοι καὶ πιθηκοφαγέουσι. οἱ δὲ σφι ἄφθονοι ὅσοι ἐν τοῖσι ὄρεσι γίνονται.

195

1 Κατὰ τούτους δὲ λέγουσι Καρχηδόνιοι κεῖσθαι νῆσον τῇ οὖνομα εἶναι Κύραυν, μῆκος μὲν διηκοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ στεϊνὴν, διαβατὸν ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου, ἐλαιέων τε μεστήν καὶ ἀμπέλων. 2 λίμνην δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ εἶναι, ἐκ τῆς αἰ παρθένου τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πετροῖσι ὀρνίθων κεχριμένοισι πίσση ἐκ τῆς ἰλύος ψῆγμα ἀναφέρουσι χρυσοῦ. ταῦτα εἰ μὲν ἔστι ἀληθές οὐκ οἶδα, τὰ δὲ λέγεται γράφω· εἴη δ' ἂν πᾶν, ὅκου καὶ ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ἐκ λίμνης καὶ ὕδατος πίσσαν ἀναφερομένην αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ὥρων. 3 εἰσὶ μὲν καὶ πλεῦνες αἱ λίμναι αὐτόθι, ἢ δ' ὧν μεγίστη αὐτέων ἐβδομήκοντα ποδῶν πάντη, βάθος δὲ διόργυιος ἐστὶ· ἐς ταύτην κοντὸν κατιεῖσι ἐπ' ἄκρῳ μυρσίνην προσδήσαντες καὶ ἔπειτα ἀναφέρουσι τῇ μυρσίνῃ πίσσαν, ὁδμὴν μὲν ἔχουσαν ἀσφάλτου, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς Πιερικῆς πίσσης ἀμείνω. ἐσχέουσι δὲ ἐς λάκκον ὀρωρυγμένον ἀγχοῦ τῆς λίμνης. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀθροίσωσι συχνήν, οὕτω ἐς τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου καταχέουσι. 4 ὅ τι δ' ἂν ἐσπέσῃ ἐς τὴν λίμνην, ὑπὸ γῆν ἰὸν ἀναφαίνεται ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ· ἢ δὲ ἀπέχει ὥς τέσσερα στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης. οὕτω ὧν καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου τῆς ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ κειμένης οἰκότα ἐστὶ ἀληθεῖη.

¹ Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τάδε Καρχηδόνιοι. εἶναι τῆς Λιβύης χώρον τε καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἔξω Πρακλέων στηλέων κατοικημένους· ἐς τοὺς ἐπεὰν ἀπίκωνται καὶ ἐξέλωνται τὰ φορτία, θέντες αὐτὰ ἐπεξῆς παρὰ τὴν κυματωγὴν, ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα τύφειν καπνόν. τοὺς δ' ἐπιχωρίους ἰδομένους τὸν καπνὸν ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἔπειτα ἀντὶ τῶν φορτίων χρυσὸν τιθέναι καὶ ἐξαναχωρέειν πρόσω ἀπὸ τῶν φορτίων. ² τοὺς δὲ Καρχηδονίους ἐκβάντας σκέπτεσθαι, καὶ ἦν μὲν φαίνεται σφι ἄξιος ὁ χρυσὸς τῶν φορτίων, ἀνελόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσονται, ἦν δὲ μὴ ἄξιος, ἐσβάντες ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ πλοῖα κατέαται· οἱ δὲ προσελθόντες ἄλλον πρὸς ὧν ἔθηκαν χρυσόν, ἐς οὗ ἂν πείθωσι. ἀδικεῖν δὲ οὐδετέρους. ³ οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἄπτεσθαι πρὶν ἂν σφι ἀπισωθῇ τῇ ἀξίῃ τῶν φορτίων, οὔτ' ἐκείνους τῶν φορτίων ἄπτεσθαι πρότερον ἢ αὐτοῖς τὸ χρυσίον λάβωσι.

¹ Οὗτοι μὲν εἰσὶ τοὺς ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν Λιβύων ὀνομάσαι, καὶ τούτων οἱ πολλοὶ βασιλέος τοῦ Μῆδων οὔτε τι νῦν οὔτε τότε ἐφόρτιζον οὐδέν. ² τοσόνδε δὲ ἔτι ἔχω εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, ὅτι τέσσερα ἔθνηα νέμεται αὐτὴν καὶ οὐ πλέω τούτων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα τῶν ἐθνέων τὰ δὲ δύο οὐ, Λίβυες μὲν καὶ Αἰθίοπες αὐτόχθονες, οἱ μὲν τὰ πρὸς βορέω οἱ δὲ τὰ πρὸς νότου τῆς Λιβύης οἰκέοντες, Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Ἑλληνες ἐπήλυδες.

¹ Δοκέει δέ μοι οὐδ' ἀρετὴν εἶναι τις ἢ Λιβύη σπουδαίη ὥστε ἢ Ἀσίῃ ἢ Εὐρώπῃ παραβληθῆναι, πλὴν Κίνυπος μούνης· τὸ γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸ οὐνομα ἢ γῆ τῷ ποταμῷ ἔχει. ² αὕτη δὲ ὁμοίῃ τῇ ἀρίστη γέων Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν οὐδὲ ἔοικε οὐδὲν τῇ ἄλλῃ Λιβύῃ. μελάγγαιός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἔπυδρος πίδαξι, καὶ οὔτε αὐχμοῦ φροντίζουσα οὐδὲν οὔτε ὄμβρον πλέω πιούσα δεδήληται. ὕεται γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα τῆς Λιβύης. τῶν δὲ ἐκφορίων τοῦ καρποῦ ταῦτα μέτρα τῇ Βαβυλωνίῃ γῆ κατίσταται. ἀγαθὴ δὲ γῆ καὶ τὴν Εὐεσπερίται νέμονται· ³ ἐπ' ἑκατοστὰ γάρ, ἐπεὰν αὕτη ἐωυτῆς ἄριστα ἐνείκη, ἐκφέρει, ἢ δὲ ἐν τῇ Κίνυπὶ ἐπὶ τριηκόσια.

1 Ἐχει δὲ καὶ ἡ Κυρηναίη χώρα, ἐοῦσα ὑψηλοτάτη ταύτης τῆς Λιβύης τὴν οἱ νομάδες νέμονται, τρεῖς ὥρας ἐν ἐωυτῇ ἀξίας θώματος. πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῶν καρπῶν ὀργᾶ ἀμᾶσθαι τε καὶ τρυγᾶσθαι· τούτων τε δὴ συγκεκομισμένων τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν θαλασσιδίων χώρων τὰ μέσα ὀργᾶ συγκομίζεσθαι, τὰ βουνούς καλέουσι· 2 συγκεκόμισται τε οὗτος ὁ μέσος καρπὸς καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ κατυπερτάτῃ τῆς γῆς πεπαίνεται τε καὶ ὀργᾶ, ὥστε ἐκπέποται τε καὶ καταβέβρωται ὁ πρῶτος καρπὸς καὶ ὁ τελευταῖος συμπαραγίνεται. οὕτω ἐπ' ὀκτῶ μῆνας Κυρηναίους ὁπώρη ἐπέχει. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω.

200

1 Οἱ δὲ Φερετίμης τιμωροὶ Πέρσαι ἐπέιτε ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου σταλέντες ὑπὸ Ἀρυνάδεω ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Βάρκην, ἐπολιόρκεον τὴν πόλιν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλειω· τῶν δὲ πᾶν γὰρ ἦν τὸ πλῆθος μεταίτιον, οὐκ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους. 2 ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπολιόρκεον τὴν Βάρκην ἐπὶ μῆνας ἐννέα, ὀρύσσοντες τε ὀρύγματα ὑπόγαια φέροντα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ προσβολὰς καρτερὰς ποιεύμενοι. τὰ μὲν νυν ὀρύγματα ἀνὴρ χαλκεὺς ἀνεῦρε ἐπιχάλκῳ ἀσπίδι, ὧδε ἐπιφρασθεῖς· περιφέρων αὐτὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχεος προσῖσχε πρὸς τὸ δάπεδον τῆς πόλιος. 3 τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ἔσκε κωφὰ πρὸς τὰ προσῖσχε, κατὰ δὲ τὰ ὀρυσσόμενα ἠχέεσκε ὁ χαλκὸς τῆς ἀσπίδος. ἀντορύσσοντες δ' ἂν ταύτῃ οἱ Βαρκαῖοι ἔκτεινον τῶν Περσέων τοὺς γεωρυχέοντας. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐξευρέθη, τὰς δὲ προσβολὰς ἀπεκρούοντο οἱ Βαρκαῖοι.

201

1 Χρόνον δὲ δὴ πολλὸν τριβομένων καὶ πιπτόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἦσσαν τῶν Περσέων, Ἄμασις ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ πεζοῦ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. μαθὼν τοὺς Βαρκαίους ὥς κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐκ αἰρετοὶ εἶεν, δόλῳ δὲ αἰρετοί, ποιεῖ τοιάδε· νυκτὸς τάφρην ὀρύξας εὐρέαν ἐπέτεινε ξύλα ἀσθενέα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, κατύπερθε δὲ ἐπιπολῆς τῶν ξύλων χοῦν γῆς ἐπεφόρησε ποιέων τῇ ἄλλῃ γῇ ἰσόπεδον. 2 ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐς λόγους προεκαλέετο τοὺς Βαρκαίους· οἱ δὲ ἀσπαστῶς ὑπήκουσαν, ἐς ὃ σφι ἔαδε ὁμολογίῃ χρήσασθαι. τὴν δὲ ὁμολογίην ἐποιεῦντο τοιήνδε τινά, ἐπὶ τῆς κρυπτῆς τάφρου τάμνοντες ὄρκια, ἔστι' ἂν ἡ γῇ αὕτη οὕτω ἔχῃ,

μένειν τὸ ὄρκιον κατὰ χώραν, καὶ Βαρκαίους τε ὑποτελέειν φάναι ἀξίην βασιλείῃ καὶ Πέρσας μηδὲν ἄλλο νεοχμοῦν κατὰ Βαρκαίους. 3 μετὰ δὲ τὸ ὄρκιον Βαρκαῖοι μὲν πιστεύσαντες τούτοις αὐτοῖς τε ἐξήσαν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἔων παριέναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸν βουλόμενον, τὰς πάσας πύλας ἀνοίζαντες. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καταρρήξαντες τὴν κρυπτὴν γέφυραν ἔθρον ἔσω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. κατέρρηξαν δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τὴν ἐποίησαν γέφυραν, ἵνα ἐμπεδορκέοιεν, ταμώντες τοῖσι Βαρκαίοις χρόνον μένειν αἰεὶ τὸ ὄρκιον ὅσον ἂν ἡ γῆ μένη κατὰ τότε εἶχε· καταρρήξασι δὲ οὐκέτι ἔμενε τὸ ὄρκιον κατὰ χώραν.

202

1 Τοὺς μὲν νυν αἰτιωτάτους τῶν Βαρκαίων ἡ Φερετίμη, ἐπεῖτε οἱ ἐκ τῶν Περσέων παρεδόθησαν, ἀνεσκολόπισε κύκλῳ τοῦ τείχεος, τῶν δὲ σφί γυναικῶν τοὺς μαζοὺς ἀποταμοῦσα περιέστιξε καὶ τούτοις τὸ τεῖχος· 2 τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων λήϊν ἐκέλευε θέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Βαττιάδαι τε καὶ τοῦ φόνου οὐ μεταίτιοι· τούτοις δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐπέτρεψε ἡ Φερετίμη.

203

1 Τοὺς ὧν δὴ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων οἱ Πέρσαι ἀνδραποδισάμενοι ἀπήσαν ὀπίσω· καὶ ἐπεῖτε ἐπὶ τῇ Κυρηναίων πόλει ἐπέστησαν, οἱ Κυρηναῖοι λόγιόν τι ἀποσιεύμενοι διεξῆκαν αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ ἄστεος. 2 διεξιούσης δὲ τῆς στρατιῆς Βάδρης μὲν ὁ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευε αἰρέειν τὴν πόλιν, Ἀμασις δὲ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ οὐκ ἔα· ἐπὶ Βάρκην γὰρ ἀποσταλῆναι μούνην Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν· ἐς ὃ διεξελθοῦσι καὶ ἰζομένοις ἐπὶ Διὸς Λυκαίου ὄχθον μετεμέλησέ σφι οὐ σχοῦσι τὴν Κυρήνην. καὶ ἐπειρῶντο τὸ δεύτερον παριέναι ἐς αὐτήν· οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι οὐ περιώρων. 3 τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσησι οὐδενὸς μαχομένου φόβος ἐνέπεσε, ἀποδραμόντες τε ὅσον τε ἐξήκοντα στάδια ἵζοντο· ἰδρυθέντι δὲ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ταύτῃ ἦλθε παρὰ Ἀρυνάνδεω ἄγγελος ἀποκαλέων αὐτοὺς. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι Κυρηναίων δεηθέντες ἐπόδιά σφι δοῦναι ἔτυχον, λαβόντες δὲ ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον. 4 παραλαβόντες δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτοὺς Λίβυες τῆς τε ἐσθῆτος εἵνεκα καὶ τῆς σκευῆς τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπελκομένους ἐφόνευσαν, ἐς ὃ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκοντο.

¹ Οὗτος ὁ Περσέων στρατὸς τῆς Λιβύης ἐκαστάτω ἐς Εὐεσπερίδας ἦλθε. τοὺς δὲ ἡνδραποδίσαντο τῶν Βαρκαίων, τούτους δὲ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀνασπάστους ἐποίησαν παρὰ βασιλέα, βασιλεὺς δέ σφι Δαρεῖος ἔδωκε τῆς Βακτρίας χώρας κώμην ἐγκατοικῆσαι. οἱ δὲ τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ οὔνομα ἔθεντο Βάρκην, ἥ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν οἰκεομένη ἐν γῇ τῇ Βακτρίῃ.

¹ Οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡ Φερετίμη εὖ τὴν ζόην κατέπλεξε. ὥς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης τισαμένη τοὺς Βαρκαίους ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἀπέθανε κακῶς· ζῶσα γὰρ εὐλέων ἐξέξεσε, ὥς ἄρα ἀνθρώποισι αἱ λίην ἰσχυραὶ τιμωρίαι πρὸς θεῶν ἐπίφθονοι γίνονται· ἐκ μὲν δὴ Φερετίμης τῆς Βάττου τοιαύτη τε καὶ τοσαύτη τιμωρία ἐγένετο ἐς Βαρκαίους.

Βιβλίο Ε - Τερψιχόρη

1

1 οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν Περσέων καταλειφθέντες ὑπὸ Δαρείου, τῶν ὁ Μεγάβαζος ἦρχε, πρώτους μὲν Περινήθους Ἑλλησποντίων οὐ βουλομένους ὑπηκόους εἶναι Δαρείου κατεστρέψαντο, περιεφθέντας πρότερον καὶ ὑπὸ Παίωνων τρηχέως. 2 οἱ γὰρ ὧν ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος Παῖονες χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Περινήθους, καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀντικατιζόμενοι ἐπικαλέσωνται σφέας οἱ Περινήθιοι ὀνομαστὶ βώσαντες, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιχειρέειν, ἦν δὲ μὴ ἐπιβώσωνται, μὴ ἐπιχειρέειν, ἐποίηον οἱ Παῖονες ταῦτα. ἀντικατιζομένων δὲ τῶν Περινήθων ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, ἐνθαῦτα μουνوماχίῃ τριφασίῃ ἐκ προκλήσιός σφι ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἵππον ἵπῳ συνέβαλον καὶ κύνα κυνί. 3 νικῶντων δὲ τὰ δύο τῶν Περινήθων, ὥς ἐπαιώνιζον κεχαρηκότες, συνεβάλοντο οἱ Παῖονες τὸ χρηστήριον αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἶναι καὶ εἶπάν κου παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι “νῦν ἂν εἴῃ ὁ χρησμὸς ἐπιτελεόμενος ἡμῖν, νῦν ἡμέτερον ἔργον,,. οὕτω τοῖσι Περινήθιοις παιωνίσασι ἐπιχειρέουσι οἱ Παῖονες, καὶ πολλὸν τε ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἔλιπον σφέων ὀλίγους.

2

1 τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Παίωνων πρότερον γενόμενα ὧδε ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας γινομένων τῶν Περινήθων οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Μεγάβαζος ἐπεκράτησαν πλήθει. 2 ὥς δὲ ἐχειρώθη ἡ Πέρνιθος, ἤλαυνε Μεγάβαζος τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης, πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων ἡμερούμενος βασιλεί. ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ ἐνετέταλτο ἐκ Δαρείου, Θρηίκην καταστρέφεσθαι.

3

1 Θρηίκων δὲ ἔθνος μέγιστον ἐστὶ μετὰ γε Ἰνδοὺς πάντων ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δὲ ὑπ’ ἐνὸς ἄρχοιτο ἢ φρονέοι κατὰ τῷτό, ἅμαχόν τ’ ἂν εἴῃ καὶ πολλῷ κράτιστον πάντων ἐθνέων κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμήν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἄπορόν σφι καὶ ἀμήχανον μὴ κοτε ἐγγένηται, εἰσὶ δὴ κατὰ τοῦτο ἀσθενέες. 2 οὐνόματα δ’ ἔχουσι πολλὰ κατὰ χώρας ἕκαστοι, νόμοισι δὲ οὗτοι παραπλησίοις πάντες χρέωνται κατὰ πάντα, πλὴν Γετέων καὶ Τραυσῶν καὶ τῶν κατύπερθε Κρηστωναίων

οἰκεόντων.

4

1 τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν Γέται οἱ ἀθανατίζοντες ποιεῦσι, εἴρηταί μοι· Τραυσοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ ταῦτά τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Θρήξι ἐπιτελεύουσι, κατὰ δὲ τὸν γινόμενόν σφι καὶ ἀπογινόμενον ποιεῦσι τοιάδε· 2 τὸν μὲν γενόμενον περιζόμενοι οἱ προσήκοντες ὀλοφύρονται, ὅσα μιν δεῖ ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο ἀναπλῆσαι κακά, ἀνηγεόμενοι τὰ ἀνθρωπία πάντα πάθεα· τὸν δ' ἀπογενόμενον παίζοντές τε καὶ ἡδόμενοι γῇ κρύπτουσι, ἐπιλέγοντες ὅσων κακῶν ἐξαπαλλαχθεὶς ἐστὶ ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίῃ.

5

1 οἱ δὲ κατύπερθε Κρηστωναίων ποιεῦσι τοιάδε. ἔχει γυναῖκας ἕκαστος πολλά,· ἐπεὰν ὧν τις αὐτῶν ἀποθάνῃ, κρίσις γίνεται μεγάλῃ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ φίλων σπουδαὶ ἰσχυραὶ περὶ τοῦδε, ἥτις αὐτέων ἐφίλέετο μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἥ δ' ἂν κριθῇ καὶ τιμηθῇ, ἐγκωμιασθεῖσα ὑπὸ τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν σφάζεται ἐς τὸν τάφον ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκιοτάτου ἑωυτῆς, σφαχθεῖσα δὲ συνθάπτεται τῷ ἀνδρί. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι συμφορὴν μεγάλῃν ποιεῦνται· ὄνειδος γάρ σφι τοῦτο μέγιστον γίνεται.

6

1 τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων Θρηίκων ἐστὶ ὁδε νόμος· πωλεῦσι τὰ τέκνα ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ, τὰς δὲ παρθένους οὐ φυλάσσουνσι, ἀλλ' ἐῷσι τοῖσι αὐταὶ βούλονται ἀνδράσι μίσεσθαι· τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἰσχυρῶς φυλάσσουνσι καὶ ὠνέονται τὰς γυναῖκας παρὰ τῶν γονέων χρημάτων μεγάλων. 2 καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐστίχθαι εὐγενὲς κέκριται, τὸ δὲ ἄστικτον ἀγεννές. ἀργὸν εἶναι κάλλιστον, γῆς δὲ ἐργάτην ἀτιμότατον· τὸ ζῆν ἀπὸ πολέμου καὶ ληιστύος κάλλιστον.

7

1 οὗτοι μὲν σφέων οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι νόμοι εἰσὶ, θεοὺς δὲ σέβονται μούνους τούσδε, Ἄρεα καὶ Διόνυσον καὶ Ἄρτεμιν. οἱ δὲ βασιλέες αὐτῶν, πάρεξ τῶν ἄλλων πολιητέων, σέβονται Ἑρμῆν μάλιστα θεῶν, καὶ ὁμνύουσι μῦθον τοῦτον, καὶ λέγουσι γεγονέναι ἀπὸ Ἑρμέω ἑωυτούς.

¹ ταφαὶ δὲ τοῖσι εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν εἰσὶ αἶδε· τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας προτιθεῖσι τὸν νεκρόν, καὶ παντοῖα σφάζαντες ἱρήια εὐωχέονται, προκλαύσαντες πρῶτον· ἔπειτα δὲ θάπτουσι κατακαύσαντες ἢ ἄλλως γῇ κρύψαντες, χῶμα δὲ χέαντες ἀγῶνα τιθεῖσι παντοῖον, ἐν τῷ τὰ μέγιστα ἄεθλα τίθεται κατὰ λόγον μουνوماχίης. ταφαὶ μὲν δὴ Θρηίκων εἰσὶ αἶδε.

¹ τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορέω τῆς χώρας ἔτι ταύτης οὐδεὶς ἔχει φράσαι τὸ ἀτρεκὲς οἵτινες εἰσὶ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέοντες αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πέρην ἤδη τοῦ Ἰστρου ἔρημος χώρα φαίνεται ἐοῦσα καὶ ἄπειρος. μούνους δὲ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι οἰκέοντας πέρην τοῦ Ἰστρου ἀνθρώπους τοῖσι οὕνομα εἶναι Σιγύννας, ἐσθῆτι δὲ χρεωμένους Μηδικῇ· ² τοὺς δὲ ἵππους αὐτῶν εἶναι λασίους ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα ἐπὶ πέντε δακτύλους τὸ βάθος τῶν τριχῶν, μικροὺς δὲ καὶ σιμοὺς καὶ ἀδυνάτους ἄνδρας φέρειν, ζευγνυμένους δὲ ὑπ' ἄρματα εἶναι ὀξυτάτους· ἄρματῃλατέειν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. κατήκειν δὲ τούτων τοὺς οὖρους ἀγχοῦ Ἐνετῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀδρίῃ. ³ εἶναι δὲ Μήδων σφέας ἀποίκους λέγουσι. ὅκως δὲ οὗτοι Μήδων ἄποικοι γεγόνασι, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω ἐπιφράσασθαι, γένοιτο δ' ἂν πᾶν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ. Σιγύννας δ' ὧν καλέουσι Δίγυες οἱ ἄνω ὑπὲρ Μασσαλίας οἰκέοντες τοὺς καπήλους, Κύπριοι δὲ τὰ δόρατα.

¹ ὥς δὲ Θρήικες λέγουσι, μέλισσαι κατέχουσι τὰ πέρην τοῦ Ἰστρου, καὶ ὑπὸ τουτέων οὐκ εἶναι διελθεῖν τὸ προσωτέρω. ἐμοὶ μὲν νυν ταῦτα λέγοντες δοκέουσι λέγειν οὐκ οἰκότα· τὰ γὰρ ζῷα ταῦτα φαίνεται εἶναι δύσριγα· ἀλλὰ μοι τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον ἀοίκητα δοκεῖ εἶναι διὰ τὰ ψύχεα. ταῦτα μὲν νυν τῆς χώρας ταύτης περὶ λέγεται· τὰ παραθαλάσσια δ' ὧν αὐτῆς Μεγάβαζος Περσέων κατήκοα ἐποίηε.

¹ Δαρεῖος δὲ ὥς διαβὰς τάχιστα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπίκητο ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐμνήσθη τῆς ἐξ Ἰστιαίου τε τοῦ Μιλησίου εὐεργεσίης καὶ τῆς παραινέσιος τοῦ Μυτιληναίου Κώεω, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ σφέας ἐς Σάρδεις ἐδίδου αὐτοῖσι αἵρεσιν. ² ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἰστιαῖος, ἅτε τυραννεύων

τῆς Μιλήτου, τυραννίδος μὲν οὐδεμιᾷ προσεχρήριζε, αἰτέει δὲ Μύρκινον τὴν Ἥδωνῶν, βουλόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ πόλιν κτίσαι. οὗτος μὲν δὴ ταύτην αἰρέεται, ὁ δὲ Κῶης, οἷά τε οὐ τύραννος δημότης τε ἐὼν, αἰτέει Μυτιλήνης τυραννεῦσαι.

12

¹ τελεωθέντων δὲ ἀμφοτέροισι, οὗτοι μὲν κατὰ τὰ εἴλοντο ἐτράποντο, Δαρεῖον δὲ συνήνεικε πρῆγμα τοιόνδε ἰδόμενον ἐπιθυμῆσαι ἐντεῖλαισθαι Μεγαβάζῳ Παίονας ἐλόντα ἀνασπάστους ποιῆσαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης. ἦν Πίγρης καὶ Μαντύης ἄνδρες Παῖονες, οἱ ἐπεῖτε Δαρεῖος διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, αὐτοὶ ἐθέλοντες Παίωνων τυραννεύειν ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι ἀδελφεὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ εὐειδέα. ² φυλάξαντες δὲ Δαρεῖον προκατιζόμενον ἐς τὸ προάστειον τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε· σκευάσαντες τὴν ἀδελφεὴν ὥς εἶχον ἄριστα, ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἔπεμπον ἄγγος ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔχουσαν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βραχίονος ἵππον ἐπέλκουσαν καὶ κλώθουσιν λίνον. ³ ὥς δὲ παρεξήιε ἡ γυνή, ἐπιμελὲς τῷ Δαρεῖῳ ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ Περσικὰ ἦν οὔτε Λύδια τὰ ποιούμενα ἐκ τῆς γυναικός, οὔτε πρὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας οὐδαμῶν. ἐπιμελὲς δὲ ὥς οἱ ἐγένετο, τῶν δορυφόρων τινὰς πέμπει κελεύων φυλάξει ὃ τι χρήσεται τῷ ἵππῳ ἢ γυνή. ⁴ οἱ μὲν δὴ ὀπισθε εἶποντο· ἡ δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ἤρσε τὸν ἵππον, ἄρσασα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄγγος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐμπλησαμένη τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν παρεξήιε, φέρουσα τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἐπέλκουσα ἐκ τοῦ βραχίονος τὸν ἵππον καὶ στρέφουσα τὸν ἄτρακτον.

13

¹ θωμάζων δὲ ὁ Δαρεῖος τά τε ἤκουσε ἐκ τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ τὰ αὐτὸς ὥρα, ἄγειν αὐτὴν ἐκέλευε ἐωυτῷ ἐς ὄψιν. ὥς δὲ ἄχθη, παρῆσαν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῆς οὗ κη πρόσω σκοπιὴν ἔχοντες τούτων. εἰρωτῶντος δὲ τοῦ Δαρεῖου ὁποδαπὴ εἴη, ἔφασαν οἱ νεηνίσκοι εἶναι Παῖονες καὶ ἐκείνην εἶναι σφέων ἀδελφεήν. ² ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο, τίνες δὲ οἱ Παῖονες ἄνθρωποι εἰσὶ καὶ κοῦ γῆς οἰκημένοι, καὶ τί κεῖνοι ἐθέλοντες ἔλθοιεν ἐς Σάρδεις. οἱ δὲ οἱ ἔφραζον ὥς ἔλθοιεν μὲν ἐκεῖνῳ δώσοντες σφέας αὐτούς, εἴη δὲ ἡ Παιονίη ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ πεπολισμένη, ὁ δὲ Στρυμὼν οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, εἶψαν δὲ Τευκρῶν τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἄποικοι. ³ οἱ μὲν δὴ

ταῦτα ἕκαστα ἔλεγον, ὁ δὲ εἰρώτα εἰ καὶ πᾶσαι αὐτόθι αἱ γυναῖκες εἶσαν οὕτω ἐργάτιδες. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἔφασαν προθύμως οὕτω ἔχειν· αὐτοῦ γὰρ ὧν τούτου εἵνεκα καὶ ἐποιέετο.

14

1 ἐνθαῦτα Δαρεῖος γράφει γράμματα Μεγαβάζῳ, τὸν ἔλιπε ἐν τῇ Θρηίκῃ στρατηγόν, ἐντελλόμενος ἐξαναστῆσαι ἐξ ἠθέων Παίονας καὶ παρ' ἐωυτὸν ἀγαγεῖν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν. 2 αὐτίκα δὲ ἱππεὺς ἔθεε φέρων τὴν ἀγγελίην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, περαιωθεὶς δὲ διδοῖ τὸ βυβλίον τῷ Μεγαβάζῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἡγεμόνας ἐκ τῆς Θρηίκης ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Παιονίην.

15

1 πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Παῖονες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ σφέας ἰέναι, ἀλισθέντες ἐξεστρατεύσαντο πρὸς θαλάσσης, δοκέοντες ταύτῃ ἐπιχειρήσειν τοὺς Πέρσας ἐμβάλλοντας. 2 οἱ μὲν δὴ Παῖονες ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι τὸν Μεγαβάζου στρατὸν ἐπιόντα ἐρύκειν· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι συναλίσθαι τοὺς Παῖονας καὶ τὴν πρὸς θαλάσσης ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσοντας, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας τὴν ἄνω ὁδὸν τρέπονται, λαθόντες δὲ τοὺς Παῖονας ἐσπίπτουσι ἐς τὰς πόλιας αὐτῶν ἐούσας ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμους· οἷα δὲ κεινῆσι ἐπιπεσόντες εὐπετέως κατέσχον. 3 οἱ δὲ Παῖονες ὥς ἐπύθοντο ἐχομένας τὰς πόλιας, αὐτίκα διασκεδασθέντες κατ' ἐωυτοὺς ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο καὶ παρεδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Πέρσησι. οὕτω δὴ Παιόνων Σιριοπαῖόνες τε καὶ Παιόπλαι καὶ οἱ μέχρι τῆς Πρασιάδος λίμνης ἐξ ἠθέων ἐξαναστάντες ἦγοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

16

1 οἱ δὲ περὶ τε Πάγγαιον ὄρος καὶ Δόβηρας καὶ Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ Ὀδομάντους καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν λίμνην τὴν Πρασιάδα οὐκ ἐχειρώθησαν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου· ἐπειρήθη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ κατοικημένους ἐξαίρειν ὧδε. ἴκρια ἐπὶ σταυρῶν ὑψηλῶν ἐζευγμένα ἐν μέσῃ ἔστηκε τῇ λίμνῃ, ἔσοδον ἐκ τῆς ἡλείρου στερινὴν ἔχοντα μιῇ γεφύρῃ. 2 τοὺς δὲ σταυροὺς τοὺς ὑπεστεῶτας τοῖσι ἰκρίοισι τὸ μὲν κου ἀρχαῖον ἔστησαν κοινῇ πάντες οἱ πολίηται, μετὰ δὲ νόμῳ χρεώμενοι ἰστᾶσι τοιῷδε· κομίζοντες ἐξ ὄρεος τῷ οὔνομα ἐστὶ

Ὁρβηλος, κατὰ γυναῖκα ἐκάστην ὁ γαμέων τρεῖς σταυροὺς ὑπίστησι· ἄγεται δὲ ἕκαστος συχνὰς γυναῖκας. 3 οἰκέουσι δὲ τοιοῦτον τρόπον, κρατέων ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τῶν ἱκρίων καλύβης τε ἐν τῇ διαιτᾶται καὶ θύρης καταπακτῆς διὰ τῶν ἱκρίων κάτω φερούσης ἐς τὴν λίμνην. τὰ δὲ νήπια παιδία δέουσι τοῦ ποδὸς σπάρτω, μὴ κατακυλισθῇ δειμαίνοντες. 4 τοῖσι δὲ ἵπποισι καὶ τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι παρέχουσι χόρτον ἰχθύς· τῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἐστὶ τοσοῦτο ὥστε, ὅταν τὴν θύρην τὴν καταπακτὴν ἀνακλίνῃ, κατιεῖ σχοίνῳ σφυρίδα κεινὴν ἐς τὴν λίμνην, καὶ οὐ πολλόν τινα χρόνον ἐπισχὼν ἀνασπᾷ πλήρεα ἰχθύων. τῶν δὲ ἰχθύων ἐστὶ γένεα δύο, τοὺς καλέουσι ἀπρακάς τε καὶ τίλωνας.

17

1 παιόνων μὲν δὴ οἱ χειρωθέντες ἦγοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. Μεγάβαζος δὲ ὡς ἐχειρώσατο τοὺς Παίονας, πέμπει ἀγγέλους ἐς Μακεδονίην ἄνδρας ἑπτὰ Πέρσας, οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἦσαν δοκιμώτατοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· ἐπέμποντο δὲ οὗτοι παρὰ Ἀμύντην αἰτήσοντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ βασιλεί. 2 ἔστι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Πρασιάδος λίμνης σύντομος κάρτα ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίην· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔχεται τῆς λίμνης τὸ μέταλλον ἐξ οὗ ὕστερον τούτων τάλαντον ἀργυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ἐφοίτα, μετὰ δὲ τὸ μέταλλον Δύσωρον καλεόμενον ὁρος ὑπερβάντα εἶναι ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ.

18

1 οἱ ὧν Πέρσαι οἱ πεμφθέντες οὗτοι παρὰ τὸν Ἀμύντην ὡς ἀπίκοντο, αἰτεον ἐλθόντες ἐς ὅσιν τὴν Ἀμύντεω Δαρείῳ βασιλεί γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. ὁ δὲ ταῦτά τε ἐδίδου καὶ σφεας ἐπὶ ξείνια καλεεί, παρασκευασάμενος δὲ δεῖπνον μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἐδέκετο τοὺς Πέρσας φιλοφρόνως. 2 ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δεῖπνου ἐγένοντο, διαπίνοντες εἶπαν οἱ Πέρσαι τάδε. “ἔξινε Μακεδῶν, ἡμῖν νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, ἐπεὰν δεῖπνον προτιθώμεθα μέγα, τότε καὶ τὰς παλλακάς καὶ τὰς κουριδίας γυναῖκας ἐσάγεσθαι παρέδρους. σύ νυν, ἐπεὶ περ προθύμως μὲν ἐδέξαιο μέγας δὲ ξεινίζεις, διδοῖς δὲ βασιλεί Δαρείῳ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ἔπεο νόμῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ,,” 3 εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἀμύντης “ὦ Πέρσαι, νόμος μὲν ἡμῖν γε ἐστὶ οὐκ οὗτος, ἀλλὰ κεχωρίσθαι ἄνδρας γυναικῶν· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐόντες δεσπότες προσχρηρίζετε τούτων, παρέσται ὑμῖν καὶ ταῦτα,,” εἶπας τοσαῦτα ὁ Ἀμύντης μετεπέμπετο τὰς γυναῖκας· αἱ δ' ἐπεῖτε καλεόμεναι ἦλθον, ἐπεξῆς ἀντίαι ἵζοντο

τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι. 4 ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἰδόμενοι γυναῖκας εὐμόρφους ἔλεγον πρὸς Ἀμύντην φάμενοι τὸ ποιηθὲν τοῦτο οὐδὲν εἶναι σοφόν· κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι ἀρχῆθαι μὴ ἐλθεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας ἢ ἐλθούσας καὶ μὴ παριζομένας ἀντίας ἵζεσθαι ἀλγηδόνας σφίσι ὀφθαλμῶν. 5 ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης ἐκέλευε παρίζειν· πειθομενέων δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτίκα οἱ Πέρσαι μαστῶν τε ἄπτοντο οἷα πλεόνως οἰνωμένοι, καὶ κού τις καὶ φιλέειν ἐπειράτο.

19

1 Ἀμύντης μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὀρέων ἀτρέμας εἶχε, καίπερ δυσφορέων, οἷα ὑπερδειμαίνων τοὺς Πέρσας· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντεω παρεὼν τε καὶ ὀρέων ταῦτα, ἅτε νέος τε ἐὼν καὶ κακῶν ἀπαθής, οὐδαμῶς ἔτι κατέχειν οἷος τε ἦν, ὥστε δὲ βαρέως φέρων εἶπε πρὸς Ἀμύντην τάδε. “ὦ πάτερ, σὺ μὲν εἶκε τῇ ἡλικίῃ ἀπιὼν τε ἀναπαύεο, μηδὲ λιπάρεε τῇ πόσι· ἐγὼ δὲ προσμένων αὐτοῦ τῇδε πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα παρέξω τοῖσι ξείνοισι, 2 πρὸς ταῦτα συνιεῖς Ἀμύντης ὅτι νεώτερα πρήγματα πρήσσειν μέλλοι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, λέγει “ὦ παῖ, σχεδὸν γὰρ σευ ἀνακαιομένου συνήμι τοὺς λόγους, ὅτι ἐθέλεις ἐμὲ ἐκπέμψας ποιεῖν τι νεώτερον· ἐγὼ ὦν σευ χρηρίζω μηδὲν νεοχμῶσαι κατ’ ἄνδρας τούτους, ἵνα μὴ ἐξεργάσῃ ἡμέας, ἀλλὰ ἀνέχου ὀρέων τὰ ποιούμενα· ἀμφὶ δὲ ἀπόδω τῇ ἐμῇ πείσομαί τοι,·

20

1 ὥς δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης χρηίσας τούτων οἰχώκεε, λέγει ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας “γυναικῶν τουτέων, ὧ ξεῖνοι, ἔστι ὑμῖν πολλὴ εὐπετεία, καὶ εἰ πάσῃσι βούλεσθε μίσγεσθαι καὶ ὀκόσῃσι ὧν αὐτέων. 2 τούτου μὲν πέρι αὐτοὶ ἀποσημανέετε· νῦν δέ, σχεδὸν γὰρ ἤδη τῆς κοίτης ὥρῃ προσέρχεται ὑμῖν καὶ καλῶς ἔχοντας ὑμέας ὀρῶ μέθης, γυναῖκας ταύτας, εἰ ὑμῖν φίλον ἐστί, ἄπετε λούσασθαι, λουσαμένας δὲ ὀπίσω προσδέκεσθε, 3 εἶπας ταῦτα, συνέπαινοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, γυναῖκας μὲν ἐξελθούσας ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν γυναικίην, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἴσους τῇσι γυναιξὶ ἀριθμὸν ἄνδρας λειογενεῖους τῇ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐσθῇτι σκευάσας καὶ ἐγχειρίδια δοὺς ἦγε ἔσω, παράγων δὲ τούτους ἔλεγε τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι τάδε. 4 “ὦ Πέρσαι, οἴκατε πανδαισίῃ τελέῃ ἰστιῇσθαι· τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ὅσα εἶχομεν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ οἷά τε ἦν ἐξευρόντας παρέχειν, πάντα ὑμῖν πάρεστι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τόδε τὸ πάντων μέγιστον, τὰς τε ἐωυτῶν μητέρας

καὶ τὰς ἀδελφεὰς ἐπιδραψιλευόμεθα ὑμῖν, ὥς παντελέως μάθητε τιμώμενοι πρὸς ἡμέων τῶν περ ἐστὲ ἄξιοι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βασιλείῃ τῷ πέμψαντι ἀπαγγείλητε ὥς ἀνὴρ Ἑλλήν Μακεδόνων ὑπαρχος εὖ ὑμέας ἐδέξατο καὶ τραπέζῃ καὶ κοίτῃ,· 5 ταῦτα εἶπας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος παρίζει Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα ὥς γυναῖκα τῷ λόγῳ· οἱ δέ, ἐπεῖτε σφέων οἱ Πέρσαι ψαύειν ἐπειρῶντο, διεργάζοντο αὐτούς.

21

1 καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τούτῳ τῷ μῶρῳ διεφθάρησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ θεραπῆν αὐτῶν· εἶπετο γὰρ δὴ σφι καὶ ὀχήματα καὶ θεράποντες καὶ ἡ πᾶσα πολλὴ παρασκευή· πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἅμα πᾶσι ἐκείνοισι ἠφάνιστο. 2 μετὰ δὲ χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ζήτησις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων μεγάλη ἐκ τῶν Περσέων ἐγένετο, καὶ σφεας Ἀλέξανδρος κατέλαβε σοφίῃ, χρήματά τε δούς πολλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὴν τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Γυγαίῃ· δούς δὲ ταῦτα κατέλαβε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος Βουβάρῃ ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τῶν διζημένων τοὺς ἀπολομένους τῷ στρατηγῷ.

22

1 ὁ μὲν νυν τῶν Περσέων τούτων θάνατος οὕτῳ καταλαμφθεὶς ἐσιγήθη. Ἑλληνας δὲ εἶναι τούτους τοὺς ἀπὸ Περδίκκεω γεγονότας, κατὰ περ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, αὐτός τε οὕτῳ τυγχάνῳ ἐπιστάμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι ἀποδέξω ὥς εἰσὶ Ἕλληνες, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ διέποντες ἀγῶνα Ἑλληνοδίκαι οὕτῳ ἐγνώσαν εἶναι. 2 Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀεθλεύειν ἐλομένου καὶ καταβάντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ ἀντιθευσόμενοι Ἑλλήνων ἐξεῖργόν μιν, φάμενοι οὐ βαρβάρων ἀγωνιστέων εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέδεξε ὥς εἴη Ἀργεῖος, ἐκρίθη τε εἶναι Ἑλλήν καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενος στάδιον συνεξέπιπτε τῷ πρώτῳ.

23

1 ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτῳ κη ἐγένετο. Μεγάβαζος δὲ ἄγων τοὺς Παίονας ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήποντον· ἐνθεῦτεν διαπεραιωθεὶς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις. ἅτε δὲ τειχέοντος ἤδη Ἰστιαίου τοῦ Μιλησίου τὴν παρὰ Δαρείου αἰτήσας ἔτυχε μισθὸν δωρεὴν φυλακῆς τῆς σχεδῆς, ἐόντος δὲ τοῦ χώρου τούτου παρὰ Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν τῷ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Μύρκινος, μαθὼν ὁ Μεγάβαζος τὸ ποιούμενον ἐκ τοῦ

Ἰστιαίου, ὥς ἦλθε τάχιστα ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ἄγων τοὺς Παίονας, ἔλεγε Δαρεῖω τάδε. ² “ὦ βασιλεῦ, κοῖόν τι χρῆμα ἐποίησας, ἀνδρὶ Ἑλληνι δεινῷ τε καὶ σοφῷ δοὺς ἐγκτίσασθαι πόλιν ἐν Θρηίκῃ, ἵνα ἴδῃ τε ναυπηγήσιμος ἐστὶ ἄφθονος καὶ πολλοὶ κωπέες καὶ μέταλλα ἀργύρεα, ὅμιλός τε πολλὸς μὲν Ἑλλήν περιουκείει πολλὸς δὲ βάρβαρος, οἱ προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι ποιήσουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἂν κεῖνος ἐξηγήται καὶ ἡμέρης καὶ νυκτός. ³ σύ νυν τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα παῦσον ταῦτα ποιεῦντα, ἵνα μὴ οἰκῇ πολέμῳ συνέχῃ· τρόπῳ δὲ ἡπίῳ μεταπεμψάμενος παῦσον. ἐπεὰν δὲ αὐτὸν περιλάβῃς, ποιέειν ὅκως μηκέτι κεῖνος ἐς Ἑλλάνας ἀπίξεται,,.

24

¹ ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μεγάβαζος εὐπετέως ἔπειθε Δαρεῖον ὥς εὖ προορῶν τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ὁ Δαρεῖος ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ἰστιαῖε, βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος τάδε λέγει. ἐγὼ φροντίζων εὐρίσκω ἐμοί τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι εἶναι οὐδένα σεῦ ἄνδρα εὐνοέστερον· τοῦτο δὲ οὐ λόγοισι ἀλλ’ ἔργοισι οἶδα μαθών. ² νῦν ὦν, ἐπινοέω γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλα κατεργάσασθαι, ἀπικέο μοι πάντως, ἵνα τοι αὐτὰ ὑπερθέωμαι,,. τούτοις τοῖσι ἔπεσι πιστεύσας ὁ Ἰστιαῖος, καὶ ἅμα μέγα ποιεύμενος βασιλέος σύμβουλος γενέσθαι, ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις· ³ ἀπικομένῳ δὲ οἱ ἔλεγε Δαρεῖος τάδε. “Ἰστιαῖε, ἐγὼ σε μετεπεμψάμην τῶνδε εἵνεκεν. ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα ἐνόστησα ἀπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ σύ μοι ἐγένεο ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν, οὐδέν κω ἄλλο χρῆμα οὕτω ἐν βραχεί ἐπεζήτησα ὥς σὲ ἰδεῖν τε καὶ ἐς λόγους μοι ἀπικέσθαι, ἐγνωκὼς ὅτι κτημάτων πάντων ἐστὶ τιμιώτατον ἀνὴρ φίλος συνετός τε καὶ εὖνοος, τά τοι ἐγὼ καὶ ἀμφοτέρα συνειδὼς ἔχω μαρτυρεῖν ἐς πρήγματα τὰ ἐμά. ⁴ νῦν ὦν, εὖ γὰρ ἐποίησας ἀπικόμενος, τάδε τοι ἐγὼ προτείνομαι· Μίλητον μὲν ἔα καὶ τὴν νεόκτιστον ἐν Θρηίκῃ πόλιν, σὺ δὲ μοι ἐπόμενος ἐς Σοῦσα ἔχε τά περ ἂν ἐγὼ ἔχω, ἐμός τε σύσσιτος ἐὼν καὶ σύμβουλος,,.

25

¹ ταῦτα Δαρεῖος εἶπας, καὶ καταστήσας Ἀρταφρένεα ἀδελφεὸν ἐωυτοῦ ὁμοπάτριον ὑπαρχον εἶναι Σαρδίῳ, ἀπήλαυνε ἐς Σοῦσα ἅμα ἀγόμενος Ἰστιαῖον, Ὅτάνεα δὲ ἀποδέξας στρατηγὸν εἶναι τῶν παραθαλασσίῳ ἀνδρῶν· τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Σισάμνην βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης γενόμενον τῶν βασιλῆϊον δικαστέων, ὅτι ἐπὶ χρήμασι

δίκην ἄδικον ἐδίκασε, σφάζας ἀπέδειρε πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπείην, σπαδίξας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ δέρμα ἱμάντας ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔταμε καὶ ἐνέτεινε τὸν θρόνον ἐς τὸν ἴζων ἐδίκασε· 2 ἐντανύσας δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπέδεξε δικαστὴν εἶναι ἀντὶ τοῦ Σισάμνεω, τὸν ἀποκτείνας ἀπέδειρε, τὸν παῖδα τοῦ Σισάμνεω, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ μεμνηῖσθαι ἐν τῷ κατίζων θρόνῳ δικάζει.

26

1 οὗτος ὢν ὁ Ὀτάνης ὁ ἐγκατιζόμενος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον, τότε διάδοχος γενόμενος Μεγαβάζῳ τῆς στρατηγίης, Βυζαντίους τε εἶλε καὶ Καλχηδονίους, εἶλε δὲ Ἄντανδρον τὴν ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι γῇ, εἶλε δὲ Λαμπώνιον, λαβὼν δὲ παρὰ Λεσβίων νέας εἶλε Λημόν τε καὶ Ἴμβρον, ἀμφοτέρας ἔτι τότε ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν οἰκομένας.

27

1 οἱ μὲν δὴ Λήμνιοι καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο εὖ καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκακώθησαν, τοῖσι δὲ περιεοῦσι αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι ὑπαρχον ἐπιστάσι Λυκάρητον τὸν Μαιανδρίου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Σάμου ἀδελφεόν. 2 οὗτος ὁ Λυκάρητος ἄρχων ἐν Λήμνῳ τελευτᾷ. αἰτίη δὲ τούτου ἦδε· πάντας ἡνδραποδίζετο καὶ κατεστρέφετο τοὺς μὲν λιποστρατίης ἐπὶ Σκύθας αἰτιώμενος, τοὺς δὲ σίνασθαι τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ὀπίσω ἀποκομιζόμενον.

28

1 οὗτος δὲ τοσαῦτα ἐξεργάσατο στρατηγίης. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἄνεσις κακῶν ἦν, καὶ ἤρχετο τὸ δεύτερον ἐκ Νάξου τε καὶ Μιλήτου Ἴωσι γίνεσθαι κακά. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ Νάξος εὐδαιμονίῃ τῶν νήσων προέφερε, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἡ Μίλητος αὐτὴ τε ἐωυτῆς μάλιστα δὴ τότε ἀκμάσασα καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίης ἦν πρόσχημα, κατύπερθε δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ δύο γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν νοσήσασα ἐς τὰ μάλιστα στάσι, μέχρι οὗ μιν Πάριοι κατήρτισαν· τούτους γὰρ καταρτιστήρας ἐκ πάντων Ἑλλήνων εἶλοντο οἱ Μιλήσιοι.

29

1 κατήλλαξαν δὲ σφέας ὧδε Πάριοι. ὥς ἀπίκοντο αὐτῶν ἄνδρες οἱ ἄριστοι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, ὥρων γὰρ δὴ σφεας δεινῶς οἰκοφθορημένους, ἔφασαν αὐτῶν βούλεσθαι διεξελεθεῖν τὴν χώραν· ποιεῦντες δὲ ταῦτα καὶ διεξιόντες πᾶσαν τὴν Μιλησίην, ὅκως τινὰ

ἴδοιεν ἐν ἀνεστηκυῖῃ τῇ χώρῃ ἀγρόν· εὖ ἐξεργασμένον, ἀπεγράφοντο τὸ οὖνομα τοῦ δεσπότεω τοῦ ἀγροῦ. ² διεξέλασαντες δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν καὶ σπανίους εὐρόντες τούτους, ὡς τάχιστα κατέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ἀλίην ποιησάμενοι ἀπέδεξαν τούτους μὲν πόλιν νέμειν τῶν εὖρον τοὺς ἀγροὺς εὖ ἐξεργασμένους· δοκέειν γὰρ ἔφασαν καὶ τῶν δημοσίων οὕτω δὴ σφεας ἐπιμελήσεσθαι ὥσπερ τῶν σφετέρων· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Μιλησίους τοὺς πρὶν στασιάζοντας τούτων ἔταξαν πείθεσθαι.

30

¹ Πάριοι μὲν νυν Μιλησίους οὕτω κατήρτισαν. τότε δὲ ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολιῶν ὧδε ἤρχετο κακὰ γίνεσθαι τῇ Ἰωνίῃ. ἐκ Νάξου ἔφυγον ἄνδρες τῶν παχέων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, φυγόντες δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μίλητον. ² τῆς δὲ Μιλήτου ἐτύγχανε ἐπίτροπος ἐὼν Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μολπαγόρεω, γαμβρός τε ἐὼν καὶ ἀνεψιὸς Ἰστιαίου τοῦ Λυσαγόρεω, τὸν ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐν Σούσοισι κατεῖχε· ὁ γὰρ Ἰστιαῖος τύραννος ἦν Μιλήτου καὶ ἐτύγχανε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐὼν ἐν Σούσοισι, ὅτε οἱ Νάξιοι ἦλθον ξεῖνοι πρὶν ἐόντες τῷ Ἰστιαίῳ. ³ ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οἱ Νάξιοι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἐδέοντο τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρεω, εἴ πως αὐτοῖσι παράσχοι δύναμιν τινα καὶ κατέλθοιεν ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν. ὁ δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὡς ἦν δι' αὐτοῦ κατέλθωσι ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἄρξει τῆς Νάξου, σκῆψιν δὲ ποιεύμενος τὴν ξεινίην τὴν Ἰστιαίου, τόνδε σφι λόγον προσέφερε. ⁴ “αὐτὸς μὲν ὑμῖν οὐ φερέγγυός εἰμι δύναμιν παρασχεῖν τοσαύτην ὥστε κατάγειν ἀεκόντων τῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐχόντων Ναξίων· πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὀκτακισχιλίην ἀσπίδα Ναξίοισι εἶναι καὶ πλοῖα μακρὰ πολλά· μηχανήσομαι δὲ πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιεύμενος. ⁵ ἐπινοέω δὲ τῇδε. Ἀρταφρένης μοι τυγχάνει ἐὼν φίλος· ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ὑμῖν Ὑστάσπεος μὲν ἐστὶ παῖς, Δαρείου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέος ἀδελφεός, τῶν δ' ἐπιθαλασσιῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἄρχει πάντων, ἔχων στρατιὴν τε πολλὴν καὶ πολλὰς νέας. τοῦτον ὦν δοκέω τὸν ἄνδρα ποιήσειν τῶν ἂν χρηίζωμεν,· ⁶ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Νάξιοι προσέθεσαν τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ πρήσσειν τῇ δύναιτο ἄριστα, καὶ ὑπίσχεσθαι δῶρα ἐκέλευον καὶ δαπάνην τῇ στρατιῇ ὡς αὐτοὶ διαλύσοντες, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχοντες, ὅταν ἐπιφανέωσι ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πάντα ποιήσειν τοὺς Ναξίους τὰ ἂν αὐτοὶ κελεύωσι, ὡς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας. τῶν γὰρ νήσων τουτέων τῶν Κυκλάδων οὐδεμία κω ἦν ὑπὸ Δαρείῳ.

1 ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφρένεα ὡς Νάξος εἴη νῆσος μεγάθι μὲν οὐ μεγάλη, ἄλλως δὲ καλή τε καὶ ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἀγχοῦ Ἰωνίης, χρήματα δὲ ἐνὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἀνδράποδα. “σὺ ὦν ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν στρατηλάτεις, κατάγων ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς φυγάδας ἐξ αὐτῆς. 2 καὶ τοὶ ταῦτα ποιήσαντι τοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶ ἔτοιμα παρ’ ἐμοὶ χρήματα μεγάλα πάρεξ τῶν ἀναισιμωμάτων τῇ στρατιῇ· ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ δίκαιον ἡμέας τοὺς ἄγοντας παρέχειν ἐστὶ· τοῦτο δὲ νήσους βασιλείᾳ προσκτήσεται αὐτὴν τε Νάξον καὶ τὰς ἐκ ταύτης ἡρτημένας, Πάρον καὶ Ἄνδρον καὶ ἄλλας τὰς Κυκλάδας καλευμένας. 3 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὀρμώμενος εὐπετέως ἐπιθήσεται Εὐβοίῃ νήσῳ μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐδαίμονι, οὐκ ἐλάσσονι Κύπρου καὶ κάρτα εὐπετεὶ αἰρεθῆναι. ἀποχρῶσι δὲ ἑκατὸν νέες ταύτας πάσας χειρώσασθαι,· ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο αὐτὸν τοῖσιδε. 4 “σὺ ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασιλέως ἐξηγητὴς γίνεαι πρηγμάτων ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ταῦτα εὖ παραινέεις πάντα, πλὴν τῶν νεῶν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ· ἀντὶ δὲ ἑκατὸν νεῶν διηκόσιαί τοι ἔτοιμοι ἔσονται ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι. δεῖ δὲ τούτοισι καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλέα συνέπαινον γίνεσθαι,·

1 ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀρισταγόρης ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσε, περιχαρὴς ἐὼν ἀπῆγε ἐς Μίλητον. ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης, ὥς οἱ πέμψαντι ἐς Σοῦσα καὶ ὑπερθέντι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρεω λεγόμενα συνέπαινος καὶ αὐτὸς Δαρεῖος ἐγένετο, παρεσκευάσατο μὲν διηκοσίας τριήρεας, πολλὸν δὲ κάρτα ὄμιλον Περσέων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, στρατηγὸν δὲ τούτων ἀπέδεξε Μεγαβάτην ἄνδρα Πέρσην τῶν Ἀχαιμενιδέων, ἐωυτοῦ τε καὶ Δαρείου ἀνεπιόν, τοῦ Πausanίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰ δὴ ἀληθὴς γε ἐστὶ ὁ λόγος, ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ τούτων ἡρμόσατο θυγατέρα, ἔρωτα σχὼν τῆς Ἑλλάδος τύραννος γενέσθαι. ἀποδέξας δὲ Μεγαβάτην στρατηγὸν Ἀρταφρένης ἀπέστειλε τὸν στρατὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀρισταγόρεα.

1 παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάτης τὸν τε Ἀρισταγόρεα ἐκ τῆς Μίλητου καὶ τὴν Ἰάδα στρατιὴν καὶ τοὺς Ναξίους ἐπλεε πρόφασιν ἐπ’ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Χίῳ, ἔσχε τὰς νέας ἐς Καύκασα, ὡς ἐνθεῦτεν βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ ἐς τὴν Νάξον διαβάλῃ. 2 καὶ οὐ

γὰρ ἔδεε τούτῳ τῷ στόλῳ Ναξίους ἀπολέσθαι, πρήγμα τοιόνδε συνηνείχθη γενέσθαι. περιόντος Μεγαβάτεω τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν φυλακάς, ἐπὶ νεὸς Μυνδίας ἔτυχε οὐδείς φυλάσσω· ὁ δὲ δεινόν τι ποιησάμενος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐξευρόντας τὸν ἄρχοντα ταύτης τῆς νεὸς, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σκύλαξ, τοῦτον δῆσαι διὰ θαλαμῆς διελόντας τῆς νεὸς κατὰ τοῦτο, ἕξω μὲν κεφαλὴν ποιεῦντας ἔσω δὲ τὸ σῶμα. ³ δεθέντος δὲ τοῦ Σκύλακος, ἐξαγγέλλει τις τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ὅτι τὸν ξεινόν οἱ τὸν Μύνδιον Μεγαβάτης δῆσας λυμαίνοιτο. ὁ δ' ἐλθὼν παραιτέτο τὸν Πέρσῃν, τυγχάνων δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐδέετο, αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἔλυσε. πυθόμενος δὲ κάρτα δεινὸν ἐποίησατο ὁ Μεγαβάτης καὶ ἐσπέρχετο τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ, ⁴ ὁ δὲ εἶπε “σοὶ δὲ καὶ τούτοισι τοῖσι πρήγμασι τί ἐστι; οὐ σὲ ἀπέστειλε Ἀρταφρένης ἐμέο πείθεσθαι καὶ πλέειν τῇ ἂν ἐγὼ κελεύω; τί πολλὰ πρήσσεις;,, ταῦτα εἶπε ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης. ὁ δὲ θυμωθείς τούτοις, ὥς νύξ ἐγένετο, ἔπεμπε ἐς Νάξον πλοίῳ ἄνδρας φράσσοντας τοῖσι Ναξίοις πάντα τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα.

34

¹ οἱ γὰρ ὧν Νάξιοι οὐδὲν πάντως προσεδέκοντο ἐπὶ σφέας τὸν στόλον τοῦτον ὀρμήσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐπύθοντο, αὐτίκα μὲν ἐσηνεύοντο τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, παρεσκευάσαντο δὲ ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ σῖτα καὶ ποτά, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐσάζαντο. ² καὶ οὗτοι μὲν παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς παρεσομένου σφι πολέμου· οἱ δ' ἐπεῖτε διέβαλον ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὰς νέας ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πρὸς πεφραγμένους προσεφέροντο καὶ ἐπολιόρκεον μῆνας τέσσερας. ³ ὡς δὲ τὰ τε ἔχοντες ἦλθον χρήματα οἱ Πέρσαι, ταῦτα κατεδεδαπάνητό σφι, καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ προσαναισίμωτο πολλά, τοῦ πλευνόντος ἐδέετο ἢ πολιορκίῃ, ἐνθαῦτα τείχεα τοῖσι φυγάσι τῶν Ναξίων οἰκοδομήσαντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον κακῶς πρήσσοντες.

35

¹ Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ οὐκ εἶχε τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν τῷ Ἀρταφρένῃ ἐκτελέσαι· ἅμα δὲ ἐπίεξε μιν ἡ δαπάνη τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπαιτησόμενη, ἀρρώδεε τε τοῦ στρατοῦ πρήξαντος κακῶς καὶ Μεγαβάτη διαβεβλημένος, ἐδόκεε τε τὴν βασιλίην τῆς Μιλήτου ἀπαιρηθῆσθαι. ² ἀρρώδεων δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα ἐβουλεύετο ἀπόστασιν· συνέπιπτε γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἐστιγμένον τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπῆχθαι

ἐκ Σούσων παρὰ Ἰστιαίου, σημαίνοντα ἀπίστασθαι Ἀρισταγόρην ἀπὸ βασιλέως. ³ ὁ γὰρ Ἰστιαῖος βουλόμενος τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ σημῆναι ἀποστῆναι ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε ἀσφαλῶς σημῆναι ὥστε φυλασσομενέων τῶν ὁδῶν, ὁ δὲ τῶν δούλων τὸν πιστότατον ἀποξυρήσας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔστιξε καὶ ἀνέμεινε ἀναφῶναι τὰς τρίχας, ὥς δὲ ἀνέφυσαν τάχιστα, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Μίλητον ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίκηται ἐς Μίλητον, κελεύειν Ἀρισταγόρην ξυρήσαντά μιν τὰς τρίχας κατιδέσθαι ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν. τὰ δὲ στίγματα ἐσήμαινε, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ἀπόστασιν. ⁴ ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐποίεε συμφορὴν ποιεύμενος μεγάλην τὴν ἐωυτοῦ κατοχὴν τὴν ἐν Σούσοισι· ἀποστάσιος ὣν γινομένης πολλὰς εἶχε ἐλπίδας μετήσεσθαι ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, μὴ δὲ νεώτερόν τι ποιεύσης τῆς Μιλήτου οὐδαμὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἥξειν ἔτι ἐλογίζετο.

36

¹ Ἰστιαῖος μὲν νυν ταῦτα διανοεύμενος ἀπέπεμπε τὸν ἄγγελον, Ἀρισταγόρῃ δὲ συνέπιπτε τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου πάντα ταῦτα συνελθόντα. ἐβουλεύετο ὦν μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων, ἐκφήνας τὴν τε ἐωυτοῦ γνώμην καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου ἀπιγμένα. ² οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες γνώμην κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐξεφέροντο, κελεύοντες ἀπίστασθαι· Ἐκαταῖος δ' ὁ λογοποιὸς πρῶτα μὲν οὐκ ἔα πόλεμον βασιλείᾳ τῶν Περσέων ἀναιρέεσθαι, καταλέγων τὰ τε ἔθνεα πάντα τῶν ἤρχε Δαρεῖος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ. ἐπεῖτε δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, δεύτερα συνεβούλευε ποιεῖν ὅπως ναυκρατέες τῆς θαλάσσης ἔσονται. ³ ἄλλως μὲν νυν οὐδαμῶς ἔφη λέγων ἐνορᾶν ἐσόμενον τοῦτο· ἐπίστασθαι γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Μιλησίων εὐῶσαν ἀσθενέα· εἰ δὲ τὰ χρήματα κατααιρεθῇ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Βραγχίδησι, τὰ Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς ἀνέθηκε, πολλὰς εἶχε ἐλπίδας ἐπικρατήσῃ τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ οὕτω αὐτούς τε ἔξειν τοῖσι χρήμασι χρᾶσθαι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐ συλήσειν αὐτά. ⁴ τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἦν ταῦτα μεγάλα, ὥς δεδήλωται μοι ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγων. αὕτη μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐνίκα ἡ γνώμη, ἐδόκεε δὲ ὅμως ἀπίστασθαι, ἕνα τε αὐτῶν πλώσαντα ἐς Μυοῦντα ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Νάξου ἀπελθόν, ἐὼν ἐνθαῦτα, συλλαμβάνειν πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐπιπλέοντας στρατηγούς.

37

¹ ἀποπεμφθέντος δὲ Ἰητραγόρεω κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ

συλλαβόντος δόλω Ὀλίατον Ἰβανώλλιος Μυλασσέα καὶ Ἰστιαῖον Τύμνεω Τερμερέα καὶ Κώνην Ἐρξάνδρου, τῷ Δαρεῖος Μυτιλήνην ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ Ἀρισταγόρην Ἡρακλείδew Κυμαῖον καὶ ἄλλους συγχούς, οὕτω δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπεστήκεε, πᾶν ἐπὶ Δαρείῳ μηχανώμενος. 2 καὶ πρῶτα μὲν λόγῳ μετεῖς τὴν τυραννίδα ἰσονομίην ἐποίεε τῇ Μιλήτῳ, ὥς ἂν ἐκόντες αὐτῷ οἱ Μιλήσιοι συναπισταίητο, μετὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰωνίῃ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίεε, τοὺς μὲν ἐξελαύνων τῶν τυράννων, τοὺς δ' ἔλαβε τυράννους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν συμπλευσασέων ἐπὶ Νάξον, τοὺτους δὲ φίλα βουλόμενος ποιεέσθαι τῇσι πόλισι ἐξεδίδου, ἄλλον ἐς ἄλλην πόλιν παραδιδούς, ὅθεν εἴη ἕκαστος.

38

1 Κώνην μὲν νυν Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα παρέλαβον, ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν, Κυμαῖοι δὲ τὸν σφέτερον αὐτῶν ἀπῆκαν· ὥς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ πλεῖνες ἀπίεσαν. 2 τυράννων μὲν νυν κατάπαυσις ἐγένετο ἀνὰ τὰς πόλιας, Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος ὥς τοὺς τυράννους κατέπαυσε, στρατηγούς ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν πολιῶν κελεύσας ἐκάστους καταστῆσαι, δεῦτερα αὐτὸς ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα τριήρεϊ ἀπόστολος ἐγένετο· ἔδεε γὰρ δὴ συμμαχίης τινός οἱ μεγάλης ἐξευρεθῆναι.

39

1 τῆς δὲ Σπάρτης Ἀναξανδρίδης μὲν ὁ Λέοντος οὐκέτι περιεὼν ἐβασίλευε ἀλλὰ ἐτετελευτήκεε, Κλεομένης δὲ ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew εἶχε τὴν βασιλείην, οὐ κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην σχὼν ἀλλὰ κατὰ γένος. Ἀναξανδρίδῃ γὰρ ἔχοντι γυναῖκα ἀδελφεῆς ἐωυτοῦ θυγατέρα, καὶ ἐούσης ταύτης οἱ καταθυμίας, παῖδες οὐκ ἐγίνοντο. 2 τούτου δὲ τοιοῦτου ἐόντος, οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπικαλεσάμενοι αὐτὸν “εἴ τοι σὺ σεωυτοῦ μὴ προορᾷς, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ οὐ περιόπτειν, γένος τὸ Εὐρυσθέneos γενέσθαι ἐξίτηλον. σὺ νυν τὴν μὲν ἔχεις γυναῖκα, ἐπεῖτε τοι οὐ τίκτει, ἔξω, ἄλλην δὲ γῆμον· καὶ ποιέων ταῦτα Σπαρτιήτησι ἀδήσεις,.. ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο φᾶς τούτων οὐδέτερα ποιήσιν, ἐκείνους τε οὐ καλῶς συμβουλεύειν λεύειν παραινέοντας, τὴν ἔχει γυναῖκα ἐοῦσαν ἀναμάρτητον ἐωυτῷ, ταύτην ἀπέντα ἄλλην ἐσαγαγέσθαι· οὐδέ σφι πείσεσθαι.

¹ πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ γέροντες βουλευσάμενοι προσέφερον Ἀναξανδρίδῃ τάδε. “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τοι περιεχόμενόν σε ὀρῶμεν τῆς ἔχεις γυναικός, σὺ δὲ ταῦτα ποίειε, καὶ μὴ ἀντίβαινε τούτοισι, ἵνα μὴ τι ἄλλοῖον περὶ σεῦ Σπαρτιῇται βουλευσῶνται· ² γυναικὸς μὲν τῆς ἔχεις οὐ προσδεόμεθά σευ τῆς ἐξέσιος, σὺ δὲ ταύτη τε πάντα ὅσα νῦν παρέχεις πάρεχε καὶ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτῃ ἐσάγαγε γυναῖκα τεκνοποιόν,,. ταῦτά κη λεγόντων συνεχώρησε ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδης, μετὰ δὲ γυναῖκας ἔχων δύο διζὰς ἰστίας οἶκεε, ποιέων οὐδαμῶς Σπαρτητικά.

¹ χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἡ ἐσύστερον ἐπελθοῦσα γυνὴ τίκτει τὸν δὴ Κλεομένεα τοῦτον. καὶ αὕτη τε ἔφεδρον βασιλέα Σπαρτιήτησι ἀπέφαινε, καὶ ἡ προτέρη γυνὴ τὸν πρότερον χρόνον ἄτοκος ἐοῦσα τότε κως ἐκύησε, συντυχίῃ ταύτῃ χρησαμένη. ² ἔχουσαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ οἱ τῆς ἐπελθούσης γυναικὸς οἰκῆιοι πυθόμενοι ὥχλεον, φάμενοι αὐτὴν κομπέειν ἄλλως βουλομένην ὑποβαλέσθαι. δεινὰ δὲ ποιούντων αὐτῶν, τοῦ χρόνου συντάμνοντος, ὑπ’ ἀπιστίας οἱ ἔφοροι τίκτουσαν τὴν γυναῖκα περιζόμενοι ἐφύλαξαν. ³ ἡ δὲ ὥς ἔτεκε Δωριέα ἰθέως ἴσχει Λεωνίδην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἰθέως ἴσχει Κλεόμβροτον· οἱ δὲ καὶ διδύμους λέγουσι Κλεόμβροτον καὶ Λεωνίδην γενέσθαι. ἡ δὲ Κλεομένεα τεκοῦσα καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐπελθοῦσα γυνή, ἐοῦσα θυγάτηρ Πρινητάδεω τοῦ Δημαρμένου, οὐκέτι ἔτικτε τὸ δεύτερον.

¹ ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεομένης, ὥς λέγεται, ἦν τε οὐ φρενήρης ἀκρομανής τε, ὁ δὲ Δωριεὺς ἦν τῶν ἡλίκων πάντων πρῶτος, εὗ τε ἐπίστατο κατ’ ἀνδραγαθίην αὐτὸς σχήσων τὴν βασιλίην. ² ὥστε ὦν οὕτω φρονέων, ἐπειδὴ ὁ τε Ἀναξανδρίδης ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χρεώμενοι τῷ νόμῳ ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα τὸν πρεσβύτατον Κλεομένεα, ὁ Δωριεὺς δεινόν τε ποιούμενος καὶ οὐκ ἀξιῶν ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος βασιλεύεσθαι, αἰτήσας λεὼν Σπαρτιήτας ἦγε ἐς ἀποικίην, οὔτε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς ἥντινα γῆν κτίσων ἦν, οὔτε ποιήσας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων· οἷα δὲ βαρέως φέρων, ἀπίει ἐς τὴν Λιβύην τὰ πλοῖα· κατηγέοντο δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες Θηραῖοι. ³ ἀπικόμενος δὲ

ἐς Λιβύην οἴκισε χῶρον κάλλιστον τῶν Λιβύων παρὰ Κίνυπα ποταμόν. ἐξελασθεὶς δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν τρίτῳ ἔτει ὑπὸ Μακέων τε Λιβύων καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἀπίκητο ἐς Πελοπόννησον.

43

¹ ἐνθαῦτα δὲ οἱ Ἀντιχάρης ἀνὴρ Ἑλεώνιος συνεβούλευσε ἐκ τῶν Λαΐου χρησμῶν Ἑρακλείην τὴν ἐν Σικελίῃ κτίζειν, φὰς τὴν Ἑρυκος χώραν πᾶσαν εἶναι Ἑρακλιδέων αὐτοῦ Ἑρακλέος κτησαμένου. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐς Δελφοὺς οἶχeto χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, εἰ αἰρέει ἐπ' ἣν στέλλεται χώραν· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ αἰρήσειν. παραλαβὼν δὲ Δωριεὺς τὸν στόλον τὸν καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἦγε, ἐκομίζετο παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίην.

44

¹ τὸν χρόνον δὲ τοῦτον, ὥς λέγουσι Συβαρίται, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Τήλυν τὸν ἐωυτῶν βασιλέα ἐπὶ Κρότωνα μέλλειν στρατεύεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ Κροτωνιήτας περιδεάς γενομένους δεηθῆναι Δωριέος σφίσι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τυχεῖν δεηθέντας· συστρατεύεσθαι τε δὴ ἐπὶ Σύβαριν Δωριέα καὶ συνελεῖν τὴν Σύβαριν. ² ταῦτα μὲν νυν Συβαρίται λέγουσι ποιῆσαι Δωριέα τε καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, Κροτωνιῆται δὲ οὐδένα σφίσι φασὶ ξεῖνον προσεπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Συβαρίτας πολέμου εἰ μὴ Καλλίην τῶν Ἰαμιδέων μάντιν Ἥλειον μῦνον, καὶ τοῦτον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· παρὰ Τήλυος τοῦ Συβαριτέων τυράννου ἀποδράντα ἀπικέσθαι παρὰ σφέας, ἐπεῖτε οἱ τὰ ἱρὰ οὐ προεχώρει χρηστὰ θυομένῳ ἐπὶ Κρότωνα.

45

¹ ταῦτα δὲ οὗτοι λέγουσι. μαρτύρια δὲ τούτων ἑκάτεροι ἀποδεικνύουσι τάδε, Συβαρίται μὲν τέμενός τε καὶ νηὸν ἐόντα παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κραῖθιν, τὸν ἰδρύσασθαι συνελόντα τὴν πόλιν Δωριέα λέγουσι Ἀθηναίῃ ἐπωνύμῳ Κραθίῃ· τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῦ Δωριέος τὸν θάνατον μαρτύριον μέγιστον ποιεῦνται, ὅτι παρὰ τὰ μεμαντευμένα ποιέων διεφθάρη· εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ παρέπρηξε μηδέν, ἐπ' ὃ δὲ ἐστάλη ἐποίεε, εἴλε ἂν τὴν Ἑρυκίην χώραν καὶ ἐλὼν κατέσχε, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ διεφθάρη. ² οἱ δ' αὖ Κροτωνιῆται ἀποδεικνύσι Καλλίην μὲν τῷ Ἥλειῳ ἐξάϊρετα ἐν γῇ τῇ Κροτωνιήτιδι πολλὰ δοθέντα, τὰ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἐνέμοντο οἱ Καλλίειο ἀπόγονοι,

Δωριεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Δωριέος ἀπογόνοισι οὐδέν. καίτοι εἰ συνεπελάβετό γε τοῦ Συβαριτικοῦ πολέμου Δωριεύς, δοθῆναι ἂν οἱ πολλαπλήσια ἢ Καλλίῃ. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἑκάτεροι αὐτῶν μαρτύρια ἀποφαίνονται, καὶ πάρεστι, ὁκοτέροισί τις πείθεται αὐτῶν, τούτοισι προσχωρεῖν.

46

¹ συνέπλεον δὲ Δωριεὶ καὶ ἄλλοι συγκτίσται Σπαρτιητέων, Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Παραιβάτης καὶ Κελέης καὶ Εὐρυλέων· οἱ ἐπεῖτε ἀπίκοντο παντὶ στόλῳ ἐς τὴν Σικελίην, ἀπέθανον μάχῃ ἑσσωθέντες ὑπὸ τε Φοινίκων καὶ Ἑγεσταίων· μόνος δὲ Εὐρυλέων τῶν συγκτιστέων περιεγένετο τούτου τοῦ πάθους. ² συλλαβὼν δὲ οὗτος τῆς στρατιῆς τοὺς περιγενομένους ἔσχε Μινῶν τὴν Σελινουσίων ἀποικίην, καὶ συνελευθέρου Σελινουσίους τοῦ μουνάρχου Πειθαγόρεω· μετὰ δὲ ὥς τοῦτον κατεῖλε, αὐτὸς τυραννίδι ἐπεχείρησε Σελινουίντος καὶ ἐμουνάρχησε χρόνον ἐπ' ὀλίγον· οἱ γάρ μιν Σελινούσιοι ἐπαναστάντες ἀπέκτειναν καταφυγόντα ἐπὶ Διὸς ἀγοραίου βωμόν.

47

¹ συνέσπετο δὲ Δωριεὶ καὶ συναπέθανε Φίλιππος ὁ Βουτακίδεω Κροτωνιήτης ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἄρμοσάμενος Τήλως τοῦ Συβαρίτεω θυγατέρα ἔφυγε ἐκ Κρότωνος, ψευσθεὶς δὲ τοῦ γάμου οἶχετο πλέων ἐς Κυρήνην, ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ὁρμώμενος συνέσπετο οἰκίῃ τε τριήρεϊ καὶ οἰκίῃ ἀνδρῶν δαπάνῃ, ἑὼν τε Ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ κάλλιστος Ἑλλήνων τῶν κατ' ἐωυτόν. ² διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐωυτοῦ κάλλος ἠνεύκατο παρὰ Ἑγεσταίων τὰ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἡρώιον ἰδρυσάμενοι θυσίησι αὐτὸν ἱλάσκονται.

48

¹ Δωριεὺς μὲν νυν τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ ἐτελεύτησε· εἰ δὲ ἠνέσχετο βασιλευόμενος ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος καὶ κατέμενε ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἐβασίλευσε ἂν Λακεδαιμόνος· οὐ γάρ τινα πολλὸν χρόνον ἥρξε ὁ Κλεομένης, ἀλλ' ἀπέθανε ἅπαις, θυγατέρα μούνην λιπών, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Γοργώ.

49

¹ ἀπικνέεται δὲ ὧν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος ἐς τὴν

Σπάρτην Κλεομένεος ἔχοντος τὴν ἀρχήν· τῷ δὴ ἐς λόγους ἦε, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, ἔχων χάλκεον πίνακα ἐν τῷ γῆς ἀπάσης περίοδος ἐνετέμνητο καὶ θάλασσά τε πᾶσα καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες. 2 ἀπικνεόμενος δὲ ἐς λόγους ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε. “Κλεόμενες, σπουδὴν μὲν τὴν ἐμὴν μὴ θωμάσης τῆς ἐνθαῦτα ἀπίξις· τὰ γὰρ κατήκοντα ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα· Ἰώνων παῖδας δούλους εἶναι ἀντ’ ἐλευθέρων ὄνειδος καὶ ἄλγος μέγιστον μὲν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν, ὅσῳ προέστατε τῆς Ἑλλάδος. 3 νῦν ὦν πρὸς θεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνίων ρύσασθε Ἰῶνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης ἄνδρας ὁμαίμονας. εὐπετέως δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα οἶά τε χωρέειν ἐστὶ· οὔτε γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἄλκιμοι εἰσὶ, ὑμεῖς τε τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκετε ἀρετῆς πέρι, ἢ τε μάχη αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τοιήδε, τόξα καὶ αἰχμὴ βραχέα· ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἔχοντες ἔρχονται ἐς τὰς μάχας καὶ κυρβασίας ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι. 4 οὕτω εὐπετέες χειρωθῆναι εἰσὶ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τοῖσι τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκείνην νεμομένοισι ὅσα οὐδὲ τοῖσι συνάπασι ἄλλοισι, ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ ἄρξαμένοισι, ἄργυρος καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθῆς ποικίλη καὶ ὑποζύγια τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα· τὰ θυμῷ βουλόμενοι αὐτοὶ ἂν ἔχοιτε. 5 κατοίκηνται δὲ ἀλλήλων ἐχόμενοι ὡς ἐγὼ φράσω, Ἰώνων μὲν τῶνδε οἶδε Λυδοί, οἰκέοντές τε χώραν ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολυαργυρώτατοι ἐόντες,, δεικνὺς δὲ ἔλεγε ταῦτα ἐς τῆς γῆς τὴν περίοδον, τὴν ἐφέρετο ἐν τῷ πίνακι ἐντετμημένην. “Λυδῶν δέ,, ἔφη λέγων ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης “οἶδε ἔχονται Φρύγες οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, πολυπροβατώτατοί τε ἐόντες πάντων τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα καὶ πολυκαρπώτατοι. 6 Φρυγῶν δὲ ἔχονται Καππαδόκαι, τοὺς ἡμεῖς Συρίους καλέομεν. τούτοισι δὲ πρόσουροι Κίλικες, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τήνδε, ἐν τῇ ἦδε Κύπρος νῆσος κέεται· οἱ πεντακόσια τάλαντα βασιλεῖ τὸν ἐπέτειον φόρον ἐπιτελεῦσι. Κιλικῶν δὲ τῶνδε ἔχονται Ἀρμένιοι οἶδε, καὶ οὗτοι ἐόντες πολυπρόβατοι, Ἀρμενίων δὲ Ματιηνοὶ χώραν τήνδε ἔχοντες. 7 ἔχεται δὲ τούτων γῆ ἡδε Κισσίη, ἐν τῇ δὴ παρὰ ποταμὸν τόνδε Χοάσπην κείμενα ἐστὶ τὰ Σοῦσα ταῦτα, ἔνθα βασιλεὺς τε μέγας δίαίταν ποιέεται, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων οἱ θησαυροὶ ἐνθαῦτα εἰσὶ· ἐλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν θαρσέοντες ἡδη τῷ Διὶ πλούτου πέρι ἐρίζετε. 8 ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν χώρας ἄρα οὐ πολλῆς οὐδὲ οὕτω χρηστῆς καὶ οὖρων σμικρῶν χρεόν ἐστι ὑμέας μάχας ἀναβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τε Μεσσηνίους ἐόντας ἰσοπαλέας καὶ Ἀρκάδας τε καὶ Ἀργεῖους, τοῖσι οὔτε χρυσοῦ ἐχόμενον ἐστὶ οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀργύρου, τῶν πέρι καὶ τινα ἐνάγει προθυμίη μαχόμενον

ἀποθνήσκειν· παρέχον δὲ τῆς Ἀσίης πάσης ἄρχειν εὐπετέως, ἄλλο τι αἰρήσεσθε;,,⁹ Ἀρισταγόρης μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε, Κλεομένης δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “ὦ ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, ἀναβάλλομαί τοι ἐς τρίτην ἡμέρην ὑποκρινέεσθαι;,,

50

¹ τότε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤλασαν· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἡ κυρὴ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τῆς ὑποκρίσιος καὶ ἦλθον ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, εἴρετο ὁ Κλεομένης τὸν Ἀρισταγόρην ὁκοσέων ἡμερέων ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἰώνων ὁδὸς εἴη παρὰ βασιλέα. ² ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης τᾶλλα ἐὼν σοφὸς καὶ διαβάλλων ἐκείνῳ εὖ ἐν τούτῳ ἐσφάλη· χρὸν γάρ μιν μὴ λέγειν τὸ ἐόν, βουλόμενόν γε Σπαρτιήτας ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λέγει δ’ ὦν τριῶν μηνῶν φᾶς εἶναι τὴν ἄνοδον. ὁ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον τὸν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὥρμητο λέγειν περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ, εἶπε ³ “ὦ ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, ἀπαλλάσσεο ἐκ Σπάρτης πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου· οὐδένα γὰρ λόγον εὐεπέα λέγεις Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἐθέλων σφέας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τριῶν μηνῶν ὁδὸν ἀγαγεῖν;,,

51

¹ ὁ μὲν Κλεομένης ταῦτα εἶπας ἦε ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης λαβὼν ἱκετηρίην ἦε ἐς τοῦ Κλεομένεος, ἐσελθὼν δὲ ἔσω ἅτε ἱκετεῦων ἐπακοῦσαι ἐκέλευε τὸν Κλεομένεα ἀποπέμψαντα τὸ παιδίον· προσεστήκεε γὰρ δὴ τῷ Κλεομένει ἡ θυγάτηρ, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Γοργώ· τοῦτο δὲ οἱ καὶ μούνον τέκνον ἐτύγγανε ἐὼν ἐτέων ὀκτῷ ἢ ἐννέα ἡλικίην. Κλεομένης δὲ λέγειν μιν ἐκέλευε τὰ βούλεται μηδὲ ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ παιδίου εἵνεκα. ² ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἄρχετο ἐκ δέκα τάλαντων ὑπισχνόμενος, ἦν οἱ ἐπιτελέσῃ τῶν ἐδέετο. ἀνανεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεομένεος προέβαινε τοῖσι χρήμασι ὑπερβάλλων ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης, ἐς οὗ πεντήκοντά τε τάλαντα ὑπεδέδεκτο καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἠδύαξατο “πάτερ, διαφθερεῖ σε ὁ ξεῖνος, ἦν μὴ ἀποστὰς ἦης;,,³ ὁ δὲ τὴν Κλεομένης ἡσθεὶς τοῦ παιδίου τῇ παραινέσει ἦε ἐς ἕτερον οἶκημα, καὶ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπαλλάσσετο τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο ἐπὶ πλέον ἔτι σημῆναι περὶ τῆς ἀνόδου τῆς παρὰ βασιλέα.

52

¹ ἔχει γὰρ ἀμφὶ τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ ὧδε· σταθμοὶ τε πανταχῇ εἰσι

βασιλῆιοι καὶ καταλύσεις κάλλισται, διὰ οἰκεομένης τε ἡ ὁδὸς ἅπασα καὶ ἀσφαλὲς. διὰ μὲν γε Λυδίας καὶ Φρυγίας σταθμοὶ τείνοντες εἴκοσι εἰσὶ, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ. ² ἐκδέκεται δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίας ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμὸς, ἐπ' ᾧ πύλαι τε ἔπεισι, τὰς διεξελάσαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ οὕτω διεκπερᾶν τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ φυλακτήριον μέγα ἐπ' αὐτῷ. διαβάντι δὲ ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίην καὶ ταύτῃ πορευομένῳ μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Κιλικίων σταθμοὶ δυὼν δέοντες εἰσὶ τριήκοντα, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἑκατὸν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι τούτων οὖροισι διξὰς τε πύλας διεξελᾷς καὶ διξὰ φυλακτήρια παραμείψαι. ³ ταῦτα δὲ διεξελάσαντι καὶ διὰ τῆς Κιλικίης ὁδὸν ποιευμένῳ τρεῖς εἰσὶ σταθμοί, παρασάγγαι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἥμισυ. οὗρος δὲ Κιλικίης καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίης ἐστὶ ποταμὸς νησιπέρητος, τῷ οὖνομα Εὐφρήτης. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀρμενίῃ σταθμοὶ μὲν εἰσὶ καταγωγέων πεντεκαίδεκα, παρασάγγαι δὲ ἕξ καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ, καὶ φυλακτήριον ἐν αὐτοῖσι. ⁴ ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς Ἀρμενίης ἐς βάλλοντι ἐς τὴν Ματινηνὴν γῆν σταθμοὶ εἰσὶ τέσσερες καὶ τριήκοντα, παρασάγγαι δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν. ποταμοὶ δὲ νησιπέρητοι τέσσερες διὰ ταύτης ῥέουσι, τοὺς πᾶσα ἀνάγκη διαπορθμεῦσαι ἐστί, πρῶτος μὲν Τίγρης, μετὰ δὲ δευτέρος τε καὶ τρίτος ὧντὸς ὀνομαζόμενος, οὐκ ὧντὸς ἐὼν ποταμὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ῥέων· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον αὐτῶν καταλεχθεὶς ἐξ Ἀρμενίων ῥέει, ὁ δ' ὕστερον ἐκ Ματινηῶν· ⁵ ὁ δὲ τέταρτος τῶν ποταμῶν οὖνομα ἔχει Γύνδης, τὸν Κῦρος διέλαβε κοτὲ ἐς διώρυχας ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας. ⁶ ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς τὴν Κισσίην χώραν μεταβαίνοντι ἔνδεκα σταθμοὶ, παρασάγγαι δὲ δύο καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ ἐστὶ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Χοάσπην, ἐόντα καὶ τοῦτον νησιπέρητον· ἐπ' ᾧ Σοῦσα πόλις πεπόλισται.

¹ οὗτοι οἱ πάντες σταθμοὶ εἰσὶ ἔνδεκα καὶ ἑκατὸν. καταγωγαὶ μὲν νυν σταθμῶν τοσαῦται εἰσὶ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σοῦσα ἀναβαίνοντι. εἰ δὲ ὀρθῶς μεμέτρηται ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ βασιλική τοῖσι παρασάγγησι καὶ ὁ παρασάγγης δύναται τριήκοντα στάδια, ὥσπερ οὗτός γε δύναται ταῦτα, ἐκ Σαρδίων στάδια ἐστὶ ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα τὰ Μεμνόνια καλεόμενα πεντακόσια καὶ τρισχίλια καὶ μύρια, παρασαγγέων ἐόντων πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίων. πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη διεξιούσι ἀναισιμοῦνται ἡμέραι ἀπαρτί

ένενήκοντα.

54

1 οὕτω τῷ Μιλησίῳ Ἀρισταγόρῃ εἶπαντι πρὸς Κλεομένεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον εἶναι τριῶν μηνῶν τὴν ἄνοδον τὴν παρὰ βασιλέα ὀρθῶς εἶρητο. εἰ δέ τις τὸ ἀτρεκέστερον τούτων ἔτι δίζηται, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο σημανέω· τὴν γὰρ ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐς Σάρδεις ὁδὸν δεῖ προσλογίσασθαι ταύτη. 2 καὶ δὴ λέγω σταδίους εἶναι τοὺς πάντας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μέχρι Σούσων (τοῦτο γὰρ Μεμνόνειον ἄστνυ καλέεται), τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τετρακισχιλίους καὶ μυρίου· οἱ γὰρ ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐς Σάρδεις εἰσὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι στάδιοι, καὶ οὕτω τρισὶ ἡμέρησι μῆκύνεται ἡ τρίμηνος ὁδός.

55

1 ἀπελαυνόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης ἦε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας γενομένης τυράννων ὧδε ἐλευθέρας. ἐπεὶ Ἰππαρχον τὸν Πεισιστράτου, Ἰππίεω δὲ τοῦ τυράννου ἀδελφεόν, ἰδόντα ὄψιν ἐνυπνίου τῷ ἑωυτοῦ πάθει ἐναργεστάτην κτείνουσι Ἀριστογείτων καὶ Ἀρμόδιος, γένος ἐόντες τὰ ἀνέκαθεν Γεφυραῖοι, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτυραννεύοντο Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπ' ἔτεα τέσσερα οὐδὲν ἥσσον ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸ τοῦ.

56

1 ἡ μὲν νυν ὄψις τοῦ Ἰππάρχου ἐνυπνίου ἦν ἡδε· ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ νυκτὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἰππαρχος ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν καὶ εὐειδέα αἰνίσσεσθαι τάδε τὰ ἔπεα.

τλῆθι λέων ἄτλητα παθὼν τετληότι θυμῷ· οὐδεις ἀνθρώπων ἀδικῶν τίσιν οὐκ ἀποτίσει.

2 ταῦτα δέ, ὥς ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο τάχιστα, φανερὸς ἦν ὑπερτιθέμενος ὀνειροπόλοισι· μετὰ δὲ ἀπειπάμενος τὴν ὄψιν ἔπεμπε τὴν πομπήν, ἐν τῇ δὴ τελευτᾷ.

57

1 οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ φονέες οἱ Ἰππάρχου, ὥς μὲν αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐξ Ἑρετρίης τὴν ἀρχήν, ὥς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀναπυνθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, ἦσαν Φοίνικες τῶν σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικομένων Φοινίκων ἐς γῆν τὴν νῦν Βοιωτὴν καλεομένην, οἴκεον δὲ τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπολαχόντες τὴν Ταναγρικὴν μοῖραν. 2 ἐνθεῦτεν

δὲ Καδμείων πρότερον ἐξαναστάντων ὑπ' Ἀργείων, οἱ Γεφυραῖοι οὗτοι δεύτερα ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἐξαναστάντες ἐτράποντο ἐπ' Ἀθηνέων. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ σφέας ἐπὶ ῥητοῖσι ἐδέξαντο σφέων αὐτῶν εἶναι πολιήτας, πολλῶν τεῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιαπηγῆτων ἐπιτάξαντες ἔργεσθαι.

58

οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες οὗτοι οἱ σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικόμενοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Γεφυραῖοι, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ οἰκήσαντες ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐσήγαγον διδασκάλια ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα, οὐκ ἐόντα πρὶν Ἑλλησι ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, πρῶτα μὲν τοῖσι καὶ ἅπαντες χρέωνται Φοίνικες· μετὰ δὲ χρόνου προβαίνοντος ἅμα τῇ φωνῇ μετέβαλλον καὶ τὸν ῥυθμὸν τῶν γραμμάτων. ² περιοίκεον δὲ σφέας τὰ πολλὰ τῶν χώρων τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἑλλήνων Ἴωνες, οἱ παραλαβόντες διδαχὴν παρὰ τῶν Φοινίκων τὰ γράμματα, μεταρρρυθμίσαντες σφέων ὀλίγα ἐχρέωντο, χρεώμενοι δὲ ἐφάτισαν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἔφερε, ἐσαγαγόντων Φοινίκων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Φοινικῆα κεκληῆσθαι. ³ καὶ τὰς βύβλους διφθέρας καλέουσι ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες, ὅτι κοτὲ ἐν σπάνι βύβλων ἐχρέωντο διφθέρῃσι αἰγέῃσι τε καὶ οἰέῃσι· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τοιαύτας διφθέρας γράφουσι.

59

¹ εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Καδμήϊα γράμματα ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου ἐν Θήβῃσι τῇσι Βοιωτῶν, ἐπὶ τρίποσι τισὶ ἐγκεκολαμμένα, τὰ πολλὰ ὅμοια ἐόντα τοῖσι Ἴωνικοῖσι. ὁ μὲν δὴ εἷς τῶν τριπόδων ἐπίγραμμα ἔχει

ἀμφιτρύων μ' ἀνέθηκ' ἐνάρων ἀπὸ Τηλεβοάων.

ταῦτα ἡλικίην εἶη ἂν κατὰ Λάιον τὸν Λαβδάκου τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου.

60

¹ ἕτερος δὲ τρίπους ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ λέγει

*Σκαῖος πυγμαχέων με ἐκηβόλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι
νικήσας ἀνέθηκε τεῖν περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα.*

Σκαῖος δ' ἂν εἶη ὁ Ἴπποκόωντος, εἰ δὴ οὗτός γε ἐστὶ ὁ ἀναθεὶς καὶ μὴ ἄλλος τώυτὸ οὔνομα ἔχων τῷ Ἴπποκόωντος, ἡλικίην κατὰ

Οιδίπουν τὸν Λαΐου.

61

1 τρίτος δὲ τρίπους λέγει καὶ οὗτος ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ

*Λαοδάμας τρίποδ' αὐτὸς ἐυσκόπῳ Απόλλωνι
μουναρχέων ἀνέθηκε τειν περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα.*

2 ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Λαοδάμαντος τοῦ Ἑτεοκλέος μουναρχέοντος ἐξανιστέαται Καδμεῖοι ὑπ' Ἀργείων καὶ τρέπονται ἐς τοὺς Ἑγχελέας. οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι ὑπολειφθέντες ὕστερον ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἀναχωρεοῦσι ἐς Ἀθήνας· καὶ σφι ἰρά ἐστι ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἰδρυμένα, τῶν οὐδὲν μετὰ τοῖσι λοιποῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, ἄλλα τε κεχωρισμένα τῶν ἄλλων ἱρῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀχαιῆς Δήμητρος ἱρόν τε καὶ ὄργια.

62

1 ἡ μὲν δὴ ὅσῃς τοῦ Ἰπάρχου ἐνυπνίου καὶ οἱ Γεφυραῖοι ὅθεν ἐγεγόνεσαν, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Ἰπάρχου φονέες, ἀπήγηται μοι· δεῖ δὲ πρὸς τούτοισι ἔτι ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἥια λέξων λόγον, ὥς τυράννων ἐλευθερώθησαν Ἀθηναῖοι. 2 Ἰππίεω τυραννέοντος καὶ ἐμπικραινομένου Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὸν Ἰπάρχου θάνατον, Ἀλκμεωνίδαι γένος ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ φεύγοντες Πεισιστρατίδας, ἐπεῖτε σφι ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἀθηναίων φυγάσι πειρωμένοισι κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐ προεχώρεε κάτοδος, ἀλλὰ προσέπταιον μεγάλως πειρώμενοι κατιέναι τε καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας, Λειψύδριον τὸ ὑπὲρ Παιονίης τειχίσαντες, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι πᾶν ἐπὶ τοῖσι Πεισιστρατίδῃσι μηχανώμενοι παρ' Ἀμφικτυόνων τὸν νηὸν μισθοῦνται τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι, τὸν νῦν ἐόντα τότε δὲ οὐκῶ, τοῦτον ἐξοικοδομήσαι. 3 οἷα δὲ χρημάτων εὖ ἦκοντες καὶ ἐόντες ἄνδρες δόκιμοι ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι, τὸν τε νηὸν ἐξεργάσαντο τοῦ παραδείγματος κάλλιον τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ συγκειμένου σφι πωρίνου λίθου ποιέειν τὸν νηὸν, Παρίου τὰ ἔμπροσθε αὐτοῦ ἐξεποίησαν.

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1 ὥς ὧν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐν Δελφοῖσι κατήμενοι ἀνέπειθον τὴν Πυθίην χρήμασι, ὅκως ἔλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων ἄνδρες εἴτε ἰδίῳ στόλῳ εἴτε δημοσίῳ χρησόμενοι, προφέρειν σφι τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλευθεροῦν. 2 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὥς σφι

αἰεὶ τὸντὸ πρόφαντον ἐγίνετο, πέμπουσι Ἀγχιμόλιον τὸν Ἀστέρος, ἐόντα τῶν ἀστῶν ἄνδρα δόκιμον, σὺν στρατῷ ἐξελῶντα Πεισιστρατίδας ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὁμῶς καὶ ξεινίους σφι ἐόντας τὰ μάλιστα· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτερα ἐποιεῦντο ἢ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν· πέμπουσι δὲ τούτους κατὰ θάλασσαν πλοίοισι. ³ ὁ μὲν δὴ προσσχὼν ἐς Φάληρον τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπέβησε, οἱ δὲ Πεισιστρατίδαι προπυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐπεκαλέοντο ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἐπικουρίην· ἐπεποίητο γὰρ σφι συμμαχίη πρὸς αὐτούς. Θεσσαλοὶ δέ σφι δεομένοισι ἀπέπεμψαν κοινῇ γνώμῃ χρεώμενοι χιλίην τε ἵππον καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν σφέτερον Κινέην ἄνδρα Κονιαῖον· τοὺς ἐπεῖτε ἔσχον συμμάχους οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, ἐμηχανῶντο τοιάδε· ⁴ κείραντες τῶν Φαληρέων τὸ πεδῖον καὶ ἱπάσιμον ποιήσαντες τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον ἐπῆκαν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὴν ἵππον· ἐμπεσοῦσα δὲ διέφθειρε ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν Ἀγχιμόλιον· τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς νέας κατεῖρξαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος στόλος ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος οὕτω ἀπῆλλαξε, καὶ Ἀγχιμολίου εἰσι ταφαὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἀλωπεκῆσι, ἀγχοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ ἐν Κυνοσάργει.

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¹ μετὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέζω στόλον στείλαντες ἀπέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, στρατηγὸν τῆς στρατιῆς ἀποδέξαντες βασιλέα Κλεομένεα τὸν Ἀναξανδρίδew, οὐκέτι κατὰ θάλασσαν στείλαντες ἀλλὰ κατ' ἡπειρον· ² τοῖσι ἐσβαλοῦσι ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώραν ἢ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἵππος πρώτη προσέμιξε καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολλὸν ἐτράπετο, καὶ σφεων ἔπεσον ὑπὲρ τεσσεράκοντα ἄνδρας· οἱ δὲ περιγενομένοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὥς εἶχον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας. Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἅμα Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἐπολιόρκεε τοὺς τυράννους ἀπεργμένους ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ τείχεϊ.

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¹ καὶ οὐδέν τι πάντως ἂν ἐξεῖλον Πεισιστρατίδας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπέδρην ἐπενόεον ποιήσασθαι, οἱ τε Πεισιστρατίδαι σίτοισι καὶ ποτοῖσι εὖ παρεσκευάδατο, πολιορκήσαντές τε ἂν ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην. νῦν δὲ συντυχίη τοῖσι μὲν κακὴ ἐπεγένετο, τοῖσι δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ αὕτη

σύμμαχος· ὑπεκτιθέμενοι γὰρ ἔξω τῆς χώρας οἱ παῖδες τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων ἦλωσαν. 2 τοῦτο δὲ ὥς ἐγένετο, πάντα αὐτῶν τὰ πρήγματα συνετετάρακτο, παρέστησαν δὲ ἐπὶ μισθῷ τοῖσι τέκνοισι, ἐπ' οἷσι ἐβούλοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥστε ἐν πέντε ἡμέρησι ἐκχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. 3 μετὰ δὲ ἐξεχώρησαν ἐς Σίγειον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ, ἄρξαντες μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐπ' ἔτεα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα, ἐόντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἀνέκαθεν Πύλιοί τε καὶ Νηλεῖδαι, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γεγονότες καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κόδρον τε καὶ Μέλανθον, οἱ πρότερον ἐπήλυδες ἐόντες ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίων βασιλέες. 4 ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ καὶ τὸν οὖνομα ἀπεμνημόνευσε Ἴπποκράτης τῷ παιδί θέσθαι τὸν Πεισίστρατον, ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέστορος Πεισιστράτου ποιεύμενος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην.

5 οὕτω μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τυράννων ἀπαλλάχθησαν· ὅσα δὲ ἐλευθερωθέντες ἔρξαν ἢ ἔπαθον ἀξιοχρεά ἀπηγήσιος, πρὶν ἢ Ἰωνίην τε ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρισταγόρεα τὸν Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας χρήσαι σφέων βοηθείν, ταῦτα πρῶτα φράσω.

66

1 Ἀθῆναι, ἐοῦσαι καὶ πρὶν μεγάλαι, τότε ἀπαλλαχθεῖσαι τυράννων ἐγίνοντο μέζονες· ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι δύο ἄνδρες ἐδυνάστευον, Κλεισθένης τε ἀνὴρ Ἀλκμεωνίδης, ὃς περ δὴ λόγον ἔχει τὴν Πυθίην ἀναπεῖσαι, καὶ Ἰσαγόρης Τισάνδρου οἰκίης μὲν ἐὼν δοκίμου, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· θύουσι δὲ οἱ συγγενέες αὐτοῦ Διὶ Καρίῳ. 2 οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐστασίασαν περὶ δυνάμιος, ἐσσούμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν δῆμον προσεταιρίζεται. μετὰ δὲ τετραφύλους ἐόντας Ἀθηναίους δεκαφύλους ἐποίησε, τῶν Ἴωνος παιδῶν Γελέοντος καὶ Αἰγικόρεος καὶ Ἀργάδεω καὶ Ὀπλητος ἀπαλλάξας τὰς ἐπωνυμίας, ἐξευρὼν δὲ ἐτέρων ἡρώων ἐπωνυμίας ἐπιχωρίων, παρέξ Αἴαντος· τοῦτον δὲ ἄτε ἀστυγείτονα καὶ σύμμαχον, ξεῖνον ἐόντα προσέθετο.

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1 ταῦτα δέ, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἐμιμέετο ὁ Κλεισθένης οὗτος τὸν ἐωυτοῦ μητροπάτορα Κλεισθέnea τὸν Σικυῶνος τύραννον. Κλεισθένης γὰρ Ἀργείοισι πολεμήσας τοῦτο μὲν ῥαψωδοὺς ἔπαυσε ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι τῶν Ὀμηρείων ἐπέων εἵνεκα, ὅτι Ἀργεῖοι τε καὶ Ἄργος τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ὑμνέεται· τοῦτο δέ, ἡρώιον γὰρ ἦν καὶ

ἔστι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγορῇ τῶν Σικυωνίων Ἀδρήστου τοῦ Ταλαοῦ, τοῦτον ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Κλεισθένης ἐόντα Ἀργεῖον ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. ² ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐχρηστηριάζετο εἰ ἐκβάλαι τὸν Ἀδρηστον· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ φᾶσα Ἀδρηστον μὲν εἶναι Σικυωνίων βασιλέα, κεῖνον δὲ λευστήρα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτό γε οὐ παρεδίδου, ἀπελθὼν ὀπίσω ἐφρόντιζε μηχανὴν τῇ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀδρηστος ἀπαλλάξεσθαι. ὥς δὲ οἱ ἐξευρήσθαι ἐδόκεε, πέμψας ἐς Θήβας τὰς Βοιωτίας ἔφη θέλαιν ἐπαγαγέσθαι Μελάνιππον τὸν Ἀστακοῦ· οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἔδοσαν. ³ ἐπαγαγόμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν Μελάνιππον τέμενός οἱ ἀπέδεξε ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρυτανίῳ καὶ μιν ἴδρυσεν ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῷ ἰσχυροτάτῳ. ἐπηγάγετο δὲ τὸν Μελάνιππον ὁ Κλεισθένης (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο δεῖ ἀπηγγέσθαι) ὥς ἐχθιστον ἐόντα Ἀδρήστῳ, ὃς τὸν τε ἀδελφεόν οἱ Μηκιστέα ἀπεκτόνεε καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν Τυδέα. ⁴ ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ τὸ τέμενος ἀπέδεξε, θυσίας τε καὶ ὀρτὰς Ἀδρήστου ἀπελόμενος ἔδωκε τῷ Μελανίππῳ. οἱ δὲ Σικυῶνιοι ἐώθεσαν μεγαλωστί κάρτα τιμᾶν τὸν Ἀδρηστον· ἡ γὰρ χώρα ἦν αὕτη Πολύβου, ὁ δὲ Ἀδρηστος ἦν Πολύβου θυγατριδέος, ἅπαις δὲ Πόλυβος τελευτῶν διδοῖ Ἀδρήστῳ τὴν ἀρχήν. ⁵ τὰ τε δὴ ἄλλα οἱ Σικυῶνιοι ἐτίμων τὸν Ἀδρηστον καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιρον, τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον οὐ τιμῶντες, τὸν δὲ Ἀδρηστον. Κλεισθένης δὲ χοροὺς μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀπέδωκε, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην θυσίην Μελανίππῳ.

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¹ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Ἀδρηστόν οἱ ἐπεποίητο, φυλὰς δὲ τὰς Δωριέων, ἵνα δὴ μὴ αἰ αὐταὶ ἔωσι τοῖσι Σικυωνίοισι καὶ τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι, μετέβαλε ἐς ἄλλα οὐνόματα. ἐνθα καὶ πλεῖστον κατεγέλασε τῶν Σικυωνίων· ἐπὶ γὰρ ὅς τε καὶ ὄνου τὰς ἐπωνυμίας μετατιθεῖς αὐτὰ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐπέθηκε, πλὴν τῆς ἐωυτοῦ φυλῆς· ταύτῃ δὲ τὸ οὔνομα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ἀρχῆς ἔθετο. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ Ἀρχέλαοι ἐκαλέοντο, ἕτεροι δὲ Ὑᾶται, ἄλλοι δὲ Ὀνεᾶται, ἕτεροι δὲ Χοιρεᾶται. ² τούτοις τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν φυλέων ἐχρέωντο οἱ Σικυῶνιοι καὶ ἐπὶ Κλεισθένεος ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐκείνου τεθνεῶτος ἔτι ἐπ' ἔτεα ἐξήκοντα· μετέπειτα μέντοι λόγον σφίσι δόντες μετέβαλον ἐς τοὺς Ὑλλέας καὶ Παμφύλους καὶ Δυμανάτας, τετάρτους δὲ αὐτοῖσι προσέθεντο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδρήστου παιδὸς Αἰγιαλέος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιεύμενοι κεκληῖσθαι Αἰγιαλέας.

1 ταῦτα μὲν νυν ὁ Σικυώνιος Κλεισθένης ἐπεποιήκει· ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀθηναῖος Κλεισθένης ἐὼν τοῦ Σικυωνίου τούτου θυγατριδέος καὶ τὸ οὖνομα ἐπὶ τούτου ἔχων, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ καὶ οὗτος ὑπεριδὼν Ἴωνας, ἵνα μὴ σφίσι αἱ αὐταὶ ἔωσι φυλαὶ καὶ Ἴωσι, τὸν ὁμώνυμον Κλεισθέnea ἐμιμήσατο. 2 ὥς γὰρ δὴ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον πρότερον ἀπωσμένον τότε πάντων πρὸς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ μοῖραν προσεθήκατο, τὰς φυλάς μετωνόμασε καὶ ἐποίησε πλεῦνας ἐξ ἐλασσόνων· δέκα τε δὴ φυλάρχους ἀντὶ τεσσέρων ἐποίησε, δέκαχα δὲ καὶ τοὺς δήμους κατένειμε ἐς τὰς φυλάς· ἦν τε τὸν δῆμον προσθέμενος πολλῶ κατύπερθε τῶν ἀντιστασιωτέων.

1 ἐν τῷ μέρει δὲ ἐσσοῦμενος ὁ Ἰσαγόρης ἀντιτεχνᾷται τάδε· ἐπικαλέεται Κλεομένεια τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον γενόμενον ἐωυτῷ ξεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς Πεισιστρατιδέων πολιορκίης· τὸν δὲ Κλεομένεια εἶχε αἰτίη φοιτᾶν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω τὴν γυναῖκα. 2 τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα πέμπων ὁ Κλεομένης ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας κήρυκα ἐξέβαλλε Κλεισθέnea καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλους πολλοὺς Ἀθηναίων, τοὺς ἐναγέας ἐπιλέγων· ταῦτα δὲ πέμπων ἔλεγε ἐκ διδαχῆς τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι καὶ οἱ συστασιῶται αὐτῶν εἶχον αἰτίην τοῦ φόνου τούτου, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ μετεῖχε οὐδ' οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ.

1 οἱ δ' ἐναγέες Ἀθηναίων ὧδε ὠνομάσθησαν. ἦν Κύλων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ Ὀλυμπιονίκης· οὗτος ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμησε, προσποιησάμενος δὲ ἐταιρητὴν τῶν ἡλικιωτέων καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπειρήθη, οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ ἐπικρατῆσαι ἰκέτης ἵζετο πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα. 2 τούτους ἀνιστᾶσι μὲν οἱ πρυτάνιες τῶν ναυκράρων, οἱ περ ἔνεμον τότε τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑπεγγύους πλὴν θανάτου· φονεῦσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς αἰτίη ἔχει Ἀλκμεωνίδας. ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς Πεισιστράτου ἡλικίης ἐγένετο.

1 Κλεομένης δὲ ὥς πέμπων ἐξέβαλλε Κλεισθέnea καὶ τοὺς ἐναγέας, Κλεισθένης μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπεξέσχε, μετὰ δὲ οὐδὲν ἥσσον παρῆν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ὁ Κλεομένης οὐ σὺν μεγάλῃ χειρὶ, ἀπικόμενος

δὲ ἀγῆλατέει ἐπτακόσια ἐπίστια Ἀθηναίων, τὰ οἱ ὑπέθετο ὁ Ἰσαγόρης. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας δεύτερα τὴν βουλὴν καταλύειν ἐπειρᾶτο, τριηκοσίοισι δὲ τοῖσι Ἰσαγόρεω στασιώτησι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐνεχειρίζε. ² ἀντισταθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οὐ βουλομένης πείθεσθαι, ὃ τε Κλεομένης καὶ ὁ Ἰσαγόρης καὶ οἱ στασιῶται αὐτοῦ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰ αὐτὰ φρονήσαντες ἐπολιόρκεον αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας δύο· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξέρχονται ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἐπετελέετο δὲ τῷ Κλεομένει ἡ φήμη. ³ ὥς γὰρ ἀνέβη ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μέλλων δὴ αὐτὴν κατασχῆσιν, ἦε ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ ὡς προσερέων· ἡ δὲ ἱρεΐη ἐξαναστᾶσα ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, πρὶν ἢ τὰς θύρας αὐτὸν ἀμεΐψαι, εἶπε “ὦ ξεῖνε Λακεδαιμόνιε, πάλιν χώρεε μηδὲ ἔσθι ἐς τὸ ἰρόν· οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν Δωριεῦσι παριέναι ἐνθαῦτα,, ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ γύναι, ἀλλ’ οὐ Δωριεύς εἰμι ἀλλ’ Ἀχαιος,, ⁴ ὁ μὲν δὴ τῇ κληδόνι οὐδὲν χρεώμενος ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ τότε πάλιν ἐξέπιπτε μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἀθηναῖοι κατέδησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ Τιμησίθεον τὸν Δελφόν, τοῦ ἔργα χειρῶν τε καὶ λήματος ἔχοιμ’ ἂν μέγιστα καταλέξει.

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¹ οὗτοι μὲν νυν δεδεμένοι ἐτελεύτησαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα Κλεισθέnea καὶ τὰ ἐπτακόσια ἐπίστια τὰ διωχθέντα ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος μεταπεμψάμενοι πέμπουσι ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδεις, συμμαχίην βουλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Πέρσας· ἡπιστέατο γὰρ σφίσι Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Κλεομένεα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι. ² ἀπικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις καὶ λεγόντων τὰ ἐντεταλμένα, Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Ὑστάσπεος Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος ἐπειρώτα τίνες ἐόντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ κοῦ γῆς οἰκημένοι δεοῖατο Περσέων σύμμαχοι γενέσθαι, πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς τῶν ἀγγέλων ἀπεκορύφου σφι τάδε· εἰ μὲν διδοῦσι βασιλείᾳ Δαρείῳ Ἀθηναῖοι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ συμμαχίην σφι συνετίθετο, εἰ δὲ μὴ διδοῦσι, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε. ³ οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι διδόναι ἔφασαν, βουλόμενοι τὴν συμμαχίην ποιήσασθαι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν αἰτίας μεγάλας εἶχον.

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¹ Κλεομένης δὲ ἐπιστάμενος περιωβρίσθαι ἔπεσι καὶ ἔργοισι ὑπ’

Ἀθηναίων συνέλεγε ἐκ πάσης Πελοποννήσου στρατόν, οὐ φράζων ἐς τὸ συλλέγει, τίσασθαι τε ἐθέλων τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰσαγόρην βουλόμενος τύραννον καταστήσαι· συνεξῆλθε γάρ οἱ οὗτος ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος. ² Κλεομένης τε δὴ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλε ἐς Ἐλευσίνα, καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπὸ συνθήματος Οἰνόην αἰρέουσι καὶ Ὑσιᾶς δῆμους τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Χαλκιδέες τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτερα ἐσίνοντο ἐπιόντες χώρους τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, καίπερ ἀμφιβολίῃ ἐχόμενοι, Βοιωτῶν μὲν καὶ Χαλκιδέων ἐς ὕστερον ἔμελλον μνήμην ποιήσεσθαι, Πελοποννησίοις δὲ ἐοῦσι ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα.

75

¹ μελλόντων δὲ συνάψειν τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς μάχην, Κορίνθιοι μὲν πρῶτοι σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δόντες λόγον ὥς οὐ ποιεοίεν δίκαια μετεβάλλοντό τε καὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, μετὰ δὲ Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος, ἐὼν καὶ οὗτος βασιλεὺς Σπαρτιητέων καὶ συνεξαγαγὼν τε τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος καὶ οὐκ ἐὼν διάφορος ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ Κλεομένει. ² ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς διχοστασίης ἐτέθη νόμος ἐν Σπάρτῃ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἔπεσθαι ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἐξιούσης στρατιῆς· τέως γὰρ ἀμφοτέροι εἶποντο· παραλυομένου δὲ τούτων τοῦ ἐτέρου καταλείπεσθαι καὶ τῶν Τυνδαριδέων τὸν ἕτερον· πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἀμφοτέροι ἐπὶ κλητοῖ σφι ἐόντες εἶποντο. ³ τότε δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἐλευσίνι ὁρῶντες οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων τοὺς τε βασιλέας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐκ ὁμολογέοντας καὶ Κορινθίους ἐκλιπόντας τὴν τάξιν, οἷχοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλασσόμενοι,

76

¹ τέταρτον δὴ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπικόμενοι Δωριέες, δις τε ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἐσβαλόντες καὶ δις ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτε καὶ Μέγαρα κατοίκισαν· οὗτος ὁ στόλος ἐπὶ Κόδρου βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηναίων ὀρθῶς ἂν καλέοιτο· δεύτερον δὲ καὶ τρίτον ὅτε ἐπὶ Πεισιστρατιδέων ἐξέλασιν ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπίκοντο, τέταρτον δὲ τότε ὅτε ἐς Ἐλευσίνα Κλεομένης ἄγων Πελοποννησίους ἐσέβαλε. οὕτω τέταρτον τότε Δωριέες ἐσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας.

77

1 διαλυθέντος ὧν τοῦ στόλου τούτου ἀκλεῶς, ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναῖοι τίνυσθαι βουλόμενοι πρῶτα στρατηίην ποιεῦνται ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι βοηθέουσι ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐριπον. Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἰδοῦσι τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἔδοξε πρότερον τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι ἢ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι ἐπιχειρέειν. 2 συμβάλλουσι τε δὴ τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πολλῶ ἐκράτησαν, κάρτα δὲ πολλοὺς φονεύσαντες ἑπτακοσίους αὐτῶν ἐζώγρησαν. τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ταύτης ἡμέρης οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐβοίαν συμβάλλουσι καὶ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι, νικήσαντες δὲ καὶ τούτους τετρακισχιλίους κληρούχους ἐπὶ τῶν ἱπποβοτέων τῇ χώρῃ λείπουσι. οἱ δὲ ἱπποβόται ἐκαλέοντο οἱ παχέες τῶν Χαλκιδέων. 3 ὅσους δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐζώγρησαν, ἅμα τοῖσι Βοιωτῶν ἐζωγρημένοισι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ ἐς πέδας δῆσαντες· χρόνῳ δὲ ἔλυσαν σφέας δίμνεως ἀποτιμησάμενοι. τὰς δὲ πέδας αὐτῶν, ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέετο, ἀνεκρέμασαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· αἱ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν περιουσαι, κρεμάμεναι ἐκ τειχέων περιπεφλευσμένων πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μήδου, ἀντίον δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένου. 4 καὶ τῶν λύτρων τὴν δεκάτην ἀνέθηκαν ποιησάμενοι τέθριππον χάλκεον· τὸ δὲ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔστηκε πρῶτον ἐσιόντι ἐς τὰ προπύλαια τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει· ἐπιγράφεται δὲ οἱ τάδε.

*ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμῳ,
δεσμῶ ἐν ἀχλυόεντι σιδηρέῳ ἔσβεσαν ὕβριν·
τῶν ἵππους δεκάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν.*

78

1 Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νυν ἠϋξήντο. δηλοῖ δὲ οὐ κατ' ἐν μῶνον ἀλλὰ πανταχῇ ἢ ἰσηγορίῃ ὥς ἔστι χρῆμα σπουδαῖον, εἰ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τυραννεύομενοι μὲν οὐδαμῶν τῶν σφέας περιοικόντων ἦσαν τὰ πολέμια ἀμείνους, ἀπαλλαχθέντες δὲ τυράννων μακρῶ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο. δηλοῖ ὧν ταῦτα ὅτι κατεχόμενοι μὲν ἐθελοκάκεον ὥς δεσπότη ἐργαζόμενοι, ἐλευθερωθέντων δὲ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἐωυτῷ προεθυμέετο κατεργάζεσθαι.

79

1 οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔπραττον. Θηβαῖοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς θεὸν ἔπεμπον, βουλόμενοι τίσασθαι Ἀθηναίους. ἢ δὲ Πυθίῃ ἀπὸ σφέων

μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔφη αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τίσιν, ἐς πολύφημον δὲ ἐξενείκοντας ἐκέλευε τῶν ἄγχιστα δέεσθαι. ² ἀπελθόντων ὦν τῶν θεοπρόπων, ἐξέφερον τὸ χρηστήριον ἀλίην ποιησάμενοι· ὡς ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ λεγόντων αὐτῶν τῶν ἄγχιστα δέεσθαι, εἶπαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀκούσαντες τούτων “οὐκ ὦν ἄγχιστα ἡμέων οἰκέουσι Ταναγραῖοί τε καὶ Κορωναῖοι καὶ Θεσπιάες; καὶ οὗτοί γε ἅμα ἡμῖν αἰεὶ μαχόμενοι προθύμως συνδιαφέρουσι τὸν πόλεμον· τί δεῖ τούτων γε δέεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ τοῦτο ἦ τὸ χρηστήριον,·”

80

¹ τοιαῦτα ἐπιλεγομένων εἶπε δὴ κοτε μαθὼν τις “ἐγὼ μοι δοκέω συνιέναι τὸ θέλει λέγειν ἡμῖν τὸ μαντήιον. Ἀσωποῦ λέγονται γενέσθαι θυγατέρες Θήβῃ τε καὶ Αἰγίνα· τούτων ἀδελφεῶν ἑουσέων, δοκέω ἡμῖν Αἰγινητέων δέεσθαι τὸν θεὸν χρῆσαι τιμωρητῆρων γενέσθαι,·” ² καὶ οὐ γάρ τις ταύτης ἀμείνων γνώμη ἐδόκεε φαίνεσθαι, αὐτίκα πέμψαντες ἐδέοντο Αἰγινητέων ἐπικαλεόμενοι κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν σφι βοηθέειν, ὡς ἐόντων ἄγγιστων· οἱ δὲ σφι αἰτέουσι ἐπικουρίην τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμπέμπειν ἔφασαν.

81

¹ πειρησαμένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίην τῶν Αἰακιδέων καὶ τρηχέως περιεφθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αὗτις οἱ Θηβαῖοι πέμψαντες τοὺς μὲν Αἰακίδας σφι ἀπεδίδοσαν, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐδέοντο. ² Αἰγινῆται δὲ εὐδαιμονίῃ τε μεγάλη ἐπαερθέντες καὶ ἔχθρης παλαιῆς ἀναμνησθέντες ἐχούσης ἐς Ἀθηναίους, τότε Θηβαίων δεηθέντων πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον· ³ ἐπικειμένων γὰρ αὐτῶν Βοιωτοῖσι, ἐπιπλώσαντες μακρῆσι νηυσὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν κατὰ μὲν ἔσυραν Φάληρον κατὰ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίης πολλοὺς δήμους, ποιεῦντες δὲ ταῦτα μεγάλως Ἀθηναίους ἐσικνέοντο.

82

¹ ἡ δὲ ἔχθρη ἡ προοφειλομένη ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἐκ τῶν Αἰγινητέων ἐγένετο ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοιῆσδε. Ἐπιδαυρίοισι ἡ γῆ καρπὸν οὐδένα ἀνεδίδου. περὶ ταύτης ὦν τῆς συμφορῆς οἱ Ἐπιδαυριοὶ ἐχρέωντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι· ἡ δὲ Πυθίῃ σφέας ἐκέλευε Δαμίης τε καὶ Αὐξησίης

ἀγάλματα ἰδρύσασθαι καὶ σφι ἰδρυσαμένοισι ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι. ² ἐπειρώτεον ὧν οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι κότερα χαλκοῦ ποιέονται τὰ ἀγάλματα ἢ λίθου· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οὐδέτερα τούτων ἔα, ἀλλὰ ξύλου ἡμέρης ἐλαίης. ἐδέοντο ὧν οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι Ἀθηναίων ἐλαίην σφι δοῦναι ταμέσθαι, ἰρωτάτας δὴ κείνας νομίζοντες εἶναι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐλαῖαι ἦσαν ἄλλοθι γῆς οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ἢ ἐν Ἀθήνησι. ³ οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσιδε δώσειν ἔφασαν ἐπ' ᾧ ἀπάξουσιν ἔτεος ἐκάστου τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τε τῇ Πολιάδι ἰρὰ καὶ τῷ Ἑρεχθεῖ. καταινέσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι τῶν τε ἐδέοντο ἔτυχον καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐκ τῶν ἐλαιέων τουτέων ποιησάμενοι ἰδρύσαντο· καὶ ἥ τε γῆ σφι ἔφερε καρπὸν καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐπετέλεον τὰ συνέθεντο.

83

¹ τοῦτον δ' ἔτι τὸν χρόνον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Αἰγινῆται Ἐπιδαυρίων ἤκουον τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δίκας διαβαίνοντες ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον ἐδίδοσάν τε καὶ ἐλάμβανον παρ' ἀλλήλων οἱ Αἰγινῆται· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε νέας τε πιζάμενοι καὶ ἀγνωμοσύνη χρησάμενοι ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων. ² ἄτε δὲ ἐόντες διάφοροι ἐδηλέοντο αὐτούς, ὥστε θαλασσοκράτορες ἐόντες, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα τῆς τε Δαμῖς καὶ τῆς Αὐξησίης ὑπαιρέονται αὐτῶν, καὶ σφεα ἐκόμισάν τε καὶ ἰδρύσαντο τῆς σφετέρης χώρας ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῇ Οἷῃ μὲν ἐστὶ οὖνομα, στάδια δὲ μάλιστα κη ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ὡς εἴκοσι ἀπέχει. ³ ἰδρυσάμενοι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ θυσίῃσι τε σφέα καὶ χοροῖσι γυναικείοις κερτομίοις ἰλάσκοντο, χορηγῶν ἀποδεικνυμένων ἑκατέρῃ τῶν δαιμόνων δέκα ἀνδρῶν· κακῶς δὲ ἡγόρευον οἱ χοροὶ ἄνδρα μὲν οὐδένα, τὰς δὲ ἐπιχωρίας γυναῖκας. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Ἐπιδαυρίοις αἱ αὐταὶ ἱεροεργαίαι· εἰσὶ δὲ σφι καὶ ἄρρητοι ἱουργίαι.

84

¹ κλεφθέντων δὲ τῶνδε τῶν ἀγαλμάτων οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις τὰ συνέθεντο οὐκ ἐπετέλεον. πέμψαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐμήνιον τοῖσι Ἐπιδαυρίοις· οἱ δὲ ἀπέφαινον λόγῳ ὡς οὐκ ἀδικέοιεν· ὅσον μὲν γὰρ χρόνον εἶχον τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ἐπιτελέειν τὰ συνέθεντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐστερηθῆσθαι αὐτῶν, οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι ἀποφέρειν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτὰ Αἰγινήτας πρήσσεσθαι ἐκέλευον. ² πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Αἶγιναν πέμψαντες ἀπαίτεον τὰ ἀγάλματα· οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται ἔφασαν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι οὐδὲν πρῆγμα.

¹ Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νυν λέγουσι μετὰ τὴν ἀπαίτησιν ἀποσταλῆναι τριήρεϊ μὴ τῶν ἀστῶν τούτους οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Αἴγιναν τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα ὡς σφετέρων ξύλων ἔοντα ἐπειρῶντο ἐκ τῶν βάρων ἐξανασπᾶν, ἵνα σφέα ἀνακομίσωνται. ² οὐ δυναμένους δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ αὐτῶν κρατῆσαι, περιβαλόντας σχοινία ἔλκειν τὰ ἀγάλματα, καὶ σφι ἔλκουσι βροντὴν τε καὶ ἅμα τῇ βροντῇ σεισμὸν ἐπιγενέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ τριηρίτας τοὺς ἔλκοντας ὑπὸ τούτων ἀλλοφρονῆσαι, παθόντας δὲ τοῦτο κτείνειν ἀλλήλους ἅτε πολεμίους, ἐς ὃ ἐκ πάντων ἓνα λειφθέντα ἀνακομισθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐς Φάληρον.

¹ Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσι, Αἰγινῆται δὲ οὐ μὴ νηὶ ἀπικέσθαι Ἀθηναίους· μίαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλεῦνας μιῆς, καὶ εἰ σφίσι μὴ ἔτυχον ἐοῦσαι νέες, ἀπαμύνεσθαι ἂν εὐπετέως· ἀλλὰ πολλῇσι νηυσὶ ἐπιπλέειν σφίσι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, αὐτοὶ δὲ σφι εἶξαι καὶ οὐ ναυμαχῆσαι. ² οὐκ ἔχουσι δὲ τοῦτο διασημῆναι ἀτρεκέως, οὔτε εἰ ἦσσανες συγγινωσκόμενοι εἶναι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ κατὰ τοῦτο εἶξαν, οὔτε εἰ βουλόμενοι ποιῆσαι οἷόν τι καὶ ἐποίησαν. ³ Ἀθηναίους μὲν νυν, ἐπεῖτε σφι οὐδεὶς ἐς μάχην κατίστατο, ἀποβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τραπέσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα, οὐ δυναμένους δὲ ἀνασπάσαι ἐκ τῶν βάρων αὐτὰ οὕτω δὴ περιβαλομένους σχοινία ἔλκειν, ἐς οὗ ἔλκόμενα τὰ ἀγάλματα ἀμφοτέρω τῷτῳ ποιῆσαι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, ἄλλω δὲ τεῷ· ἐς γούνατα γάρ σφι αὐτὰ πεσεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τούτου χρόνον διατελέειν οὕτω ἔχοντα. ⁴ Ἀθηναίους μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιεῖν· σφέας δὲ Αἰγινῆται λέγουσι πυθομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὡς μέλλοιεν ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύεσθαι, ἐτοίμους Ἀργεῖους ποιέεσθαι. τοὺς τε δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἀποβεβάναι ἐς τὴν Αἰγιναίην, καὶ ἤκειν βοηθέοντας σφίσι τοὺς Ἀργεῖους καὶ λαθεῖν τε ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου διαβάντας ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ οὐ προακηκοόσι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπιπεσεῖν ὑποταγομένους τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, ἅμα τε ἐν τούτῳ τὴν βροντὴν τε γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν σεισμὸν αὐτοῖσι.

¹ λέγεται μὲν νυν ὑπ' Ἀργείων τε καὶ Αἰγινητέων τάδε, ὁμολογέεται δὲ καὶ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἓνα μῦθον τὸν ἀποσωθέντα

αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν γενέσθαι· 2 πλὴν Ἀργεῖοι μὲν λέγουσι αὐτῶν τὸ Ἀττικὸν στρατόπεδον διαφθειράντων τὸν ἕνα τοῦτον περιγενέσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοῦ δαιμονίου· περιγενέσθαι μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον τὸν ἕνα, ἀλλ' ἀπολέσθαι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. κομισθεῖς ἄρα ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπήγγελλε τὸ πάθος· πυθομένας δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπ' Αἰγιναν στρατευσαμένων ἀνδρῶν, δεινόν τι ποιησαμένας κεῖνον μόνον ἐξ ἀπάντων σωθῆναι, πέραν τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον λαβούσας καὶ κεντεύσας τῆσι περόνῃσι τῶν ἱματίων εἰρωτᾶν ἐκάστην αὐτέων ὅκου εἶη ὁ ἑωυτῆς ἀνὴρ. 3 καὶ τοῦτον μὲν οὕτω διαφθαρῆναι, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἔτι τοῦ πάθεος δεινότερόν τι δόξαει εἶναι τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔργον. ἄλλω μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔχειν ὅτεφ' ζημιώσωσι τὰς γυναῖκας, τὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτα μετέβαλον αὐτέων ἐς τὴν Ἰάδα· ἐφόρεον γὰρ δὴ πρὸ τοῦ αἰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκες ἐσθῆτα Δωρίδα, τῇ Κορινθίῃ παραπλησιωτάτην· μετέβαλον ὧν ἐς τὸν λίνεον κιθῶνα, ἵνα δὴ περόνησι μὴ χρέωνται.

88

1 ἔστι δὲ ἀληθεὶ λόγῳ χρεωμένοισι οὐκ Ἰὰς αὕτη ἢ ἐσθῆς τὸ παλαιὸν ἀλλὰ Κάειρα, ἐπεὶ ἢ γε Ἑλληνικὴ ἐσθῆς πᾶσα ἢ ἀρχαίη τῶν γυναικῶν ἢ αὕτη ἦν τὴν νῦν Δωρίδα καλέομεν. 2 τοῖσι δὲ Ἀργείοισι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰγινῆται καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔτι τότε ποιῆσαι νόμον εἶναι παρὰ σφίσι ἐκατέροισι τὰς περόνας ἡμιολίας ποιέεσθαι τοῦ τότε κατεστεῶτος μέτρου, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῶν θεῶν τουτέων περόνας μάλιστα ἀνατιθέναι τὰς γυναῖκας, Ἀττικὸν δὲ μήτε τι ἄλλο προσφέρειν πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν μήτε κέραμον, ἀλλ' ἐκ χυτρίδων ἐπιχωριέων νόμον τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτόθι εἶναι πίνειν.

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1 Ἀργείων μὲν νυν καὶ Αἰγινητέων αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκ τόσου κατ' ἔριν τὴν Ἀθηναίων περόνας ἔτι καὶ ἐμὲ ἐφόρεον μέζοντας ἢ πρὸ τοῦ, τῆς δὲ ἔχθρης τῆς πρὸς Αἰγινήτας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων γενομένης ἀρχὴ κατὰ τὰ εἴρηται ἐγένετο. τότε δὲ Θηβαίων ἐπικαλεομένων, προθύμως τῶν περὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα γενομένων ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι οἱ Αἰγινῆται ἐβοήθηον τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι. 2 Αἰγινῆται τε δὴ ἐδῆιουν τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὰ παραθαλάσσια, καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ὀρμημένοισι ἐπ' Αἰγινήτας στρατεύεσθαι ἤλθε μαντήιον ἐκ Δελφῶν, ἐπισχόντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγινητέων ἀδικίου τριήκοντα ἔτεα, τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ τριηκοστῷ Αἰακῷ

τέμενος ἀποδέξαντας ἄρχεσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Αἰγινήτας πολέμου, καὶ σφι χωρήσειν τὰ βούλονται· ἦν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπιστρατεύονται, πολλὰ μὲν σφέας ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ χρόνου πείσεσθαι πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ποιήσιν, τέλος μέντοι καταστρέψεσθαι. ³ ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ μὲν Αἰακῷ τέμενος ἀπέδεξαν τοῦτο τὸ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορῆς ἱδρυται, τριήκοντα δὲ ἔτεα οὐκ ἀνέσχοντο ἀκούσαντες ὅκως χρεὼν εἶη ἐπισχεῖν πεπονθότας ὑπ' Αἰγινητέων ἀνάρσια.

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¹ ἐς τιμωρίην δὲ παρασκευαζόμενοισι αὐτοῖσι ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων πρῆγμα ἐγειρόμενον ἐμπόδιον ἐγένετο. πυθόμενοι γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδέων ἐς τὴν Πυθίην μεμηχανημένα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Πυθίης ἐπὶ σφέας τε καὶ τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο διπλῆν, ὅτι τε ἄνδρας ξείνους σφίσι ἐόντας ἐξεληλάκεσαν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων, καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ποιήσασι χάρις οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο πρὸς Ἀθηναίων. ² ἔτι τε πρὸς τοῦτοισι ἐνῆγον σφέας οἱ χρησιμοὶ λέγοντες πολλὰ τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι ἐξ Ἀθηναίων, τῶν πρότερον μὲν ἦσαν ἀδαεές, τότε δὲ Κλεομένεος κομίσαντος ἐς Σπάρτην ἐξέμαθον. ἐκτήσατο δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλιος τοὺς χρησμούς, τοὺς ἔκτηντο μὲν πρότερον οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, ἐξελαυνόμενοι δὲ ἔλιπον ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ, καταλειφθέντας δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἀνέλαβε.

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¹ τότε δὲ ὡς ἀνέλαβον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς χρησμούς καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὥρων αὐξομένους καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐτοιμούς ἐόντας πείθεσθαι σφίσι, νόφ λαβόντες ὡς ἐλεύθερον μὲν ἐὼν τὸ γένος τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἰσόρροπον ἂν τῷ ἐωυτῶν γίνοιτο, κατεχόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τυραννίδος ἀσθενές καὶ πειθαρχέσθαι ἔτοιμον· μαθόντες δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα μετεπέμποντο Ἰππὶν τὸν Πεισιστράτου ἀπὸ Σιγείου τοῦ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐς ὃ καταφεύγουσι οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι. ² ἐπεῖτε δὲ σφι Ἰππίης καλεόμενος ἦκε, μεταπεμψάμενοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἀγγέλους ἔλεγόν σφι Σπαρτιῆται τάδε. “ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, συγγινώσκομεν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν οὐ ποιήσασι ὀρθῶς· ἐπαερθέντες γὰρ κιβδήλοισι μαντηίοισι ἄνδρας ξείνους ἐόντας ἡμῖν τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀναδεκομένους ὑποχειρίας παρέξειν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τούτους ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξηλάσαμεν, καὶ ἔπειτα ποιήσαντες ταῦτα δήμῳ ἀχαρίστῳ

παρεδώκαμεν τὴν πόλιν· ὃς ἐπεῖτε δι' ἡμέας ἐλευθερωθεὶς ἀνέκυψε, ἡμέας μὲν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἡμέων περιυβρίσας ἐξέβαλε, δόξαν δὲ φύσας αὐξάνεται, ὥστε ἐκμεμαθήκασι μάλιστα μὲν οἱ περίοικοι αὐτῶν Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Χαλκιδεεῖς, τάχα δέ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκμαθήσεται ἀμαρτῶν. ³ ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐκεῖνα ποιήσαντες ἡμάρτομεν, νῦν πειρησόμεθα σφέας ἅμα ὑμῖν ἀπικόμενοι τίσασθαι· αὐτοῦ γὰρ τούτου εἵνεκεν τόνδε τε Ἰππὶν μετεπεμψάμεθα καὶ ὑμέας ἀπὸ τῶν πολιῶν, ἵνα κοινῶ τε λόγῳ καὶ κοινῶ στόλῳ ἐσαγαγόντες αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδῶμεν τὰ καὶ ἀπειλόμεθα.,,

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¹ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐνεδέκετο τοὺς λόγους. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι ἡσυχίην ἤγον, Κορίνθιος δὲ Σωκλῆς ἔλεξε τάδε.

^{92A.} “Ἥ δὴ ὃ τε οὐρανὸς ἔνερθε ἔσται τῆς γῆς καὶ ἡ γῆ μετέωρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι νομὸν ἐν θαλάσῃ ἔξουσι καὶ ἰχθύες τὸν πρότερον ἄνθρωποι, ὅτε γε ὑμεῖς ὧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἰσοκρατίας καταλύοντες τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλεις κατάγειν παρασκευάζεσθε, τοῦ οὔτε ἀδικώτερον ἐστὶ οὐδὲν κατ' ἀνθρώπους οὔτε μαιφονώτερον. ² εἰ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε δοκέει ὑμῖν εἶναι χρηστὸν ὥστε τυραννεύεσθαι τὰς πόλεις, αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι τύραννον καταστησάμενοι παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι οὕτω καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δίξῃσθε κατιστάναι· νῦν δὲ αὐτοὶ τυράννων ἄπειροι ἐόντες, καὶ φυλάσσοντες τοῦτο δεινότατα ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ μὴ γενέσθαι, παραχρᾶσθε ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους. εἰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμπειροι ἔατε κατὰ περ ἡμεῖς, εἴχετε ἂν περὶ αὐτοῦ γνώμας ἀμείνονας συμβαλέσθαι ἢ περ νῦν.

^{92B.} Κορινθίοισι γὰρ ἦν πόλιος κατάστασις τοιήδε· ἦν ὀλιγαρχία, καὶ οὗτοι Βακχιάδαι καλεόμενοι ἔνεμον τὴν πόλιν, ἐδίδοσαν δὲ καὶ ἡγοντο ἐξ ἀλλήλων. Ἀμφίονι δὲ ἐόντι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γίνεται θυγάτηρ χολή· οὖνομα δέ οἱ ἦν Λάβδα. ταύτην Βακχιαδέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἤθελε γῆμαι, ἴσχει Ἡετίων ὁ Ἐχεκράτεος, δήμου μὲν ἐὼν ἐκ Πέτρης, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν Λαπίθης τε καὶ Καινείδης. ² ἐκ δὲ οἱ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς οὐδ' ἐξ ἄλλης παῖδες ἐγίνοντο. ἐστάλη ὢν ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ γόνου. ἐσιόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἰθέως ἡ Πυθίη προσαγορεύει τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεισι.

Ἡετίων, οὕτις σε τίει πολύτιπον ἐόντα.

*Λάβδα κύει, τέζει δ' ὀλοοίτροχον· ἐν δὲ πεσεῖται
ἀνδράσι μουνάρχοισι, δικαιώσει δὲ Κόρινθον.*

3 ταῦτα χρησθέντα τῷ Ἡετίωνι ἐξαγγέλλεται κως τοῖσι Βακχιάδῃσι, τοῖσι τὸ μὲν πρότερον γενόμενον χρηστήριον ἐς Κόρινθον ἦν ἄσημον, φέρον τε ἐς τὸν αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἡετίωνος καὶ λέγον ὧδε.

*αἰετὸς ἐν πέτρῃσι κύει, τέζει δὲλέοντα
καρτερὸν ὠμηστήν· πολλῶν δ' ὑπὸ γούνατα λύσει.
ταῦτά νυν εὖ φράζεσθε, Κορίνθιοι, οἱ περὶ καλὴν
Πειρήνην οἰκεῖτε καὶ ὀφρυόεντα Κόρινθον.*

92C. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βακχιάδῃσι πρότερον γενόμενον ἦν ἀτέκμαρτον· τότε δὲ τὸ Ἡετίωνι γενόμενον ὡς ἐπύθοντο, αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ πρότερον συνῆκαν ἐὼν συνφδὸν τῷ Ἡετίωνος. συνέντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἶχον ἐν ἡσυχίῃ, ἐθέλοντες τὸν μέλλοντα Ἡετίωνι γίνεσθαι γόνον διαφθεῖραι. ὡς δ' ἔτεκε ἡ γυνὴ τάχιστα, πέμπουσι σφέων αὐτῶν δέκα ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐν τῷ κατοίκητο ὁ Ἡετίων ἀποκτενέοντας τὸ παιδίον. 2 ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς τὴν Πέτρην καὶ παρελθόντες ἐς τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν Ἡετίωνος αἶτεον τὸ παιδίον· ἡ δὲ Λάβδα εἰδυῖα τε οὐδὲν τῶν εἵνεκα ἐκεῖνοι ἀπικοῖατο, καὶ δοκέουσα σφέας φιλοφροσύνης τοῦ πατρὸς εἵνεκα αἰτέειν, φέρουσα ἐνεχείρισε αὐτῶν ἐνί. τοῖσι δὲ ἄρα ἐβεβούλευτο κατ' ὁδὸν τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν λαβόντα τὸ παιδίον προσουδίσαι. 3 ἐπεὶ ὧν ἔδωκε φέρουσα ἡ Λάβδα, τὸν λαβόντα τῶν ἀνδρῶν θεῖη τύχῃ προσεγέλασε τὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὸν φρασθέντα τοῦτο οἶκτός τις ἴσχει ἀποκτεῖναι, κατοικτεῖρας δὲ παραδιδοῖ τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ. οὕτω δὴ διεξῆλθε διὰ πάντων τῶν δέκα παραδιδόμενον, οὐδενὸς βουλομένου διεργάσασθαι. 4 ἀποδόντες ὧν ὀπίσω τῇ τεκούσῃ τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἔξω, ἐστεῶτες ἐπὶ τῶν θυρέων ἀλλήλων ἄπτοντο καταιτιώμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ πρώτου λαβόντος, ὅτι οὐκ ἐποίησε κατὰ τὰ δεδογμένα, ἐς ὃ δὴ σφι χρόνου ἐγγινομένου ἔδοξε αὐτὶς παρελθόντας πάντας τοῦ φόνου μετίσχειν.

92D. ἔδει δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἡετίωνος γόνου Κορίνθῳ κακὰ ἀναβλαστεῖν. ἡ Λάβδα γὰρ πάντα ταῦτα ἤκουε ἐστεῶσα πρὸς αὐτῇσι τῇσι θύρῃσι· δείσασα δὲ μὴ σφι μεταδόξῃ καὶ τὸ δεύτερον λαβόντες τὸ παιδίον

ἀποκτείνωσι, φέρουσα κατακρύπτει ἐς τὸ ἀφραστότατόν οἱ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, ἐς κυψέλην, ἐπισταμένη ὥς εἰ ὑποστρέψαντες ἐς ζήτησιν ἀπικνεοῖατο πάντα ἐρευνήσῃν μέλλοιεν· τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγίνετο. ² ἔλθοῦσι δὲ καὶ διζημένοισι αὐτοῖσι ὥς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο, ἐδόκεε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποπέμψαντας ὥς πάντα ποιήσῃαν τὰ ἐκείνοι ἐνετείλαντο. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἔλεγον ταῦτα.

92Ε. Ἡετίωνι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ παῖς ἠῤῥάνετο, καὶ οἱ διαφυγόντι τοῦτον τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπὸ τῆς κυψέλης ἐπωνυμίην Κύπελος οὖνομα ἐτέθη. ἀνδρωθέντι δὲ καὶ μαντευομένῳ Κυψέλῳ ἐγένετο ἀμφιδέξιον χρηστήριον ἐν Δελφοῖσι, τῷ πίσυνος γενόμενος ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ ἔσχε Κόρινθον. ὁ δὲ χρησμός ὅδε ἦν.

*2 ὄλβιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐμὸν δόμον ἐσκαταβαίνει,
Κύπελος Ἡετίδης, βασιλεὺς κλειτοῖο Κορίνθου
αὐτὸς καὶ παῖδες, παίδων γε μὲν οὐκέτι παῖδες.*

τὸ μὲν δὴ χρηστήριον τοῦτο ἦν, τυραννέουσας δὲ ὁ Κύπελος τοιοῦτος δὴ τις ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο· πολλοὺς μὲν Κορινθίων ἐδίωξε, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων ἀπεστέρησε, πολλῷ δέ τι πλείστους τῆς ψυχῆς.

92F. ἄρξαντος δὲ τούτου ἐπὶ τριήκοντα ἔτεα καὶ διαπλέξαντος τὸν βίον εὖ, διάδοχός οἱ τῆς τυραννίδος ὁ παῖς Περίανδρος γίνεται. ὁ τοίνυν Περίανδρος κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἦν ἡπιώτερος τοῦ πατρός, ἐπεῖτε δὲ ὠμίλησε δι' ἀγγέλων Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ Μιλήτου τυράννῳ, πολλῷ ἔτι ἐγένετο Κυψέλου μισαιφονώτερος. ² πέμψας γὰρ παρὰ Θρασύβουλον κήρυκα ἐπυνθάνετο ὄντινα ἂν τρόπον ἀσφαλέστατον καταστησάμενος τῶν πρηγμάτων κάλλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύοι. Θρασύβουλος δὲ τὸν ἐλθόντα παρὰ τοῦ Περίανδρου ἐξῆγε ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεος, ἐσβὰς δὲ ἐς ἄρουραν ἐσπαρμένην ἅμα τε διεξῆκε τὸ λήιον ἐπειρωτῶν τε καὶ ἀναποδίζων τὸν κήρυκα κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου ἄπιξιν, καὶ ἐκόλουε αἰεὶ ὅκως τινὰ ἴδοι τῶν ἀσταχύων ὑπερέχοντα, κολούων δὲ ἔρριπτε, ἐς ὃ τοῦ ληίου τὸ κάλλιστόν τε καὶ βαθύτατον διέφθειρε τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ· ³ διεξελθὼν δὲ τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὑποθέμενος ἔπος οὐδὲν ἀποπέμπει τὸν κήρυκα. νοστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον ἦν πρόθυμος πυνθάνεσθαι τὴν ὑποθήκην ὁ Περίανδρος· ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν οἱ ἔφη Θρασύβουλον ὑποθέσθαι, θωμάζειν τε αὐτοῦ παρ' οἷόν μιν ἄνδρα ἀποπέμψειε, ὥς παραπληγὰ τε καὶ τῶν ἔωντοῦ σινάμωρον, ἀπηγερόμενος τά περ πρὸς Θρασυβούλου

ὁπώπεε.

92G. Περίανδρος δὲ συνιείς τὸ ποιηθὲν καὶ νόῳ ἴσχων ὥς οἱ ὑπετίθετο Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ὑπειρόχους τῶν ἀστῶν φονεύειν, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐξέφαινε ἐς τοὺς ποληίτας. ὅσα γὰρ Κύψελος ἀπέλιπε κτείνων τε καὶ διώκων, Περίανδρος σφέα ἀπετέλεσε, μὴ δὲ ἡμέρη ἀπέδυσσε πάσας τὰς Κορινθίων γυναῖκας διὰ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ γυναῖκα Μέλισσαν. 2 πέμψαντι γάρ οἱ ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς ἐπ' Ἀχέροντα ποταμὸν ἀγγέλους ἐπὶ τὸ νεκυομαντήριον παρακαταθήκης πέρι ξεινικῆς οὔτε σημανέειν ἔφη ἢ Μέλισσα ἐπιφανεῖσα οὔτε κατερέειν ἐν τῷ κέεται χώρῳ ἢ παρακαταθήκη· ῥιγοῦν τε γὰρ καὶ εἶναι γυμνή· τῶν γάρ οἱ συγκατέθαψε ἱματίων ὄφελος εἶναι οὐδὲν οὐ κατακαυθέντων· μαρτύριον δέ οἱ εἶναι ὡς ἀληθέα ταῦτα λέγει, ὅτι ἐπὶ ψυχρὸν τὸν ἱπνὸν Περίανδρος τοὺς ἄρτους ἐπέβαλε. 3 ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπηγγέλθη τῷ Περιάνδρῳ, πιστὸν γάρ οἱ ἦν τὸ συμβόλαιον ὃς νεκρῷ ἐούσῃ Μελίσσῃ ἐμίγη, ἰθέως δὴ μετὰ τὴν ἀγγελίην κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο ἐς τὸ Ἥραιον ἐξιέναι πάσας τὰς Κορινθίων γυναῖκας. αἱ μὲν δὴ ὡς ἐς ὀρτὴν ἦισαν κόσμῳ τῷ καλλίστῳ χρεώμεναι, ὃ δ' ὑποστήσας τοὺς δορυφόρους ἀπέδυσσε σφέας πάσας ὁμοίως, τὰς τε ἐλευθέρας καὶ τὰς ἀμφιπόλους, συμφορήσας δὲ ἐς ὄρυγμα Μελίσσῃ ἐπευχόμενος κατέκαιε. 4 ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ποιήσαντι καὶ τὸ δεύτερον πέμψαντι ἔφρασε τὸ εἶδωλον τὸ Μελίσσης ἐς τὸν κατέθηκε χῶρον τοῦ ξείνου τὴν παρακαταθήκην.

τοιοῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν ἐστὶ ἡ τυραννίς, ὧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τοιούτων ἔργων. 5 ἡμέας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τότε αὐτίκα θῶμα μέγα εἶχε ὅτε ὑμέας εἶδομεν μεταπεμπομένους Ἰππὴν, νῦν τε δὴ καὶ μεζόνως θωμάζομεν λέγοντας ταῦτα, ἐπιμαρτυρόμεθά τε ἐπικαλεόμενοι ὑμῖν θεοὺς τοὺς Ἑλληνίους μὴ κατιστάναι τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλεις. οὐκὼν παύσεσθε ἀλλὰ πειρήσεσθε παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον κατάγοντες Ἰππὴν· ἴστε ὑμῖν Κορινθίους γε οὐ συναινέοντας,.

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1 Σωκλῆς μὲν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου πρεσβεύων ἔλεξε τάδε, Ἰππὴς δὲ αὐτὸν ἀμείβετο τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλέσας θεοὺς ἐκείνῳ, ἥ μὲν Κορινθίους μάλιστα πάντων ἐπιποθήσειν Πεισιστρατίδας, ὅταν σφι ἤκωσι ἡμέραι αἱ κύριαι ἀνιᾶσθαι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων. 2 Ἰππὴς μὲν τούτοις ἀμείφατο οἷα τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἀτρεκέστατα ἀνδρῶν ἐξεπιστάμενος· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων τέως μὲν εἶχον ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ

σφέας αὐτούς, ἐπεῖτε δὲ Σωκλέος ἤκουσαν εἵπαντος ἐλευθέρως, ἅπας τις αὐτῶν φωνὴν ῥήξας αἰρέετο τοῦ Κορινθίου τὴν γνώμην, Λακεδαιμονίοισι τε ἐπεμαρτυρέοντο μὴ ποιέειν μηδὲν νεώτερον περὶ πόλιν Ἑλλάδα.

94

1 οὕτω μὲν τοῦτο ἐπαύσθη. Ἰππὶη δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἀπελανομένῳ ἐδίδου μὲν Ἀμύντης ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς Ἀνθεμοῦντα, ἐδίδοσαν δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ Ἰωλκόν. ὁ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερα αἰρέετο, ἀνεχώρει δὲ ὀπίσω ἐς Σίγειον, τὸ εἶλε Πεισίστρατος αἰχμῇ παρὰ Μυτιληναίων, κρατήσας δὲ αὐτοῦ κατέστησε τύραννον εἶναι παῖδα τὸν ἐωυτοῦ νόθον Ἥγησίστρατον, γεγονότα ἐξ Ἀργεῖης γυναικός, ὃς οὐκ ἀμαχητὶ εἶχε τὰ παρέλαβε παρὰ Πεισιστράτου. 2 ἐπολέμεον γὰρ ἕκ τε Ἀχιλλήϊου πόλιος ὀρμώμενοι καὶ Σιγείου ἐπὶ χρόνον συχρὸν Μυτιληναῖοί τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἳ μὲν ἀπαιτέοντες τὴν χώραν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὔτε συγγινωσκόμενοι ἀποδεικνύντες τε λόγῳ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Αἰολεῦσι μετεδὸν τῆς Ἰλιάδος χώρας ἢ οὐ καὶ σφίσι καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις, ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων συνεπρήξαντο Μενέλεω τὰς Ἑλένης ἀρπαγὰς.

95

1 πολεμεόντων δὲ σφέων παντοῖα καὶ ἄλλα ἐγένετο ἐν τῇσι μάχησι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητὴς συμβολῆς γενομένης καὶ νικόντων Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸς μὲν φεύγων ἐκφεύγει, τὰ δὲ οἱ ὅπλα ἴσχουσι Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ σφεα ἀνεκρέμασαν πρὸς τὸ Ἀθήναιον τὸ ἐν Σιγείῳ. 2 ταῦτα δὲ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν μέλει ποιήσας ἐπιτιθεῖ ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐξαγγελλόμενος τὸ ἐωυτοῦ πάθος Μελανίπῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐταίρῳ. Μυτιληναῖους δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖους κατήλλαξε Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου· τούτῳ γὰρ διαιτητῇ ἐπετράποντο· κατήλλαξε δὲ ὧδε, νέμεσθαι ἑκατέρους τὴν ἔχουσι.

96

1 Σίγειον μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοισι. Ἰππίης δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἀπῆκετο ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, πᾶν χρῆμα ἐκίνεε, διαβάλλων τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφρένεα καὶ ποιέων ἅπαντα ὅκως αἱ Ἀθῆναι γενοίαιτο ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ τε καὶ Δαρείῳ. 2 Ἰππίης τε δὴ ταῦτα ἔπραττε, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα πέμπουσι ἐς

Σάρδεις ἀγγέλους, οὐκ ἔδωκτες τοὺς Πέρσας πείθεσθαι Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι φυγάσι. ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ἐκέλευε σφέας, εἰ βουλοίατο σοοὶ εἶναι, καταδέκεσθαι ὀπίσω Ἰππὶν. οὐκὼν δὴ ἐνεδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους ἀποφερομένους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι· οὐκ ἐνδεκομένοισι δέ σφι ἐδέδοκτο ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι πολεμίους εἶναι.

97

¹ νομίζουνσι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ διαβεβλημένοισι ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ καιρῷ ὁ Μιλήσιος Ἀρισταγόρης, ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου ἐξελασθεὶς ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀπύκετο ἐς Ἀθήνας· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν λοιπέων ἐδυνάστευε μέγιστον. ἐπελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ταῦτα ἔλεγε τὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Περσικοῦ, ὥς οὔτε ἀσπίδα οὔτε δόρυ νομίζουνσι εὐπετέες τε χειρωθῆναι εἶησαν. ² ταῦτά τε δὴ ἔλεγε καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι τάδε, ὥς οἱ Μιλήσιοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶ ἄποικοι, καὶ οἰκός σφεας εἴη ῥύεσθαι δυναμένους μέγα· καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ὑπίσχετο οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος, ἐς ὃ ἀνέπεισε σφέας. πολλοὺς γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι εὐπετέστερον διαβάλλειν ἢ ἓνα, εἰ Κλεομένεα μὲν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον μόνον οὐκ οἶός τε ἐγένετο διαβάλλειν, τρεῖς δὲ μυριάδας Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησε τοῦτο. ³ Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν δὴ ἀναπεισθέντες ἐψηφίσαντο εἴκοσι νέας ἀποστεῖλαι βοηθοὺς Ἴωσι, στρατηγὸν ἀποδέξαντες αὐτῶν εἶναι Μελάνθιον ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν ἐόντα τὰ πάντα δόκιμον· αὗται δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο Ἑλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις.

98

¹ Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ προπλώσας καὶ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, ἐξευρὼν βούλευμα ἀπ' οὗ Ἴωσι μὲν οὐδεμία ἔμελλε ὠφελὴ ἔσσεσθαι, οὐδ' ὧν οὐδὲ τούτου εἵνεκα ἐποίεε ἀλλ' ὅπως βασιλέα Δαρεῖον λυπήσειε, ἔπεμψε ἐς τὴν Φρυγίην ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τοὺς Παίονας τοὺς ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ αἰχμαλώτους γενομένους ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου, οἰκέοντας δὲ τῆς Φρυγίης χῶρόν τε καὶ κώμην ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἀπύκετο ἐς τοὺς Παίονας, ἔλεγε τάδε. ² “ἄνδρες Παῖονες, ἔπεμψέ με Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος σωτηρίην ὑποθησόμενον ὑμῖν, ἣν περ βούλησθε πείθεσθαι. νῦν γὰρ Ἰωνίῃ πᾶσα ἀπέστηκε ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ὑμῖν παρέχει σῶζεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν αὐτῶν· μέχρι μὲν θαλάσσης αὐτοῖσι ὑμῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἡμῖν ἤδη μελήσει,.” ³

ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Παῖονες κάρτα τε ἀσπαστὸν ἐποίησαντο καὶ ἀναλαβόντες παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἀπεδίδρησκον ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, οἱ δὲ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ κατέμειναν ἀρρώδησαντες αὐτοῦ. ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ Παῖονες ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐνθεῦτεν ἔς Χίον διέβησαν. 4 ἐόντων δὲ ἤδη ἐν Χίῳ, κατὰ πόδας ἐληλύθεε Περσέων ἵππος πολλὴ διώκουσα τοὺς Παίονας. ὥς δὲ οὐ κατέλαβον, ἐπηγγέλλοντο ἔς τὴν Χίον τοῖσι Παίοσι ὅκως ἂν ὀπίσω ἀπέλθοιεν. οἱ δὲ Παῖονες τοὺς λόγους οὐκ ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ Χίου μὲν Χῖοι σφέας ἔς Λέσβον ἤγαγον, Λέσβιοι δὲ ἔς Δορίσκον ἐκόμισαν, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ περὶ κομιζόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἔς Παιονίην.

99

1 Ἀρισταγόρης δέ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπίκοντο εἴκοσι νηυσί, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι Ἑρετριέων πέντε τριήρεας, οἱ οὐ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν ἐστρατεύοντο ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτῶν Μιλησίων, ὀφειλόμενά σφι ἀποδιδόντες· οἱ γὰρ δὴ Μιλήσιοι πρότερον τοῖσι Ἑρετριεῦσι τὸν πρὸς Χαλκιδέας πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν, ὅτε περ καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσι ἀντία Ἑρετριέων καὶ Μιλησίων Σάμιοι ἐβοήθεον· οὗτοι ὦν ἐπεῖτε σφι ἀπίκοντο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι παρῆσαν, ἐποιέετο στρατηίην ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἔς Σάρδεις. 2 αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο ἀλλ' ἔμενε ἐν Μιλήτῳ, στρατηγούς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέδεξε Μιλησίων εἶναι, τὸν ἑωυτοῦ τε ἀδελφεὸν Χαροπῖνον καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν ἄλλον Ἑρμόφαντον.

100

1 ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ Ἴωνες ἔς Ἐφεσον πλοῖα μὲν κατέλιπον ἐν Κορησῶ τῆς Ἐφεσίης, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀνέβαινον χειρὶ πολλῇ, ποιεύμενοι Ἐφεσίους ἡγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ. πορευόμενοι δὲ παρὰ ποταμὸν Καῦστριον, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπεῖτε ὑπερβάντες τὸν Τμῶλον ἀπίκοντο, αἰρέουσι Σάρδεις οὐδενός σφι ἀντιωθέντος, αἰρέουσι δὲ χωρὶς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τὰλλα πάντα· τὴν δὲ ἀκρόπολιν ἐρρύετο αὐτὸς Ἀρταφρένης ἔχων ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην.

101

1 τὸ δὲ μὴ λεηλατῆσαι ἐλόντας σφέας τὴν πόλιν ἔσχε τόδε. ἦσαν ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πλεῦνες καλάμιναι, ὅσαι δ' αὐτέων καὶ πλίνθιναι ἦσαν, καλάμου εἶχον τὰς ὀροφάς· τουτέων δὴ μίαν τῶν τις στρατιωτέων ὥς ἐνέπρησε, αὐτίκα ἀπ' οἰκίης ἐπ' οἰκίην ἰὸν τὸ πῦρ

ἐπενέμετο τὸ ἄστν πᾶν. 2 καιομένου δὲ τοῦ ἄστεος οἱ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ ὅσοι Περσέων ἐνήσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἀπολαμφθέντες πάντοθεν ὥστε τὰ περιέσχατα νεμομένου τοῦ πυρός, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐξήλυσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, συνέρρεον ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμὸν, ὅς σφι ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ καταφορέων ἐκ τοῦ Τμῶλου διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορῆς ῥέει καὶ ἔπειτα ἔς τὸν Ἑρμον ποταμὸν ἐκδιδοῖ, ὁ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν· ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Πακτωλὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀθροίζόμενοι οἱ τε Λυδοὶ καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἠναγκάζοντο ἀμύνεσθαι. 3 οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες ὀρέοντες τοὺς μὲν ἀμυνομένους τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς δὲ σὺν πλήθει πολλῷ προσφερομένους, ἐξανέχωρσαν δείσαντες πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸν Τμῶλον καλεόμενον, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐπὶ τὰς νέας.

102

1 καὶ Σάρδιες μὲν ἐνεπρήσθησαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι καὶ ἱρὸν ἐπιχωρίης θεοῦ Κυβήβης· τὸ σκηπτόμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι ὕστερον ἀντενεπίμπρασαν τὰ ἐν Ἑλλήσει ἱρά. τότε δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι οἱ ἐντὸς Ἄλυος ποταμοῦ νομοὺς ἔχοντες, προπυθανόμενοι ταῦτα, συνηλίζοντο καὶ ἐβοήθουν τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι. 2 καὶ κως ἐν μὲν Σάρδισι οὐκέτι ἐόντας τοὺς Ἴωνας εὐρίσκουσι, ἐπόμενοι δὲ κατὰ στίβον αἰρέουσι αὐτοὺς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. καὶ ἀντετάχθησαν μὲν οἱ Ἴωνες, συμβαλόντες δὲ πολλὸν ἐσώθησαν. 3 καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι φονεύουσι ἄλλους τε ὀνομαστούς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Εὐαλκίδην στρατηγέοντα Ἑρετριέων, στεφανηφόρους τε ἀγῶνας ἀναραιρηκότα καὶ ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδεω τοῦ Κηίου πολλὰ αἰνεθέντα· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπέφυγον τὴν μάχην, ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὰς πόλιας.

103

1 τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο. μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀπολιπόντες τοὺς Ἴωνας, ἐπικαλεομένου σφέας πολλὰ δι' ἀγγέλων Ἀρισταγόρεω, οὐκ ἔφασαν τιμωρήσιν σφι· Ἴωνες δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίης στερηθέντες, οὕτω γάρ σφι ὑπῆρχε πεποιημένα ἐς Δαρεῖον, οὐδὲν δὴ ἦσσαν τὸν πρὸς βασιλέα πόλεμον ἐσκευάζοντο. 2 πλώσαντες δὲ ἔς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον Βυζάντιόν τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλιας πάσας τὰς ταύτῃ ὑπ' ἐωυτοῖσι ἐποιήσαντο, ἐκπλώσαντές τε ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον Καρίης τὴν πολλὴν προσεκτήσαντο σφίσι σύμμαχον εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τὴν Καῦνον πρότερον οὐ βουλομένην

συμμαχέειν, ὥς ἐνέπρησαν τὰς Σάρδεις, τότε σφι καὶ αὕτη προσεγένετο.

104

¹ Κύπριοι δὲ ἐθέλονταί σφι πάντες προσεγένοντο πλὴν Ἀμαθουσίων· ἀπέστησαν γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ὧδε ἀπὸ Μήδων. ἦ Ὀνήσιλος Γόργου μὲν τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸς νεώτερος, Χέρσιος δὲ τοῦ Σιρώμου τοῦ Εὐέλθοντος παῖς. ² οὗτος ὠνήρ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον τὸν Γόργον παρηγορέετο ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, τότε δέ, ὥς καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐπύθετο ἀπεστάναι, πάγχυ ἐπικείμενος ἐνήγε· ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Γόργον, ἐνθαῦτά μιν φυλάζας ἐξελθόντα τὸ ἄστν τὸ Σαλαμινίων ὁ Ὀνήσιλος ἅμα τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ στασιώτησι ἀπεκλήισε τῶν πυλέων. ³ Γόργος μὲν δὴ στερηθεὶς τῆς πόλιος ἔφευγε εἰς Μήδους, Ὀνήσιλος δὲ ἦρχε Σαλαμῖνος καὶ ἀνέπειθε πάντας Κυπρίους συναπίστασθαι. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄλλους ἀνέπεισε, Ἀμαθουσίους δὲ οὐ βουλομένους οἱ πείθεσθαι ἐπολιόρκεε προσκατήμενος.

105

¹ Ὀνήσιλος μὲν νυν ἐπολιόρκεε Ἀμαθοῦντα. βασιλεί δὲ Δαρεῖφ ὥς ἐξαγγέλθῃ Σάρδεις ἀλούσας ἐμπεπρῆσθαι ὑπὸ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώνων, τὸν δὲ ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι τῆς συλλογῆς ὥστε ταῦτα συνυφανθῆναι τὸν Μιλήσιον Ἀρισταγόρην, πρῶτα μὲν λέγεται αὐτόν, ὥς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, Ἰώνων οὐδένα λόγον ποιησάμενον, εὖ εἰδότα ὥς οὗτοί γε οὐ καταπροΐζονται ἀποστάντες, εἰρέσθαι οἵτινες εἶεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μετὰ δὲ πυθόμενον αἰτῆσαι τὸ τόξον, λαβόντα δὲ καὶ ἐπιθέντα δὲ οἰστὸν ἄνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπεῖναι, καὶ μιν ἐς τὸν ἡέρα βάλλοντα εἰπεῖν ² “ὦ Ζεῦ, ἐκγενέσθαι μοι Ἀθηναίους τίσασθαι,, εἶπαντα δὲ ταῦτα προστάζαι ἐνὶ τῶν θεραπόντων δείπνου προκειμένου αὐτῷ ἐς τρεῖς ἐκάστοτε εἰπεῖν “δέσποτα, μέμνεο τῶν Ἀθηναίων,,

106

¹ προστάζας δὲ ταῦτα εἶπε, καλέσας ἐς ὄψιν Ἰστιαῖον τὸν Μιλήσιον, τὸν ὁ Δαρεῖος κατεῖχε χρόνον ἤδη πολλόν, “πυνθάνομαι Ἰστιαῖε ἐπίτροπον τὸν σόν, τῷ σὺ Μίλητον ἐπέτρεψας, νεώτερα ἐς ἐμὲ πεποιηκέναι πρήγματα· ἄνδρας γάρ μοι ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρης ἡπείρου

ἐπαγαγόν, καὶ Ἰωνας σὺν αὐτοῖσι τοὺς δώσοντας ἐμοὶ δίκην τῶν ἐποίησαν, τούτους ἀναγνώσας ἅμα ἐκείνοισι ἔπεσθαι, Σαρδίῳ με ἀπεστέρησε. νῦν ὧν κῶς τοι ταῦτα φαίνεται ἔχειν καλῶς; 2 κῶς δὲ ἄνευ τῶν σῶν βουλευμάτων τούτων τι ἐπρήχθη; ὅρα μὴ ἐξ ὑστέρης σεωυτὸν ἐν αἰτίῃ σχῆς,, 3 εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἰστιαῖος “βασιλεῦ, κοῖον ἐφθέγξαις ἐπος, ἐμὲ βουλευσάμενος πρῆγμα ἐκ τοῦ σοί τι ἢ μέγα ἢ σμικρὸν ἐμελλε λυπηρὸν ἀνασχέσειν; τί δ’ ἂν ἐπιδιζήμενος ποιέοιμι ταῦτα, τεῦ δὲ ἐνδεῆς ἐὼν; τῷ πάρα μὲν πάντα ὅσα περ σοί, πάντων δὲ πρὸς σέο βουλευμάτων ἐπακούειν ἀξιοῦμαι. 4 ἀλλ’ εἴ περ τι τοιοῦτον οἶον σὺ εἴρηκας πρήσσει ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος, ἴσθι αὐτὸν ἐπ’ ἐωυτοῦ βαλόμενον πεποιηκέναι. ἀρχὴν δὲ ἔγωγε οὐδὲ ἐνδέχομαι τὸν λόγον, ὅπως τι Μιλήσιοι καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος νεώτερον πρήσσουσι περὶ πρήγματα τὰ σά. εἰ δ’ ἄρα τι τοιοῦτο ποιέῃσι καὶ σὺ τὸ ἐὸν ἀκήκοας ὧ βασιλεῦ, μάθε οἶον πρῆγμα ἐργάσαιο ἐμὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνάσπαστον ποιήσας. 5 Ἰωνες γὰρ οἴκασιν ἐμεῦ ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν σφι γενομένου ποιῆσαι τῶν πάλαι ἡμέρον εἶχον· ἐμέο δ’ ἂν ἐόντος ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὐδεμία πόλις ὑπεκίνησε. νῦν ὧν ὡς τάχος ἄπες με πορευθῆναι ἐς Ἰωνίην, ἵνα τοι κεῖνὰ τε πάντα καταρτίσω ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸν Μιλήτου ἐπίτροπον τοῦτον τὸν ταῦτα μηχανησάμενον ἐγγχειρίθεται παραδῶ. 6 ταῦτα δὲ κατὰ νόον τὸν σὸν ποιήσας, θεοὺς ἐπόμνυμι τοὺς βασιλεῖς μὴ μὲν πρότερον ἐκδύσασθαι τὸν ἔχων κιθῶνα καταβήσομαι ἐς Ἰωνίην, πρὶν ἂν τοι Σαρδῶ νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην δασμοφόρον ποιήσω,,

107

1 Ἰστιαῖος μὲν λέγων ταῦτα διέβαλλε, Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπέιθετο καὶ μιν ἀπίει, ἐντειλάμενος, ἐπεὰν τὰ ὑπέσχετό οἱ ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ, παραγίνεσθαι οἱ ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα.

108

1 ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡ ἀγγελίη τε περὶ τῶν Σαρδίῳ παρὰ βασιλέα ἀνῆκε καὶ Δαρεῖος τὰ περὶ τὸ τόξον ποιήσας Ἰστιαίῳ ἐς λόγους ἦλθε καὶ Ἰστιαῖος μεμετιμένος ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐκομίζετο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐγένετο τάδε. πολιορκέοντι τῷ Σαλαμινίῳ Ὀνησίλῳ Ἀμαθουσίους ἐξαγγέλλεται νηυσὶ στρατιὴν πολλὴν ἄγοντα Περσικὴν Ἀρτύβιον ἄνδρα Πέρσῃ προσδόκιμον ἐς τὴν Κύπρον εἶναι· 2 πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ὀνήσιλος κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὴν

Ἰωνὴν ἐπικαλούμενος σφέας, Ἵωνες δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν βουλευσάμενοι ἦκον πολλῷ στόλῳ. Ἵωνές τε δὴ παρῆσαν ἐς τὴν Κύπρον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι νηυσὶ διαβάντες ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίης ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα πεζῇ. τῇσι δὲ νηυσὶ οἱ Φοίνικες περιέπλεον τὴν ἄκρην αἱ καλεῦνται Κληῖδες τῆς Κύπρου.

109

¹ τούτου δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου ἔλεξαν οἱ τύραννοι τῆς Κύπρου, συγκαλέσαντες τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς στρατηγούς, “ἄνδρες Ἵωνες, αἴρεσιν ὑμῖν δίδομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Κύπριοι ὁκοτέροισι βούλεσθε προσφέρεσθαι, ἢ Πέρσῃσι ἢ Φοίνιξι. ² εἰ μὲν γὰρ πεζῇ βούλεσθε ταχθέντες Περσέων διαπειρᾶσθαι, ὥρῃ ἂν εἴη ὑμῖν ἐκβάντας ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τάσσεσθαι πεζῇ, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὰς νέας ἐσβαίνειν τὰς ὑμετέρας Φοίνιξι ἀνταγωνιευμένους· εἰ δὲ Φοινίκων μᾶλλον βούλεσθε διαπειρᾶσθαι, ποιέειν χρεόν ἐστι ὑμέας, ὁκότερα ἂν δὴ τούτων ἔλησθε, ὅπως τὸ κατ’ ὑμέας ἔσται ἢ τε Ἰωνὴ καὶ ἡ Κύπρος ἐλευθέρη,· ³ εἶπαν Ἵωνες πρὸς ταῦτα “ἡμέας δὲ ἀπέπεμψε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων φυλάζοντας τὴν θάλασσαν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἵνα Κυπρίοισι τὰς νέας παραδόντες αὐτοὶ πεζῇ Πέρσῃσι προσφερώμεθα. ἡμεῖς μὲν νυν ἐπ’ οὗ ἐτάχθημεν, ταύτῃ πειρησόμεθα εἶναι χρηστοί· ὑμέας δὲ χρεόν ἐστι ἀναμνησθέντας οἷα ἐπάσχετε δουλεύοντες πρὸς τῶν Μήδων, γίνεσθαι ἄνδρας ἀγαθοῦς,·

110

¹ Ἵωνες μὲν τούτοις ἀμείψαντο· μετὰ δὲ ἡκόντων ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Σαλαμινίων τῶν Περσέων, διέτασσαν οἱ βασιλέες τῶν Κυπρίων, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους Κυπρίους κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἀντιτάσσοντες, Σαλαμινίων δὲ καὶ Σολίων ἀπολέξαντες τὸ ἄριστον ἀντέτασσαν Πέρσῃσι· Ἀρτυβίῳ δὲ τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν Περσέων ἐθελοντὴς ἀντετάσσετο Ὀνήσιλος.

111

¹ ἤλαυνε δὲ ἵππον ὁ Ἀρτύβιος δεδιδραγμένον πρὸς ὀπλίτην ἵστασθαι ὀρθόν. πυθόμενος ὦν ταῦτα ὁ Ὀνήσιλος, ἦν γὰρ οἱ ὑπασπιστὴς γένος μὲν Κάρ τὰ δὲ πολέμια κάρτα δόκιμος καὶ ἄλλως λήματος πλέος, εἶπε πρὸς τοῦτον ² “πυνθάνομαι τὸν Ἀρτυβίου ἵππον ἱστάμενον ὀρθόν καὶ ποσὶ καὶ στόματι κατεργάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἄν

προσενειχθῇ· σὺ ὦν βουλευσάμενος εἶπε αὐτίκα ὁκότερον βούλει φυλάξας πληῖσαι, εἴτε τὸν ἵππον εἴτε αὐτὸν Ἀρτύβιον,,. 3 εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ ὀπάων αὐτοῦ “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἔτοιμος μὲν ἐγὼ εἰμι ποιέειν καὶ ἀμφοτέρα καὶ τὸ ἕτερον αὐτῶν, καὶ πάντως τὸ ἂν σὺ ἐπιτάσσης· ὡς μέντοι ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι τοῖσι σοῖσι πρήγμασι προσφερέστερον, φράσω. 4 βασιλέα μὲν καὶ στρατηγὸν χρεὸν εἶναι φημί βασιλεί τε καὶ στρατηγῷ προσφέρεσθαι. ἦν τε γὰρ κατέλης ἄνδρα στρατηγόν, μέγα τοι γίνεται, καὶ δεύτερα, ἦν σὲ ἐκεῖνος, τὸ μὴ γένοιτο, ὑπὸ ἀξιοχρέου καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἡμίσεα συμφορῇ· ἡμέας δὲ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἐτέροισί τε ὑπηρέτησι προσφέρεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἵππον· τοῦ σὺ τὰς μηχανὰς μηδὲν φοβηθῆς· ἐγὼ γάρ τοι ὑποδέκομαι μὴ μιν ἄνδρὸς ἔτι γε μηδενὸς στήσεσθαι ἐναντίον,,.

112

1 ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ μεταυτίκα συνέμισγε τὰ στρατόπεδα πεζῇ καὶ νηυσί. νηυσὶ μὲν νυν Ἴωνες ἄκροὶ γενόμενοι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ὑπερεβάλλοντο τοὺς Φοίνικας, καὶ τούτων Σάμιοι ἡρίστευσαν· πεζῇ δέ, ὡς συνῆλθε τὰ στρατόπεδα, συμπεσόντα ἐμάχοντο. 2 κατὰ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀμφοτέρους τάδε ἐγένετο· ὡς προσεφέρετο πρὸς τὸν Ὀνήσιλον ὁ Ἀρτύβιος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου κατήμενος, ὁ Ὀνήσιλος κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο τῷ ὑπασπιστῇ παίει προσφερόμενον αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀρτύβιον· ἐπιβαλόντος δὲ τοῦ ἵππου τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀνησίλου ἀσπίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κᾶρ δρεπάνῳ πλήξας ἀπαράσσει τοῦ ἵππου τοὺς πόδας.

113

1 Ἀρτύβιος μὲν δὴ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Περσέων ὁμοῦ τῷ ἵππῳ πίπτει αὐτοῦ ταύτη. μαχομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, Στησήνωρ τύραννος ἐὼν Κουρίου προδιδοῖ ἔχων δύναμιν ἀνδρῶν περὶ ἐωυτὸν οὐ σμικρὴν. οἱ δὲ Κουριέες οὗτοι λέγονται εἶναι Ἀργείων ἀποικοὶ. προδόντων δὲ τῶν Κουριέων αὐτίκα καὶ τὰ Σαλαμινίων πολεμιστήρια ἄρματα τῷ τῷ τοῖσι Κουριεῦσι ἐποίησε. γινομένων δὲ τούτων κατυπέρτεροι ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι τῶν Κυπρίων. 2 τετραμμένον δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἄλλοι τε ἔπεσον πολλοὶ καὶ δὴ καὶ Ὀνήσιλός τε ὁ Χέρσιος, ὃς περ τὴν Κυπρίων ἀπόστασιν ἐπρηξε, καὶ ὁ Σολίων βασιλεὺς Ἀριστόκυπρος ὁ Φιλοκύπρου, Φιλοκύπρου δὲ τούτου τὸν Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἀπικόμενος ἐς Κύπρον ἐν ἔπεσι αἶνεσε τυράννων μάλιστα.

1 Ὀνησίλου μὲν νυν Ἀμαθούσιοι, ὅτι σφέας ἐπολιόρηκε, ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκόμισαν ἐς Ἀμαθοῦντα καὶ μιν ἀνεκρέμασαν ὑπὲρ τῶν πυλέων· κρεμαμένης δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἤδη ἐούσης κοίλης, ἐσμὸς μελισσέων ἐσδύς ἐς αὐτὴν κηρίων μιν ἐνέπλησε. 2 τούτου δὲ γενομένου τοιούτου, ἐχρέωντο γὰρ περὶ αὐτῆς οἱ Ἀμαθούσιοι, ἐμαντεύθη σφι τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν κατελόντας θάψαι, Ὀνησίλω δὲ θύειν ὥς ἥρωι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, καὶ σφι ποιεῦσι ταῦτα ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι.

1 Ἀμαθούσιοι μὲν νυν ἐποίουν ταῦτα καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ· Ἴωνες δὲ οἱ ἐν Κύπρῳ ναυμαχήσαντες ἐπεῖτε ἔμαθον τὰ πρήγματα τὰ Ὀνησίλου διεφθαρμένα καὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Κυπρίων πολιορκευμένας τὰς ἄλλας πλὴν Σαλαμῖνος, ταύτην δὲ Γόργῳ τῷ προτέρῳ βασιλεί τοὺς Σαλαμινίους παραδόντας, αὐτίκα μαθόντες οἱ Ἴωνες ταῦτα ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην. 2 τῶν δὲ ἐν Κύπρῳ πολίων ἀντέσχε χρόνον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον πολιορκευμένη Σόλοι, τὴν πέριξ ὑπορύσσοντες τὸ τεῖχος πέμπτῳ μηνὶ εἶλον οἱ Πέρσαι.

1 Κύπριοι μὲν δὴ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐλεύθεροι γενόμενοι αὐτὶς ἐκ νέης κατεδεδούλωντο. Δαυρίσης δὲ ἔχων Δαρείου θυγατέρα καὶ Ὑμαίης τε καὶ Ὀτάνης ἄλλοι Πέρσαι στρατηγοί, ἔχοντες καὶ οὗτοι Δαρείου θυγατέρας, ἐπιδιώξαντες τοὺς ἐς Σάρδεις στρατευσαμένους Ἴωνων καὶ ἐσαράξαντες σφέας ἐς τὰς νέας, τῇ μάχῃ ὥς ἐπεκράτησαν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπιδιελόμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἐπόρθεον.

1 Δαυρίσης μὲν τραπόμενος πρὸς τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεις εἶλε μὲν Ἀρδανον, εἶλε δὲ Ἀβυδὸν τε καὶ Περκώτην καὶ Λάμψακον καὶ Παισόν. ταύτας μὲν ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη αἶρεε, ἀπὸ δὲ Παισοῦ ἐλαύνοντί οἱ ἐπὶ Πάριον πόλιν ἦλθε ἀγγελίη τοὺς Κᾶρας τῷτ' Ἴωσι φρονήσαντας ἀπεστάναι ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἀποστρέψας ὧν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἦλανε τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίην.

1 καὶ κως ταῦτα τοῖσι Καρσί ἐξαγγέλθη πρότερον ἢ τὸν Δαυρίσιν

ἀπικέσθαι· πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κᾶρες συνελέγοντο ἐπὶ Λευκάς τε στήλας καλεομένας καὶ ποταμὸν Μαρσύην, ὃς ῥέων ἐκ τῆς Ἰδριάδος χώρας ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον ἐκδιδοῖ. ² συλλεχθέντων δὲ τῶν Καρῶν ἐνθαῦτα ἐγίνοντο βουλαὶ ἄλλαι τε πολλαὶ καὶ ἀρίστη γε δοκέουσα εἶναι ἔμοι Πιξωδάρου τοῦ Μανσώλου ἀνδρὸς Κινδυέος, ὃς τοῦ Κιλικῶν βασιλέος Συεννέσιος εἶχε θυγατέρα· τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε διαβάντας τὸν Μαίανδρον τοὺς Κᾶρας καὶ κατὰ νότου ἔχοντας τὸν ποταμὸν οὕτω συμβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ ἔχοντες ὀπίσω φεύγειν οἱ Κᾶρες αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι γινοίαιτο ἔτι ἀμείνονες τῆς φύσιος. ³ αὕτη μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐνίκα ἡ γνώμη, ἀλλὰ τοῖσι Πέρσησι κατὰ νότου γίνεσθαι τὸν Μαίανδρον μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσι, δηλαδὴ ἦν φυγὴ τῶν Περσέων γένηται καὶ ἐσσωθῶσι τῇ συμβολῇ, ὥς οὐκ ἀπονοστήσουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσπίπτοντες.

119

¹ μετὰ δὲ παρεόντων καὶ διαβάντων τὸν Μαίανδρον τῶν Περσέων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπὶ τῷ Μαρσύῃ ποταμῷ συνέβαλόν τε τοῖσι Πέρσησι οἱ Κᾶρες καὶ μάχην ἐμαχέσαντο ἰσχυρὴν καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνον πολλόν, τέλος δὲ ἐσώθησαν διὰ πληθους. Περσέων μὲν δὴ ἔπεσον ἄνδρες ἐς δισχιλίους, Καρῶν δὲ ἐς μυρίου. ² ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οἱ διαφυγόντες αὐτῶν κατειλήθησαν ἐς Λάβραυνδα ἐς Διὸς στρατίου ἱρόν, μέγα τε καὶ ἅγιον ἄσος πλατανίστων. μοῦνοι δὲ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Κᾶρες εἰσὶ οἱ Διὶ στρατίῳ θυσίας ἀνάγουσι. κατειληθέντες δὲ ὧν οὗτοι ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλευόντο περὶ σωτηρίας, ὁκότερα ἢ παραδόντες σφέας αὐτοὺς Πέρσησι ἢ ἐκλιπόντες τὸ παράπαν τὴν Ἀσίην ἄμεινον πρήξουσι.

120

¹ βουλευόμενοισι δέ σφι ταῦτα παραγίνονται βοηθέοντες Μιλήσιοί τε καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τὰ μὲν πρότερον οἱ Κᾶρες ἐβουλευόντο μετῆκαν, οἱ δὲ αὖτις πολεμέειν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀρτέοντο. καὶ ἐπιούσιν τε τοῖσι Πέρσησι συμβάλλουσι καὶ μαχεσάμενοι ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ πρότερον ἐσώθησαν· πεσόντων δὲ τῶν πάντων πολλῶν μάλιστα Μιλήσιοι ἐπλήγησαν.

121

¹ μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ τρῶμα ἀνέλαβόν τε καὶ ἀνεμαχέσαντο οἱ

Κᾶρες· πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς στρατεύεσθαι ὀρμέαται οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφέων, ἐλόχησαν τὴν ἐν Πηδάσφ ὁδόν, ἐς τὴν ἐμπεσόντες οἱ Πέρσαι νυκτὸς διεφθάρησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ αὐτῶν Δαυρίσης καὶ Ἀμόργης καὶ Σισιμάκης· σὺν δέ σφι ἀπέθανε καὶ Μύρσος ὁ Γύγεω. τοῦ δὲ λόχου τούτου ἡγεμὼν ἦν Ἡρακλείδης Ἰβανώλλιος ἀνὴρ Μυλασσεύς.

122

¹ οὗτοι μὲν νυν τῶν Περσέων οὕτω διεφθάρησαν· Ὑμαίης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν τῶν ἐπιδιωζάντων τοὺς ἐς Σάρδεις στρατευσαμένους Ἰώνων, τραπόμενος ἐς τὸν Προποντίδα εἴλε Κίον τὴν Μυσίην· ² ταύτην δὲ ἐξελών, ὡς ἐπύθετο τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκλειοιπέναι Δαυρίσιν καὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίης, καταλιπὼν τὴν Προποντίδα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἦγε τὸν στρατόν, καὶ εἴλε μὲν Αἰολέας πάντας ὅσοι τὴν Ἰλιάδα νέμονται, εἴλε δὲ Γέργιθας τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν· αὐτὸς τε Ὑμαίης αἰρέων ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα νούσῳ τελευτᾷ ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι.

123

¹ οὗτος μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐτελεύτησε, Ἀρταφρένης δὲ ὁ Σαρδίῳ ὑπαρχος καὶ Ὀτάνης ὁ τρίτος στρατηγὸς ἐτάχθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν προσεχέα Αἰολίδα στρατεύεσθαι. Ἰωνίης μὲν νυν Κλαζομενᾶς αἰρέουσι, Αἰολέων δὲ Κύμην.

124

¹ ἀλίσκομενέων δὲ τῶν πολίων, ἦν γὰρ ὡς διέδεξε Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήσιος ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄκρος, ὃς ταραξας τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ ἐγκερασάμενος πρήγματα μεγάλα δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε ὀρέων ταῦτα· πρὸς δὲ οἱ καὶ ἀδύνατα ἐφάνη βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ὑπερβαλέσθαι· ² πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὧν συγκαλέσας τοὺς συστασιώτας ἐβουλεύετο, λέγων ὡς ἄμεινον σφίσι εἶη κρησφύγετόν τι ὑπάρχον εἶναι, ἦν ἄρα ἐξωθέωνται ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου, εἴτε δὴ ὧν ἐς Σαρδὼ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τούτου ἄγοι ἐς ἀποικίην, εἴτε ἐς Μύρκινον τὴν Ἠδωνῶν, τὴν Ἰστιαῖος ἐτείχεε παρὰ Δαρεῖου δωρεὴν λαβόν. ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης.

125

¹ Ἐκαταίου μὲν νυν τοῦ Ἠγησάνδρου, ἀνδρὸς λογοποιῶ,

τουτέων μὲν ἐς οὐδετέρην στέλλειν ἔφερε ἡ γνώμη, ἐν Λέρῳ δὲ τῇ νήσῳ τεῖχος οἰκοδομησάμενον ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἣν ἐκπέσῃ ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκ ταύτης ὁρμώμενον κατελεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον.

126

1 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἑκαταῖος συνεβούλευε, αὐτῷ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ἡ πλείστη γνώμη ἦν ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ἀπάγειν. τὴν μὲν δὴ Μίλητον ἐπιτράπει Πυθαγόρῃ ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον ἔπλεε ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην, καὶ ἔσχε τὴν χώραν ἐπ' ἣν ἐστάλη· 2 ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ὁρμώμενος ἀπόλλυται ὑπὸ Θρηίκων αὐτός τε ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, πόλιν περικατήμενος καὶ βουλομένων τῶν Θρηίκων ὑποσπόνδων ἐξιέναι.

Βιβλίο ΣΤ - Ερατώ

1

1 Ἀρισταγόρης μὲν νυν Ἰωνὴν ἀποστήσας οὕτω τελευτᾷ. Ἰστιαῖος δὲ ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος μεμετιμένος ὑπὸ Δαρείου παρῆν ἐς Σάρδεις· ἀπιγμένον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν Σούσων εἶρετο Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος κατὰ κοῖόν τι δοκέοι Ἴωνας ἀπεστάναι. ὁ δὲ οὔτε εἰδέναι ἔφη ἐθώμαζέ τε τὸ γεγονός, ὥς οὐδὲν δῆθεν τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων ἐπιστάμενος. 2 ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ὀρέων αὐτὸν τεχνάζοντα εἶπε, εἰδὼς τὴν ἀτρεκίην τῆς ἀποστάσιος, “οὕτω τοι Ἰστιαῖε ἔχει κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ πρήγματα· τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραψας μὲν σύ, ὑπεδήσατο δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης”.

2

1 Ἀρταφρένης μὲν ταῦτα ἐς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἔχοντα εἶπε. Ἰστιαῖος δὲ δείσας ὥς συνιέντα Ἀρταφρέnea ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην ἐπελθοῦσαν νύκτα ἀπέδρη ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐξηπατηκώς· ὃς Σαρδῶ νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην ὑποδεξάμενος κατεργάσασθαι ὑπέδυνε τῶν Ἰόνων τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοῦ πρὸς Δαρεῖον πολέμου. 2 διαβὰς δὲ ἐς Χίον ἐδέθη ὑπὸ Χίων, καταγνωσθεὶς πρὸς αὐτῶν νεώτερα πρήσσειν πρήγματα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ Δαρείου. μαθόντες μέντοι οἱ Χῖοι τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὥς πολέμιος εἶη βασιλεί, ἔλυσαν αὐτόν.

3

1 ἐνθαῦτα δὴ εἰρωτώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰόνων ὁ Ἰστιαῖος κατ’ ὃ τι προθύμως οὕτω ἐπέστειλε τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος καὶ κακὸν τοσοῦτον εἶη Ἴωνας ἐξεργασμένος, τὴν μὲν γενομένην αὐτοῖσι αἰτίην οὐ μάλα ἐξέφαινε, ὁ δὲ ἔλεγέ σφι ὥς βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ἐβουλεύσατο Φοίνικας μὲν ἐξαναστήσας ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίῃ κατοικίσαι, Ἴωνας δὲ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ, καὶ τούτων εἵνεκα ἐπιστείλειε. οὐδὲν τι πάντως ταῦτα βασιλέος βουλευσαμένου ἐδειμιάτου τοὺς Ἴωνας.

4

1 μετὰ δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος δι’ ἀγγέλου ποιούμενος Ἑρμίππου ἀνδρὸς Ἀταρνίτεω τοῖσι ἐν Σάρδισι ἐοῦσι Περσέων ἔπεμπε βυβλία, ὥς

προλελεσχηνευμένων αὐτῷ ἀποστάσιος πέρι. ὁ δὲ Ἑρμιππος πρὸς τοὺς μὲν ἀπεπέμφθη οὐ διδοῖ, φέρων δὲ ἐνεχείρισε τὰ βυβλία Ἀρταφρένῃ· 2 ὁ δὲ μαθὼν πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον ἐκέλευε τὸν Ἑρμιππον τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου δοῦναι φέροντα τοῖσί περ ἔφερε, τὰ δὲ ἀμοιβαῖα τὰ παρὰ τῶν Περσέων ἀντιπεμπόμενα Ἰστιαίῳ ἐωυτῷ δοῦναι. τούτων δὲ γενομένων φανερῶν ἀπέκτεινε ἐνθαῦτα πολλοὺς Περσέων ὁ Ἀρταφρένης.

5

1 περὶ Σάρδεις μὲν δὴ ἐγίνετο ταραχή. Ἰστιαῖον δὲ ταύτης ἀποσφαλέντα τῆς ἐλπίδος Χίῳ κατήγον ἐς Μίλητον, αὐτοῦ Ἰστιαίου δεηθέντος. οἱ δὲ Μιλήσιοι, ἄσμενοι ἀπαλλαχθέντες καὶ Ἀρισταγόρῳ, οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἄλλον τύραννον δέκεσθαι ἐς τὴν χώραν, οἷα ἐλευθερίας γευσάμενοι. 2 καὶ δὴ νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐούσης βίη ἐπειράτο κατιῶν ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, τιτρώσκεται τὸν μηρὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Μιλησίων. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὡς ἀπωστὸς τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γίνεται, ἀπικνέεται ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Χίον· ἐνθεῦτεν δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε τοὺς Χίους ὥστε ἐωυτῷ δοῦναι νέας, διέβη ἐς Μυτιλήνην καὶ ἔπεισε Λεσβίους δοῦναί οἱ νέας. 2 οἱ δὲ πληρώσαντες ὀκτὼ τριήρεας ἔπλεον ἅμα Ἰστιαίῳ ἐς Βυζάντιον, ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἰζόμενοι τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐκπλεύσας τῶν νεῶν ἐλάμβανον, πλὴν ἢ ὅσοι αὐτῶν Ἰστιαίῳ ἔφασαν ἔτοιμοι εἶναι πείθεσθαι.

6

1 Ἰστιαῖος μὲν νυν καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐποίευν ταῦτα. ἐπὶ δὲ Μίλητον αὐτὴν ναυτικὸς πολλὸς καὶ πεζὸς ἦν στρατὸς προσδόκιμος· συστραφέντες γὰρ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Περσέων καὶ ἐν ποιήσαντες στρατόπεδον ἤλαυνον ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον, τᾶλλα πολιίσματα περὶ ἐλάσσονος ποιησάμενοι. τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Φοίνικες μὲν ἦσαν προθυμότατοι, συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι νεωστὶ κατεστραμμένοι καὶ Κίλικές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι.

7

1 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίην ἐστρατεύοντο, Ἴωνες δὲ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἔπεμπον προβούλους σφέων αὐτῶν ἐς Πανιώνιον. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τούτοις ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον καὶ βουλευομένοις ἔδοξε πεζὸν μὲν στρατὸν μηδένα συλλέγειν ἀντίξοον

Πέρσησι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τείχεα ῥύεσθαι αὐτοὺς Μιλησίους, τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν πληροῦν ὑπολιπομένους μηδεμίαν τῶν νεῶν πληρώσαντας δὲ συλλέγεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Λάδην προναυμαχήσοντας τῆς Μιλήτου. ἡ δὲ Λάδη ἐστὶ νῆσος μικρὴ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει τῇ Μιλησίων κειμένη.

8

1 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πεπληρωμένησι τῇσι νηυσὶ παρῆσαν οἱ Ἴωνες, σὺν δέ σφι καὶ Αἰολέων ὅσοι τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται. ἐτάσσοντο δὲ ὧδε. τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ εἶχον κέρας αὐτοὶ Μιλήσιοι, νέας παρεχόμενοι ὀγδώκοντα· εἶχοντο δὲ τούτων Πριηνέες δωδέκα νηυσὶ καὶ Μυήσιοι τρισὶ νηυσί, Μυησίων δὲ Τήιοι εἶχοντο ἑπτακαίδεκα νηυσί, Τηίων δὲ εἶχοντο Χῖοι ἑκατὸν νηυσί· 2 πρὸς δὲ τούτοισι Ἑρυθραῖοι τε ἐτάσσοντο καὶ Φωκαέες, Ἑρυθραῖοι μὲν ὀκτὼ νέας παρεχόμενοι, Φωκαέες δὲ τρεῖς· Φωκαέων δὲ εἶχοντο Λέσβιοι νηυσὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἔχοντες τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην κέρας Σάμιοι ἐξήκοντα νηυσί. πάντων δὲ τούτων ὁ σύμπαρ ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσιαι τριήρεις.

9

1 αὐταὶ μὲν Ἴωνων ἦσαν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἦσαν ἑξακόσιαι. ὥς δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ ἀπίκατο πρὸς τὴν Μιλησίην καὶ ὁ πεζὸς σφι ἅπας παρῆν, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Περσέων στρατηγοὶ πυθόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰάδων νεῶν καταρρώδησαν μὴ οὐ δυνατοὶ γένωνται ὑπερβαλέσθαι, καὶ οὕτω οὔτε τὴν Μίλητον οἰοί τε ἔωσι ἐξελεῖν μὴ οὐκ ἐόντες ναυκράτορες, πρὸς τε Δαρείου κινδυνεύσωσι κακὸν τι λαβεῖν. 2 ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενοι, συλλέξαντες τῶν Ἴωνων τοὺς τυράννους, οἱ ὑπ' Ἀρισταγόρεω μὲν τοῦ Μιλησίου καταλυθέντες τῶν ἀρχέων ἔφευγον ἐς Μήδους, ἐτόγχανον δὲ τότε συστρατευόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον, τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς παρεόντας συγκαλέσαντες ἔλεγόν σφι τάδε. 3 “ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, νῦν τις ὑμέων εὖ ποιήσας φανήτω τὸν βασιλέος οἶκον· τοὺς γὰρ ἐμουτοῦ ἕκαστος ὑμέων πολίητας πειράσθω ἀποσχίζων ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ συμμαχικοῦ. προῖσχύμενοι δὲ ἐπαγγεῖλασθε τάδε, ὥς πείσονται τε ἄχαρι οὐδὲν διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν, οὐδέ σφι οὔτε τὰ ἰρὰ οὔτε τὰ ἴδια ἐμπεπρήσεται, οὐδέ βιαιότερον ἔξουσι οὐδὲν ἢ πρότερον εἶχον. 4 εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ ποιήσουσι, οἱ δὲ πάντως διὰ μάχης ἐλεύσονται, τάδε ἤδη σφι λέγετε ἐπηρεάζοντες, τά

περ σφέας κατέξει, ὥς ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἑξανδραποδιεῦνται, καὶ ὥς σφέων τοὺς παῖδας ἐκτομίας ποιήσομεν, τὰς δὲ παρθένους ἀνασπάστους ἐς Βάκτρα, καὶ ὥς τὴν χώραν ἄλλοισι παραδώσομεν”.

10

¹ οἱ μὲν δὴ ἔλεγον τάδε. τῶν δὲ Ἰώνων οἱ τύραννοι διέπεμπον νυκτὸς ἕκαστος ἐς τοὺς ἐωυτοῦ ἐξαγγελλούμενος. οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες, ἐς τοὺς καὶ ἀπίκοντο αὐταὶ αἱ ἀγγελίαι, ἀγνωμοσύνη τε διεχρέωντο καὶ οὐ προσίεντο τὴν προδοσίην· ἐωυτοῖσι δὲ ἕκαστοι ἐδόκεον μούνοισι ταῦτα τοὺς Πέρσας ἐξαγγέλλεσθαι.

11

¹ ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἰθέως ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν Μίλητον τῶν Περσέων ἐγίνετο· μετὰ δὲ τῶν Ἰώνων συλληχθέντων ἐς τὴν Λάδην ἐγίνοντο ἀγοραί, καὶ δὴ κού σφι καὶ ἄλλοι ἡγορόωντο, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ ὁ Φωκαεὺς στρατηγὸς Διονύσιος λέγων τάδε. ² “ἐπὶ ξυροῦ γὰρ ἀκμῆς ἔχεται ἡμῖν τὰ πρήγματα, ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἢ εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἢ δούλοισι, καὶ τούτοις ὥς δρηπέτησι· νῦν ὧν ὑμεῖς ἦν μὲν βούλησθε τालαιπωρίας ἐνδέκεσθαι, τὸ παραχρῆμα μὲν πόνος ὑμῖν ἔσται, οἷοί τε δὲ ἔσεσθε ὑπερβαλόμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι· εἰ δὲ μαλακίῃ τε καὶ ἀταξίῃ διαχρήσησθε, οὐδεμίαν ὑμέων ἔχω ἐλπίδα μὴ οὐ δώσειν ὑμέας δίκην βασιλεί τῆς ἀποστάσιος. ³ ἄλλ’ ἐμοὶ τε πείθεσθε καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑμέας αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέψατε· καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγώ, θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων, ὑποδέκομαι ἢ οὐ συμμίσξειν τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ συμμίσγοντας πολλὸν ἐλασσωθήσεσθαι”.

12

¹ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἴωνες ἐπιτρέπουσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Διονυσίῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀνάγων ἐκάστοτε ἐπὶ κέρας τὰς νέας, ὅκως τοῖσι ἐρέτησι χρήσαιο διέκπλοον ποιούμενος τῇσι νηυσὶ δι’ ἀλληλέων καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὀπλίσειε, τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρης τὰς νέας ἔχεσκε ἐπ’ ἀγκυρέων, παρεῖχε τε τοῖσι Ἴωσι πόνον δι’ ἡμέρης. ² μέχρι μὲν νυν ἡμερέων ἑπτὰ ἐπέιθοντό τε καὶ ἐποίευν τὸ κελευόμενον· τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτῃσι οἱ Ἴωνες, οἷα ἀπαθέες ἐόντες πόνων τοιούτων τετρυμένοι τε τालαιπωρίῃσι τε καὶ ἡλίῳ, ἔλεξαν πρὸς ἐωυτοὺς τάδε. ³ “τίνα δαιμόνων παραβάντες τάδε ἀναπίμπλαμεν; οἵτινες παραφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου ἀνδρὶ Φωκαεὶ ἀλαζόνι, παρεχομένῳ

νέας τρεῖς, ἐπιτρέψαντες ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἔχομεν· ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν ἡμέας λυμαίνεται λύμῃσι ἀνηκέστοις, καὶ δὴ πολλοὶ μὲν ἡμέων ἐς νούσους πεπτώκασι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπίδοξοι τὴν τοῦτο πείσεσθαι εἰσί, πρὸ τε τούτων τῶν κακῶν ἡμῖν γε κρέσσον καὶ ὃ τι ὦν ἄλλο παθεῖν ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν δουληίην ὑπομεῖναι ἣτις ἔσται, μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ παρούσῃ συνέχεσθαι. φέρετε, τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ πειθώμεθα αὐτοῦ”. 4 ταῦτα ἔλεξαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα πείθεσθαι οὐδεὶς ἠθέλε, ἀλλ’ οἷα στρατιὴ σκηνάς τε πηξάμενοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐσκητροφέοντο καὶ ἐσβαίνειν οὐκ ἐθέλεσκον ἐς τὰς νέας οὐδ’ ἀναπειρᾶσθαι.

13

1 μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα τὰ γινόμενα ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Σαμίων ἐνθαῦτα δὴ παρ’ Αἰάκεος τοῦ Συλοσῶντος κείνους τοὺς πρότερον ἔπεμπε λόγους ὁ Αἰάκης κελευόντων τῶν Περσέων, δεόμενος σφέων ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἰώνων συμμαχίην· οἱ Σάμιοι ὦν ὀρῶντες ἐοῦσαν ἅμα μὲν ἀταξίην πολλὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους, ἅμα δὲ κατεφαίνεται σφι εἶναι ἀδύνατα τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα ὑπερβαλέσθαι, εἴ δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι ὥς εἰ καὶ τὸ παρεὸν ναυτικὸν ὑπερβαλοῖατο τὸν Δαρεῖον, ἄλλο σφι παρέσται πενταπλήσιον. 2 προφάσιος ὦν ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα εἶδον τοὺς Ἴωνας οὐ βουλομένους εἶναι χρηστούς, ἐν κέρδει ἐποιεῦντο περιποιῆσαι τὰ τε ἱρὰ τὰ σφέτερα καὶ τὰ ἴδια. ὁ δὲ Αἰάκης, παρ’ ὅτε τοὺς λόγους ἐδέκοντο οἱ Σάμιοι, παῖς μὲν ἦν Συλοσῶντος τοῦ Αἰάκεος, τύραννος δὲ ἐὼν Σάμου ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιλησίου Ἀρισταγόρεω ἀπεστέρητο τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ περ οἱ ἄλλοι τῆς Ἰωνίης τύραννοι.

14

1 τότε ὦν ἐπεὶ ἐπέπλεον οἱ Φοίνικες, οἱ Ἴωνες ἀντανῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας ἐπὶ κέρας. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀγχοῦ ἐγίνοντο καὶ συνέμισγον ἀλλήλοισι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως συγγράψαι οἵτινες τῶν Ἰώνων ἐγίνοντο ἄνδρες κακοὶ ἢ ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ· ἀλλήλους γὰρ κατατιῶνται. 2 λέγονται δὲ Σάμιοι ἐνθαῦτα κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα πρὸς τὸν Αἰάκα ἀειράμενοι τὰ ἱστία ἀποπλῶσαι ἐκ τῆς τάξιος ἐς τὴν Σάμον, πλὴν ἑνδεκα νεῶν· τουτέων δὲ οἱ τριήραρχοι παρέμενον καὶ ἐναυμάχεον ἀνηκουστήσαντες τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι· 3 καὶ σφι τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σαμίων ἔδωκε διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα ἐν στήλῃ ἀναγραφῆναι πατρόθεν ὥς ἀνδράσι ἀγαθοῖσι γενομένοις, καὶ ἔστι

αὕτη ἡ στήλη ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ. ἰδόμενοι δὲ καὶ Λέσβιοι τοὺς προσεχέας φεύγοντας τὸν τόπον ἐποίουν τοῖσι Σαμίοισι· ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ πλεῖνες τῶν Ἰώνων ἐποίουν τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα.

15

¹ τῶν δὲ παραμεινάντων ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ περιέφθησαν τρηχύτατα Χῖοι ὥς ἀποδεικνύμενοί τε ἔργα λαμπρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐθελokaκέοντες. παρείχοντο μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, νέας ἑκατόν, καὶ ἐπ' ἑκάστης αὐτέων ἄνδρας τεσσαράκοντα τῶν ἀστῶν λογάδας ἐπιβατεύοντας. ² ὁρέοντες δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν συμμάχων προδιδόντας οὐκ ἐδίκαιεν γίνεσθαι τοῖσι κακοῖσι αὐτῶν ὅμοιοι, ἀλλὰ μετ' ὀλίγων συμμάχων μεμουνωμένοι διεκπλέοντες ἐναυμάχεον, ἐς ὃ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλόντες νέας συχνὰς ἀπέβαλον τῶν σφετερέων τὰς πλεῖνας.

16

¹ Χῖοι μὲν δὴ τῇσι λοιπῇσι τῶν νεῶν ἀποφεύγουσι ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν· ὅσοισι δὲ τῶν Χίων ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν αἱ νέες ὑπὸ τρωμάτων, οὗτοι δὲ ὥς ἐδιώκοντο καταφυγγάνουσι πρὸς τὴν Μυκάλην. νέας μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἐποκείλαντες κατέλιπον, οἱ δὲ περὶ ἐκομίζοντο διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου. ² ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσίην κομιζόμενοι οἱ Χῖοι, νυκτὸς τε γὰρ ἀπίκατο ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἐόντων τῇσι γυναιξὶ αὐτόθι θεσμοφορίων, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι, οὔτε προακηκοότες ὥς εἶχε περὶ τῶν Χίων ἰδόντες τε στρατὸν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐσβεβληκότα, πάγχυ σφέας καταδόξαντες εἶναι κλῶπας καὶ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, ἐξεβοήθηον πανδημεὶ καὶ ἔκτεινον τοὺς Χίους.

17

¹ οὗτοι μὲν τοίνυν τοιαύτησι περιέπιπτον τύχησι. Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Φωκαεὺς ἐπεῖτε ἔμαθε τῶν Ἰώνων τὰ πρήγματα διεφθαρμένα, νέας ἐλὼν τρεῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέπλεε ἐς μὲν Φώκαιαν οὐκέτι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὥς ἀνδραποδιεῖται σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰωνίᾳ· ὁ δὲ ἰθέως ὥς εἶχε ἔπλεε ἐς Φοινίκην, γαύλους δὲ ἐνθαῦτα καταδύσας καὶ χρήματα λαβὼν πολλὰ ἔπλεε ἐς Σικελίην, ὁρμώμενος δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ληιστῆς κατεστήκεε Ἑλλήνων μὲν οὐδενός, Καρχηδονίων δὲ καὶ Τυρσηνῶν.

18

¹ οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπεῖτε τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐνίκων τοὺς Ἴωνας, τὴν

Μίλητον πολιορκέοντες ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ ὑπορύσσοντες τὰ τείχεα καὶ παντοίας μηχανὰς προσφέροντες, αἰρέουσι κατ' ἄκρης ἔκτω ἔτει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστάσιος τῆς Ἀρισταγόρεω καὶ ἠνδραποδίσαντο τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε συμπεσεῖν τὸ πάθος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τῷ ἐς Μίλητον γενομένῳ.

19

¹ χρεωμένοισι γὰρ Ἀργείοισι ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλιος τῆς σφετέρης ἐχρήσθη ἐπίκοινον χρηστήριον, τὸ μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους φέρον, τὴν δὲ παρενθήκην ἔχρησε ἐς Μιλησίους. τὸ μὲν νυν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ἔχον, ² ἐπεὰν κατὰ τοῦτο γένωμαι τοῦ λόγου, τότε μνησθήσομαι· τὰ δὲ τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι οὐ παρεοῦσι ἔχρησε, ἔχει ὧδε.

*καὶ τότε δὴ, Μίλητε κακῶν ἐπιμήχανε ἔργων,
πολλοῖσιν δεῖπνόν τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα γενήσῃ,
σαι δ' ἄλλοχοι πολλοῖσι πόδας νίψουσι κομήταις,
νηοῦ δ' ἡμετέρου Διδύμοις ἄλλοισι μελήσει.*

³ τότε δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς Μιλησίους κατελάμβανε, ὁκότε ἄνδρες μὲν οἱ πλεῦνες ἐκτείνοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἐόντων κομητέων, γυναῖκες δὲ καὶ τέκνα ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ἐγίνοντο, ἱρὸν δὲ τὸ ἐν Διδύμοισι καὶ ὁ νηὸς τε καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον. συληθέντα ἐνεπίμπρατο. τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτῳ χρημάτων πολλάκις μνήμην ἐτέρωθι τοῦ λόγου ἐποιησάμην.

20

¹ ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ ζωγρηθέντες τῶν Μιλησίων ἤγοντο ἐς Σοῦσα. βασιλεὺς δὲ σφέας Δαρεῖος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας κατοίκησε ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ καλεομένῃ θαλάσσῃ ἐν Ἄμπῃ πόλι, παρ' ἣν Τίγρης ποταμὸς παραρρέων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξιεῖ. τῆς δὲ Μιλησίων χώρης αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ πεδίον, τὰ δὲ ὑπεράκρια ἔδосαν Καρσὶ Πηδασεῦσι ἐκτῆσθαι.

21

¹ παθοῦσι δὲ ταῦτα Μιλησίοισι πρὸς Περσέων οὐκ ἀπέδосαν τὴν ὁμοίην Συβαρίται, οἱ Λᾶδόν τε καὶ Σκίδρον οἴκεον τῆς πόλιος ἀπεστερημένοι. Συβάριος γὰρ ἀλούσης ὑπὸ Κροτωνιητέων Μιλήσιοι

πάντες ἡβηδὸν ἀπεκείραντο τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πένθος μέγα προσεθήκαντο· πόλιες γὰρ αὗται μάλιστα δὴ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀλλήλησι ἐξεινώθησαν· ² οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γὰρ δῆλον ἐποίησαν ὑπεραχθεσθέντες τῇ Μιλήτου ἄλωσι τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πολλαχῇ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ποιήσαντι Φρυνίχῳ δρᾶμα Μιλήτου ἄλωσιν καὶ διδάξαντι ἐς δάκρυά τε ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον, καὶ ἐξημίωσάν μιν ὡς ἀναμνήσαντα οἰκία κακὰ χιλίσιν δραχμῇσι, καὶ ἐπέταξαν μηδένα χρᾶσθαι τούτῳ τῷ δράματι.

22

¹ Μίλητος μὲν νυν Μιλησίων ἡρήμωτο. Σαμίων δὲ τοῖσι τι ἔχουσι τὸ μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν σφετέρων ποιηθὲν οὐδαμῶς ἤρεσκε, ἐδόκεε δὲ μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην αὐτίκα βουλευομένοισι, πρὶν ἢ σφί ἐς τὴν χώραν ἀπικέσθαι τὸν τύραννον Αἰάκεα, ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκπλέειν μηδὲ μένοντας Μήδοισί τε καὶ Αἰάκεϊ δουλεύειν. ² Ζαγκλαῖοι γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ Σικελίης τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦτον πέμποντες ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀγγέλους ἐπεκαλέοντο τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐς Καλὴν ἀκτὴν, βουλόμενοι αὐτόθι πόλιν κτίσαι Ἰώνων. ἡ δὲ Καλὴ αὕτη ἀκτὴ καλομένη ἔστι μὲν Σικελῶν, πρὸς δὲ Τυρσηνὴν τετραμμένη τῆς Σικελίης. τούτων ὧν ἐπικαλεσμένων οἱ Σάμιοι μοῦνοι Ἰώνων ἐστάλησαν, σὺν δὲ σφί Μιλησίων οἱ ἐκπεφευγότες· ἐν ᾧ τοιόνδε δὴ τι συνήνεικε γενέσθαι.

23

¹ Σάμιοι γὰρ κομιζόμενοι ἐς Σικελίην ἐγίνοντο ἐν Λοκροῖσι τοῖσι Ἐπιζεφυρίοισι, καὶ Ζαγκλαῖοι αὐτοῖ τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, τῷ οὐνόμα ἦν Σκύθης, περικατέατο πόλιν τῶν Σικελῶν ἐξελεῖν βουλόμενοι. ² μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ῥηγίου τύραννος Ἀναξίλως, τότε ἔων διάφορος τοῖσι Ζαγκλαίοισι, συμμίζας τοῖσι Σαμίοισι ἀναπείθει ὡς χρὲν εἶη Καλὴν μὲν ἀκτὴν, ἐπ' ἣν ἔπλεον, εἴαν χαίρειν, τὴν δὲ Ζάγκλην σχεῖν ἐοῦσαν ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν. ³ πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Σαμίων καὶ σχόντων τὴν Ζάγκλην, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ζαγκλαῖοι, ὡς ἐπύθοντο ἐχομένην τὴν πόλιν ἐωυτῶν, ἐβόηθεον αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο Ἱπποκράτεα τὸν Γέλης τύραννον· ἦν γὰρ δὴ σφί οὗτος σύμμαχος. ⁴ ἐπεῖτε δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ὁ Ἱπποκράτης σὺν τῇ στρατῇ ἦκε βοηθέων, Σκύθην μὲν τὸν μούναρχον τῶν Ζαγκλαίων ὡς ἀποβαλόντα τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἱπποκράτης πεδήσας καὶ τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Πυθογένεα ἐς

Ἴνυκα πόλιν ἀπέπεμψε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς Ζαγκλαίους κοινολογησάμενος τοῖσι Σαμίοισι καὶ ὄρκους δοὺς καὶ δεξάμενος προέδωκε. ⁵ μισθὸς δέ οἱ ἦν εἰρημένος ὅδε ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων, πάντων τῶν ἐπίπλων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων τὰ ἡμίσεα μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα Ἴπποκράτεα λαγχάνειν. ⁶ τοὺς μὲν δὴ πλεῦνας τῶν Ζαγκλαίων αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ εἶχε δήσας, τοὺς δὲ κορυφαίους αὐτῶν τριηκοσίους ἔδωκε τοῖσι Σαμίοισι κατασφάζαι· οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Σάμιοι ἐποίησαν ταῦτα.

24

¹ Σκύθης δὲ ὁ τῶν Ζαγκλαίων μούναρχος ἐκ τῆς Ἴνυκος ἐκδιδρῆσκει ἐς Ἱμέρην, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης παρῆν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ ἀνέβη παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον· καὶ μιν ἐνόμισε Δαρεῖος πάντων ἀνδρῶν δικαιοτάτον εἶναι, ὅσοι ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος παρ' ἐωυτὸν ἀνέβησαν. ² καὶ γὰρ παραιτησάμενος βασιλέα ἐς Σικελίην ἀπίκετο καὶ αὐτὶς ἐκ τῆς Σικελίης ὀπίσω παρὰ βασιλέα, ἐς ὃ γήραϊ μέγα ὄλβιος ἐὼν ἐτελεύτησε ἐν Πέρσῃσι. Σάμιοι δὲ ἀπαλαχθέντες Μήδων ἀπονητὶ πόλιν καλλίστην Ζάγκλην περιβεβλέατο.

25

¹ μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίην τὴν ὑπὲρ Μιλήτου γενομένην Φοίνικες κέλευσάντων Περσέων κατήγον ἐς Σάμον Αἰιάκεα τὸν Συλοσῶντος ὡς πολλοῦ τε ἄξιον γενόμενον σφίσι καὶ μεγάλην κατεργασάμενον· ² καὶ Σαμίοισι μούνοισι τῶν ἀποστάντων ἀπὸ Δαρείου διὰ τὴν ἔκλειψιν τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ οὔτε ἡ πόλις οὔτε τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνεπρήσθη. Μιλήτου δὲ ἀλούσης αὐτίκα Καρίην ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι, τὰς μὲν ἐθελοντὴν τῶν πολίων ὑποκυψάσας, τὰς δὲ ἀνάγκῃ προσηγάγοντο.

26

¹ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐγένετο. Ἰστιάῳ δὲ τῷ Μιλησίῳ ἐόντι περὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ συλλαμβάνοντι τὰς Ἰώνων ὀλκάδας ἐκπλεούσας ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐξαγγέλλεται τὰ περὶ τὴν Μίλητον γέγονενα. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἔχοντα πρήγματα ἐπιτράπει Βισάλτῃ Ἀπολλοφάνεος παιδὶ Ἀβυδηνῶ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔχων Λεσβίους ἐς Χίον ἔπλεε, καὶ Χίων φρουρῇ οὐ προσιεμένη μιν συνέβαλε ἐν Κοίλοισι καλεομένοισι τῆς Χίης χώρας. ² τούτων τε δὴ ἐφόνευσε συχνοὺς, καὶ

τῶν λοιπῶν Χίων, οἷα δὴ κεκακωμένων ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης, ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἔχων τοὺς λεσβίους ἐπεκράτησε, ἐκ Πολίχνης τῆς Χίων ὁρμώμενος.

27

¹ φιλέει δέ κως προσημαίνειν, εὖτ' ἂν μέλλῃ μεγάλα κακὰ ἢ πόλις ἢ ἔθνεϊ ἔσσεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ Χίοισι πρὸ τούτων σημήια μεγάλα ἐγένετο· ² τοῦτο μὲν σφι πέμψασι ἐς Δελφοὺς χορὸν νεηνιέων ἑκατὸν δύο μοῦνοι τούτων ἀπενόστησαν, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτώ τε καὶ ἐνενήκοντα αὐτῶν λοιμοὺς ὑπολαβὼν ἀπήνεικε· τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον, ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς ναυμαχίης, παισὶ γράμματα διδασκομένοις ἐνέπεσε ἡ στέγη, ὥστε ἀπ' ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι παίδων εἷς μοῦνος ἀπέφυγε. ³ ταῦτα μὲν σφι σημήια ὁ θεὸς προέδεξε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἡ ναυμαχίη ὑπολαβοῦσα ἐς γόνυ τὴν πόλιν ἔβαλε, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐπεγένετο Ἰστιαῖος Λεσβίους ἄγων· κεκακωμένων δὲ τῶν Χίων, καταστροφὴν εὐπετέως αὐτῶν ἐποίησατο.

28

¹ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ Θάσον ἄγων Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰολέων συχνοῦς. περικατημένῳ δὲ οἱ Θάσον ἦλθε ἀγγελίη ὥς οἱ Φοίνικες ἀναπλέουσι ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίην. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα Θάσον μὲν ἀπόρθητον λείπει, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Λέσβον ἡπείγετο ἄγων πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιήν. ² ἐκ Λέσβου δὲ λιμαινούσης οἱ τῆς στρατιῆς πέρην διαβαίνει, ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος ὥς ἀμήσων τὸν σῖτον τὸν τε ἐνθεῦτεν καὶ τὸν ἐκ Καϊκου πεδίου τὸν τῶν Μυσῶν. ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖσι χωρίοις ἐτύγγανε ἐὼν Ἄρπαγος ἀνὴρ Πέρσης στρατηγὸς στρατιῆς οὐκ ὀλίγης· ὅς οἱ ἀποβάντι συμβαλὼν αὐτόν τε Ἰστιαῖον ζωγρίῃ ἔλαβε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν πλέω διέφθειρε.

29

¹ ἐζωγρήθη δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ὧδε. ὥς ἐμάχοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐν τῇ Μαλήνῃ τῆς Ἀταρνείτιδος χώρας, οἱ μὲν συνέστασαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, ἡ δὲ ἵππος ὕστερον ὀρμηθεῖσα ἐπιπίπτει τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. τό τε δὴ ἔργον τῆς ἵππου τοῦτο ἐγένετο, καὶ τετραμμένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐλπίζων οὐκ ἀπολέσθαι ὑπὸ βασιλέος διὰ τὴν παρϋσαν ἀμαρτάδα φιλοψυχήν τοιήνδε τινὰ ἀναιρέεται· ² ὥς φεύγων τε κατελαμβάνετο ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω καὶ ὥς

καταιρεόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔμελλε συγκεντηθήσεται, Περσίδα γλῶσσαν μετεῖς καταμηνύει ἑωυτὸν ὡς εἶη Ἰστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος.

30

1 εἰ μὲν νυν, ὡς ἐξωγήθη, ἄχθη ἀγόμενος παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον, ὁ δὲ οὐτ' ἂν ἔπαθε κακὸν οὐδὲν δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἀπῆκέ τ' ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίην· νῦν δέ μιν αὐτῶν τε τούτων εἵνεκα καὶ ἵνα μὴ διαφυγὼν αὐτὶς μέγας παρὰ βασιλείᾳ γένηται, Ἄρταφρένης τε ὁ Σαρδίῳ ὑπαρχος καὶ ὁ λαβὼν Ἄρπαγος, ὡς ἀπύκετο ἀγόμενος ἐς Σάρδις, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἀνεσταύρωσαν, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ταριχεύσαντες ἀνήγεικαν παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐς Σοῦσα. 2 Δαρεῖος δὲ πυθόμενος ταῦτα καὶ ἐπαιτησάμενος τοὺς ταῦτα ποιήσαντας ὅτι μιν οὐ ζῶοντα ἀνήγαγον ἐς ὅσιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ, τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν Ἰστιαίου λούσαντάς τε καὶ περιστείλαντας εὖ ἐνετείλατο θάψαι ὡς ἀνδρὸς μεγάλως ἑωυτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσῃσι εὐεργέτῳ.

31

1 τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἰστιαῖον οὕτω ἔσχε. ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Περσέων χειμερίσας περὶ Μίλητον, τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει ὡς ἀνέπλωσε, αἰρέει εὐπετέως τὰς νήσους τὰς πρὸς τῇ ἡπείρῳ κειμένας, Χίον καὶ Λέσβον καὶ Τένεδον. ὅκως δὲ λάβοι τινὰ τῶν νήσων, ὡς ἐκάστην αἰρέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐσαγίνευον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. 2 σαγηνεύουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὸς ἀγνάμενος τῆς χειρὸς ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς βορηῆς ἐπὶ τὴν νοτὶν διήκουσι, καὶ ἔπειτα διὰ πάσης τῆς νήσου διέρχονται ἐκθηρεύοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. αἶρεον δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πόλιας τὰς Ἰάδας κατὰ ταῦτά, πλὴν οὐκ ἐσαγίνευον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οὐ γὰρ οἶά τ' ἦν.

32

1 ἐνθαῦτα Περσέων οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσαντο τὰς ἀπειλὰς τὰς ἐπηπείλυσαν τοῖσι Ἴωσι στρατοπεδευομένοισι ἐναντία σφίσι. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐπεκράτησαν τῶν πολίων, παῖδάς τε τοὺς εὐειδεστάτους ἐκλεγόμενοι ἐξέταμνον καὶ ἐποίευν ἀντὶ εἶναι ἐνόρχιας εὐνούχους καὶ παρθένους τὰς καλλιστευνούσας ἀνασπάστους παρὰ βασιλέα· ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐποίευν καὶ τὰς πόλιας ἐνεπίμπρασαν αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἰροῖσι. οὕτω τε τὸ τρίτον Ἴωνες κατεδουλώθησαν, πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὸ Λυδῶν, δις δὲ ἐπεξῆς τότε ὑπὸ Περσέων.

1 ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰωνίης ἀπαλλασσόμενος ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς τὰ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ ἐσπλέοντι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου αἶρεε πάντα· τὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι Πέρσησι ὑποχείρια ἦν γεγονότα κατ' ἡπειρον. εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ αἶδε τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, Χερσόνησός τε, ἐν τῇ πόλεις συχναὶ ἔνεισι, καὶ Πέρινθος καὶ τὰ τεῖχεα τὰ ἐπὶ Θρηίκης καὶ Σηλυμβρίῃ τε καὶ Βυζάντιον. 2 Βυζάντιοι μὲν νυν καὶ οἱ πέρηθε Καλχηδόνιοι οὐδ' ὑπέμειναν ἐπιπλέοντας τοὺς Φοίνικας, ἀλλ' οἷχοντο ἀπολιπόντες τὴν σφετέρην ἔσω ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα πόλιν Μεσαμβρίην οἴκησαν. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες κατακαύσαντες ταύτας τὰς χώρας τὰς καταλεχθείσας τρέπονται ἐπὶ τε Προκόννησον καὶ Ἀρτάκην, πυρὶ δὲ καὶ ταύτας νείμαντες ἔπλεον αὐτὶς ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον ἐξαίρῃσιντες τὰς ἐπιλοίπους τῶν πολιῶν, ὅσας πρότερον προσσχόντες οὐ κατέσυραν. 3 ἐπὶ δὲ Κύζικον οὐδὲ ἔπλωσαν ἀρχὴν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ Κυζικηνοὶ ἔτι πρότερον τοῦ Φοινίκων ἐσπλόου ἐγεγόνεσαν ὑπὸ βασιλείῃ, Οἰβάρεϊ τῷ Μεγαβάζου ὁμολογήσαντες τῷ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ ὑπάρχῳ.

1 τῆς δὲ Χερσονήσου πλὴν Καρδίας πόλιος τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ἐχειρώσαντο οἱ Φοίνικες. ἐτυράννευε δὲ αὐτέων μέχρι τότε Μιλιτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος τοῦ Στησαγόρεω, κτησαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην πρότερον Μιλιτιάδεω τοῦ Κυψέλου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. εἶχον Δόλογοι Θρήικες τὴν Χερσόνησον ταύτην. οὗτοι ὧν οἱ Δόλογοι πιεσθέντες πολέμῳ ὑπὸ Ἀψινθίων ἐς Δελφούς ἔπεμψαν τοὺς βασιλέας περὶ τοῦ πολέμου χρησομένους. 2 ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἀνεῖλε οἰκιστὴν ἐπάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τοῦτον ὃς ἂν σφέας ἀπιόντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρῶτος ἐπὶ ξείνια καλέσῃ. ἰόντες δὲ οἱ Δόλογοι τὴν ἱρὴν ὁδὸν διὰ Φωκέων τε καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἦσαν· καὶ σφεας ὥς οὐδεὶς ἐκάλεε, ἐκτρέπονται ἐπ' Ἀθηνέων.

1 ἐν δὲ τῇσι Ἀθήνησι τηνικαῦτα εἶχε μὲν τὸ πᾶν κράτος Πεισίστρατος, ἀτὰρ ἐδυνάστευέ γε καὶ Μιλιτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου ἐὼν οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου, τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰακοῦ τε καὶ Αἰγίνης γεγονώς, τὰ δὲ νεώτερα Ἀθηναῖος, Φιλαίου τοῦ Αἰαντος παιδὸς γενομένου πρώτου τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης Ἀθηναίου. 2 οὗτος ὁ Μιλιτιάδης

κατήμενος ἐν τοῖσι προθύροισι τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ, ὀρέων τοὺς Δολόγους παριόντας ἐσθῆτα ἔχοντας οὐκ ἐγχωρίην καὶ αἰχμὰς προσεβόωσατο καὶ σφι προσελθοῦσι ἐπηγγείλατο καταγωγὴν καὶ ξείνια. οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ ξεινισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐξέφαινον πᾶν τὸ μαντήιον, ἐκφήναντες δὲ ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ μιν πείθεσθαι. ³ Μιλτιάδεα δὲ ἀκούσαντα παραυτίκα ἔπεισε ὁ λόγος οἷα ἀχθόμενόν τε τῇ Πεισιστράτου ἀρχῇ καὶ βουλόμενον ἐκποδὼν εἶναι. αὐτίκα δὲ ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφούς, ἐπειρησόμενος τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ποιοίη τά περ αὐτοῦ οἱ Δόλογοι προσεδέοντο.

36

¹ κελευούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς Πυθίης, οὕτω δὴ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου, Ὀλύμπια ἀναραιρηκῶς πρότερον τούτων τεθρίπῳ, τότε παραλαβὼν Ἀθηναίων πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον μετέχειν τοῦ στόλου ἔπλεε ἅμα τοῖσι Δολόγοις, καὶ ἔσχε τὴν χώραν· καὶ μιν οἱ ἐπαγαγόμενοι τύραννον κατεστήσαντο. ² ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπετείχισε τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐκ Καρδίας πόλιος ἐς Πακτύην, ἵνα μὴ ἔχοιεν σφέας οἱ Ἀψίνθιοι δηλέεσθαι ἐσβάλλοντες ἐς τὴν χώραν. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι στάδιοι ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τούτου ἡ Χερσόνησος ἔσω πᾶσα ἐστὶ σταδίων εἴκοσι καὶ τετρακοσίων τὸ μῆκος.

37

¹ ἀποτειχίσας ὦν τὸν αὐχένα τῆς Χερσονήσου ὁ Μιλτιάδης καὶ τοὺς Ἀψινθίους τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ὥσάμενος, τῶν λοιπῶν πρώτοις ἐπολέμησε Λαμψακηνοῖς· καὶ μιν οἱ Λαμψακηνοὶ λοχήσαντες αἰρέουσι ζωγρίῃ. ἦν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης Κροίσῳ τῷ Λυδῷ ἐν γνώμῃ γεγωνῶς· πυθόμενος ὦν ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα, πέμπων προηγόρευε τοῖσι Λαμψακηνοῖς μετιέναι Μιλτιάδεα· εἰ δὲ μὴ σφεας πίτυος τρόπον ἀπέιλε ἐκτρίψειν. ² πλανωμένων δὲ τῶν Λαμψακηνῶν ἐν τοῖσι λόγοις τὸ θέλει τὸ ἔπος εἶναι τό σφι ἀπέιλε ὁ Κροῖσος, πίτυος τρόπον ἐκτρίψειν, μόγις κοτὲ μαθὼν τῶν τις πρεσβυτέρων εἶπε τὸ ἐόν, ὅτι πίτυς μούνη πάντων δενδρέων ἐκκοπεῖσα βλαστὸν οὐδένα μετιεῖ ἀλλὰ πανώλεθρος ἐξαπόλλυται. δείσαντες ὦν οἱ Λαμψακηνοὶ Κροῖσον λύσαντες μετήκαν Μιλτιάδεα.

38

1 οὗτος μὲν δὴ διὰ Κροῖσον ἐκφεύγει, μετὰ δὲ τελευτᾷ ἅπαις, τὴν ἀρχὴν τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα παραδούς Στησαγόρη τῷ Κίμωνος ἀδελφεοῦ παιδὶ ὁμομητρίου. καὶ οἱ τελευτήσαντι Χερσονησῖται θύουσι ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῇ, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἵππικόν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι, ἐν τῷ Λαμψακηνῶν οὐδενὶ ἐγγίνεται ἀγωνίζεσθαι. 2 πολέμου δὲ ἐόντος πρὸς Λαμψακηνοὺς καὶ Στησαγόρεα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ἅπαιδα, πληγέντα τὴν κεφαλὴν πελέκει ἐν τῷ πρυτανίῳ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αὐτομόλου μὲν τῷ λόγῳ πολεμίου δὲ καὶ ὑποθερμοτέρου τῷ ἔργῳ.

39

1 τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ Στησαγόρεω τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, ἐνθαῦτα Μιλτιάδεα τὸν Κίμωνος, Στησαγόρεω δὲ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἀδελφεόν, καταλαμψόμενον τὰ πρήγματα ἐπὶ Χερσονήσου ἀποστέλλουσι τριήρεϊ οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, οἳ μιν καὶ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἐποίευν εὖ ὡς οὐ συνειδότες δῆθεν τοῦ πατρὸς Κίμωνος αὐτοῦ τὸν θάνατον, τὸν ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ σημανέω ὡς ἐγένετο. 2 Μιλτιάδης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον εἶχε κατ' οἶκους, τὸν ἀδελφεόν Στησαγόρεα δηλαδὴ ἐπιτιμέων. οἱ δὲ Χερσονησῖται πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα συνελέχθησαν ἀπὸ πασέων τῶν πολίων οἱ δυναστεύοντες πάντοθεν, κοινῷ δὲ στόλῳ ἀπικόμενοι ὡς συλλυπηθησόμενοι ἐδέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Μιλτιάδης τε δὴ ἴσχει τὴν Χερσόνησον, πεντακοσίους βόσκων ἐπικούρους, καὶ γαμέει Ὀλόρου τοῦ Θρηίκων βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα Ἥγησιπύλιν.

40

1 οὗτος δὲ ὁ Κίμωνος Μιλτιάδης νεωστὶ μὲν ἐληλύθεε ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον, κατελάμβανε δέ μιν ἐλθόντα ἄλλα τῶν καταλαβόντων πρηγμάτων χαλεπώτερα. τρίτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔτει πρὸ τούτων Σκύθας ἐκφεύγει. Σκύθαι γὰρ οἱ νομάδες ἐρεθισθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλέος Δαρείου συνεστράφησαν καὶ ἦλσαν μέχρι τῆς Χερσονήσου ταύτης. 2 τούτους ἐπιόντας οὐκ ὑπομείνας ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἔφευγε Χερσόνησον, ἐς ὃ οἳ τε Σκύθαι ἀπαλλάχθησαν καὶ ἐκεῖνον Δόλογοι κατήγαγον ὀπίσω. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τρίτῳ ἔτει πρότερον ἐγεγόνεε τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων.

41

1 τότε δὲ πυνθανόμενος εἶναι τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐν Τενέδῳ, πληρώσας τριήρεας πέντε χρημάτων τῶν παρεόντων ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. καὶ ὥσπερ ὁρμήθη ἐκ Καρδίας πόλιος ἔπλεε διὰ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου· παραμείβετό τε τὴν Χερσόνησον καὶ οἱ Φοινικὲς οἱ περιπίπτουσι τῇσι νηυσί. 2 αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ Μιλτιάδης σὺν τῇσι τέσσερσι τῶν νεῶν καταφεύγει ἐς Ἴμβρον, τὴν δὲ οἱ πέμπτην τῶν νεῶν κατεῖλον διώκοντες οἱ Φοίνικες. τῆς δὲ νεὸς ταύτης ἔτυχε τῶν Μιλτιάδεω παίδων ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἄρχων Μητίοχος, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ὀλόρου τοῦ Θρήκος ἐὼν θυγατρὸς ἄλλ' ἐξ ἄλλης· 3 καὶ τοῦτον ἅμα τῇ νηὶ εἶλον οἱ Φοίνικες, καὶ μιν πυθόμενοι ὥς εἴη Μιλτιάδεω παῖς ἀνήγαγον παρὰ βασιλέα, δοκέοντες χάριτα μεγάλην καταθήσεσθαι, ὅτι δὴ Μιλτιάδης γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐν τοῖσι Ἴωσι πείθεσθαι κελεύων τοῖσι Σκύθησι, ὅτε οἱ Σκύθαι προσεδέοντο λύσαντας τὴν σχεδίην ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν. 4 Δαρεῖος δέ, ὥς οἱ Φοίνικες Μητίοχον τὸν Μιλτιάδεω ἀνήγαγον, ἐποίησε κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν Μητίοχον, ἀγαθὰ δὲ συχνά· καὶ γὰρ οἶκον καὶ κτῆσιν ἔδωκε καὶ Περσίδα γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς οἱ τέκνα ἐγένετο τὰ ἐς Πέρσας κεκοσμέαται. Μιλτιάδης δὲ ἐξ Ἴμβρου ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

42

1 καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεον ἐγένετο τούτων ἐς νεῖκος φέρον Ἴωσι, ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν χρήσιμα κάρτα τοῖσι Ἴωσι ἐγένετο τούτου τοῦ ἔτεος· Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Σαρδίῳ ὕπαρχος μεταπεμπνόμενος ἀγγέλους ἐκ τῶν πολιῶν συνθήκας σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τοὺς Ἴωνας ἠνάγκασε ποιέεσθαι, ἵνα δωσίδικοι εἶεν καὶ μὴ ἀλλήλους φέροιέν τε καὶ ἄγοιεν. 2 ταῦτά τε ἠνάγκασε ποιέειν, καὶ τὰς χώρας μετρήσας σφέων κατὰ παρασάγγας, τοὺς καλέουσι οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ τριήκοντα στάδια, κατὰ δὴ τούτους μετρήσας φόρους ἔταξε ἐκάστοισι, οἳ κατὰ χώραν διατελέουσι ἔχοντες ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου αἰεὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ὥς ἐτάχθησαν ἐξ Ἀρταφρένεος· ἐτάχθησαν δὲ σχεδὸν κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ πρότερον εἶχον. καὶ σφι ταῦτα μὲν εἰρηναῖα ἦν.

43

1 ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι, τῶν ἄλλων καταλελυμένων στρατηγῶν ἐκ βασιλέος, Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γοβρύεω κατέβαινε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, στρατὸν πολλὸν μὲν κάρτα πεζὸν ἅμα ἀγόμενος πολλὸν δὲ ναυτικόν, ἡλικίην

τε νέος ἐὼν καὶ νεωστὶ γεγαμηκῶς βασιλέος Δαρείου θυγατέρα Ἀρτοζώστην· 2 ἄγων δὲ τὸν στρατὸν τοῦτον ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ Κιλικίῃ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ νεὸς ἐκομίζετο ἅμα τῇσι ἄλλῃσι νηυσί, στρατιὴν δὲ τὴν πεζὴν ἄλλοι ἡγεμόνες ἦγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. 3 ὥς δὲ παραπλέων τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπίκητο ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, ἐνθαῦτα μέγιστον θῶμα ἐρέω τοῖσι μὴ ἀποδεκομένοισι Ἑλλήνων Περσέων τοῖσι ἐπτὰ Ὀτάνεα γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ὥς χρεὸν εἴη δημοκρατέεσθαι Πέρσας· τοὺς γὰρ τυράννους τῶν Ἰόνων καταπαύσας πάντας ὁ Μαρδόνιος δημοκρατίας κατίστα ἐς τὰς πόλιας. 4 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἡπείγετο ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ὥς δὲ συνελέχθη μὲν χρήμα πολλὸν νεῶν συνελέχθη δὲ καὶ πεζὸς στρατὸς πολλός, διαβάντες τῇσι νηυσὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ἐπὶ τε Ἑρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας.

44

1 αὗται μὲν ὧν σφι πρόσχημα ἦσαν τοῦ στόλου· ἀτὰρ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ὅσας ἂν πλείστας δύνωνται καταστρέφεσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολίων, τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῇσι νηυσὶ Θασίους οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταειραμένους κατεστρέψαντο, τοῦτο δὲ τῷ πεζῷ Μακεδόνας πρὸς τοῖσι ὑπάρχουσι δούλους προσεκτήσαντο· τὰ γὰρ ἐντὸς Μακεδόνων ἔθνεα πάντα σφι ἦν ἤδη ὑποχείρια γεγονότα. 2 ἐκ μὲν δὴ Θάσου διαβαλόντες πέρην ὑπὸ τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκομίζοντο μέχρι Ἀκάνθου, ἐκ δὲ Ἀκάνθου ὁρμώμενοι τὸν Ἄθων περιέβαλλον. ἐπιπεσὼν δὲ σφι περιπλέουσι βορέης ἄνεμος μέγας τε καὶ ἄπορος κάρτα τρηχέως περιέσπε, πλήθει πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν ἐκβάλλων πρὸς τὸν Ἄθων. 3 λέγεται γὰρ τριηκοσίας μὲν τῶν νεῶν τὰς διαφθαρείσας εἶναι, ὑπὲρ δὲ δύο μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων. ὥστε γὰρ θηριωδεστάτης ἐούσης τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων διεφθείροντο ἀρπαζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰς πέτρας ἀρασσόμενοι· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστέατο καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ῥίγει.

45

1 ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς οὕτω ἔρησσε, Μαρδονίῳ δὲ καὶ τῷ πεζῷ στρατοπεδευομένῳ ἐν Μακεδονίῃ νυκτὸς Βρύγοι Θρήικες ἐπεχείρησαν· καὶ σφεων πολλοὺς φονεύουσι οἱ Βρύγοι, Μαρδόνιον δὲ αὐτὸν τρωματίζουσι. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ δουλοσύνην διέφυγον

πρὸς Περσέων· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον ἀπανέστη ἐκ τῶν χωρέων
τουτέων Μαρδόνιος πρὶν ἢ σφεας ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσατο. ² τούτους
μέντοι καταστρεψάμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὴν ὀπίσω, ἅτε τῷ πεζῷ τε
προσπταίσας πρὸς τοὺς Βρύγους καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ μεγάλως περὶ
Ἄθων. οὗτος μὲν νυν ὁ στόλος αἰσχυρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος ἀπαλλάχθη ἐς
τὴν Ἀσίην.

46

¹ δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τούτων ὁ Δαρεῖος πρῶτα μὲν Θασίους
διαβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων ὥς ἀπόστασιν μηχανώατο,
πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκέλευε σφέας τὸ τεῖχος περιαιρέειν καὶ τὰς νέας ἐς
Ἄβδηρα κομίζειν. ² οἱ γὰρ δὴ Θάσιοι, οἷα ὑπὸ Ἰστιαίου τε τοῦ
Μιλησίου πολιορκηθέντες καὶ προσόδων ἐουσέων μεγάλων,
ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι χρήμασι νέας τε ναυπηγέυμενοι μακρὰς καὶ τεῖχος
ἰσχυρότερον περιβαλλόμενοι. ἢ δὲ πρόσδοδος σφι ἐγίνετο ἔκ τε τῆς
ἡπείρου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετάλλων· ³ ἐκ μὲν γε τῶν ἐκ Σκαπτησύλης τῶν
χρυσέων μετάλλων τὸ ἐπίπαν ὀγδώκοντα τάλαντα προσήιε, ἐκ δὲ
τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ Θάσῳ ἐλάσσῳ μὲν τούτων, συχνὰ δὲ οὕτω ὥστε τὸ
ἐπίπαν Θασίοισι ἐοῦσι καρπῶν ἀτελέσι προσήιε ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἡπείρου
καὶ τῶν μετάλλων ἔτεος ἐκάστου διηκόσια τάλαντα, ὅτε δὲ τὸ
πλεῖστον προσῆλθε, τριηκόσια.

47

¹ εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μέταλλα ταῦτα, καὶ μακρῷ ἦν αὐτῶν
θωμασιώτατα τὰ οἱ Φοίνικες ἀνεῦρον οἱ μετὰ Θάσου κτίσαντες τὴν
νῆσον ταύτην, ἣτις νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θάσου τούτου τοῦ Φοίνικος τὸ
οὔνομα ἔσχε. ² τὰ δὲ μέταλλα τὰ Φοινικικὰ ταῦτα ἐστὶ τῆς Θάσου
μεταξὺ Αἰνύρων τε χώρου καλεομένου καὶ Κοινύρων, ἀντίον δὲ
Σαμοθρίκης, ὅρος μέγα ἀνεστραμμένον ἐν τῇ ζητῇσι. τοῦτο μὲν νυν
ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον. οἱ δὲ Θάσιοι τῷ βασιλεί κελεύσαντι καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ
σφέτερον κατεῖλον καὶ τὰς νέας τὰς πάσας ἐκόμισαν ἐς Ἄβδηρα.

48

¹ μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀπεπειρᾶτο ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὃ τι ἐν νόῳ
ἔχοιεν, κότερα πολεμέειν ἐωυτῷ ἢ παραδιδόναι σφέας αὐτούς. ²
διέπεμπε ὦν κήρυκας ἄλλους ἄλλη τάξας ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κελεύων
αἰτέειν βασιλεί γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. τούτους μὲν δὴ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα

ἔπεμπε, ἄλλους δὲ κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὰς ἐωυτοῦ δασμοφόρους πόλιας τὰς παραθαλασσίους, κελεύων νέας τε μακρὰς καὶ ἱππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ποιέεσθαι.

49

¹ οὗτοί τε δὴ παρεσκευάζοντο ταῦτα, καὶ τοῖσι ἤκουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυξι πολλοὶ μὲν ἡπειρωτέων ἔδοσαν τὰ προΐσχετο αἰτέων ὁ Πέρσης, πάντες δὲ νησιῶται ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο αἰτήσοντες. οἳ τε δὴ ἄλλοι νησιῶται διδοῦσι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰγινήται. ² ποιήσασι δὲ σφι ταῦτα ἰθέως Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεκέατο, δοκέοντές τε ἐπὶ σφίσι ἐπέχοντας τοὺς Αἰγινήτας δεδωκέναι ὥς ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύονται, καὶ ἄσμενοι προφάσιος ἐπελάβοντο, φοιτέοντές τε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην κατηγορεον τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὰ πεποιήκοιεν προδόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

50

¹ πρὸς ταύτην δὲ τὴν κατηγορίην Κλεομένης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω βασιλεὺς ἐὼν Σπαρτιητέων διέβη ἐς Αἶγιναν, βουλόμενος συλλαβεῖν Αἰγινητέων τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους. ² ὥς δὲ ἐπειρᾶτο συλλαμβάνων, ἄλλοι τε δὴ ἐγίνοντο αὐτῷ ἀντίξοοι τῶν Αἰγινητέων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Κριὸς ὁ Πολυκρίτου μάλιστα, ὃς οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸν οὐδένα ἄξιν χαίροντα Αἰγινητέων· ἄνευ γάρ μιν Σπαρτιητέων τοῦ κοινοῦ ποιέειν ταῦτα, ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἀναγνωσθέντα χρήμασι· ἅμα γὰρ ἂν μιν τῷ ἐτέρῳ βασιλείῃ ἐλθόντα συλλαμβάνειν. ³ ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς τῆς Δημαρήτου. Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπελαυνόμενος ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης εἵρετο τὸν Κριὸν ὃ τι οἱ εἴη τὸ οὔνομα· ὁ δὲ οἱ τὸ ἐὼν ἔφρασε. ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη “ἦδη νῦν καταχαλκοῦ ὧ κριέ τὰ κέρεα, ὥς συνοισόμενος μεγάλῳ κακῷ”.

51

¹ ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὑπομένων Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος διέβαλλε τὸν Κλεομένεα, ἐὼν βασιλεὺς καὶ οὗτος Σπαρτιητέων, οἰκίης δὲ τῆς ὑποδεεστέρης, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὑποδεεστέρης· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γεγόνασι· κατὰ πρεσβυγενεῖην δεκὼς τετίμηται μᾶλλον ἢ Εὐρυσθένης.

52

¹ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ ὁμολογέοντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῇ λέγουσι αὐτὸν

Ἀριστόδημον τὸν Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὑλλου βασιλεύοντα ἀγαγεῖν σφεας ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώραν τὴν νῦν ἐκτέεται, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδας. ² μετὰ δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολλὸν Ἀριστοδήμῳ τεκεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα, τῇ οὖνομα εἶναι Ἀργεῖν· θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτὴν λέγουσι εἶναι Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκεος· ταύτην δὴ τεκεῖν δίδυμα, ἐπιδόντα δὲ τὸν Ἀριστόδημον τὰ τέκνα νούσῳ τελευτᾶν. ³ Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ τοὺς τότε ἔοντας βουλευσai κατὰ νόμον βασιλέα τῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτερον ποιήσασθαι. οὐκὼν δὴ σφεας ἔχειν ὁκότερον ἔλονται ὥστε καὶ ὁμοίων καὶ ἴσων ἔόντων· οὐ δυναμένους δὲ γῶναι, ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἐπειρωτᾶν τὴν τεκοῦσαν. ⁴ τὴν δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὴν φάναι διαγινώσκειν. εἰδυῖαν μὲν καὶ τὸ κάρτα λέγειν ταῦτα, βουλομένην δὲ εἶ κως ἀμφοτέρω γενοίατο βασιλέες. τοὺς ὧν δὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπορέειν, ἀπορέοντας δὲ πέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησομένους ὃ τι χρήσονται τῷ πρήγματι. ⁵ τὴν δὲ Πυθίην σφέας κελεύειν ἀμφοτέρα τὰ παιδιά ἡγήσασθαι βασιλέας, τιμᾶν δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν γεραίτερον. τὴν μὲν δὴ Πυθίην ταῦτά σφι ἀνελεῖν, τοῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἀπορέουσι οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ὅκως ἐξεύρωσι αὐτῶν τὸν πρεσβύτερον, ὑποθέσθαι ἄνδρα Μεσσήνιον τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Πανίτην· ⁶ ὑποθέσθαι δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Πανίτην τάδε τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, φυλάξαι τὴν γειναμένην ὁκότερον τῶν παίδων πρότερον λούει καὶ σιτίζει· καὶ ἦν μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα φαίνεται αἰεὶ ποιεῦσα, τοὺς δὲ πᾶν ἔξειν ὅσον τι καὶ δίζηνται καὶ θέλουσι ἐξευρεῖν, ἦν δὲ πλανᾶται καὶ ἐκείνη ἐναλλάξ ποιεῦσα, δῆλὰ σφι ἔσσεσθαι ὥς οὐδὲ ἐκείνη πλέον οὐδὲν οἶδε, ἐπ' ἄλλην τε τραπέσθαι σφέας ὁδόν. ⁷ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας κατὰ τὰς τοῦ Μεσσηνίου ὑποθήκας φυλάζαντας τὴν μητέρα τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων λαβεῖν κατὰ ταῦτα τιμῶσαν τὸν πρότερον καὶ σίτοισι καὶ λουτροῖσι, οὐκ εἰδυῖαν τῶν εἵνεκεν ἐφυλάσσετο. λαβόντας δὲ τὸ παιδίον τὸ τιμώμενον πρὸς τῆς γειναμένης ὥς ἔδον πρότερον τρέφειν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ· καὶ οἱ οὖνομα τεθῆναι Εὐρυσθέnea, τῷ δὲ Προκλέα. ⁸ τούτους ἀνδρωθέντας αὐτοὺς τε ἀδελφεοὺς ἔοντας λέγουσι διαφόρους εἶναι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζόης ἀλλήλοισι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων γενομένους ὡσαύτως διατελέειν.

κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων ἐγὼ γράφω, τούτους τοὺς Δωριέων βασιλέας μέχρι μὲν δὴ Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης, τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεόντος, καταλεγομένους ὀρθῶς ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἀποδεικνυμένους ὡς εἰσὶ Ἕλληνες· ἥδη γὰρ τήνικαῦτα ἐς Ἑλληνας οὗτοι ἐτέλειον. ² ἔλεξα δὲ μέχρι Περσέος τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι ἔλαβον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔπεστι ἐπωνυμίῃ Περσεί οὐδεμίᾳ πατρὸς θνητοῦ, ὥσπερ Ἡρακλεί Ἀμφιτρύων. ἥδη ὦν ὀρθῶς χρεωμένῳ μέχρι Περσέος ὀρθῶς εἴρηται μοι· ἀπὸ δὲ Δανάης τῆς Ἀκρισίου καταλέγοντι τοὺς ἄνω αἰεὶ πατέρας αὐτῶν φαινοίετο ἂν ἐόντες οἱ τῶν Δωριέων ἡγεμόνες Αἰγύπτιοι ἰθαγενεές.

54

¹ ταῦτα μὲν νυν κατὰ τὰ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι γεγεννηλόγηται· ὥς δὲ ὁ παρὰ Περσέων λόγος λέγεται, αὐτὸς ὁ Περσεὺς ἐὼν Ἀσσύριος ἐγένετο Ἕλλην, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἱ Περσέος πρόγονοι· τοὺς δὲ Ἀκρισίου γε πατέρας ὁμολογέοντας κατ' οἰκηιότητα Περσεί οὐδέν, τούτους δὲ εἶναι, κατὰ περ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, Αἰγυπτίους.

55

¹ καὶ ταῦτα μὲν νυν περὶ τούτων εἰρήσθω. ὅ τι δὲ ἐόντες Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ὅ τι ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔλαβον τὰς Δωριέων βασιληίας, ἄλλοισι γὰρ περὶ αὐτῶν εἴρηται, ἐάσομεν αὐτά· τὰ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐ κατελάβοντο, τούτων μνήμη ποιήσομαι.

56

¹ γέρεά τε δὴ τάδε τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι Σπαρτιῆται δεδώκασι, ἱρωσύνας δύο, Διὸς τε Λακεδαιμόνος καὶ Διὸς οὐρανίου, καὶ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν ἐπ' ἣν ἂν βούλωνται χώραν, τούτου δὲ μηδένα εἶναι Σπαρτιητέων διακωλυτὴν, εἰ δὲ μὴ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἁγεῖ ἐνέχεσθαι. στρατευομένων δὲ πρώτους ἰέναι τοὺς βασιλέας, ὑστάτους δὲ ἀπιέναι· ἑκατὸν δὲ ἄνδρας λογάδας ἐπὶ στρατιῆς φυλάσσειν αὐτούς· προβάτοισι δὲ χρᾶσθαι ἐν τῇσι ἐξοδίησι ὁκόσοισι ἂν ὦν ἐθέλωσι, τῶν δὲ θυομένων πάντων τὰ δέρματά τε καὶ τὰ νῶτα λαμβάνειν σφεας.

57

¹ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐμπολέμια, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τὰ εἰρηναῖα κατὰ τάδε σφι δέδοται. ἦν θυσίῃ τις δημοτελὴς ποιέηται, πρώτους ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον

ἵζειν τοὺς βασιλέας, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων πρῶτον ἄρχεσθαι διπλήσια νέμοντας ἑκατέρῳ τὰ πάντα ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δαιτυμόνεσι, καὶ σπονδαρχίας εἶναι τούτων καὶ τῶν τυθέντων τὰ δέρματα. 2 νεομηνίας δὲ πάσας καὶ ἐβδόμας ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς δίδοσθαι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἱρήιον τέλεον ἑκατέρῳ ἐς Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ μέδιμνον ἀλφίτων καὶ οἶνου τετάρτην Λακωνικὴν, καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι πᾶσι προεδρίας ἐξαίρετους. καὶ προξείνους ἀποδεικνύναι τούτοισι προσκεῖσθαι τοὺς ἂν ἐθέλωσι τῶν ἀστῶν, καὶ Πυθίους αἰρέεσθαι δύο ἑκάτερον. οἱ δὲ Πύθιοι εἰσὶ θεοπρόποι ἐς Δελφούς, σιτεόμενοι μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων τὰ δημόσια. 3 μὴ ἐλθοῦσι δὲ τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀποπέμπεσθαι σφι ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἀλφίτων τε δύο χοίνικας ἑκατέρῳ καὶ οἶνου κοτύλην, παρευῶσι δὲ διπλήσια πάντα δίδοσθαι· τῶντὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς ἰδιωτέων κληθέντας ἐπὶ δεῖπνον τιμᾶσθαι. 4 τὰς δὲ μαντηίας τὰς γινομένας τούτους φυλάσσειν, συνειδέναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πυθίους. δικάζειν δὲ μούνους τοὺς βασιλέας τοσάδε μοῦνα, πατρούχου τε παρθένου πέρι, ἐς τὸν ἰκνέεται ἔχειν, ἣν μὴ περ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὴν ἐγγυήσῃ, καὶ ὁδῶν δημοσιέων πέρι· 5 καὶ ἣν τις θετὸν παῖδα ποιέεσθαι ἐθέλῃ, βασιλέων ἐναντίον ποιέεσθαι. καὶ παρίζειν βουλευούσι τοῖσι γέρουσι ἐοῦσι δυῶν δέουσι τριήκοντα· ἣν δὲ μὴ ἔλθωσι, τοὺς μάλιστα σφι τῶν γερόντων προσήκοντας ἔχειν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων γέρεα, δύο ψήφους τιθεμένους, τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἐωυτῶν.

58

1 ταῦτα μὲν ζῶσι τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι δέδοται ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, ἀποθανοῦσι δὲ τάδε. ἱππέες περιαγγέλλουσι τὸ γεγονὸς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Λακωνικὴν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν γυναῖκες περιουῶσαι λέβητα κροτέουσι. ἐπεὰν ᾧν τοῦτο γίνηται τοιοῦτο, ἀνάγκη ἐξ οἰκίης ἐκάστης ἐλευθέρους δύο καταμιαίνεσθαι, ἄνδρα τε καὶ γυναῖκα· μὴ ποιήσαςι δὲ τοῦτο ζημίαι μεγάλαι ἐπικέεται. 2 νόμος δὲ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι κατὰ τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς θανάτους ἐστὶ ὡυτὸς καὶ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ· τῶν γὰρ ᾧν βαρβάρων οἱ πλεῦνες τῷ αὐτῷ νόμῳ χρέονται κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους τῶν βασιλέων. ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἀποθάνῃ βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκ πάσης δεῖ Λακεδαίμονος, χωρὶς Σπαρτιητέων, ἀριθμῶ τῶν περιοίκων ἀναγκαστοὺς ἐς τὸ κῆδος ἰέναι. 3 τούτων ᾧν καὶ τῶν εἰλωτέων καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐπεὰν συλληχθῶσι ἐς τῶντὸ πολλὰι χιλιάδες σύμμιγα τῇσι γυναίξιν, κόπτονται τε τὰ μέτωπα προθύμως καὶ οἰμωγῇ διαχρέονται ἀπλῆτῳ,

φάμενοι τὸν ὕστατον αἰεὶ ἀπογενόμενον τῶν βασιλέων, τοῦτον δὴ γενέσθαι ἄριστον. ὃς δ' ἂν ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν βασιλέων ἀποθάνῃ, τούτῳ δὲ εἰδῶλον σκευάσαντες ἐν κλίνῃ εὖ ἐστρωμένη ἐκφέρουσι. ἐπεὰν δὲ θάψῃσι, ἀγορῇ δέκα ἡμερέων οὐκ ἴσταται σφι οὐδ' ἀρχαιρεσίῃ συνίξει, ἀλλὰ πενθέουσι ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας.

59

¹ συμφέρονται δὲ ἄλλο οὗτοι τόδε τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι· ἐπεὰν ἀποθανόντος τοῦ βασιλέος ἄλλος ἐνίστηται βασιλεὺς, οὗτος ὁ ἐσιὼν ἐλευθεροῖ ὅστις τι Σπαρτιητέων τῷ βασιλείῃ ἢ τῷ δημοσίῳ ὤφειλε· ἐν δ' αὖ Πέρσῃσι ὁ κατιστάμενος βασιλεὺς τὸν προοφειλόμενον φόρον μετιεῖ τῇσι πόλισι πάσῃσι.

60

¹ συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τάδε Αἰγυπτίοισι Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οἱ κήρυκες αὐτῶν καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ μάγειροι ἐκδέκονται τὰς πατρώϊας τέχνας, καὶ αὐλητῆς τε αὐλητέῳ γίνεται καὶ μάγειρος μαγείρου καὶ κῆρυξ κήρυκος· οὐ κατὰ λαμπροφωνίην ἐπιτιθέμενοι ἄλλοι σφέας παρακληίουσι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπιτελέουσι.

61

¹ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω γίνεται. τότε δὲ τὸν Κλεομένεα ἐόντα ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ καὶ κοινὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀγαθὰ προεργαζόμενον ὁ Δημάρητος διέβαλε, οὐκ Αἰγινητέων οὕτω κηδόμενος ὥς φθόνῳ καὶ ἄγῃ χρεώμενος. Κλεομένης δὲ νοστήσας ἀπ' Αἰγίνης ἐβούλευε τὸν Δημάρητον παῦσαι τῆς βασιλείης, διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε ἐπίβασιν ἐς αὐτὸν ποιούμενος. Ἀρίστωνι βασιλεύοντι ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ γήμαντι γυναικας δύο παῖδες οὐκ ἐγίνοντο. ² καὶ οὐ γὰρ συνεγινώσκετο αὐτὸς τούτων εἶναι αἴτιος, γαμέει τρίτην γυναῖκα· ὧδε δὲ γαμέει. ἦν οἱ φίλος τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἀνὴρ, τῷ προσέκειτο τῶν ἀστῶν μάλιστα ὁ Ἀρίστων. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐτύγχανε ἐοῦσα γυνὴ καλλίστη μακρῷ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι καλλίστη ἐξ αἰσχίστης γενομένη. ³ ἐοῦσαν γάρ μιν τὸ εἶδος φλαύρην ἢ τροφὸς αὐτῆς, οἷα ἀνθρώπων τε ὀλβίων θυγατέρα καὶ δυσειδέα ἐοῦσαν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὀρῶσα τοὺς γονέας συμφορὴν τὸ εἶδος αὐτῆς ποιευμένους, ταῦτα ἕκαστα μαθοῦσα ἐπιφράζεται τοιάδε· ἐφόρεε αὐτὴν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης ἱρόν. τὸ δ' ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Θεράπνῃ καλεομένη

ὑπερθε τοῦ Φοιβηίου ἱεροῦ. ὅπως δὲ ἐνείκειε ἡ τροφός, πρὸς τε τῷγαλμα ἴστα καὶ ἐλίσσεται τὴν θεὸν ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς δυσμορφίης τὸ παιδίον. ⁴ καὶ δὴ κοτε ἀπιούσῃ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῇ τροφῷ γυναῖκα λέγεται ἐπιφανῆναι, ἐπιφανεῖσαν δὲ ἐπειρῆσθαι μιν ὅ τι φέρει ἐν τῇ ἀγκάλῃ, καὶ τὴν φράσαι ὡς παιδίον φορέει, τὴν δὲ κελεῦσαι οἱ δέξαι, τὴν δὲ οὐ φάναι· ἀπειρῆσθαι γάρ οἱ ἐκ τῶν γειναμένων μηδενὶ ἐπιδεικνύναι· τὴν δὲ πάντως ἐωυτῇ κελεῦειν ἐπιδέξαι. ⁵ ὁρῶσαν δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένην ιδέσθαι, οὕτω δὴ τὴν τροφὸν δέξαι τὸ παιδίον· τὴν δὲ καταψῶσαν τοῦ παιδίου τὴν κεφαλὴν εἶπαι ὡς καλλιστεύσει πασέων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης μεταπεσεῖν τὸ εἶδος. γαμέει δὲ δὴ μιν ἐς γάμου ὥρην ἀπικομένην Ἄγητος ὁ Ἀλκείδεω, οὗτος δὴ ὁ τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος φίλος.

62

¹ τὸν δὲ Ἀρίστων ἀκνίζει ἄρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης ὁ ἔρως· μηχανᾶται δὴ τοιάδε· αὐτὸς τε τῷ ἐταίρῳ, τοῦ ἦν ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη, ὑποδέκεται δωτίνην δώσειν τῶν ἐωυτοῦ πάντων ἔν, τὸ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἔλῃται, καὶ τὸν ἐταῖρον ἐωυτῷ ἐκέλευε ὡσαύτως τὴν ὁμοίην διδόναι· ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν φοβηθεὶς ἀμφὶ τῇ γυναικί, ὁρέων ἐοῦσαν καὶ Ἀρίστωνι γυναῖκα, καταινέει ταῦτα· ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ ὄρκους ἐπήλασαν. ² μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ἀρίστων ἔδωκε τοῦτο, ὅ τι δὴ ἦν, τὸ εἶλετο τῶν κειμηλίων τῶν Ἀρίστωνος ὁ Ἄγητος, καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ὁμοίην ζητέων φέρεσθαι παρ' ἐκείνου, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοῦ ἐταίρου τὴν γυναῖκα ἐπειρᾶτο ἀπάγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ πλὴν τούτου μούνου τὰ ἄλλα ἔφη καταινέσαι· ἀναγκαζόμενος μέντοι τῷ τε ὄρκῳ καὶ τῆς ἀπάτης τῇ παραγωγῇ ἀπιεῖ ἀπάγεσθαι.

63

¹ οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὴν τρίτην ἐσηγάγετο γυναῖκα ὁ Ἀρίστων, τὴν δευτέρην ἀποπεμψάμενος. ἐν δὲ οἱ χρόνῳ ἐλάσσονι καὶ οὐ πληρώσασα τοὺς δέκα μῆνας ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη τίκτει τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Δημάρητον. ² καὶ τίς οἱ τῶν οἰκετέων ἐν θώκῳ κατημένῳ μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐξαγγέλλει ὡς οἱ παῖς γέγονε. ὁ δὲ ἐπιστάμενός τε τὸν χρόνον τῷ ἡγάγετο τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἐπὶ δακτύλων συμβαλλόμενος τοὺς μῆνας, εἶπε ἀπομόσας “οὐκ ἂν ἐμὸς εἴη”. τοῦτο ἤκουσαν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι, πρῆγμα μέντοι οὐδὲν ἐποιήσαντο τὸ παραυτίκα. ὁ δὲ παῖς ἠϋζέτο, καὶ τῷ Ἀρίστωνι τὸ εἰρημένον μετέμελε· παῖδα γὰρ τὸν

Δημάρητον ἐς τὰ μάλιστά οἱ ἐνόμισε εἶναι. ³ Δημάρητον δὲ αὐτῷ οὖνομα ἔθετο διὰ τόδε· πρότερον τούτων πανδημεὶ Σπαρτιῆται Ἀρίστωνι, ὡς ἀνδρὶ εὐδοκιμέοντι διὰ πάντων δὴ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γενομένων, ἀρὴν ἐποιήσαντο παῖδα γενέσθαι.

64

¹ διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οἱ τὸ οὖνομα Δημάρητος ἐτέθη· χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος Ἀρίστων μὲν ἀπέθανε, Δημάρητος δὲ ἔσχε τὴν βασιληίην. ἔδεε δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, ἀνάπυστα γενόμενα ταῦτα καταπαῦσαι Δημάρητον τῆς βασιληΐας διὰ τὰ.. Κλεομένει διεβλήθη μεγάλως πρότερόν τε ὁ Δημάρητος ἀπαγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐξ Ἑλευσίνος, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐπ' Αἰγινήτων τοὺς μηδίσαντας διαβάντος Κλεομένεος.

65

¹ ὀρμηθεὶς ὧν ἀποτίνυσθαι ὁ Κλεομένης συντίθεται Λευτυχίδῃ τῷ Μενάρεος τοῦ Ἁγίου, ἐόντι οἰκίῃς τῆς αὐτῆς Δημαρήτῳ, ἐπ' ᾧ τε, ἦν αὐτὸν καταστήσει βασιλέα ἀντὶ Δημαρήτου, ἔψεται οἱ ἐπ' Αἰγινήτας. ² ὁ δὲ Λευτυχίδης ἦν ἐχθρὸς τῷ Δημαρήτῳ μάλιστα γεγονὼς διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε· ἄρμοσαμένου Λευτυχίδεω Πέρκαλον τὴν Χίλωνος τοῦ Δημαρμένου θυγατέρα, ὁ Δημάρητος ἐπιβουλεύσας ἀποστερέει Λευτυχίδα τοῦ γάμου, φθάσας αὐτὸς τὴν Πέρκαλον ἀρπάσας καὶ σχὼν γυναῖκα. ³ κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Λευτυχίδῃ ἡ ἐχθρὴ ἡ ἐς τὸν Δημάρητον ἐγεγόνεε, τότε δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κλεομένεος προθυμίας ὁ Λευτυχίδης κατόμνυται Δημαρήτῳ, φὰς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἰκνεομένως βασιλεύειν Σπαρτιητέων οὐκ ἐόντα παῖδα Ἀρίστωνος· μετὰ δὲ τὴν κατωμοσίην ἐδίδωκε, ἀνασώζων ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔπος τὸ εἶπε Ἀρίστων τότε ὅτε οἱ ἐξηγγεῖλε ὁ οἰκέτης παῖδα γεγονέναι, ὁ δὲ συμβαλόμενος τοὺς μῆνας ἀπώμοσε φὰς οὐκ ἑωυτοῦ μιν εἶναι. ⁴ τούτου δὴ ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ῥήματος ὁ Λευτυχίδης ἀπέφαινε τὸν Δημάρητον οὔτε ἐξ Ἀρίστωνος γεγονότα οὔτε ἰκνευμένως βασιλεύοντα Σπάρτης, τοὺς ἐφόρους μάρτυρας παρεχόμενος κείνους οἱ τότε ἐτύγχανον πάρεδροι τε ἐόντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα Ἀρίστωνος.

66

¹ τέλος δὲ ἐόντων περὶ αὐτῶν νεικέων, ἔδοξε Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἐπειρέσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι εἰ Ἀρίστωνος εἴη παῖς ὁ Δημάρητος. ² ἀνοίστου δὲ γενομένου ἐκ προνοίης τῆς Κλεομένεος ἐς

τὴν Πυθίην, ἐνθαῦτα προσποιέεται Κλεομένης Κόβωνα τὸν Ἀριστοφάντου, ἄνδρα ἐν Δελφοῖσι δυναστεύοντα μέγιστον, ὁ δὲ Κόβων Περίαλλαν τὴν πρόμαντιν ἀναπείθει τὰ Κλεομένης ἐβούλετο λέγεσθαι λέγειν. 3 οὕτω δὴ ἡ Πυθίη ἐπειρωτώντων τῶν θεοπρόπων ἔκρινε μὴ Ἀρίστωνος εἶναι Δημάρητον παῖδα. ὑστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ ἀνάπυστα ἐγένετο ταῦτα, καὶ Κόβων τε ἔφυγε ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ Περίαλλα ἡ πρόμαντις ἐπαύσθη τῆς τιμῆς.

67

1 κατὰ μὲν δὴ Δημαρήτου τὴν κατάπαυσιν τῆς βασιλείης οὕτω ἐγένετο, ἔφυγε δὲ Δημάρητος ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐς Μήδους ἐκ τοιοῦδε ὀνείδεος. μετὰ τῆς βασιλείης τὴν κατάπαυσιν ὁ Δημάρητος ἦρχε αἰρεθεὶς ἀρχὴν. 2 ἦσαν μὲν δὴ γυμνοπαιδία, θεωμένου δὲ τοῦ Δημαρήτου ὁ Λευτυχίδης γεγωνὼς ἤδη βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς ἀντ' ἐκείνου, πέμψας τὸν θεράποντα ἐπὶ γέλωτί τε καὶ λάσθῃ εἰρώτα τὸν Δημάρητον ὁκοῖόν τι εἴη τὸ ἄρχειν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν. 3 ὁ δὲ ἀλγίσσας τῷ ἐπειρωτήματι εἶπε φὰς αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμφοτέρων ἤδη πεπειρηῆσθαι, κεῖνον δὲ οὐ, τὴν μέντοι ἐπειρώτησιν ταύτην ἄρξειν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἢ μυρίας κακότητος ἢ μυρίας εὐδαιμονίας. ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ κατακαλυψάμενος ἦε ἐκ τοῦ θεήτρου ἐς τὰ ἐωυτοῦ οἰκία, αὐτίκα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ἔθυε τῷ Διὶ βοῦν, θύσας δὲ τὴν μητέρα ἐκάλεσε.

68

1 ἀπικομένη δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ἐσθεὶς ἐς τὰς χεῖράς οἱ τῶν σπλάγγνων κατικέτευε, τοιάδε λέγων. “ὦ μητερ, θεῶν σε τῶν τε ἄλλων καταπτόμενος ἱκετεύω καὶ τοῦ ἐρκείου Διὸς τοῦδε φράσαι μοι τὴν ἀληθείην, τίς μεν ἐστὶ πατὴρ ὀρθῶ λόγῳ. 2 Λευτυχίδης μὲν γὰρ ἔφη ἐν τοῖσι νείκεσι λέγων κυέουσάν σε ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς οὕτω ἐλθεῖν παρὰ Ἀρίστων· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν ματαιότερον λόγον λέγοντες φασὶ σε ἐλθεῖν παρὰ τῶν οἰκετέων τὸν ὀνοφορβόν, καὶ ἐμὲ ἐκείνου εἶναι παῖδα. 3 ἐγὼ σε ὦν μετέρχομαι τῶν θεῶν εἰπεῖν τῶληθές· οὔτε γάρ, εἴ περ πεποίηκάς τι τῶν λεγομένων, μούνη δὴ πεποίηκας, μετὰ πολλέων δέ· ὃ τε λόγος πολλὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ ὥς Ἀρίστωνι σπέρμα παιδοποιὸν οὐκ ἐνῆν· τεκεῖν γὰρ ἂν οἱ καὶ τὰς προτέρας γυναῖκας”.

69

1 ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε, ἡ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “ὦ παῖ, ἐπεῖτε με λιτῆσι μετέρχεται εἰπεῖν τὴν ἀληθεῖν, πᾶν ἐς σὲ κατειρήσεται τὼληθές. ὥς με ἡγάγετο Ἀρίστων ἐς ἐωυτοῦ, νυκτὶ τρίτῃ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἤλθέ μοι φάσμα εἰδόμενον Ἀρίστωνι, συνευνηθὲν δὲ τοὺς στεφάνους τοὺς εἶχε ἐμοὶ περιετίθειε. 2 καὶ τὸ μὲν οἰχώκεε, ἦκε δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀρίστων. ὥς δέ με εἶδε ἔχουσιν στεφάνους, εἰρώτα τίς εἶη μοι ὁ δούς· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφάμην ἐκεῖνον, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ὑπεδέκετο. ἐγὼ δὲ κατωμνύμην φαμένη αὐτὸν οὐ ποιεῖν καλῶς ἀπαρνεόμενον· ὀλίγω γὰρ τι πρότερον ἐλθόντα καὶ συνευνηθέντα δοῦναί μοι τοὺς στεφάνους. 3 ὁρέων δέ με κατομνυμένην ὁ Ἀρίστων ἔμαθε ὥς θεῖον εἶη τὸ πρῆγμα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οἱ στέφανοι ἐφάνησαν ἐόντες ἐκ τοῦ ἡρώϊου τοῦ παρὰ τῆσι θύρῃσι τῆσι αὐλείῃσι ἰδρυμένου, τὸ καλέουσι Ἀστροβάκου, τοῦτο δὲ οἱ μάντιες τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἥρωα ἀναίρεον εἶναι. 4 οὕτω ὦ παῖ ἔχεις πᾶν, ὅσον τι καὶ βούλει πυθέσθαι· ἡ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἥρωος τούτου γέγονας, καὶ τοι πατήρ ἐστι Ἀστροβάκος ὁ ἥρωας, ἡ Ἀρίστων· ἐν γάρ σε τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἀναιρέομαι. τῇ δέ σευ μάλιστα κατάπττονται οἱ ἐχθροί, λέγοντες ὥς αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρίστων, ὅτε αὐτῷ σὺ ἡγγέλθης γεγεννημένος, πολλῶν ἀκουόντων οὐ φήσειέ σε ἐωυτοῦ εἶναι (τὸν χρόνον γάρ, τοὺς δέκα μῆνας, οὐδέκω ἐξήκειν), αἰδρεῖν τῶν τοιούτων κείνος τοῦτο ἀπερρίψε τὸ ἔπος. 5 τίκτουσι γὰρ γυναῖκες καὶ ἐννεάμηνα καὶ ἐπτάμηνα, καὶ οὐ πᾶσαι δέκα μῆνας ἐκτελέσασαι· ἐγὼ δὲ σὲ ὦ παῖ ἐπτάμηνον ἔτεκον. ἔγνω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρίστων οὐ μετὰ πολλὸν χρόνον ὥς ἀνοίῃ τὸ ἔπος ἐκβάλῃ τοῦτο. λόγους δὲ ἄλλους περὶ γενέσιος τῆς σεωυτοῦ μὴ δέκεο· τὰ γὰρ ἀληθέστατα πάντα ἀκήκοας. ἐκ δὲ ὀνοφορβῶν αὐτῷ τε Λευτυχίδῃ καὶ τοῖσι ταῦτα λέγουσι τίκτοιν αἱ γυναῖκες παῖδας”.

1 ἡ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔλεγε, ὁ δὲ πυθόμενός τε τὰ ἐβούλετο καὶ ἐπόδια λαβὼν ἐπορεύετο ἐς Ἥλιον, τῷ λόγῳ φᾶς ὥς ἐς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πορεύεται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑποτοπηθέντες Δημάρητον δρησμῷ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐδίωκον. 2 καὶ κως ἔφθη ἐς Ζάκυνθον διαβάς ὁ Δημάρητος ἐκ τῆς Ἥλιδος· ἐπιδιαβάντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοῦ τε ἄπτοντο καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας αὐτοῦ ἀπαιρέονται. μετὰ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἐξεδίδοσαν αὐτὸν οἱ Ζακύνθιοι, ἐνθεῦτεν διαβαίνει ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον. ὁ δὲ ὑπεδέξατό τε αὐτὸν μεγαλωστὶ καὶ γῆν τε καὶ πόλιας ἔδωκε. 3 οὕτω

ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Δημάρητος καὶ τοιαύτη χρησάμενος τύχη, ἄλλα τε Λακεδαιμονίοισι συχνὰ ἔργοισι τε καὶ γνώμῃσι ἀπολαμπρυνθεῖς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα σφι ἀνελόμενος τεθρίπῳ προσέβαλε, μούνος τοῦτο πάντων δὴ τῶν γενομένων βασιλέων ἐν Σπάρτῃ ποιήσας.

71

¹ Λευτυχίδης δὲ ὁ Μενάρεος Δημαρήτου καταπαυσθέντος διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλήϊν, καὶ οἱ γίνεται παῖς Ζευξίδημος, τὸν δὴ Κυνίσκον μετεξέτεροι Σπαρτιητέων ἐκάλεον. οὗτος ὁ Ζευξίδημος οὐκ ἐβασίλευσε Σπάρτης· πρὸ Λευτυχίδεω γὰρ τελευτᾷ, λιπὼν παῖδα Ἀρχίδημον. ² Δευτυχίδης δὲ στερηθεὶς Ζευξιδήμου γαμέει δευτέρην γυναῖκα Εὐρυδάμην τὴν ἐοῦσαν Μενίου ἀδελφεὴν Διακτορίδεω δὲ θυγατέρα, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἔρσεν μὲν γίνεται οὐδέν, θυγάτηρ δὲ Λαμπιτώ, τὴν Ἀρχίδημος ὁ Ζευξιδήμου γαμέει δόντος αὐτῷ Λευτυχίδεω.

72

¹ οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ Λευτυχίδης κατεγήρα ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀλλὰ τίσιν τοιήνδε τινὰ Δημαρήτῳ ἐξέτισε. ἐστρατήγησε Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐς Θεσσαλίην, παρεὼν δὲ οἱ πάντα ὑποχείρια ποιήσασθαι ἐδωροδόκησε ἀργύριον πολλόν· ² ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ δὲ ἀλούς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ἐπικατήμενος χειρίδι πλὴν ἀργυρίου, ἔφυγε ἐκ Σπάρτης ὑπὸ δικαστήριον ὑπαχθεῖς, καὶ τὰ οἰκία οἱ κατεσκάφη· ἔφυγε δὲ ἐς Τεγέην καὶ ἐτελεύτησε ἐν ταύτῃ.

73

¹ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐγένετο χρόνῳ ὕστερον· τότε δὲ ὡς τῷ Κλεομένει ὠδώθη τὸ ἐς τὸν Δημάρητον πρῆγμα, αὐτίκα παραλαβὼν Λευτυχίδα ἦε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγινήτας, δεινόν τινά σφι ἔγκοτον διὰ τὸν προπηλακισμόν ἔχων. ² οὕτω δὴ οὔτε οἱ Αἰγινῆται, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν βασιλέων ἡκόντων ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἐδικαίευν ἔτι ἀντιβαίνειν, ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἄνδρας δέκα Αἰγινήτεων τοὺς πλείστου ἀξίους καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ γένει· ἦγον καὶ ἄλλους καὶ δὴ καὶ Κριόν τε τὸν Πολυκρίτου καὶ Κάσαυβον τὸν Ἀριστοκράτεος, οἳ περ εἶχον μέγιστον κράτος· ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφέας ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν παραθήκην παρατίθενται ἐς τοὺς ἐχθίστους Αἰγινήτησι Ἀθηναίους.

74

1 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κλεομένεα ἐπαίστον γενόμενον κακοτεχνήσαντα ἐς Δημάρητον δεῖμα ἔλαβε Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ ὑπεξέσχε ἐς Θεσσαλίην. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀρκαδίην νεώτερα ἔπρησσε πρήγματα, συνιστὰς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἐπὶ τῇ Σπάρτῃ, ἄλλους τε ὄρκους προσάγων σφὶ ἧ μὲν ἔννεσθαι σφέας αὐτῷ τῇ ἂν ἐξηγήηται, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Νώνακριν πόλιν πρόθυμος ἦν τῶν Ἀρκάδων τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἀγινέων ἐξορκοῦν τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ. 2 ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλιν λέγεται εἶναι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔστι τοιόνδε τι· ὕδωρ ὀλίγον φαινόμενον ἐκ πέτρης στάζει ἐς ἄγκος, τὸ δὲ ἄγκος αἵμασις τις περιθεεὶ κύκλος. ἡ δὲ Νώνακρις, ἐν τῇ ἡ πηγὴ αὕτη τυγχάνει ἐοῦσα, πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας πρὸς Φενεῶ.

75

1 μαθόντες δὲ Κλεομένεα Λακεδαιμόνιοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, κατῆγον αὐτὸν δείσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι ἐς Σπάρτην τοῖσι καὶ πρότερον ἦρχε. κατελθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ὑπέλαβε μανίη νοῦσος, ἐόντα καὶ πρότερον ὑπομαργότερον· ὅκως γὰρ τεῶ ἐντύχοι Σπαρτιητέων, ἐνέχραυε ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ σκῆπτρον. 2 ποιεόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα καὶ παραφρονήσαντα ἔδησαν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐν ξύλῳ· ὁ δὲ δεθεὶς τὸν φύλακον μουνωθέντα ἰδὼν τῶν ἄλλων αἰτέει μάχαιραν· οὐ βουλομένου δὲ τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ φυλάκου διδόναι ἀπέειλε τά μιν αὖτις ποιήσει, ἐς ὃ δείσας τὰς ἀπειλὰς ὁ φύλακος (ἦν γὰρ τῶν τις εἰλωτέων) διδοῖ οἱ μάχαιραν. 3 Κλεομένης δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸν σίδηρον ἄρχετο ἐκ τῶν κνημέων ἐωυτὸν λωβώμενος· ἐπιτάμων γὰρ κατὰ μῆκος τὰς σάρκας προέβαινε ἐκ τῶν κνημέων ἐς τοὺς μηρούς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μηρῶν ἐς τε τὰ ἰσχία καὶ τὰς λαπάρας, ἐς ὃ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα ἀπίκετο, καὶ ταύτην καταχορδεύων ἀπέθανε τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ, ὥς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσι Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι τὴν Πυθίην ἀνέγνωσε τὰ περὶ Δημαρήτου λέγειν γενόμενα, ὥς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μοῦνοι λέγουσι, διότι ἐς Ἐλευσίνα ἐσβαλὼν ἔκειρε τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν, ὥς δὲ Ἀργεῖοι, ὅτι ἐξ ἱροῦ αὐτῶν τοῦ Ἄργου Ἀργείων τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης καταγινέων κατέκοπτε καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄλσος ἐν ἀλογίῃ ἔχων ἐνέπρησε.

76

1 Κλεομένει γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐχρήσθη Ἄργος αἰρήσειν· ἐπεῖτε δὲ Σπαρτιήτας ἄγων ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἐρασίνον,

ὅς λέγεται ῥέειν ἐκ τῆς Στυμφαλίδος λίμνης· τὴν γὰρ δὴ λίμνην ταύτην ἐς χάσμα ἀφανὲς ἐκδιδοῦσαν ἀναφαίνεσθαι ἐν Ἀργεῖ, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἤδη τοῦτο ὑπ' Ἀργείων Ἑρασῖνον καλέεσθαι· ἀπικόμενος δ' ὢν ὁ Κλεομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἐσφαγιάζετο αὐτῷ· 2 καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐκαλλιέρεε οὐδαμῶς διαβαίνειν μιν, ἄγασθαι μὲν ἔφη τοῦ Ἑρασίνου οὐ προδιδόντος τοὺς πολίητας, Ἀργεῖους μέντοι οὐδ' ὥς χαιρήσειν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξαναχωρήσας τὴν στρατιὴν κατήγαγε ἐς Θυρέην, σφαγιασάμενος δὲ τῇ θαλάσῃ ταῦρον πλοίοισι σφέας ἤγαγε ἕς τε τὴν Τιρυνθίην χώραν καὶ Ναυπλίν.

77

1 Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐβοήθειον πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν· ὥς δὲ ἀγχοῦ μὲν ἐγίνοντο τῆς Τίρυνθος, χώρῳ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κείται Ἡσίπεια οὐνομα, μεταίχμιον οὐ μέγα ἀπολιπόντες ἵζοντο ἀντίοι τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μάχην οὐκ ἐφοβέοντο, ἀλλὰ μὴ δόλῳ αἰρεθέωσι· 2 καὶ γὰρ δὴ σφι ἐς τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα εἶχε τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐπίκοινα ἔχρησε ἡ Πυθίη τούτοισί τε καὶ Μιλησίοισι, λέγον ὧδε.

*Ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρσενά νικήσασα
ἐξελάσῃ καὶ κῦδος ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἄρῃται,
πολλὰς Ἀργείων ἀμφιδρυφέας τότε θήσει.
ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἀνθρώπων
“δεῖνός ὄφρις τριέλικτος ἀπώλετο δοῦρι δαμασθεῖς”.*

3 ταῦτα δὴ πάντα συνελθόντα τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι φόβον παρεῖχε. καὶ δὴ σφι πρὸς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τῷ κήρυκι τῶν πολεμίων χρᾶσθαι, δόξαν δέ σφι ἐποίηον τοιόνδε· ὅκως ὁ Σπαρτιτῆτος κῆρυξ προσημαίνει τι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἐποίηεν καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦτο.

78

1 μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ποιεῦντας τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ὁκοῖόν τι ὁ σφέτερος κῆρυξ σημάνειε, παραγγέλλει σφι, ὅταν σημάνῃ ὁ κῆρυξ ποιέεσθαι ἄριστον, τότε ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα χωρέειν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους. 2 ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπιτελέα ἐκ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· ἄριστον γὰρ ποιευμένοισι τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι ἐκ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπεκέατο, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφόνευσαν αὐτῶν, πολλῷ δέ τι πλεῦνας

ἐς τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Ἄργου καταφυγόντας περιζόμενοι ἐφύλασσον.

79

1 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐποίεε τοιόνδε. ἔχων αὐτομόλους ἄνδρας καὶ πυνθανόμενος τούτων, ἐξεκάλεε πέμπων κήρυκα ὀνομαστί λέγων τῶν Ἀργείων τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἀπεργμένους, ἐξεκάλεε δὲ φὰς αὐτῶν ἔχειν τὰ ἄποινα. ἄποινα δὲ ἐστὶ Πελοποννησίοισι δύο μνέαι τεταγμέναι κατ' ἄνδρα αἰχμάλωτον ἐκτίνειν. κατὰ πεντήκοντα δὴ ὧν τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς ἐκάστους ἐκκαλεύμενος ὁ Κλεομένης ἔκτεινε. 2 ταῦτα δὲ κως γινόμενα ἐλελήθεε τοὺς λοιποὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ τεμένει· ἅτε γὰρ πυκνοῦ ἐόντος τοῦ ἄλσεος, οὐκ ὥρων οἱ ἐντὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ὅ τι ἔπραττον, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτῶν τις ἀναβάς ἐπὶ δένδρον κατεῖδε τὸ ποιούμενον. οὐκὼν δὴ ἔτι καλεόμενοι ἐξήρισαν.

80

1 ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκέλευε πάντα τινὰ τῶν εἰλωτέων περιnéειν ὕλην τὸ ἄλσος, τῶν δὲ πειθομένων ἐνέπρησε τὸ ἄλσος. καιομένου δὲ ἤδη ἐπείρετο τῶν τινα αὐτομόλων τίνος εἴη θεῶν τὸ ἄλσος· ὁ δὲ ἔφη Ἄργου εἶναι. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσε, ἀναστενάζας μέγα εἶπε “ὦ Ἀπολλὼν χρηστήριε, ἣ μεγάλως με ἠπάτηκας φάμενος Ἄργος αἰρήσειν· συμβάλλομαι δ' ἐξήκειν μοι τὸ χρηστήριον”.

81

1 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κλεομένης τὴν μὲν πλέω στρατιὴν ἀπῆκε ἀπιέναι ἐς Σπάρτην, χιλίους δὲ αὐτὸς λαβὼν τοὺς ἀριστεάς ἦε ἐς τὸ Ἥραιον θύσων· βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν θύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ ἱρεὺς ἀπηγόρευε, φὰς οὐκ ὅσιον εἶναι ξείνῳ αὐτόθι θύειν. ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης τὸν ἱρέα ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἰλωτας ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἀπάγοντας μαστιγῶσαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔθυσσε· ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἀπῆγε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην.

82

1 νοστήσαντα δὲ μιν ὑπῆγον οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐφόρους, φάμενοί μιν δωροδοκῆσαντα οὐκ ἐλεῖν τὸ Ἄργος, παρεὼν εὐπετέως μιν ἐλεῖν. ὁ δὲ σφι ἔλεξε, οὔτε εἰ ψευδόμενος οὔτε εἰ ἀληθέα λέγων, ἔχω σαφηνέως εἶπαι, ἔλεξε δ' ὧν φάμενος, ἐπεῖτε δὴ τὸ τοῦ Ἄργου ἱρὸν εἶλον, δοκέειν οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμόν· πρὸς ὧν ταῦτα οὐ δικαιοῦν πειρᾶν τῆς πόλιος, πρὶν γε δὴ ἱροῖσι χρήσεται καὶ

μάθη εἴτε οἱ ὁ θεὸς παραδιδῶι εἴτε ἐμποδὼν ἔστηκε· 2 καλλιευμένῳ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῶν στηθέων φλόγα πυρὸς ἐκλάμψαι, μαθεῖν δὲ αὐτὸς οὕτω τὴν ἀτρεκεΐην, ὅτι οὐκ αἰρέει τὸ Ἄργος· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐξέλαμψε, αἰρέειν ἂν κατ' ἄκρης τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ τῶν στηθέων δὲ λάμψαντος πᾶν οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ὅσον ὁ θεὸς ἐβούλετο γενέσθαι. ταῦτα λέγων πιστὰ τε καὶ οἰκότα ἐδόκεε Σπαρτιῆτησι λέγειν, καὶ διέφυγε πολλὸν τοὺς διώκοντας.

83

1 Ἄργος δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχρώθη οὕτω ὥστε οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτῶν ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἄρχοντες τε καὶ διέποντες, ἐς ὃ ἐπήβησαν οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων παῖδες· ἔπειτα σφέας οὗτοι ἀνακτώμενοι ὀπίσω ἐς ἐωυτοὺς τὸ Ἄργος ἐξέβαλον· ἐξωθεύμενοι δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι μάχη ἔσχον Τίρυνθα. 2 τέως μὲν δὴ σφι ἦν ἄρθμια ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους ἦλθε ἀνὴρ μάντις Κλέανδρος, γένος ἐὼν Φιγαλεὺς ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας· οὗτος τοὺς δούλους ἀνέγνωσε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι δεσπότησι. ἐκ τούτου δὴ πόλεμός σφι ἦν ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνόν, ἐς ὃ δὴ μόγις οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐπεκράτησαν.

84

1 Ἀργεῖοι μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα Κλεομένεια φασὶ μανέντα ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς· αὐτοὶ δὲ Σπαρτιῆται φασὶ ἐκ δαιμονίου μὲν οὐδενὸς μανῆναι Κλεομένεια, Σκύθησι δὲ ὁμιλήσαντά μιν ἀκρητοπότην γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκ τούτου μανῆναι. 2 Σκύθας γὰρ τοὺς νομάδας, ἐπεῖτε σφι Δαρεῖον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν χώραν, μετὰ ταῦτα μεμονέναι μιν τίσασθαι, πέμψαντας δὲ ἐς Σπάρτην συμμαχίην τε ποιέεσθαι καὶ συντίθεσθαι ὥς χρεὸν εἴη αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Σκύθας παρὰ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσβάλλειν, σφέας δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιῆτας κελεῦειν ἐξ Ἐφέσου ὀρμωμένους ἀναβαίνειν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀπαντᾶν. 3 Κλεομένεια δὲ λέγουσι ἡκόντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπὶ ταῦτα ὁμιλέειν σφι μεζόνως, ὁμιλέοντα δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἰκνεομένου μαθεῖν τὴν ἀκρητοποσίην παρ' αὐτῶν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ μανῆναί μιν νομίζουσι Σπαρτιῆται. ἔκ τε τόσου, ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπεὰν ζωρότερον βούλωνται πιεῖν, Ἐπισκύθισον λέγουσι. οὕτω δὴ Σπαρτιῆται τὰ περὶ Κλεομένεια λέγουσι· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ τίσιν ταύτην ὁ Κλεομένης Δημαρήτῳ ἐκτίσαι.

¹ τελευτήσαντος δὲ Κλεομένεος ὡς ἐπύθοντο Αἰγινῆται, ἔπεμπον ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους καταβωσομένους Λευτυχίδεω περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνησι ὁμήρων ἐχομένων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δικαστήριον συναγαγόντες ἔγνωσαν περιβρίσθαι Αἰγινήτας ὑπὸ Λευτυχίδεω, καί μιν κατέκριναν ἔκδοτον ἄγεσθαι ἐς Αἴγιναν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνησι ἐχομένων ἀνδρῶν. ² μελλόντων δὲ ἄγειν τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν Λευτυχίδα, εἶπέ σφι Θεασίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπεος, ἐὼν ἐν Σπάρτῃ δόκιμος ἀνὴρ, “τί βουλευέσθε ποιεῖν, ἄνδρες Αἰγινῆται; τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἔκδοτον γενόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιητέων ἄγειν; εἰ νῦν ὀργῇ χρεώμενοι ἔγνωσαν οὕτω Σπαρτιῆται, ὅκως ἐξ ὑστέρης μὴ τι ὑμῖν, ἣν ταῦτα πρήσσητε, πανώλεθρον κακὸν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐμβάλωσι”. ³ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Αἰγινῆται ἔσχοντο τῆς ἀγωγῆς, ὁμολογίῃ δὲ ἐχρήσαντο τοιῇδε, ἐπισπόμενον Λευτυχίδα ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀποδοῦναι Αἰγινήτησι τοὺς ἀνδρας.

¹ ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενος Λευτυχίδης ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπαίτεε τὴν παραθήκην, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι προφάσις εἶλκον οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀποδοῦναι, φάντες δύο σφέας ἐόντας βασιλέας παραθέσθαι καὶ οὐ δικαιοῦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀποδιδόναι·

86Α. οὐ φαμένων δὲ ἀποδώσειν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔλεξέ σφι Λευτυχίδης τάδε. “ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ποιεῖτε μὲν ὁκότερα βούλεσθε αὐτοί· καὶ γὰρ ἀποδιδόντες ποιεῖτε ὅσια, καὶ μὴ ἀποδιδόντες τὰ ἐναντία τούτων· ὁκοῖον μέντοι τι ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ συνηνείχθη γενέσθαι περὶ παρακαταθήκης, βούλομαι ὑμῖν εἶπαι. ² λέγομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Σπαρτιῆται γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι κατὰ τρίτην γενεὴν τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέο Γλαῦκον Ἐπικύδους παῖδα· τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα φαμέν τά τε ἄλλα πάντα περιήκειν τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀκούειν ἄριστα δικαιοσύνης πέρι πάντων ὅσοι τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οἴκεον. ³ συνενειχθῆναι δέ οἱ ἐν χρόνῳ ἰκνευμένῳ τάδε λέγομεν. ἄνδρα Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σπάρτην βούλεσθαί οἱ ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους προῖσχόμενον τοιάδε. “εἰμὶ μὲν Μιλήσιος, ἦκω δὲ τῆς σῆς Γλαῦκε βουλόμενος δικαιοσύνης ἀπολαῦσαι. ⁴ ὥς γὰρ διὴ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα, ἐν δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην τῆς σῆς δικαιοσύνης ἦν λόγος πολλός, ἐμεωυτῷ λόγους ἐδίδουν καὶ ὅτι ἐπικίνδυνος ἐστὶ αἰεὶ κοτε ἢ Ἰωνίῃ, ἢ δὲ Πελοπόννησος ἀσφαλέως ἰδρυμένη, καὶ διότι χρήματα

οὐδαμὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐστὶ ὅρᾱν ἔχοντας. 5 ταῦτά τε ὧν ἐπιλεγομένῳ καὶ βουλευομένῳ ἔδοξε μοι τὰ ἡμίσεα πάσης τῆς οὐσίας ἐξαργυρώσαντα θέσθαι παρὰ σέ, εὖ ἐξεπισταμένῳ ὥς μοι κείμενα ἔσται παρὰ σοὶ σόα. σὺ δὴ μοι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δέξαι καὶ τάδε τὰ σύμβολα σῶζε λαβών· ὃς δ' ἂν ἔχων ταῦτα ἀπαιτέῃ, τούτῳ ἀποδοῦναι”.

86B. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Μιλήτου ἦκων ξεῖνος τοσαῦτα ἔλεξε, Γλαῦκος δὲ ἐδέξατο τὴν παρακαταθήκην ἐπὶ τῷ εἰρημένῳ λόγῳ. χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἦλθον ἐς Σπάρτην τούτου τοῦ παραθεμένου τὰ χρήματα οἱ παῖδες, ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς λόγους τῷ Γλαύκῳ καὶ ἀποδεικνύντες τὰ σύμβολα ἀπαίτεον τὰ χρήματα· 2 ὁ δὲ διωθέετο ἀντυποκρινόμενος τοιάδε. “οὔτε μέμνημαι τὸ πρῆγμα οὔτε με περιφέρει οὐδὲν εἰδέναι τούτων τῶν ὑμεῖς λέγετε, βούλομαί τε ἀναμνησθεῖς ποιέειν πᾶν τὸ δίκαιον· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἔλαβον, ὀρθῶς ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ εἴ γε ἀρχὴν μὴ ἔλαβον, νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἑλλήνων χρήσομαι ἐς ὑμέας. ταῦτα ὧν ὑμῖν ἀναβάλλομαι κυρώσειν ἐς τέταρτον μῆνα ἀπὸ τοῦδε”.

86C. οἱ μὲν δὴ Μιλήσιοι συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὥς ἀπεστερημένοι τῶν χρημάτων, Γλαῦκος δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ. ἐπειρωτῶντα δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ὀρκῶ τὰ χρήματα ληίσηται, ἡ Πυθίη μετέρχεται τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι.

2 Γλαῦκ' Ἐπικυδεῖδη, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον οὕτω
ὄρκῳ νικῆσαι καὶ χρήματα ληίσσασθαι.
ὄμνυ, ἐπεὶ θάνατός γε καὶ εὖορκον μένει ἄνδρα.
ἀλλ' ὄρκου πάϊς ἐστίν, ἀνώνυμος, οὐδ' ἔπι χεῖρες
οὐδὲ πόδες· κραιπνὸς δὲ μετέρχεται, εἰς ὃ κε πᾶσαν
συμμάρψας ὀλέση γενεὴν καὶ οἶκον ἅπαντα.
ἀνδρὸς δ' εὐόρκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀμείνων.

ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Γλαῦκος συγγνώμην τὸν θεὸν παραιτέετο αὐτῷ ἴσχειν τῶν ρηθέντων. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἔφη τὸ πειρηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι ἴσον δύνασθαι.

86D. Γλαῦκος μὲν δὴ μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς Μιλησίους ξεῖνους ἀποδοῖσθαι τὰ χρήματα. τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκα ὁ λόγος ὅδε ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι ὀρμήθῃ λέγεσθαι ἐς ὑμέας, εἰρήσεται· Γλαύκου νῦν οὔτε τι ἀπόγονον ἐστὶ οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἰστίῃ οὐδεμία νομιζομένη εἶναι Γλαύκου, ἐκτέτριπται

τε πρόρριζος ἐκ Σπάρτης. οὕτω ἀγαθὸν μὴδὲ διανοέεσθαι περὶ παρακαταθήκης ἄλλο γε ἢ ἀπαιτεόντων ἀποδιδόναι”.

87

ἰ Λευτυχίδης μὲν εἶπας ταῦτα, ὥς οἱ οὐδὲ οὕτω ἐσήκουον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπαλλάσσετο· οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται, πρὶν τῶν πρότερον ἀδικημάτων δοῦναι δίκας τῶν ἐς Ἀθηναίους ὕβρισαν Θηβαίοισι χαριζόμενοι, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε. μεμφόμενοι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ ἀξιοῦντες ἀδικέεσθαι, ὥς τιμωρησόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρεσκευάζοντο· καὶ ἦν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι πεντετηρὶς ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ, λοχήσαντες ὧν τὴν θεωρίδα νέα εἶλον πλήρεα ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Ἀθηναίων, λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἀνδρας ἔδησαν.

88

ἰ Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ παθόντες ταῦτα πρὸς Αἰγινητέων οὐκέτι ἀνεβάλλοντο μὴ οὐ τὸ πᾶν μηχανήσασθαι ἐπ’ Αἰγινήτησι. καὶ ἦν γὰρ Νικόδρομος Κνοίθου καλεόμενος ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, οὗτος μεμφόμενος μὲν τοῖσι Αἰγινήτησι προτέρην ἐωυτοῦ ἐξέλασιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου, μαθὼν δὲ τότε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀναρτημένους ἔρδειν Αἰγινήτας κακῶς, συντίθεται Ἀθηναίοισι προδοσίην Αἰγίνης, φράσας ἐν τῇ τε ἡμέρῃ ἐπιχειρήσει καὶ ἐκείνους ἐς τὴν ἡκεῖν δεήσει βοηθέοντας.

89

ἰ μετὰ ταῦτα καταλαμβάνει μὲν κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο Ἀθηναίοισι ὁ Νικόδρομος τὴν παλαιὴν καλεομένην πόλιν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐ παραγίνονται ἐς δέον· οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχον ἐοῦσαι νέες σφι ἀξιόμαχοι τῇσι Αἰγινητέων συμβαλεῖν. ἐν ᾧ ὧν Κορινθίων ἐδέοντο χρῆσαι σφίσι νέας, ἐν τούτῳ διεφθάρη τὰ πρήγματα. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἦσαν γὰρ σφι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον φίλοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, Ἀθηναίοισι διδοῦσι δεομένοισι εἴκοσι νέας, διδοῦσι δὲ πενταδράχμους ἀποδόμενοι· δωρεὴν γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οὐκ ἐξῆν δοῦναι. ταύτας τε δὴ λαβόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τὰς σφετέρας, πληρώσαντες ἑβδομήκοντα νέας τὰς ἀπάσας, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Αἶγιναν καὶ ὑστέρησαν ἡμέρῃ μιῇ τῆς συγκειμένης.

90

ἰ Νικόδρομος δέ, ὥς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὸν καιρὸν οὐ παρεγίνοντο, ἐς

πλοῖον ἐσβάς ἐκδιδρῆσκει ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης· σὺν δέ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῶν Αἰγινήτων εἶποντο, τοῖσι Ἀθηναῖοι Σούνιον οἰκῆσαι ἔδοσαν. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οὗτοι ὀρμώμενοι ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Αἰγινήτας.

91

1 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὕστερον ἐγίνετο. Αἰγινήτων δὲ οἱ παχέες ἐπαναστάντος τοῦ δήμου σφι ἅμα Νικοδρόμῳ ἐπεκράτησαν, καὶ ἔπειτα σφέας χειρῳσάμενοι ἐξῆγον ἀπολέοντες. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ ἄγος σφι ἐγένετο, τὸ ἐκθύσασθαι οὐκ οἰοί τε ἐγένοντο ἐπιμηχανώμενοι, ἀλλ' ἔφθησαν ἐκπεσόντες πρότερον ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἢ σφι ἴλεον γενέσθαι τὴν θεόν. 2 ἐπτακοσίους γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου ζωγρήσαντες ἐξῆγον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, εἷς δέ τις τούτων ἐκφυγὼν τὰ δεσμὰ καταφεύγει πρὸς πρόθυρα Δήμητρος θεσμοφόρου, ἐπιλαμβανόμενος δὲ τῶν ἐπισπαστήρων εἶχετο· οἱ δὲ ἐπεῖτε μιν ἀποσπάσαι οὐκ οἰοί τε ἀπέλκοντες ἐγίνοντο, ἀποκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἦγον οὕτω, αἱ χεῖρες δὲ ἐκεῖναι ἐμπεφυκυῖαι ἦσαν τοῖσι ἐπισπαστήρσι.

92

1 ταῦτα μὲν νυν σφέας αὐτοὺς οἱ Αἰγινῆται ἐργάσαντο, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἤκουσι ἐναυμάχησαν νηυσὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐπεκαλέοντο τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ πρότερον, Ἀργεῖους. καὶ δὴ σφι οὗτοι μὲν οὐκέτι βοηθέουσι, μεμφόμενοι ὅτι Αἰγιναῖαι νέες ἀνάγκη λαμφθεῖσαι ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος ἔσχον τε ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα χώραν καὶ συναπέβησαν Λακεδαιμονίοισι, συναπέβησαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Σικυωνιέων νεῶν ἄνδρες τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἐσβολῇ· 2 καὶ σφι ὑπ' Ἀργείων ἐπεβλήθη ζημίη χίλια τάλαντα ἐκτίσαι, πεντακόσια ἑκατέρους. Σικυώνιοι μὲν νυν συγγνόντες ἀδικῆσαι ὠμολόγησαν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἐκτίσαντες ἀζήμιοι εἶναι, Αἰγινῆται δὲ οὔτε συνεγινώσκοντο ἦσαν τε αὐθαδέστεροι. διὰ δὴ ὧν σφι ταῦτα δεομένοισι ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ δημοσίου οὐδεὶς Ἀργείων ἔτι ἐβοήθεε, ἐθελονταὶ δὲ ἐς χιλίους· ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς στρατηγὸς ἀνὴρ ᾧ οὖνομα Εὐρυβάτης, ἀνὴρ πεντάεθλον ἐπασκῆσας. 3 τούτων οἱ πλεῖνες οὐκ ἀπενόστησαν ὀπίσω, ἀλλ' ἐτελεύτησαν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐν Αἰγίνῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς Εὐρυβάτης μονομαχίην ἐπασκέων τρεῖς μὲν ἄνδρας τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ κτείνει, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου Σωφάνεος τοῦ

Δεκελέος ἀποθνήσκει.

93

¹ Αἰγινῆται δὲ ἐοῦσι ἀτάκτοισι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι συμβαλόντες τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐνίκησαν, καὶ σφεων νέας τέσσερας αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι εἶλον.

94

¹ Ἀθηναίοισι μὲν δὴ πόλεμος συνῆπτο πρὸς Αἰγινήτας. ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τὸ ἐωυτοῦ ἐποίηε, ὥστε ἀναμνησκοντός τε αἰεὶ τοῦ θεράποντος μεμνησθαί μιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Πεισιστρατιδέων προσκατημένων καὶ διαβαλλόντων Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος ταύτης ἐχόμενος τῆς προφάσιος καταστρέφεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοὺς μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. ² Μαρδόνιον μὲν δὴ φλαύρως πρήξαντα τῷ στόλῳ παραλύει τῆς στρατηγίης, ἄλλους δὲ στρατηγοὺς ἀποδέξας ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ τε Ἑρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας, Δατίν τε ἔοντα Μῆδον γένος καὶ Ἀρταφρένεα τὸν Ἀρταφρένεος παῖδα, ἀδελφιδέον ἐωυτοῦ· ἐντειλάμενος δὲ ἀπέπεμπε ἐξανδραποδίσαντας Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἑρέτριαν ἀνάγειν ἐωυτῷ ἐς ὅσιν τὰ ἀνδράποδα.

95

¹ ὥς δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὗτοι οἱ ἀποδεχθέντες πορευόμενοι παρὰ βασιλέος ἀπίκοντο τῆς Κιλικίης ἐς τὸ Ἀλήιον πεδῖον, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι πεζὸν στρατὸν πολλόν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένον, ἐνθαῦτα στρατοπεδευομένοισι ἐπῆλθε μὲν ὁ ναυτικὸς πᾶς στρατὸς ὁ ἐπιταχθεὶς ἐκάστοισι, παρεγένοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ ἰππαγωγοὶ νέες, τὰς τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει προεῖπε τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ δασμοφόροισι Δαρεῖος ἐτοιμάζειν. ² ἐσβαλόμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἵππους ἐς ταύτας καὶ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐσβιβάσαντες ἐς τὰς νέας, ἔπλεον ἐξακοσίησι τριήρεσι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον εἶχον τὰς νέας ἰθὺ τοῦ τε Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῆς Θρηίκης, ἀλλ' ἐκ Σάμου ὁρμώμενοι παρά τε Ἰκάριον καὶ διὰ νήσων τὸν πλόον ἐποιεῦντο, ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, δείσαντες μάλιστα τὸν περίπλοον τοῦ Ἄθω, ὅτι τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει ποιεύμενοι ταύτη τὴν κομιδὴν μεγάλως προσέπταισαν· πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ Νάξος σφέας ἠνάγκαζε πρότερον οὐκ ἀλοῦσα.

96

¹ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰκαρίου πελάγεος προσφερόμενοι προσέμιζαν τῇ

Νάξω, ἐπὶ ταύτην γὰρ δὴ πρώτην ἐπεῖχον στρατεύεσθαι οἱ Πέρσαι μεμνημένοι τῶν πρότερον οἱ Νάξιοι πρὸς τὰ ὄρεα οἷχοντο φεύγοντες οὐδὲ ὑπέμειναν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἀνδραποδισάμενοι τοὺς κατέλαβον αὐτῶν, ἐνέπρηνσαν καὶ τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους ἀνήγοντο.

97

1 ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐποίευν, οἱ Δῆλιοι ἐκλιπόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Δῆλον οἷχοντο φεύγοντες ἐς Τήνον. τῆς δὲ στρατιῆς καταπλεούσης ὁ Δᾶτις προπλώσας οὐκ ἔα τὰς νέας πρὸς τὴν Δῆλον προσορμίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πέρην ἐν τῇ Ῥηναίῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ πυθόμενος ἵνα ἦσαν οἱ Δῆλιοι, πέμπων κήρυκα ἠγόρευέ σφι τάδε. 2 “ἄνδρες ἱροί, τί φεύγοντες οἷχεσθε, οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα καταγνόντες κατ’ ἐμεῦ; ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτό γε φρονέω καὶ μοι ἐκ βασιλέος ὧδε ἐπέσταλται, ἐν τῇ χώρῃ οἱ δύο θεοὶ ἐγένοντο, ταύτην μηδὲν σίνεσθαι, μήτε αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν μήτε τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῆς. νῦν ὦν καὶ ἅπιτε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν νῆσον νέμεσθε”. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τοῖσι Δηλίοισι, μετὰ δὲ λιβανωτοῦ τριηκόσια τάλαντα κατανήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἔθυμήσε.

98

1 Δᾶτις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιήσας ἔπλεε ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑρέτριαν πρῶτα, ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἰωνας καὶ Αἰολέας. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἐνθεῦτεν ἐξαναχθέντα Δῆλος ἐκινήθη, ὡς ἔλεγον Δῆλιοι, καὶ πρῶτα καὶ ὕστατα μέχρι ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν κου τέρας ἀνθρώποισι τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι κακῶν ἔφαινε ὁ θεός. 2 ἐπὶ γὰρ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος καὶ Ξέρξεω τοῦ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξεω τοῦ Ξέρξεω, τριῶν τουτέων ἐπεξῆς γενεῶν, ἐγένετο πλέω κακὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι ἄλλας γενεὰς τὰς πρὸ Δαρείου γενομένας, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων αὐτῇ γενόμενα, τὰ δὲ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν κορυφαίων περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμεόντων. 3 οὕτω οὐδὲν ἦν ἀεικὲς κινήσῃναι Δῆλον τὸ πρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἀκίνητον. καὶ ἐν χρησμῷ ἦν γεγραμμένον περὶ αὐτῆς ὧδε.

κινήσω καὶ Δῆλον ἀκίνητόν περ ἐοῦσαν.

δύναται δὲ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ταῦτα τὰ οὐνόματα, Δαρεῖος ἐρξίης, Ξέρξης ἀρήιος, Ἀρτοξέρξης μέγας ἀρήιος. τούτους μὲν δὴ τοὺς βασιλέας ὧδε ἂν ὀρθῶς κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν σφετέρην Ἑλληνες

καλέοιεν.

99

¹ οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὥς ἀπήειραν ἐκ τῆς Δήλου, προσῖσχον πρὸς τὰς νήσους, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ στρατιὴν τε παρελάμβανον καὶ ὁμήρους τῶν νησιωτέων παῖδας ἐλάμβανον. ² ὥς δὲ περιπλέοντες τὰς νήσους προσέσχον καὶ ἐς Κάρυστον, οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφι οἱ Καρύστιοι οὔτε ὁμήρους ἐδίδοσαν οὔτε ἔφασαν ἐπὶ πόλιας ἀστυγείτονας στρατεύεσθαι, λέγοντες Ἑρέτριάν τε καὶ Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα τούτους ἐπολιόρκεόν τε καὶ τὴν γῆν σφεων ἔκειρον, ἐς ὃ καὶ οἱ Καρύστιοι παρέστησαν ἐς τῶν Περσέων τὴν γνῶμην.

100

¹ Ἑρετριεῖς δὲ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Περσικὴν ἐπὶ σφέας ἐπιπλέουσιν Ἀθηναίων ἐδεήθησαν σφίσι βοηθοὺς γενέσθαι. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἀπείπαντο τὴν ἐπικουρίην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους τοὺς κληρουχέοντας τῶν ἵπποβοτέων Χαλκιδέων τὴν χώραν, τούτους σφι διδοῦσι τιμωρούς. τῶν δὲ Ἑρετριέων ἦν ἄρα οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς βούλευμα, οἱ μετεπέμποντο μὲν Ἀθηναίους, ἐφρόνεον δὲ διφασίας ιδέας. ² οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐβουλευόντο ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοίης, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἴδια κέρδεα προσδεκόμενοι παρὰ τοῦ Πέρσεω οἴσεσθαι προδοσίην ἐσκευάζοντο. ³ μαθὼν δὲ τούτων ἑκάτερα ὥς εἶχε Αἰσχίνης ὁ Νόθωνος, ἐὼν τῶν Ἑρετριέων τὰ πρῶτα, φράζει τοῖσι ἤκουσι Ἀθηναίων πάντα τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα, προσεδέετό τε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι σφέας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην, ἵνα μὴ προσαπόλονται. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα Αἰσχίνῃ συμβουλεύσαντι πείθονται.

101

¹ καὶ οὗτοι μὲν διαβάντες ἐς Ὠρωπὸν ἔσωζον σφέας αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πλέοντες κατέσχον τὰς νέας τῆς Ἑρετρικῆς χώρας κατὰ Τέμενος καὶ Χοιρέας καὶ Αἰγίλεια, κατασχόντες δὲ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία αὐτίκα ἵππους τε ἐξεβάλλοντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς προσοισόμενοι τοῖσι ἐχθροῖσι. ² οἱ δὲ Ἑρετριεῖς ἐπεξελθεῖν μὲν καὶ μαχέσασθαι οὐκ ἐποιεῦντο βουλήν, εἴ πως δὲ διαφυλάττειν τὰ τεῖχεα, τούτου σφι πέρι ἔμελε, ἐπεῖτε ἐνῖκα μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν. προσβολῆς δὲ γινομένης καρτερῆς πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἔπιπτον ἐπὶ ἕξ

ἡμέρας πολλοὶ μὲν ἀμφοτέρων· τῇ δὲ ἑβδόμῃ Εὐφορβὸς τε ὁ Ἀλκιμάχου καὶ Φίλαγρος ὁ Κυνέου ἄνδρες τῶν ἀστῶν δόκιμοι προδιδούσι τοῖσι Πέρσησι. 3 οἱ δὲ ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἱρὰ συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν, ἀποτινύμενοι τῶν ἐν Σάρδισι κατακαυθέντων ἱρῶν, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠνδραποδίσαντο κατὰ τὰς Δαρείου ἐντολάς.

102

1 χειρωσάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑρέτριαν καὶ ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἔπλεον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν, κατέργοντές τε πολλὸν καὶ δοκέοντες ταῦτά τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσειν τὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἑρετριάς ἐποίησαν. καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαραθῶν ἐπιτηδεότατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεῦσαι καὶ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Ἑρετρίης, ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγέετο Ἰππίας ὁ Πεισιστράτου.

103

1 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὥς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, ἐβοήθεον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα. ἦγον δὲ σφέας στρατηγοὶ δέκα, τῶν ὁ δέκατος ἦν Μιλτιάδης· τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Κίμωνα τὸν Στησαγόρεω κατέλαβε φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Πεισίστρατον τὸν Ἱπποκράτεος. 2 καὶ αὐτῷ φεύγοντι Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀνελέσθαι τεθρίπῳ συνέβη, καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νίκην ἀνελόμενόν μιν τῷτὸ ἐξενείκασθαι τῷ ὁμομητρίῳ ἀδελφεῷ Μιλτιάδῃ· μετὰ δὲ τῇ ὑστέρῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἵπποισι νικῶν παραδιδόι Πεισιστράτῳ ἀνακηρυχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν νίκην παρὲς τούτῳ κατῆλθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ ὑπόσπονδος. 3 καὶ μιν ἀνελόμενον τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἵπποισι ἄλλην Ὀλυμπιάδα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων, οὐκέτι περιέοντος αὐτοῦ Πεισιστράτου· κτείνουσι δὲ οὗτοί μιν κατὰ τὸ πρυτανήιον νυκτὸς ὑπείσαντες ἄνδρας. τέθαιπαι δὲ Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος, πέρην τῆς διὰ Κοίλης καλεομένης ὁδοῦ· καταντίον δ' αὐτοῦ αἱ ἵπποι τεθάφαι αὐταὶ αἱ τρεῖς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἀνελόμεναι. 4 ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ἵπποι ἤδη τῷτὸ τοῦτο Εὐαγόρεω Λάκωνος, πλέω δὲ τουτέων οὐδαμαί. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρεσβύτερος τῶν παίδων τῷ Κίμωνι Στησαγόρης ἦν τηνικαῦτα παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ Μιλτιάδῃ τρεφόμενος ἐν τῇ Χερσονήσῳ, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος παρ' αὐτῷ Κίμωνι ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι, οὖνομα ἔχων ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς Χερσονήσου Μιλτιάδεω Μιλτιάδης.

1 οὗτος δὴ ὢν τότε ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἦκων ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου καὶ ἐκπεφυγὼς διπλόον θάνατον ἐστρατήγεε Ἀθηναίων. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπιδιώξαντες μέχρι Ἴμβρου περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιεῦντο λαβεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγαγεῖν παρὰ βασιλέα· 2 ἅμα δὲ ἐκφυγόντα τε τούτους καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ δοκεόντά τε εἶναι ἐν σωτηρίῃ ἤδη, τὸ ἐνθευτέν μιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑποδεξάμενοι ὑπὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος τῆς ἐν Χερσονήσῳ. ἀποφυγὼν δὲ καὶ τούτους στρατηγὸς οὕτω Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη, αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.

1 καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐόντες ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀποπέμπουσι ἐς Σπάρτην κήρυκα Φειδιππίδην Ἀθηναῖον μὲν ἄνδρα, ἄλλως δὲ ἡμεροδρόμην τε καὶ τοῦτο μελετῶντα· τῷ δὴ, ὡς αὐτὸς τε ἔλεγε Φειδιππίδης καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἀπήγγελλε, περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Τεγέης ὁ Πᾶν περιπίπτει· 2 βῶσαντα δὲ τὸ οὔνομα τοῦ Φειδιππίδew τὸν Πᾶνα Ἀθηναίοισι κελεῦσαι ἀπαγγεῖλαι, δι' ὃ τι ἐωυτοῦ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμελείην ποιεῦνται ἐόντος εὐνόου Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ πολλαχῇ γενομένου σφι ἤδη χρησίμου, τὰ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐσομένου. 3 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, καταστάντων σφι εὖ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων, πιστεύσαντες εἶναι ἀληθέα ἰδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει Πανὸς ἱρόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀγγελίης θυσίῃσι ἐπετείοισι καὶ λαμπάδι ἱλάσκονται.

1 τότε δὲ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Φειδιππίδης οὗτος, ὅτε πέρ οἱ ἔφη καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα φανῆναι, δευτεραῖος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἄστεος ἦν ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔλεγε 2 “ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμέων δέονται σφίσι βοηθῆσαι καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν πόλιν ἀρχαιοτάτην ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι δουλοσύνη περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων· καὶ γὰρ νῦν Ἑρέτριά τε ἡνδραπόδισται καὶ πόλις λογίμῃ ἢ Ἑλλάς γέγονε ἀσθενεστέρα”. 3 ὁ μὲν δὴ σφι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἀπήγγελλε, τοῖσι δὲ ἔαδε μὲν βοηθέειν Ἀθηναίοισι, ἀδύνατα δὲ σφι ἦν τὸ παραυτίκα ποιέειν ταῦτα, οὐ βουλομένοισι λύειν τὸν νόμον· ἦν γὰρ ἵσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη, εἰνάτη δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν μὴ οὐ πλήρους ἐόντος τοῦ

1 οὗτοι μὲν νυν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον. τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι κατηγέετο Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα, τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς ὅσιν ἰδὼν τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἰππίης τῇ μητρὶ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ συνευνηθῆναι. 2 συνεβάλετο ὧν ἐκ τοῦ ὀνείρου κατελθὼν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀνασωσάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν τελευτήσῃ ἐν τῇ ἐωυτοῦ γηραιός. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ὄψιος συνεβάλετο ταῦτα, τότε δὲ κατηγεόμενος τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ ἐξ Ἑρετρίης ἀπέβησε ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν Στυρέων, καλεομένην δὲ Αἰγλείην, τοῦτο δὲ καταγομένας ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὰς νέας ὄρμιζε οὗτος, ἐκβάντας τε ἐς γῆν τοὺς βαρβάρους διέτασσε. 3 καὶ οἱ ταῦτα διέποντι ἐπῆλθε πταρεῖν τε καὶ βῆξαι μεζόνως ἢ ὡς ἐώθεε· οἷα δὲ οἱ πρεσβυτέρω ἐόντι τῶν ὀδόντων οἱ πλεῦνες ἐσεῖοντο· τούτων ὧν ἓνα τῶν ὀδόντων ἐκβάλλει ὑπὸ βίης βήξας· ἐκπεσόντος δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον αὐτοῦ ἐποιέετο σπουδὴν πολλὴν ἐξυρεῖν. 4 ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἐφαίνετό οἱ ὁ ὀδὼν, ἀναστενάζας εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παραστάτας “ἡ γῆ ἥδε οὐκ ἡμετέρη ἐστί, οὐδὲ μιν δυνησόμεθα ὑποχειρίην ποιήσασθαι· ὁκόσον δέ τι μοι μέρος μετῆν, ὁ ὀδὼν μετέχει”.

1 Ἰππίης μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ τὴν ὄσιν συνεβάλετο ἐξεληλυθῆναι. Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ τεταγμένοισι ἐν τεμένει Ἑρακλέος ἐπῆλθον βοηθέοντες Πλαταιέες πανδημεῖ. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐδεδώκεσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι οἱ Πλαταιέες, καὶ πόνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι συχνοὺς ἤδη ἀναιρέατο· ἔδοσαν δὲ ὧδε. 2 πιεζέμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων οἱ Πλαταιέες ἐδίδοσαν πρῶτα παρατυχοῦσι Κλεομένει τε τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι σφέας αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ οὐ δεκόμενοι ἔλεγόν σφι τάδε. “ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐκαστέρω τε οἰκόμεν, καὶ ὑμῖν τοιήδε τις γίνοιτ’ ἂν ἐπικουρίῃ ψυχρῇ· φθαίητε γὰρ ἂν πολλάκις ἔξανδραποδισθέντες ἢ τινα πυθέσθαι ἡμέων. 3 συμβουλευόμεν δὲ ὑμῖν δοῦναι ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι, πλησιοχώροισι τε ἀνδράσι καὶ τιμωρέειν ἐοῦσι οὐ κακοῖσι”. ταῦτα συνεβούλευον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ κατὰ τὴν εὐνοίην οὕτω τῶν Πλαταιέων ὥς βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔχειν πόνους συνεστεῶτας Βοιωτοῖσι. 4 Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν νυν Πλαταιεῦσι ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἠπίστησαν, ἀλλ’

Ἀθηναίων ἰρὰ ποιούντων τοῖσι δυώδεκα θεοῖσι ἰκέται ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτούς. Θηβαῖοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Πλαταιέας, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ σφι ἐβοήθηον. 5 μελλόντων δὲ συνάπτειν μάχην Κορίνθιοι οὐ περιεῖδον, παρατυχόντες δὲ καὶ καταλλάξαντες ἐπιτρεψάντων ἀμφοτέρων οὖρισαν τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τοῖσιδε, ἔαν Θηβαίους Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν. Κορίνθιοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γνόντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἀπιοῦσι ἐπεθήκαντο Βοιωτοί, ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ ἐσσώθησαν τῇ μάχῃ. 6 ὑπερβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔθηκαν Πλαταιεῦσι εἶναι οὖρους, τούτους ὑπερβάντες τὸν Ἀσωπὸν αὐτὸν ἐποίησαντο οὖρον Θηβαίοισι πρὸς Πλαταιέας εἶναι καὶ Ὑσιás. ἔδοσαν μὲν δὴ οἱ Πλαταιέες σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ, ἦκον δὲ τότε ἐς Μαραθῶνα βοηθέοντες.

109

1 τοῖσι δὲ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖσι ἐγίνοντο δίχα αἱ γνῶμαι, τῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐόντων συμβαλεῖν (ὀλίγους γὰρ εἶναι στρατιῇ τῇ Μήδων συμβάλλειν) τῶν δὲ καὶ Μιλτιάδῳ κελεύοντων. 2 ὥς δὲ δίχα τε ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἐνίκα ἢ χεῖρων τῶν γνωμέων, ἐνθαῦτα, ἦν γὰρ ἐνδέκατος ψηφιδοφόρος ὁ τῷ κυάμῳ λαχὼν Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρχεῖν (τὸ παλαιὸν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁμόψηφον τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐποιεῦντο τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι), ἦν δὲ τότε πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος Αφιδναῖος· πρὸς τοῦτον ἐλθὼν Μιλτιάδης ἔλεγε τάδε. 3 “ἐν σοὶ νῦν Καλλίμαχε ἐστὶ ἢ καταδουλώσαι Ἀθήνας ἢ ἐλευθέρας ποιήσαντα μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον οἷα οὐδὲ Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων λείπουσι. νῦν γὰρ δὴ ἐξ οὗ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς κίνδυνον ἤκουσι μέγιστον, καὶ ἦν μὲν γε ὑποκύψωσι τοῖσι Μήδοισι, δέδοκται τὰ πείσονται παραδεδομένοι Ἰππῖτῃ, ἦν δὲ περιγένηται αὕτη ἢ πόλις, οἷη τε ἐστὶ πρώτη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολιῶν γενέσθαι. 4 κῶς ὦν δὴ ταῦτα οἷά τε ἐστὶ γενέσθαι, καὶ κῶς ἐς σέ τοι τούτων ἀνήκει τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ κῦρος ἔχειν, νῦν ἔρχομαι φράσω. ἡμέων τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐόντων δέκα δίχα γίνονται αἱ γνῶμαι, τῶν μὲν κελευόντων τῶν δὲ οὐ συμβάλλειν. 5 ἦν μὲν νυν μὴ συμβάλωμεν, ἔλπομαι τινὰ στάσιν μεγάλην διασεῖσειν ἐμπεσοῦσαν τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα ὥστε μηδίσαι· ἦν δὲ συμβάλωμεν πρὶν τι καὶ σαθρὸν Ἀθηναίων μετεξετέροισι ἐγγενέσθαι, θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων οἱοί τε

εἰμὲν περιγενέσθαι τῇ συμβολῇ. 6 ταῦτα ὧν πάντα ἐς σέ νῦν τείνει καὶ ἐκ σέο ἥρτηται. ἦν γὰρ σὺ γνώμη τῇ ἐμῇ προσθῇ, ἔστι τοι πατρίς τε ἐλευθέρη καὶ πόλις πρώτη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι· ἦν δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποσπευδόντων τὴν συμβολὴν ἔλη, ὑπάρξει τοι τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία”.

110

¹ ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μιλτιάδης προσκτᾷται τὸν Καλλίμαχον· προσγενομένης δὲ τοῦ πολεμάρχου τῆς γνώμης ἐκεκύρωτο συμβάλλειν. μετὰ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε συμβάλλειν, ὥς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἐγένετο πρυτανή τῆς ἡμέρης, Μιλτιάδῃ παρεδίδουσαν· ὁ δὲ δεκόμενος οὔτε κω συμβολὴν ἐποιέετο, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῦ πρυτανήν ἐγένετο.

111

¹ ὥς δὲ ἐς ἐκεῖνον περιῆλθε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὥς συμβαλέοντες· τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρεος ἡγέετο ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τότε εἶχε οὕτω τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, τὸν πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας τὸ δεξιόν· ἡγεομένου δὲ τούτου ἐξεδέκοντο ὥς ἀριθμέοντο αἱ φυλαὶ ἐχόμεναι ἀλληλέων, τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας Πλαταιέες. ² ἀπὸ ταύτης [γάρ] σφι τῆς μάχης, Ἀθηναίων θυσίας ἀναγόντων ἐς τὰς πανηγύριαις τὰς ἐν τῇσι πεντετηρίσι γινομένας, κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Πλαταιεῦσι. ³ τότε δὲ τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι ἐγένετο τοιόνδε τι· τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξισούμενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τάξιαις ὀλίγαις, καὶ ταύτῃ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἑρρότωτο πλήθει.

112

¹ ὥς δὲ σφι διετέτακτο καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγένετο καλά, ἐνθαῦτα ὥς ἀπειθήσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δρόμῳ ἵεντο ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἦσαν δὲ στάδιοι οὐκ ἐλάσσονες τὸ μεταίχμιον αὐτῶν ἢ ὀκτώ. ² οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὀρέοντες δρόμῳ ἐπιόντας παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς δεξόμενοι, μανίην τε τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρίην, ὀρέοντες αὐτοὺς ὀλίγους καὶ τούτους δρόμῳ ἐπειγομένους, οὔτε ἵππου ὑπαρχούσης

σφι οὔτε τοξευμάτων. 3 ταῦτα μὲν νυν οἱ βάρβαροι κατεΐκαζον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἄθροοι προσέμιζαν τοῖσι βαρβάροισι, ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν δρόμῳ ἐς πολεμίους ἐχρήσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνέσχοντο ἐσθῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ὀρέοντες καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ταύτην ἐσθημένους· τέως δὲ ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι καὶ τὸ οὔνομα τὸ Μήδων φόβος ἀκοῦσαι.

113

1 μαχομένων δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι χρόνος ἐγένετο πολλός, καὶ τὸ μὲν μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, τῇ Πέρσῃ τε αὐτοὶ καὶ Σάκῃ ἐτετάχατο· κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ῥήξαντες ἐδίωκον ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ Πλαταιεῖς· 2 νικῶντες δὲ τὸ μὲν τετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων φεύγειν ἔων, τοῖσι δὲ τὸ μέσον ῥήξας αὐτῶν συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρεα ἀμφοτέρω ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. φεύγουσι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι εἶποντο κόπτοντες, ἐς ὃ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπικόμενοι πῦρ τε αἶτεον καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεῶν.

114

1 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ πολέμαρχος διαφθείρεται, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγαθός, ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε τῶν στρατηγῶν Στησίλεως ὁ Θρασύλεω· τοῦτο δὲ Κυνέγειρος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος ἐνθαῦτα ἐπιλαμβανόμενος τῶν ἀφλάστων νεός, τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεῖς πελέκει πίπτει, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναίων πολλοὶ τε καὶ ὀνομαστοί.

115

1 ἐπτα μὲν δὴ τῶν νεῶν ἐπεκράτησαν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε Ἀθηναῖοι· τῇσι δὲ λοιπῇσι οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανακρουσάμενοι, καὶ ἀναλαβόντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἐν τῇ ἔλιπον τὰ ἐξ Ἑρετρίας ἀνδράποδα, περιέπλεον Σούνιον βουλόμενοι φθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. αἰτίην δὲ ἔσχε ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι ἐξ Ἀλκμεωνιδέων μηχανῆς αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἐπινοηθῆναι· τούτους γὰρ συνθεμένους τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα ἐοῦσι ἤδη ἐν τῇσι νηυσί.

116

1 οὗτοι μὲν δὴ περιέπλεον Σούνιον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὥς ποδῶν εἶχον τάχιστα ἐβοήθεον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ ἔφθησάν τε ἀπικόμενοι πρὶν ἢ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἥκειν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπικόμενοι ἐξ Ἡρακλείου

τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἐν ἄλλῳ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοσάργει. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῇσι νηυσὶ ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φαλήρου, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπίνειον τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀνακωχεύσαντες τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

117

1 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ ἀπέθανον τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ δύο. ἔπεσον μὲν ἀμφοτέρων τοσοῦτοι. 2 συνήνεικε δὲ αὐτόθι θῶμα γενέσθαι τοιόνδε, Ἀθηναῖον ἄνδρα Ἐπίζηλον τὸν Κουφαγόρεω ἐν τῇ συστάσει μαχόμενόν τε καὶ ἄνδρα γινόμενον ἀγαθὸν τῶν ὁμμάτων στερηθῆναι οὔτε πληγέντα οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε βληθέντα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζῆς διατελέειν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔοντα τυφλόν. 3 λέγειν δὲ αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ πάθεος ἤκουσα τοιόνδε τινὰ λόγον, ἄνδρα οἱ δοκέειν ὀπλίτην ἀντιστῆναι μέγαν, τοῦ τὸ γένειον τὴν ἀσπίδα πᾶσαν σκιάζειν· τὸ δὲ φᾶσμα τοῦτο ἑωυτὸν μὲν παρεξελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ παραστάτην ἀποκτεῖναι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐπίζηλον ἐπυθόμην λέγειν.

118

1 Δᾶτις δὲ πορευόμενος ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο ἐν Μυκόνῳ, εἶδε ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ. καὶ ἥτις μὲν ἦν ἡ ὄψις, οὐ λέγεται· ὁ δέ, ὥς ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐπέλαμψε, ζήτησιν ἐποιέετο τῶν νεῶν, εὐρῶν δὲ ἐν νηὶ Φοινίσσῃ ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος κεχρυσωμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν σεσυλημένον εἶη, πυθόμενος δὲ ἐξ οὗ ἦν ἱροῦ, ἔπλεε τῇ ἑωυτοῦ νηὶ ἐς Δῆλον· 2 καὶ ἀπίκατο γὰρ τηνικαῦτα οἱ Δῆλιοι ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν νῆσον, κατατίθεται τε ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἐντέλλεται τοῖσι Δηλίοισι ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐς Δῆλιον τὸ Θηβαίων· τὸ δ' ἔστι ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ Χαλκίδος καταντίον. 3 Δᾶτις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος ἀπέπλεε, τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα τοῦτον Δῆλιοι οὐκ ἀπήγαγον, ἀλλὰ μιν δι' ἐτέων εἴκοσι Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐκομίσαντο ἐπὶ Δῆλιον.

119

1 τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἀνδραποδισμένους Δᾶτις τε καὶ Ἀρταφρένης, ὥς προσέσχον πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίην πλέοντες, ἀνήγαγον ἐς Σοῦσα. βασιλεὺς δὲ Δαρεῖος, πρὶν μὲν αἰχμαλώτους γενέσθαι τοὺς

Ἑρετριέας, ἐνεῖχέ σφι δεινὸν χόλον, οἷα ἀρξάντων ἀδικίης προτέρων τῶν Ἑρετριέων· 2 ἐπεῖτε δὲ εἶδε σφέας ἀπαχθέντας παρ' ἐωυτὸν καὶ ἐωυτῷ ὑποχειρίους ἐόντας, ἐποίησε κακὸν ἄλλο οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ σφέας τῆς Κισσίας χώρας κατοίκησε ἐν σταθμῷ ἐωυτοῦ τῷ οὔνομα ἐστὶ Ἀρδέρικκα, ἀπὸ μὲν Σούσων δέκα καὶ διηκοσίους σταδίους ἀπέχοντι, τεσσεράκοντα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος τὸ παρέχεται τριφασίας ιδέας· καὶ γὰρ ἄσφαλον καὶ ἄλας καὶ ἔλαιον ἀρύσσονται ἐξ αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· 3 ἀντλέεται μὲν κηλωνήῳ, ἀντὶ δὲ γαυλοῦ ἥμισυ ἀσκοῦ οἱ προσδίδεται· ὑποτύπας δὲ τούτῳ ἀντλέει καὶ ἔπειτα ἐγγέει ἐς δεξαμενὴν· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς ἄλλο διαχεόμενον τρέπεται τριφασίας ὁδοῦς. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἄσφαλος καὶ οἱ ἄλας πηγνυνται παραυτίκα· τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον οἱ Πέρσαι καλέουσι τοῦτο ῥαδινάκην, ἔστι δὲ μέλαν καὶ ὀδυμὴν παρεχόμενον βαρέαν. 4 ἐνθαῦτα τοὺς Ἑρετριέας κατοίκησε βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, οἱ καὶ μέχρι ἐμέο εἶχον τὴν χώραν ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἀρχαίην γλῶσσαν. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑρετριέας ἔσχε οὕτω.

120

1 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἦκον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας δισχιλίοι μετὰ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἔχοντες σπουδὴν πολλὴν καταλαβεῖν, οὕτω ὥστε τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. ὕστεροι δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τῆς συμβολῆς ἰμείροντο ὅμως θεήσασθαι τοὺς Μήδους· ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα ἐθεήσαντο. μετὰ δὲ αἰνέοντες Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω.

121

1 θῶμα δέ μοι καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον Ἀλκμεωνίδας ἂν κοτε ἀναδέξαι Πέρσῃσι ἐκ συνθήματος ἀσπίδα, βουλομένους ὑπὸ βαρβάροισί τε εἶναι Ἀθηναίους καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰππίῃ· οἵτινες μᾶλλον ἢ ὁμοίως Καλλίῃ τῷ Φαινίππῳ, Ἰππονίκῳ δὲ πατρί, φαίνονται μισοτύραννοι ἐόντες. 2 Καλλίης τε γὰρ μῦθος Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων ἐτόλμα, ὅκως Πεισίστρατος ἐκπέσοι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ κηρυσσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου ὠνέεσθαι, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἔχιστα ἐς αὐτὸν πάντα ἐμχανᾶτο.

122

1 [Καλλίῳ δὲ τούτου ἄξιον πολλαχοῦ μνήμην ἐστὶ πάντα τινὰ

ἔχειν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὰ προλελεγμένα, ὡς ἀνὴρ ἄκρος ἐλευθερῶν τὴν πατρίδα· τοῦτο δὲ τὰ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἐποίησε· ἵππῳ νικήσας, τεθρίπῳ δὲ δεύτερος γενόμενος, Πύθια δὲ πρότερον ἀνελόμενος, ἐφανερῶθη ἕς τοὺς Ἑλληνας πάντας δαπάνησι μεγίστησι. 2 τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρας εὐούσας τρεῖς οἷός τις ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐγίνοντο γάμου ὥραϊαι, ἔδωκέ σφι δωρεὴν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην ἐκείνησί τε ἐχαρίσατο· ἐκ γὰρ πάντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἐκάστη ἐθέλοι ἄνδρα ἑωυτῇ ἐκλέξασθαι, ἔδωκε τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρί.]

123

1 καὶ οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ὁμοίως ἢ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν τούτου ἦσαν μισοτύραννοι. θῶμα ὢν μοι καὶ οὐ προσίεμαι τὴν διαβολὴν τούτους γε ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα, οἵτινες ἔφευγόν τε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τοὺς τυράννους, ἐκ μηχανῆς τε τῆς τούτων ἐξέλιπον Πεισιστρατίδαι τὴν τυραννίδα, 2 καὶ οὕτω τὰς Ἀθήνας οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐλευθερώσαντες πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ περ Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξηγρίωσαν τοὺς ὑπολοίπους Πεισιστρατιδέων Ἱππαρχον ἀποκτείναντες, οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον ἔπαυσαν τοὺς λοιποὺς τυραννεύοντας· Ἀλκμεωνίδαι δὲ ἐμφανέως ἠλευθέρωσαν, εἰ δὴ οὗτοί γε ἀληθέως ἦσαν οἱ τὴν Πυθίην ἀναπείσαντες προσημαίνειν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὥς μοι πρότερον δεδήλωται.

124

1 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως τι ἐπιμεμφόμενοι Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ προεδίδοσαν τὴν πατρίδα. οὐ μὲν ὢν ἦσαν σφέων ἄλλοι δοκιμώτεροι ἐν γε Ἀθηναίοισι ἄνδρες οὐδ' οἱ μᾶλλον ἐτετιμέατο. 2 οὕτω οὐδὲ λόγος αἰρέει ἀναδεχθῆναι ἕκ γε ἂν τούτων ἀσπίδα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ. ἀνεδέχθη μὲν γὰρ ἀσπίς, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλως εἰπεῖν· ἐγένετο γάρ· ὃς μέντοι ἦν ὁ ἀναδέξας, οὐκ ἔχω προσωτέρῳ εἰπεῖν τούτων.

125

1 οἱ δὲ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ἦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν λαμπροὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἀθήνῃσι, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος καὶ αὐτὶς Μεγακλέος ἐγένοντο καὶ κάρτα λαμπροί. 2 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκμέων ὁ Μεγακλέος τοῖσι ἐκ Σαρδίων Λυδοῖσι παρὰ Κροίσου ἀπικνεομένοις ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον

τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι συμπρήκτωρ τε ἐγένετο καὶ συνελάμβανε προθύμως, καὶ μιν Κροῖσος πυθόμενος τῶν Λυδῶν τῶν ἐς τὰ χρηστήρια φοιτεόντων ἐωυτὸν εὖ ποιεῖν μεταπέμπεται ἐς Σάρδις, ἀπικόμενον δὲ δωρέεται χρυσῷ τὸν ἂν δύνηται τῷ ἐωυτοῦ σώματι ἐξενεῖκασθαι ἐσάπαξ. ³ ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμέων πρὸς τὴν δωρεὴν ἐοῦσαν τοιαύτην τοιάδε ἐπιτηδεύσας προσέφερε· ἐνδὺς κιθῶνα μέγαν καὶ κόλπον βαθὺν καταλιπόμενος τοῦ κιθῶνος, κοθόρνους τε τοὺς εὔρισκε εὐρυτάτους ἐόντας ὑποδησάμενος, ἥτε ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν ἐς τὸν οἱ κατηγέοντο. ⁴ ἐσπεσὼν δὲ ἐς σωρὸν ψήγματος πρῶτα μὲν παρέσαξε παρὰ τὰς κνήμας τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὅσον ἐχώρεον οἱ κόθορνοι, μετὰ δὲ τὸν κόλπον πάντα πλησάμενος τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐς τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς διαπάσας τοῦ ψήγματος καὶ ἄλλο λαβὼν ἐς τὸ στόμα, ἐξήιε ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἔλκων μὲν μόγις τοὺς κοθόρνους, παντὶ δὲ τεῷ οἰκῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ· τοῦ τό τε στόμα ἐβέβυστο καὶ πάντα ἐξώγκωτο. ⁵ ἰδόντα δὲ τὸν Κροῖσον γέλως ἐσῆλθε, καὶ οἱ πάντα τε ἐκεῖνα διδοῖ καὶ πρὸς ἕτερα δωρέεται οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἐκείνων. οὕτω μὲν ἐπλούτησε ἡ οἰκίη αὕτη μεγάλως, καὶ ὁ Ἀλκμέων οὗτος οὕτω τεθριπποτροφήσας Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀναιρέεται.

126

¹ μετὰ δὲ γενεῇ δευτέρῃ ὕστερον Κλεισθένης αὐτὴν ὁ Σικυώνιος τύραννος ἐξήειρε, ὥστε πολλῷ ὀνομαστοτέραν γενέσθαι ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ἢ πρότερον ἦν. Κλεισθέней γὰρ τῷ Ἀριστωνόμου τοῦ Μύρωνος τοῦ Ἀνδρέω γίνεται θυγάτηρ τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀγαρίστη. ταύτην ἠθέλησε, Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων ἐξευρὼν τὸν ἄριστον, τούτῳ γυναῖκα προσθεῖναι. ² Ὀλυμπίων ὧν ἐόντων καὶ νικῶν ἐν αὐτοῖσι τεθρίπῳ ὁ Κλεισθένης κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο, ὅστις Ἑλλήνων ἐωυτὸν ἀξιοῖ Κλεισθέneos γαμβρὸν γενέσθαι, ἥκειν ἐς ἐξηκοστὴν ἡμέρην ἢ καὶ πρότερον ἐς Σικυῶνα, ὡς κυρώσοντος Κλεισθέneos τὸν γάμον ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξηκοστῆς ἀρξαμένου ἡμέρης. ³ ἐνθαῦτα Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι σφίσι τε αὐτοῖσι ἦσαν καὶ πάτρῃ ἐξωγκωμένοι, ἐφοίτεον μνηστῆρες· τοῖσι Κλεισθένης καὶ δρόμον καὶ παλαίστην ποιησάμενος ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ εἶχε.

127

¹ ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰταλῆς ἦλθε Σμινδυρίδης ὁ Ἱπποκράτεος Συβαρίτης, ὃς ἐπὶ πλείστον δὴ χλιδῆς εἷς ἀνὴρ ἀπύκετο (ἡ δὲ Σύβαρις ἤκμαζε

τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον μάλιστα), καὶ Σιρίτης Δάμασος Ἀμύριος τοῦ σοφοῦ λεγομένου παῖς. 2 οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας ἦλθον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου Ἀμφίμνηστος Ἐπιστρόφου Ἐπιδάμνιος· οὗτος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου. Αἰτωλὸς δὲ ἦλθε Τιτόρμου τοῦ ὑπερφύντος τε Ἑλλήνας ἰσχύι καὶ φηγόντος ἀνθρώπους ἐς τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τῆς Αἰτωλίδος χώρας, τούτου τοῦ Τιτόρμου ἀδελφεὸς Μάλης. 3 ἀπὸ δὲ Πελοποννήσου Φεῖδωνος τοῦ Ἀργείων τυράννου παῖς Λεωκῆδης, Φεῖδωνος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα ποιήσαντος Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ ὑβρίσαντος μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων πάντων, ὃς ἐξαναστήσας τοὺς Ἥλείων ἀγωνοθέτας αὐτὸς τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τούτου τε δὴ παῖς καὶ Ἀμιάντος Λυκούργου Ἀρκὰς ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος, καὶ Ἀζὴν ἐκ Παίου πόλιος Λαφάνης Εὐφορίωνος τοῦ δεξαμένου τε, ὥς λόγος ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ λέγεται, τοὺς Διοσκούρους οἰκίοισι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ξεινοδοκέοντος πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ Ἥλειος Ὀνόμαστος Ἀγαίου. 4 οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦλθον, ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηνέων ἀπίκοντο Μεγακλῆς τε ὁ Ἀλκμέωνος τούτου τοῦ παρὰ Κροῖσον ἀπικομένου, καὶ ἄλλος Ἴπποκλείδης Τισάνδρου, πλούτῳ καὶ εἰδεῖ προφέρων Ἀθηναίων. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑρετρίης ἀνθεύσης τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λυσανίης· οὗτος δὲ ἀπ' Εὐβοίης μούνης. ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίας ἦλθε τῶν Σκοπαδέων Διακτορίδης Κρανώνιος, ἐκ δὲ Μολοσσῶν Ἄλκων.

128

1 τοσοῦτοι μὲν ἐγένοντο οἱ μνηστήρες. ἀπικομένων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέρην, ὁ Κλεισθένης πρῶτα μὲν τὰς πάτρας τε αὐτῶν ἀνεπύθετο καὶ γένος ἐκάστου, μετὰ δὲ κατέχων ἐνιαυτὸν διεπειρᾶτο αὐτῶν τῆς τε ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ παιδευσίος τε καὶ τρόπου, καὶ ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ἰὼν ἐς συνουσίην καὶ συνάπασι, καὶ ἐς γυμνάσιά τε ἐξαγινέων ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν νεώτεροι, καὶ τό γε μέγιστον, ἐν τῇ συνεστῇ διεπειρᾶτο· ὅσον γὰρ κατεῖχε χρόνον αὐτοῦς, τοῦτον πάντα ἐποίεε καὶ ἅμα ἐξεΐνιζε μεγαλοπρεπέως. 2 καὶ δὴ κου μάλιστα τῶν μνηστῆρων ἠρέσκοντο οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων ἀπιγμένοι, καὶ τούτων μᾶλλον Ἴπποκλείδης ὁ Τισάνδρου καὶ κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην ἐκρίνετο καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν τοῖσι ἐν Κορίνθῳ Κυψελίδῃσι ἦν προσήκων.

129

1 ὥς δὲ ἡ κυρίῃ ἐγένετο τῶν ἡμερέων τῆς τε κατακλίσιος τοῦ

γάμου καὶ ἐκφάσιος αὐτοῦ Κλεισθένης τὸν κρίνοι ἐκ πάντων, θύσας βοῦς ἑκατὸν ὁ Κλεισθένης εὐώχεε αὐτούς τε τοὺς μνηστῆρας καὶ Σικυωνίους πάντας. 2 ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγίνοντο, οἱ μνηστῆρες ἔριν εἶχον ἀμφὶ τε μουσικῇ καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον. προϊούσης δὲ τῆς πόσιος κατέχων πολλὸν τοὺς ἄλλους ὁ Ἴπποκλείδης ἐκέλευσέ οἱ τὸν αὐλητὴν αὐλῆσαι ἐμμελεῖν, πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ αὐλητέω ὀρχήσατο. καὶ κως ἑωυτῷ μὲν ἀρεστῶς ὀρχέετο, ὁ Κλεισθένης δὲ ὀρέων ὅλον τὸ πρῆγμα ὑπώπτευε. 3 μετὰ δὲ ἐπισχὼν ὁ Ἴπποκλείδης χρόνον ἐκέλευσε τινὰ τράπεζαν ἐσενεῖκαι, ἐσελθούσης δὲ τῆς τραπέζης πρῶτα μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὀρχήσατο Λακωνικὰ σχημάτια, μετὰ δὲ ἄλλα Ἀττικά, τὸ τρίτον δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐρείσας ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τοῖσι σκέλεσι ἐχειρονόμησε. 4 Κλεισθένης δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ τὰ δεύτερα ὀρχεομένου, ἀποστυγέων γαμβρὸν ἄν οἱ ἔτι γενέσθαι Ἴπποκλείδεα διὰ τὴν τε ὀρχησιν καὶ τὴν ἀναιδεῖν, κατεῖχε ἑωυτόν, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐκραγῆναι ἐς αὐτόν· ὥς δὲ εἶδε τοῖσι σκέλεσι χειρονομήσαντα, οὐκέτι κατέχειν δυνάμενος εἶπε “ὦ παῖ Τισάνδρου, ἀπορχήσαό γε μὲν τὸν γάμον”. ὁ δὲ Ἴπποκλείδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε “οὐ φροντὶς Ἴπποκλείδῃ”. ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται.

130

1 Κλεισθένης δὲ σιγὴν ποιησάμενος ἔλεξε ἐς μέσον τάδε. “ἄνδρες παιδὸς τῆς ἐμῆς μνηστῆρες, ἐγὼ καὶ πάντας ὑμέας ἐπαινέω καὶ πᾶσι ὑμῖν, εἰ οἶόν τε εἴη, χαριζοίμην ἄν, μήτ' ἓνα ὑμέων ἐξαίρετον ἀποκρίνων μήτε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποδοκιμάζων. 2 ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἶά τε ἐστὶ μῆς πέρι παρθένου βουλευόντα πᾶσι κατὰ νόον ποιέειν, τοῖσι μὲν ὑμέων ἀπελαυνομένοισι τοῦδε τοῦ γάμου τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκάστῳ δωρεὴν δίδωμι τῆς ἀξιώσιος εἵνεκα τῆς ἐξ ἐμεῦ γῆμαι καὶ τῆς ἐξ οἴκου ἀποδημίας, τῷ δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος Μεγακλείῃ ἐγγυῶ παῖδα τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀγαρίστην νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίων”. φαμένου δὲ ἐγγυᾶσθαι Μεγακλέος ἐκεκύρωτο ὁ γάμος Κλεισθένεϊ.

131

1 ἀμφὶ μὲν κρίσιος τῶν μνηστήρων τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο καὶ οὕτω Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ἐβώσθησαν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. τούτων δὲ συνοικησάντων γίνεται Κλεισθένης τε ὁ τὰς φυλάς καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίην Ἀθηναίοισι καταστήσας, ἔχων τὸ οὖνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ μητροπάτορος τοῦ Σικυωνίου· 2 οὗτός τε δὴ γίνεται Μεγακλείῃ καὶ

Ἴπποκράτης, ἐκ δὲ Ἴπποκράτεος Μεγακλῆς τε ἄλλος καὶ Ἀγαρίστη ἄλλη ἀπὸ τῆς Κλεισθένεος Ἀγαρίστης ἔχουσα τὸ οὔνομα· ἡ συνοικήσασά τε Ξανθίππῳ τῷ Ἀρίφρονος καὶ ἔγκυος ἐοῦσα εἶδε ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, ἐδόκεε δὲ λέοντα τεκεῖν, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τίκτει Περικλέα Ξανθίππῳ.

132

¹ μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι τρῶμα γενόμενον Μιλτιάδης, καὶ πρότερον εὐδοκιμῶν παρὰ Ἀθηναίοισι, τότε μᾶλλον αὖξετο. αἰτήσας δὲ νέας ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ στρατιὴν τε καὶ χρήματα Ἀθηναίους, οὐ φράσας σφι ἐπ' ἣν ἐπιστρατεύσεται χώραν, ἀλλὰ φὰς αὐτοὺς καταπλουτιεῖν ἣν οἱ ἔπωνται· ἐπὶ γὰρ χώραν τοιαύτην δὴ τινα ἄξιν ὅθεν χρυσὸν εὐπετέως ἄφθονον οἴσονται· λέγων τοιαῦτα αἶτεε τὰς νέας. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τούτοις ἐπαερθέντες παρέδωκαν.

133

¹ παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης τὴν στρατιὴν ἔπλεε ἐπὶ Πάρον, πρόφασιν ἔχων ὥς οἱ Πάριοι ὑπῆρξαν πρότεροι στρατευόμενοι τριήρεσι ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρόσχημα λόγων ἦν, ἀτὰρ τινα καὶ ἔγκοτον εἶχε τοῖσι Παρίοις διὰ Λυσαγόρεα τὸν Τισίῳ, ἐόντα γένος Πάριον, διαβαλόντα μιν πρὸς Ὑδάρνεα τὸν Πέρσῃ. ² ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπ' ἣν ἔπλεε ὁ Μιλτιάδης τῇ στρατιῇ ἐπολιόρκεε Παρίους κατελιμμένους ἐντὸς τείχεος, καὶ ἐσπέμπων κήρυκα αἶτεε ἑκατὸν τάλαντα, φὰς, ἣν μιν οὐ δῶσι, οὐκ ἀπονοστήσειν τὴν στρατιὴν πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλῃ σφέας. ³ οἱ δὲ Πάριοι ὅκως μὲν τι δώσουσι Μιλτιάδῃ ἀργύριον οὐδὲ διενοεῦντο, οἱ δὲ ὅκως διαφυλάξουσι τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο ἐμηχανῶντο, ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενοι καὶ τῇ μάλιστα ἔσκε ἐκάστοτε ἐπίμαχον τοῦ τείχεος, τοῦτο ἅμα νυκτὶ ἐξηίρετο διπλήσιον τοῦ ἀρχαίου.

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¹ ἐς μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτο τοῦ λόγου οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτοὶ Πάριοι γενέσθαι ὧδε λέγουσι. Μιλτιάδῃ ἀπορέοντι ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους αἰχμάλωτον γυναῖκα, ἐοῦσαν μὲν Παρίην γένος, οὔνομα δὲ οἱ εἶναι Τιμοῦν, εἶναι δὲ ὑποζάκορον τῶν χθονίων θεῶν· ταύτην ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς ὄψιν Μιλτιάδεω συμβουλευσαι, εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖται Πάρον ἐλεῖν, τὰ ἂν αὐτῇ ὑποθῇται, ταῦτα ποιεῖν. ² μετὰ δὲ

τὴν μὲν ὑποθέσθαι, τὸν δὲ διερχόμενον ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἔοντα ἔρκος θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος ὑπερθορεῖν, οὐ δυνάμενον τὰς θύρας ἀνοῖξαι, ὑπερθορόντα δὲ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸ μέγαρον ὃ τι δὴ ποιήσοντα ἐντός, εἴτε κινήσοντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων εἴτε ὃ τι δὴ κοτε πρήζοντα· πρὸς τῇσι θύρῃσι τε γενέσθαι καὶ πρόκατε φρίκης αὐτὸν ὑπελθούσης ὀπίσω τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἴεσθαι, καταθρώσκοντα δὲ τὴν αἵμασιγὴν τὸν μηρὸν σπασθῆναι· οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ γόνυ προσπταῖσαι λέγουσι.

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1 Μιλτιάδης μὲν νυν φλαύρως ἔχων ἀπέπλεε ὀπίσω, οὔτε χρήματα Ἀθηναίοισι ἄγων οὔτε Πάρον προσκτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ πολιορκήσας τε ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι ἡμέρας καὶ δηιώσας τὴν νῆσον. 2 Πάριοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ὥς ἡ ὑποζάκορος τῶν θεῶν Τιμῶ Μιλτιάδῃ κατηγγέσατο, βουλόμενοί μιν ἀντὶ τούτων τιμωρήσασθαι, θεοπρόπους πέμπουσι ἐς Δελφούς ὥς σφεας ἡσυχίῃ τῆς πολιορκίης ἔσχε· ἔπεμπον δὲ ἐπειρησομένους εἰ καταχρήσωνται τὴν ὑποζάκορον τῶν θεῶν τὴν ἐξηγησαμένην τοῖσι ἐχθροῖσι τῆς πατρίδος ἄλωσιν καὶ τὰ ἐς ἔρσενα γόνον ἄρρητα ἱρὰ ἐκφύνασαν Μιλτιάδῃ. 3 ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οὐκ ἔα, φᾶσα οὐ Τιμοῦν εἶναι τὴν αἰτίην τούτων, ἀλλὰ δεῖν γὰρ Μιλτιάδεα τελευτᾶν μὴ εὖ, φανῆναι οἱ τῶν κακῶν κατηγεμόνα.

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1 παρίοισι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐκ Πάρου Μιλτιάδεα ἀπονοστήσαντα ἔσχον ἐν στόμασι οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ μάλιστα Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος, ὃς θανάτου ὑπαγαγὼν ὑπὸ τὸν δῆμον Μιλτιάδεα ἐδίωκε τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀπάτης εἵνεκεν. 2 Μιλτιάδης δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν παρεὼν οὐκ ἀπελογέετο· ἦν γὰρ ἀδύνατος ὥστε σηπομένου τοῦ μηροῦ· προκειμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν κλίνῃ ὑπεραπελογέοντο οἱ φίλοι, τῆς μάχης τε τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης πολλὰ ἐπιμεμνημένοι καὶ τὴν Λήμνου αἵρεσιν, ὥς ἐλὼν Λημνόν τε καὶ τισάμενος τοὺς Πελασγοὺς παρέδωκε Ἀθηναίοισι. 3 προσγενομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ θανάτου, ζημιώσαντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀδικίην πεντήκοντα ταλάντοισι, Μιλτιάδης μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα σφακελίσαντός τε τοῦ μηροῦ καὶ σαπέντος τελευτᾶ, τὰ δὲ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἐξέτισε ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Κίμων.

1 Λῆμνον δὲ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος ᾧδε ἔσχε. Πελασγοὶ ἐπέιτε ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐξεβλήθησαν, εἴτε ὧν δὴ δικαίως εἴτε ἀδίκως· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι, πλὴν τὰ λεγόμενα, ὅτι Ἐκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Ἥγησάνδρου ἔφησε ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι λέγων ἀδίκως· 2 ἐπέιτε γὰρ ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν χώραν, τὴν σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ὑπὸ τὸν Ὑμησσὸν ἐοῦσαν ἔδοσαν Πελασγοῖσι οἰκῆσαι μισθὸν τοῦ τείχεος τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κοτὲ ἐληλαμένου, ταύτην ὡς ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξεργασμένην εὖ, τὴν πρότερον εἶναι κακὴν τε καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀξίην, λαβεῖν φθόνον τε καὶ ἴμερον τῆς γῆς, καὶ οὕτω ἐξελαύνειν αὐτοὺς οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην πρόφασιν προῖσχομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. 3 ὥς δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, δικαίως ἐξελάσαι. κατοικημένους γὰρ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ὑμησσῷ, ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμωμένους ἀδικεῖν τάδε. φοιτᾶν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰς σφετέρας θυγατέρας τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον σφίσι κω οὐδὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσι οἰκέτας· ὅκως δὲ ἔλθοιεν αὗται, τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ ὕβριός τε καὶ ὀλιγωρίας βιάσθαι σφέας. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι σφι οὐκ ἀποχρᾶν ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τέλος καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἐπιχείρησιν φανῆναι ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ. 4 ἐωυτοὺς δὲ γενέσθαι τοσούτῳ ἐκείνων ἄνδρας ἀμείνονας, ὅσῳ, παρεὸν ἐωυτοῖσι ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς Πελασγοὺς, ἐπεὶ σφεας ἔλαβον ἐπιβουλεύοντας, οὐκ ἐθέλησαι, ἀλλὰ σφι προειπεῖν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξιέναι. τοὺς δὲ οὕτω δὴ ἐκχωρήσαντας ἄλλα τε σχεῖν χωρία καὶ δὴ καὶ Λῆμνον. ἐκεῖνα μὲν δὴ Ἐκαταῖος ἔλεξε, ταῦτα δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι.

1 οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι Λῆμνον τότε νεμόμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι, εὖ τε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὰς Ἀθηναίων ὀρτάς, πεντηκοντέρους κτησάμενοι ἐλόχησαν Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν Βραυρῶνι ἀγούσας ὀρτὴν τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀρπάσαντες τουτέων πολλὰς οἶχοντο ἀποπλέοντες, καὶ σφεας ἐς Λῆμνον ἀγαγόντες παλλακὰς εἶχον. 2 ὥς δὲ τέκνων αὗται αἱ γυναῖκες ὑπεπλήσθησαν, γλῶσσάν τε τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τρόπους τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἐδίδασκον τοὺς παῖδας. οἱ δὲ οὔτε συμμίσγεσθαι τοῖσι ἐκ τῶν Πελασγίδων γυναικῶν παισὶ ἤθελον, εἴ τε τύπτοιτό τις αὐτῶν τινός, ἐβοήθεόν τε πάντες καὶ ἐτιμώρεον ἀλλήλοισι· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄρχειν τε

τῶν παίδων οἱ παῖδες ἐδικαίευν καὶ πολλῷ ἐπεκράτεον. ³ μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Πελαργοὶ ἐωυτοῖσι λόγους ἐδίδοσαν· καὶ σφι βουλευομένοισι δεινόν τι ἐσέδυνε, εἰ δὴ διαγινώσκοιεν σφίσι τε βοηθέειν οἱ παῖδες πρὸς τῶν κουριδιέων γυναικῶν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τούτων αὐτίκα ἄρχειν πειρώατο, τί δὴ ἀνδρωθέντες δῆθεν ποιήσουσι. ⁴ ἐνθαῦτα ἔδοξε σφι κτείνειν τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀττικέων γυναικῶν. ποιεῦσι δὴ ταῦτα, προσαπολλύουσι δὲ σφέων καὶ τὰς μητέρας. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τοῦ προτέρου τούτων, τὸ ἐργάσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες τοὺς ἅμα Θόαντι ἄνδρας σφετέρους ἀποκτείνασαι, νενόμισται ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ σχέτλια ἔργα πάντα Λήμνια καλέεσθαι.

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¹ ἀποκτείνασι δὲ τοῖσι Πελαργοῖσι τοὺς σφετέρους παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας οὔτε γῇ καρπὸν ἔφερε οὔτε γυναῖκές τε καὶ ποῖμαι ὁμοίως ἔτικτον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ. πιεζόμενοι δὲ λιμῷ καὶ ἀπαιδίῃ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον λύσιν τινὰ αἰτησόμενοι τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν. ² ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευε Ἀθηναίοισι δίκας διδόναι ταύτας τὰς ἂν αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι δικάσωσι. ἦλθόν τε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ Πελαργοὶ καὶ δίκας ἐπαγγέλλοντο βουλόμενοι διδόναι παντὸς τοῦ ἀδικήματος. ³ Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ πρυτανίῳ κλίνην στρώσαντες ὥς εἶχον κάλλιστα καὶ τράπεζαν ἐπιπλέην ἀγαθῶν πάντων παραθέντες, ἐκέλευον τοὺς Πελαργοὺς τὴν χώραν σφίσι παραδιδόναι οὕτω ἔχουσιν. ⁴ οἱ δὲ Πελαργοὶ ὑπολαβόντες εἶπαν “ἐπεὰν βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ αὐτημερὸν ἐξανύσῃ νηὺς ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν, τότε παραδώσομεν”, ἐπιστάμενοι τοῦτο εἶναι ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι. ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ πρὸς νότον κεῖται πολλὸν τῆς Λήμνου.

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¹ τότε μὲν τοιαῦτα· ἔτεσι δὲ κάρτα πολλοῖσι ὕστερον τούτων, ὥς ἡ Χερσόνησος ἢ ἐπ’ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίοισι, Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων κατεστηκότων νηὶ κατανύσας ἐξ Ἑλαιοῦντος τοῦ ἐν Χερσονήσῳ ἐς Λῆμνον προηγόρευε ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς νήσου τοῖσι Πελαργοῖσι, ἀναμμνήσκων σφέας τὸ χρηστήριον, τὸ οὐδαμὰ ἥλπισαν σφίσι οἱ Πελαργοὶ ἐπιτελέεσθαι. ² Ἥφαιστιέες μὲν νυν ἐπείθοντο, Μυριναῖοι δὲ οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι εἶναι τὴν Χερσόνησον Ἀττικὴν ἐπολιορκέοντο, ἐς ὃ καὶ οὗτοι παρέστησαν.

οὕτω δὲ τὴν Λῆμνον ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ Μιλτιάδης.

Βιβλίο Ζ - Πολύμνια

1

¹ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγγελίῃ ἀπίκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον τὸν Ὑστάσπεος, καὶ πρὶν μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὴν ἐς Σάρδεις ἐσβολήν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῶ τε δεινότερα ἐποίεε καὶ μᾶλλον ὄρμητο στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ² καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλιν ἐτοιμάζειν στρατιήν, πολλῶ πλέω ἐπιτάσσων ἐκάστοισι ἢ πρότερον παρέχειν, καὶ νέας τε καὶ ἵππους καὶ σῖτον καὶ πλοῖα. τούτων δὲ περιαγγελλομένων ἡ Ἀσίη ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτα, καταλεγομένων τε τῶν ἀρίστων ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευομένων καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. ³ τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ Καμβύσει δουλωθέντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὄρμητο καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι.

2

¹ στελλομένου δὲ Δαρείου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ἀθήνας, τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ στάσις ἐγένετο μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὥς δεῖ μιν ἀποδέξαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι. ² ἦσαν γὰρ Δαρεῖω καὶ πρότερον ἢ βασιλεῦσαι γεγονότες τρεῖς παῖδες ἐκ τῆς προτέρης γυναικός, Γοβρύεω θυγατρός, καὶ βασιλεύσαντι ἐξ Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου ἕτεροι τέσσερες. τῶν μὲν δὴ προτέρων ἐπρέσβευε Ἀρτοβαζάνης, τῶν δὲ ἐπιγενομένων Ξέρξης. ἐόντες δὲ μητρός οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστασίαζον, ³ ὁ μὲν Ἀρτοβαζάνης κατότι πρεσβυτάτος τε εἶη παντὸς τοῦ γόνου καὶ ὅτι νομιζόμενον εἶη πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων τὸν πρεσβυτάτον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν, Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς Ἀτόσσης τε παῖς εἶη τῆς Κύρου θυγατρός καὶ ὅτι Κῦρος εἶη ὁ κτησάμενος τοῖσι Πέρσησι τὴν ἐλευθερίην.

3

¹ Δαρείου δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνυμένου κω γνώμην, ἐτύγχανε κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος ἀναβεβηκὼς ἐς Σοῦσα, ἐστερημένος τε τῆς ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλείης καὶ φυγὴν ἐπιβαλὼν ἐωυτῷ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος. ² οὗτος ὦν ἡρ πυθόμενος τῶν Δαρείου παίδων τὴν διαφορὴν, ἐλθὼν, ὥς ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει, Ξέρξῃ συνεβούλευε λέγειν

πρὸς τοῖσι ἔλεγε ἔπεσι, ὥς αὐτὸς μὲν γένοιτο Δαρεῖω ἤδη βασιλεύοντι καὶ ἔχοντι τὸ Περσέων κράτος, Ἀρτοβαζάνης δὲ ἔτι ιδιώτῃ ἐόντι Δαρεῖω· 3 οὐκ ὄντων οὔτε οἶκος εἴη οὔτε δίκαιον ἄλλον τινὰ τὸ γέρας ἔχειν πρὸ ἐωυτοῦ· ἐπεὶ γε καὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἔφη ὁ Δημάρητος ὑποτιθέμενος οὕτω νομίζεσθαι, ἦν οἱ μὲν προγεγονότες ἔωσι πρὶν ἢ τὸν πατέρα σφέων βασιλεῦσαι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεύοντι ὀψίγονος ἐπιγένηται, τοῦ ἐπιγενομένου τὴν ἔκδεξιν τῆς βασιληίης γίνεσθαι. 4 χρησαμένου δὲ Ξέρξῳ τῇ Δημαρήτου ὑποθήκῃ, γνούς ὁ Δαρεῖος ὥς λέγοι δίκαια βασιλέα μιν ἀπέδεξε. δοκέειν δέ μοι, καὶ ἄνευ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθήκης βασιλεῦσαι ἂν Ξέρξης· ἡ γὰρ Ἄτοσσα εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος.

4

1 ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσῃσι Ξέρξῃ Δαρεῖος ὀρμᾶτο στρατεύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεκε αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον, βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα ἔτα, ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι.

5

1 ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου ἡ βασιληίη ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ξέρξην. ὁ τοίνυν Ξέρξης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμος ἦν κατ' ἀρχὰς στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἐποιέετο στρατιῆς ἄγερσιν. παρεὼν δὲ καὶ δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γοβρύεω, ὃς ἦν Ξέρξῃ μὲν ἀνεψιὸς Δαρείου δὲ ἀδελφεῆς παῖς, τοιοῦτου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων 2 “δέσποτα, οὐκ οἶκός ἐστι Ἀθηναίους ἐργασαμένους πολλὰ δὴ κακὰ Πέρσας μὴ οὐ δοῦναι δίκην τῶν ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσσοις τά περ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις· ἡμερώσας δὲ Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατηλάτῃ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἵνα λόγος τέ σε ἔχη πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθός, καὶ τις ὕστερον φυλάσσηται ἐπὶ γῇν τὴν σὴν στρατεύεσθαι”. 3 οὗτος μὲν οἱ ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός· τοῦδε δὲ τοῦ λόγου παρενθήκη ποιέεσκετο τήνδε, ὥς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλὴς εἴη χώρα, καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἡμέρα, ἀρετὴν τε ἄκρην, βασιλείῃ τε μούνῳ θνητῶν ἀξίῃ ἐκτῆσθαι.

1 ταῦτα ἔλεγε οἷα νεωτέρων ἔργων ἐπιθυμητῆς ἐὼν καὶ θέλων αὐτὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπαρχος εἶναι. χρόνῳ δὲ κατεργάσατό τε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ὥστε ποιέειν ταῦτα Ξέρξην· συνέλαβε γάρ καὶ ἄλλα οἱ σύμμαχα γινόμενα ἐς τὸ πείθεσθαι Ξέρξην. 2 τοῦτο μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλίας παρὰ τῶν Ἀλευαδέων ἀπιγμένοι ἄγγελοι ἐπεκαλέοντο βασιλέα πᾶσαν προθυμίην παρεχόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· οἱ δὲ Ἀλευάδαι οὗτοι ἦσαν Θεσσαλίας βασιλεῖς. τοῦτο δὲ Πεισιστρατιδέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες ἐς Σοῦσα, τῶν τε αὐτῶν λόγων ἐχόμενοι τῶν καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι, καὶ δὴ τι πρὸς τούτοισι ἔτι πλέον προσωρέγοντό οἱ· 3 ἔχοντες Ὀνομάκριτον ἄνδρα Ἀθηναῖον, χρησμολόγον τε καὶ διαθέτην χρησμῶν τῶν Μουσαίου, ἀναβεβήκεσαν, τὴν ἔχθρην προκαταλυσάμενοι. ἐξηλάσθη γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἰπάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου ὁ Ὀνομάκριτος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ἀλούς ὑπὸ Λάσου τοῦ Ἑρμιονέος ἐμποιέων ἐς τὰ Μουσαίου χρησμόν, ὡς αἱ ἐπὶ Λήμνῳ ἐπικείμεναι νῆσοι ἀφανιζοῖατο κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης. 4 διὸ ἐξήλασέ μιν ὁ Ἰπάρχος, πρότερον χρεώμενος τὰ μάλιστα. τότε δὲ συναναβὰς ὅκως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέος, λεγόντων τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων περὶ αὐτοῦ σεμνοῦς λόγους, κατέλεγε τῶν χρησμῶν· εἰ μὲν τι ἐνέοι σφάλμα φέρον τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τῶν μὲν ἔλεγε οὐδέν, ὁ δὲ τὰ εὐτυχέστατα ἐκλεγόμενος ἔλεγε τόν τε Ἑλλήσποντον ὡς ζευχθῆναι χρεὼν εἶη ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω, τὴν τε ἔλασιν ἐξηγεόμενος. 5 οὗτός τε δὴ χρησμοδέων προσεφέρετο καὶ οἱ τε Πεισιστρατίδαι καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι γνώμας ἀποδεικνύμενοι.

1 ὥς δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη Ξέρξης στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐνθαῦτα δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὸν Δαρείου πρῶτα στρατηγὴν ποιέεται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας. τούτους μὲν νυν καταστρεψάμενος καὶ Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν πολλὸν δουλοτέρην ποιήσας ἢ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἦν, ἐπιτράπει Ἀχαιμένει ἀδελφεῷ μὲν ἐωυτοῦ, Δαρείου δὲ παιδί. Ἀχαιμένεα μὲν νυν ἐπιτροπεύοντα Αἰγύπτου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσε Ἰνάρως ὁ Ψαμμητίχου ἀνὴρ Λίβυς.

1 Ξέρξης δὲ μετὰ Αἰγύπτου ἄλωσιν ὡς ἔμελλε ἐς χειρας ἄξεσθαι

τὸ στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, σύλλογον ἐπίκητον Περσέων τῶν ἀρίστων ἐποιέετο, ἵνα γνώμας τε πύθηται σφέων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν πᾶσι εἴπῃ τὰ θέλει. ὥς δὲ συνελέχθησαν, ἔλεξεν Ξέρξης τάδε.

«Αἴ ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὐτ' αὐτὸς κατηγήσομαι νόμον τόνδε ἐν ὑμῖν τιθεῖς, παραδεξάμενός τε αὐτῷ χρῆσομαι. ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, οὐδαμὰ κω ἡτρεμίσαμεν, ἐπεῖτε παρελάβομεν τὴν ἡγεμονίην τήνδε παρὰ Μήδων, Κύρου κατελόντος Ἀστυάγεα· ἀλλὰ θεός τε οὕτω ἄγει καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πολλὰ ἐπέπουσι συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον. τὰ μὲν νυν Κῦρός τε καὶ Καμβύσης πατήρ τε ἐμὸς Δαρεῖος κατεργάσαντο καὶ προσεκτήσαντο ἔθνεα, ἐπισταμένοισι εὖ οὐκ ἂν τις λέγοι. 2 ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπεῖτε παρέλαβον τὸν θρόνον τοῦτον, ἐφρόντιζον ὅπως μὴ λείβομαι τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ἐν τιμῇ τῇδε μηδὲ ἐλάσσω προσκτήσομαι δύναμιν Πέρσῃσι· φροντίζων δὲ εὕρισκω ἅμα μὲν κῦδος τε ἡμῖν προσγινόμενον χώραν τε τῆς νῦν ἐκτῆμεθα οὐκ ἐλάσσονα οὐδὲ φλαυροτέρην παμφορωτέρην τε, ἅμα δὲ τιμωρίην τε καὶ τίσιν γινομένην. διὸ ὑμέας νῦν ἐγὼ συνέλεξα, ἵνα τὸ νοέω πρήσσειν ὑπερθέωμαι ὑμῖν·

«Βμέλλω ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἐλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἵνα Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσωμαι ὅσα δὴ πεποιήκασι Πέρσας τε καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν. 2 ὠρᾶτε μὲν νυν καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν Δαρεῖον ἰθύοντα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τετελεύτηκε καὶ οὐκ ἐξεγένετο αὐτῷ τιμωρήσασθαι· ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ τε ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων οὐ πρότερον παύσομαι πρὶν ἢ ἔλω τε καὶ πυρώσω τὰς Ἀθήνας, οἳ γε ἐμὲ καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν ὑπῆρξαν ἄδικα ποιεῦντες. 3 πρῶτα μὲν ἐς Σάρδεις ἐλθόντες, ἅμα Ἀρισταγόρῃ τῷ Μιλησίῳ δούλῳ δὲ ἡμετέρῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἐνέπρησαν τὰ τε ἄλσεα καὶ τὰ ἱρά· δευτέρα δὲ ἡμέας οἷα ἔρξαν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἀποβάντας, ὅτε Δαΐτις τε καὶ Ἀρταφρένης ἐστρατήγεον, τὰ ἐπίστασθέ κου πάντες.

«Στούτων μὲν τοίνυν εἵνεκα ἀνάρτημαι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύεσθαι, ἀγαθὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖσι τοσάδε ἀνεύρισκω λογιζόμενος· εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς τούτοισι πλησιοχώρους καταστρεψόμεθα, οἳ Πέλοπος τοῦ Φρυγὸς νέμονται χώραν, γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἀποδέξομεν τῷ Διὸς αἰθέρι ὁμουρέουσιν. 2 οὐ γὰρ δὴ χώραν γε οὐδεμίαν κατόψεται ἥλιος ὄμουρον ἐοῦσαν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ, ἀλλὰ σφέας πάσας ἐγὼ ἅμα ὑμῖν χώραν θήσω, διὰ πάσης διεξελθὼν τῆς Εὐρώπης. 3 πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχειν, οὔτε τινὰ πόλιν ἀνδρῶν οὐδεμίαν οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπων ὑπολείπεσθαι, τὸ ἡμῖν οἷόν τε ἔσται ἐλθεῖν ἐς μάχην, τούτων τῶν

κατέλεξα ὑπεξαριρημένων. οὕτω οἱ τε ἡμῖν αἵτιοι ἔξουσι δούλιον ζυγὸν οἱ τε ἀναίτιοι.

«Δύμεῖς δ' ἂν μοι τάδε ποιέοντες χαρίζοισθε· ἐπεὰν ὑμῖν σημῆνω τὸν χρόνον ἐς τὸν ἥκειν δεῖ, προθύμως πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρήσει παρεῖναι. ὅς ἂν δὲ ἔχων ἥκη παρεσκευασμένον στρατὸν κάλλιστα, δώσω οἱ δῶρα τὰ τιμιώτατα νομίζεται εἶναι ἐν ἡμετέρου. 2 ποιητέα μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἐστὶ οὕτω· ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἰδιοβουλευεῖν ὑμῖν δοκέω, τίθημι τὸ πρῆγμα ἐς μέσον, γνώμην κελεύων ὑμέων τὸν βουλόμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι». ταῦτα εἶπας ἐπαύετο.

9

1 μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε “ὦ δέσποτα, οὐ μόνον εἷς τῶν γενομένων Περσέων ἄριστος ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων, ὅς τά τε ἄλλα λέγων ἐπῖκεο ἄριστα καὶ ἀληθέστατα, καὶ Ἰωνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένους οὐκ ἐάσεις καταγελάσαι ἡμῖν ἐόντας ἀναξίους. 2 καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἂν εἴη πρῆγμα, εἰ Σάκας μὲν καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Αἰθίοπας τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίους ἄλλα τε ἔθνηα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀδικήσαντα Πέρσας οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ δύναμιν προσκτᾶσθαι βουλόμενοι, καταστρεψάμενοι δούλους ἔχομεν, Ἕλληνας δὲ ὑπάρξαντας ἀδικίῃς οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα·

9 Ἀτί δέισαντες; κοίην πλήθεος συστροφὴν; κοίην δὲ χρημάτων δύναμιν; τῶν ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν τὴν μάχην, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐοῦσαν ἀσθενέα· ἔχομεν δὲ αὐτῶν παῖδας καταστρεψάμενοι, τούτους οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ κατοικημένοι Ἰωνές τε καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ Δωριέες καλέονται. 2 ἐπειρήθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη ἐπελαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους ὑπὸ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ κελευσθεῖς, καί μοι μέχρι Μακεδονίης ἐλάσαντι καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπολιπόντι ἐς αὐτὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπικέσθαι οὐδεὶς ἠντιώθη ἐς μάχην.

9 Βκαίτοι γε ἐώθασι Ἕλληνες, ὥς πυνθάνομαι, ἀβουλότατα πολέμους ἵστασθαι ὑπὸ τε ἀγνωμοσύνης καὶ σκαιότητος. ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι πόλεμον προείπωσι, ἐξευρόντες τὸ κάλλιστον χωρίον καὶ λειότατον, ἐς τοῦτο κατιόντες μάχονται, ὥστε σὺν κακῷ μεγάλῳ οἱ νικῶντες ἀπαλλάσσονται· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐσσομένων οὐδὲ λέγω ἀρχήν· ἐξώλεες γὰρ δὴ γίνονται. 2 τοὺς χρῆν ἐόντας ὁμογλώσσους κήρυξι τε διαχρεωμένους καὶ ἀγγέλοισι καταλαμβάνειν τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἢ μάχησι· εἰ δὲ πάντως ἔδεε πολεμέειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξευρίσκειν χρῆν τῇ ἐκάτεροι εἰσὶ δυσχειρωτότατοι καὶ ταύτῃ πειρᾶν. τρώῃ τοίνυν οὐ χρηστῷ Ἕλληνες διαχρεώμενοι, ἐμέο

έλάσαντος μέχρι Μακεδονίης γῆς, οὐκ ἦλθον ἐς τούτου λόγον ὥστε μάχεσθαι.

9Cσοὶ δὲ δὴ μέλλει τίς ὧ βασιλεὺς ἀντιώσεσθαι πόλεμον προφέρων, ἄγοντι καὶ πλῆθος τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ νέας τὰς ἀπάσας; ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο θράσεος ἀνήκει τὰ Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα· εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἔγωγε ψευσθεῖην γνώμη καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπαερθέντες ἀβουλίῃ ἔλθοιεν ἡμῖν ἐς μάχην, μάθοιεν ἂν ὥς εἰμὲν ἀνθρώπων ἄριστοι τὰ πολέμια. ἔστω δ' ὧν μηδὲν ἀπείρητον· αὐτόματον γὰρ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πείρης πάντα ἀνθρώποισι φιλέει γίνεσθαι”.

10

1 Μαροδόσιος μὲν τοσαῦτα ἐπιλέχνας τὴν Ξέρξεω γνώμην ἐπέπαυτο· σιωπώντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων καὶ οὐ τολμώντων γνώμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀντίην τῇ προκειμένῃ, Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος, ἀτρωρὸς ἐὼν Ξέρξῃ, τῷ δὴ καὶ πίσυνος ἐὼν ἔλεγε τάδε.

10A”ὧ βασιλεῦ, μὴ λεχθισέων μὲν γνωμέων ἀντιέων ἀλλήλησι οὐκ ἔστι τὴν ἀμείνω αἰρεόμενον ἐλέσθαι, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῇ εἰρημένῃ χρᾶσθαι, λεχθισέων δὲ ἔστι, ὥσπερ τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἀκήρατον αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπ' ἐωυτοῦ οὐ διαγινώσκομεν, ἐπεὰν δὲ παρατρίψωμεν ἄλλῳ χρυσῷ, διαγινώσκομεν τὸν ἀμείνω. 2 ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ, ἀδελφεῷ δὲ ἐμῷ Δαρείῳ ἡγόρευον μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἄνδρας οὐδαμόθι γῆς ἄστει νέμοντας. ὁ δὲ ἐλπίζων Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας καταστρέφεσθαι ἐμοὶ τε οὐκ ἐπέιθετο, στρατευσάμενός τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῆς στρατιῆς ἀποβαλὼν ἀπῆλθε. 3 σὺ δὲ ὧ βασιλεῦ μέλλεις ἐπ' ἄνδρας στρατεύεσθαι πολλὸν ἀμείνονας ἢ Σκύθας, οἱ κατὰ θάλασσαν τε ἄριστοι καὶ κατὰ γῆν λέγονται εἶναι. τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι δεινόν, ἐμὲ σοὶ δίκαιον ἐστὶ φράζειν.

10Bζεύξας φῆς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ δὴ καὶ συνήνικέ σε ἦτοι κατὰ γῆν ἢ καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐσσωθῆναι, ἢ καὶ κατ' ἀμφοτέρω· οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες λέγονται εἶναι ἄλκιμοι, πάρεστι δὲ καὶ σταθμώσασθαι, εἰ στρατιὴν γε τοσαύτην σὺν Δάτι καὶ Ἀρταφρένῃ ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώραν μοῦνοι Ἀθηναῖοι διέφθειραν. 2 οὐκὼν ἀμφοτέρῃ σφι ἐχώρησε. ἀλλ' ἦν τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐμβάλωσι καὶ νικήσαντες ναυμαχίῃ πλέωσι ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ ἔπειτα λύσωσι τὴν γέφυραν, τοῦτο δὴ βασιλεῦ γίνεται δεινόν.

10 Εγὼ δὲ οὐδεμιῇ σοφίῃ οἰκίῃ αὐτὸς ταῦτα συμβάλλομαι, ἀλλ' οἷον κοτὲ ἡμέας ὀλίγου ἐδέησε καταλαβεῖν πάθος, ὅτε πατὴρ σὸς ζεύξας Βόσπορον τὸν Θρηίκιον, γεφυρώσας δὲ ποταμὸν Ἴστρον διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθας. τότε παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο Σκύθαι δεόμενοι Ἰώνων λῦσαι τὸν πόρον, τοῖσι ἐπετέτραπτο ἡ φυλακὴ τῶν γεφυρέων τοῦ Ἴστρον. 2 καὶ τότε γε Ἰστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος εἰ ἐπέσπετο τῶν ἄλλων τυράννων τῇ γνώμῃ μηδὲ ἠναντιώθη, διέργαστο ἄν τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα. καίτοι καὶ λόγῳ ἀκούσαι δεινόν, ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ γε ἐνὶ πάντα τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα γεγενῆσθαι.

10 Δσὺ ὦν μὴ βούλευ εἰς κίνδυνον μηδένα τοιοῦτον ἀπικέσθαι μηδεμιῇς ἀνάγκης ἐούσης, ἀλλὰ ἐμοὶ πείθευ. νῦν μὲν τὸν σύλλογον τόνδε διάλυσον· αὐτὶς δέ, ὅταν τοι δοκέῃ, προσκεψάμενος ἐπὶ σεωυτοῦ προαγόρευε τά τοι δοκέει εἶναι ἄριστα. 2 τὸ γὰρ εὖ βουλευέσθαι κέρδος μέγιστον εὐρίσκω ἐόν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐναντιωθῆναι τι θέλει, βεβούλευται μὲν οὐδὲν ἦσσαν εὖ, ἔσσωται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ βούλευμα· ὁ δὲ βουλευσάμενος αἰσχυρῶς, εἰ οἱ ἡ τύχῃ ἐπίσποιτο, εὖρημα εὖρηκε, ἦσσαν δὲ οὐδὲν οἱ κακῶς βεβούλευται.

10 Εὐρύς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῶα ὥς κεραυνοῖ ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ ἐᾷ φαντάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδὲν μιν κνίζει· ὀρύς δὲ ὥς ἐς οἰκήματα τὰ μέγιστα αἰεὶ καὶ δένδρεα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποσκήπτει τὰ βέλεα· φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολοῦειν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ ὀλίγου διαφθείρεται κατὰ τοιόνδε· ἐπεὰν σφι ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας φόβον ἐμβάλλῃ ἢ βροντὴν, δι' ὧν ἐφθάρησαν ἀναξίως ἐωυτῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἐωυτόν.

10 Εὔπειχθῆναι μὲν νυν πᾶν πρῆγμα τίκτει σφάλματα, ἐκ τῶν ζημίαι μεγάλαι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπισχεῖν ἔνεστι ἀγαθὰ, εἰ μὴ παραυτίκα δοκέοντα εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐξεύροι τις ἄν.

10 Γσοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὧ βασιλεῦ συμβουλεύω· σὺ δέ, ὦ παῖ Γοβρύεω Μαρδόνιε, παῦσαι λέγων λόγους ματαίους περὶ Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἐόντων ἀξίων φλαύρως ἀκούειν. Ἑλληνας γὰρ διαβάλλων ἐπαίρεις αὐτὸν βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι· αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέεις μοι πᾶσαν προθυμίην ἐκτείνειν. μὴ νυν οὕτω γένηται. 2 διαβολὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ δεινότατον· ἐν τῇ δύο μὲν εἰσὶ οἱ ἀδικέοντες, εἷς δὲ ὁ ἀδικεόμενος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ διαβάλλων ἀδικεῖ οὐ παρεόντι κατηγορέων, ὁ δὲ ἀδικεῖ ἀναπειθόμενος πρὶν ἢ ἀτρεκέως ἐκμάθῃ· ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀπέων τοῦ λόγου τάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἀδικέεται, διαβληθεὶς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐτέρου καὶ νομισθεὶς πρὸς τοῦ ἐτέρου κακὸς εἶναι.

10 Ἡ δὲ εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε πάντως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους στρατεύεσθαι, φέρε, βασιλεὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἡθεσι τοῖσι Περσέων μενέτω, ἡμέων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα, στρατηλάτее αὐτὸς σὺ ἐπιλεξάμενός τε ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐθέλεις καὶ λαβὼν στρατιὴν ὁκόσῃν τινὰ βούλῃαι. 2 καὶ ἦν μὲν τῇ σὺ λέγεις ἀναβαίνειν βασιλεί τὰ πρήγματα, κτεινέσθων οἱ ἐμοὶ παῖδες, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἐγὼ· ἦν δὲ τῇ ἐγὼ προλέγω, οἱ σοὶ ταῦτα πασχόντων, σὺν δὲ σφι καὶ σύ, ἦν ἀπονοστήσης. 3 εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποδύνειν οὐκ ἐθελήσεις, σὺ δὲ πάντως στράτευμα ἀνάξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀκούσεσθαι τινὰ φημι τῶν αὐτοῦ τῆδε ὑπολειπομένων Μαρδόνιον, μέγα τι κακὸν ἐξεργασάμενον Πέρσας, ὑπὸ κυνῶν τε καὶ ὀρνίθων διαφορεύμενον ἢ κου ἐν γῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἢ σέ γε ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ πρότερον κατ' ὁδόν, γνόντα ἐπ' οἴους ἄνδρας ἀναγινώσκεις στρατεύεσθαι βασιλέα”.

11

1 Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε, Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς ἀμείβεται τοῖσιδε. “Ἀρτάβανε, πατρὸς εἷς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφεός· τοῦτό σε ῥύσεται μηδένα ἄξιον μισθὸν λαβεῖν ἐπέων ματαίων. καὶ τοι ταύτην τὴν ἀτιμίην προστίθῃμι ἐόντι κακῷ καὶ ἀθύμῳ, μήτε συστρατεύεσθαι ἔμοιγε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἅμα τῇσι γυναιξί· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ σέο ὅσα περ εἶπα ἐπιτελέα ποιήσω. 2 μὴ γὰρ εἶην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος τοῦ Ἀριαράμνεω τοῦ Τεῖσπεος τοῦ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Τεῖσπεος τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος γεγονώς, μὴ τιμωρησάμενος Ἀθηναίους, εὖ ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι εἰ ἡμεῖς ἡσυχίην ἄξομεν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα στρατεύσονται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρεν, εἰ χρὴ σταθμώσασθαι τοῖσι ὑπαργμένοισι ἐξ ἐκείνων, οἱ Σάρδις τε ἐνέπρησαν καὶ ἤλασαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. 3 οὐκ ὄν ἐξαναχωρεῖν οὐδετέροισι δυνατῶς ἔχει, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖν ἢ παθεῖν πρόκειται ἀγών, ἵνα ἢ τάδε πάντα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήσι ἢ ἐκείνα πάντα ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι γένῃται· τὸ γὰρ μέσον οὐδὲν τῆς ἔχθρης ἐστίν. 4 καλὸν ὦν προπεπονθότας ἡμέας τιμωρεῖν ἤδη γίνεται, ἵνα καὶ τὸ δεινὸν τὸ πείσομαι τοῦτο μάθω, ἐλάσας ἐπ’ ἄνδρας τούτους, τοὺς γε καὶ Πέλωσιν ὁ Φρύξ, ἐὼν πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δοῦλος, κατεστρέψατο οὕτω ὥς καὶ ἐς τόδε αὐτοὶ τε ὠνθρωποὶ καὶ ἡ γῇ αὐτῶν ἐπώνυμοι τοῦ καταστρεψαμένου καλέονται”.

¹ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐλέγετο. μετὰ δὲ εὐφρόνη τε ἐγίνετο καὶ Ξέρξην ἔκνιζε ἡ Ἀρταβάνου γνώμη· νυκτὶ δὲ βουλὴν διδοὺς πάγχυ εὕρισκέ οἱ οὐ πρῆγμα εἶναι στρατεῦσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. δεδογμένων δέ οἱ αὐτὶς τούτων κατύπνωσε, καὶ δὴ κου ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ εἶδε ὄψιν τοιήνδε, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν τε καὶ εὐειδέα εἰπεῖν ² “μετὰ δὴ βουλευεαι, ὦ Πέρσα, στράτευμα μὴ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προεΐπας ἀλίζειν Πέρσας στρατόν; οὔτε ὧν μεταβουλευόμενος ποιέεις εὖ οὔτε ὁ συγγνωσόμενός τοι πάρα· ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ἐβουλεύσαιο ποιέειν, ταύτην ἴθι τῶν ὁδῶν”.

¹ τὸν μὲν ταῦτα εἰπόντα ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἀποπτάσθαι, ἡμέρης δὲ ἐπιλαμψάσης ὀνείρου μὲν τούτου λόγον οὐδένα ἐποίεετο, ὁ δὲ Περσέων συναλίσας τοὺς καὶ πρότερον συνέλεξε, ἔλαξέ σφι τάδε. ² “ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε ὅτι ἀγχίστροφα βουλεύομαι· φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς τὰ ἐμεωυτοῦ πρῶτα οὐκῶ ἀνήκω, καὶ οἱ παρηγορεόμενοι ἐκεῖνα ποιέειν οὐδένα χρόνον μευ ἀπέχονται. ἀκούσαντι μέντοι μοι τῆς Ἀρταβάνου γνώμης παραυτίκα μὲν ἡ νεότης ἐπέζεσε, ὥστε ἀεικέστερα ἀπορρῖψαι ἔπεα ἐς ἄνδρα πρεσβύτερον ἢ χρεόν· νῦν μέντοι συγγνόνους χρήσομαι τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ. ³ ὥς ὧν μεταδεδογμένον μοι μὴ στρατεῦσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἥσυχοι ἔσθε”.

¹ Πέρσαι μὲν ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, κεχαρηκότες προσεκύνεον. νυκτὸς δὲ γενομένης αὐτὶς τώυτῳ ὄνειρον τῷ Ξέρξῃ κατυπνωμένῳ ἔλεγε ἐπιστάν “ὦ παῖ Δαρείου, καὶ δὴ φαίνειαι ἐν Πέρσῃσί τε ἀπειπάμενος τὴν στρατηλασίην καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔπεα ἐν οὐδενὶ ποιησάμενος λόγῳ ὡς παρ’ οὐδενὸς ἀκούσας; εὖ νυν τόδ’ ἴσθι· ἦν περ μὴ αὐτίκα στρατηλατέης, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνασχίσει· ὡς καὶ μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἐγένεο ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, οὕτω καὶ ταπεινὸς ὀπίσω κατὰ τάχος ἔσσει”.

¹ Ξέρξης μὲν περιδεὴς γενόμενος τῇ ὄψι ἀνά τε ἔδραμε ἐκ τῆς

κοίτης καὶ πέμπει ἄγγελον ἐπὶ Ἀρτάβανον καλέοντα· ἀπικομένῳ δὲ οἱ ἔλεγε Ξέρξης τάδε. “Ἀρτάβανε, ἐγὼ τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν οὐκ ἐσωφρόνεον εἶπας ἐς σὲ μάταια ἔπεα χρηστῆς εἵνεκα συμβουλίας· 2 μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον μετέγνων, ἔγνων δὲ ταῦτα μοι ποιητέα ἐόντα τὰ σὺν ὑπεθήκαο. οὐκὼν δυνατός τοι εἰμὶ ταῦτα βουλόμενος ποιέειν· τετραμμένῳ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετεγνωκότι ἐπιφοιτέον ὄνειρον φαντάζεται μοι οὐδαμῶς συνεπαινέον ποιέειν με ταῦτα· νῦν δὲ καὶ διαπειλῆσαν οἴχεται. 3 εἰ ὧν θεός ἐστι ὁ ἐπιπέμπων καὶ οἱ πάντως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστι γενέσθαι στρατηλασίην ἐπὶ Ἑλλάδα, ἐπιπτήσεται καὶ σοὶ τῷτῳ τοῦτο ὄνειρον, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον. εὐρίσκω δὲ ὧδ’ ἂν γινόμενα ταῦτα, εἰ λάβοις τὴν ἐμὴν σκευὴν πᾶσαν καὶ ἐνδὺς μετὰ τοῦτο ἵζοιο ἐς τὸν ἐμὸν θρόνον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἐμῇ κατυπνώσειας”.

16

1 Ξέρξης μὲν ταῦτά οἱ ἔλεγε· Ἀρτάβανος δὲ οὐ πρῶτῳ κελεύσματι πειθόμενος, οἷα οὐκ ἀξιούμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ἵζεσθαι, τέλος ὡς ἠναγκάζετο εἶπας τάδε ἐποίησε τὸ κελευόμενον.

16Α Ὅσον ἐκεῖνο ὃ βασιλεῦ παρ’ ἐμοὶ κέκριται, φρονέειν τε εὖ καὶ τῷ λέγοντι χρηστὰ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι· τά σε καὶ ἀμφοτέρα περιήκοντα ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὁμιλίας σφάλλουνσι, κατὰ περ τὴν πάντων χρησιμωτάτην ἀνθρώποισι θάλασσαν πνεύματα φασὶ ἀνέμων ἐμπίπτοντα οὐ περιορᾶν φύσι τῇ ἐωυτῆς χρᾶσθαι. 2 ἐμὲ δὲ ἀκούσαντα πρὸς σεῦ κακῶς οὐ τοσοῦτο ἔδακε λύπη ὅσον γνωμέων δύο προκειμενέων Πέρσησι, τῆς μὲν ὕβριν αὐξανούσης, τῆς δὲ καταπαυούσης καὶ λεγούσης ὡς κακὸν εἶη διδάσκειν τὴν ψυχὴν πλεον τι δίξισθαι αἰεὶ ἔχειν τοῦ παρεόντος, τοιουτέων προκειμενέων γνωμέων ὅτι τὴν σφαλερωτέρεν σεωυτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσησι ἀναιρέο.

16Β νῦν ὧν, ἐπειδὴ τέτραπαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμείνω, φῆς τοι μετιέντι τὸν ἐπ’ Ἑλληνας στόλον ἐπιφοιτᾶν ὄνειρον θεοῦ τινος πομπῇ, οὐκ ἐϋντά σε καταλύειν τὸν στόλον. 2 ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐστὶ, ὃ παῖ, θεῖα. ἐνύπνια γὰρ τὰ ἐς ἀνθρώπους πεπλανημένα τοιαῦτα ἐστὶ οἷά σε ἐγὼ διδάξω, ἔτεσι σεῦ πολλοῖσι πρεσβύτερος ἑών· πεπλανῆσθαι αὐταὶ μάλιστα ἐώθασιν αἱ ὄψιες τῶν ὀνειράτων, τὰ τις ἡμέρης φροντίζει. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς πρὸ τοῦ ἡμέρας ταύτην τὴν στρατηλασίην καὶ τὸ κάρτα εἴχομεν μετὰ χειρᾶς.

16C εἰ δὲ ἄρα μὴ ἐστὶ τοῦτο τοιοῦτο οἷον ἐγὼ διαιρέω, ἀλλὰ τι τοῦ

θείου μετέχον, σὺ πᾶν αὐτὸ συλλαβὼν εἴρηκας· φανήτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ ὡς καὶ σοὶ διακελευόμενον. φανῆναι δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον μοι ὀφείλει ἔχοντι τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν, οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ ἀναπαυομένῳ ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ, εἴ πέρ γε καὶ ἄλλως ἐθέλει φανῆναι. 2 οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτό γε εὐθειας ἀνήκει τοῦτο, ὅ τι δὴ κοτε ἐστὶ, τὸ ἐπιφαινόμενόν τοι ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, ὥστε δόξει ἐμὲ ὁρῶν σὲ εἶναι, τῇ σῇ ἐσθῇ τεκμαιρόμενον. εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιήσεται οὐδὲ ἀξιώσει ἐπιφανῆναι, οὔτε ἦν τὴν ἐμὴν ἐσθῆτα ἔχω οὔτε ἦν τὴν σὴν, οὐδὲ ἐπιφοιτήσει, τοῦτο ἤδη μαθητέον ἔσται. εἰ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιφοιτήσει γε συνεχέως, φαίην ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς θεῖον εἶναι. 3 εἰ δὲ τοι οὕτω δεδόκηται γίνεσθαι καὶ οὐκ οἶά τε αὐτὸ παρατρέψαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη δεῖ ἐμὲ ἐν κοίτῃ σῇ κατυπνῶσαι, φέρε, τούτων ἐξ ἐμεῦ ἐπιτελευμένων φανήτω καὶ ἐμοί. μέχρι δὲ τούτου τῇ παρεούσῃ γνώμῃ χρήσομαι”.

17

1 τοσαῦτα εἶπας Ἀρτάβανος, ἐλπίζων Ξέρξην ἀποδέξειν λέγοντα οὐδέν, ἐποίεε τὸ κελευόμενον. ἐνδὺς δὲ τὴν Ξέρξῳ ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἰζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα κοῖτον ἐποιέετο, ἦλθέ οἱ κατυπνωμένῳ τῷτὸ ὄνειρον τὸ καὶ παρὰ Ξέρξην ἐφοίτα, ὑπερστὰν δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου εἶπε· 2 “ἄρα σὺ δὴ κείνος εἷς ὁ ἀποσπεύδων Ξέρξην στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὡς δὴ κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ; ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐς τὸ μετέπειτα οὔτε ἐς τὸ παραυτίκα νῦν καταπροΐξεται ἀποτρέπων τὸ χρεὸν γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ τὰ δεῖ ἀνηκουστέοντα παθεῖν, αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ δεδῆλωται”.

18

1 ταῦτά τε ἐδόκεε Ἀρτάβανος τὸ ὄνειρον ἀπειλέειν καὶ θερμοῖσι σιδηρίοις ἐκκαίειν αὐτοῦ μέλλειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. καὶ ὃς ἀμβώσας μέγα ἀναθρόσκει, καὶ παριζόμενος Ξέρξῃ, ὡς τὴν ὄψιν οἱ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου διεξῆλθε ἀπηγεόμενος, δευτέρᾳ οἱ λέγει τάδε. 2 “ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οἶα ἄνθρωπος ἰδὼν ἤδη πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα πεσόντα πρήγματα ὑπὸ ἡσόνων, οὐκ ἔων σε τὰ πάντα τῇ ἡλικίῃ εἵκειν, ἐπιστάμενος ὡς κακὸν εἶη τὸ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμέειν, μεμνημένος μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας Κύρου στόλον ὡς ἔπρηξε, μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπ’ Αἰθίοπας τὸν Καμβύσεω, συστρατευόμενος δὲ καὶ Δαρεῖω ἐπὶ Σκύθας. 3 ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα γνώμην εἶχον ἀτρεμίζοντά σε

μακαριστὸν εἶναι πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ἐπεὶ δὲ δαιμονίη τις γίνεται ὁρμή, καὶ Ἑλληνας, ὥς οἴκε, καταλαμβάνει τις φθορὴ θεήλατος, ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς τρέπομαι καὶ τὴν γνώμην μετατίθεμαι, σὺ δὲ σήμνηνον μὲν Πέρσῃσι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πεμπόμενα, χρᾶσθαι δὲ κέλευε τοῖσι ἐκ σέο πρώτοισι προειρημένοισι ἐς τὴν παρασκευήν, ποίειε δὲ οὕτω ὅπως τοῦ θεοῦ παραδιδόντος τῶν σῶν ἐνδεήσει μηδέν”. 4 τούτων δὲ λεχθέντων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπαερθέντες τῇ ὄψι, ὥς ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τάχιστα, Ξέρξης τε ὑπερετίθετο ταῦτα Πέρσῃσι, καὶ Ἀρτάβανος, ὃς πρότερον ἀποσπεύδων μούνος ἐφαίνετο, τότε ἐπισπεύδων φανερὸς ἦν.

19

1 ὁρμημένῳ δὲ Ξέρξῃ στρατηλατέειν μετὰ ταῦτα τρίτῃ ὄψι ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐγένετο, τὴν οἱ Μάγοι ἔκριναν ἀκούσαντες φέρειν τε ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆν δουλεύσειν τέ οἱ πάντας ἀνθρώπους. ἡ δὲ ὄψις ἦν ἥδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἐστεφανῶσθαι ἐλαίης θαλλῷ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίης τοὺς κλάδους γῆν πᾶσαν ἐπισχεῖν, μετὰ δὲ ἀφανισθῆναι περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κείμενον τὸν στέφανον. 2 κρινάντων δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Μάγων, Περσέων τε τῶν συλληχθέντων αὐτίκα πᾶς ἀνὴρ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐωυτοῦ ἀπελάσας εἶχε προθυμίην πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι, θέλων αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα λαβεῖν, καὶ Ξέρξης τοῦ στρατοῦ οὕτω ἐπάγερσιν ποιέεται, χῶρον πάντα ἐρευνῶν τῆς ἡείρου.

20

1 ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου ἀλώσιος ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερα ἔτεα πλήρεα παραρτέετο στρατιὴν τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατιῇ, πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀνομένῳ ἐστρατηλάτεε χειρὶ μεγάλῃ πλήθεος. 2 στόλων γὰρ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν πολλῷ δὴ μέγιστος οὗτος ἐγένετο, ὥστε μήτε τὸν Δαρείου τὸν ἐπὶ Σκύθας παρὰ τοῦτον μηδένα φαίνεσθαι, μήτε τὸν Σκυθικόν, ὅτε Σκύθαι Κιμμερίους διώκοντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώραν ἐσβαλόντες σχεδὸν πάντα τὰ ἄνω τῆς Ἀσίας καταστρεψάμενοι ἐνέμοντο, τῶν εἵνεκεν ὕστερον Δαρεῖος ἐτιμωρέετο, μήτε κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα τὸν Ἀτρειδέων ἐς Ἴλιον, μήτε τὸν Μυσῶν τε καὶ Τευκρῶν τὸν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν γενόμενον, οἱ διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην κατὰ Βόσπορον τοὺς τε Θρήικας κατεστρέψαντο πάντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον πόντον κατέβησαν, μέχρι τε Πηνειοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ πρὸς μεσαμβρίας ἤλασαν.

¹ αὐται αἱ πᾶσαι οὐδ' εἰ ἕτεραι πρὸς ταύτησι προσγενόμεναι στρατηλασῖαι μιῆς τῆσδε οὐκ ἄξιαί. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἤγαγε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἔθνος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης; κοῖον δὲ πινόμενόν μιν ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν; ² οἱ μὲν γὰρ νέας παρείχοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς πεζὸν ἐτετάχατο, τοῖσι δὲ ἵππος προσετέτακτο, τοῖσι δὲ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ἅμα στρατευομένοισι, τοῖσι δὲ ἐς τὰς γεφύρας μακρὰς νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ σῖτά τε καὶ νέας.

¹ καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ὥς προσπταισάντων τῶν πρώτων περιπλεόντων περὶ τὸν Ἄθων προετοιμάζετο ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων κου μάλιστα τὰ ἐς τὸν Ἄθων. ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιοῦντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ὄρμεον τριήρεις· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁρμώμενοι ὠρυσσον ὑπὸ μαστίγων παντοδαποὶ τῆς στρατιῆς, διάδοχοι δ' ἐφοίτεον· ὠρυσσον δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄθων κατοικημένοι. ² Βουβάρης δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάζου καὶ Ἀρταχαΐης ὁ Ἀρταίου ἄνδρες Πέρσαι ἐπέστασαν τοῦ ἔργου. ὁ γὰρ Ἄθως ἐστὶ ὄρος μέγα τε καὶ ὀνομαστόν, ἐς θάλασσαν κατῆκον, οἰκημένον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων. τῇ δὲ τελευτᾷ ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τὸ ὄρος, χερσονησοειδὲς τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἰσθμὸς ὥς δωδέκα σταδίων· πεδίον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ κολωνοὶ οὐ μεγάλοι ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἀκανθίων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν ἀντίον Τορώνης. ³ ἐν δὲ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τούτῳ, ἐς τὸν τελευτᾷ ὁ Ἄθως, Σάνη πόλις Ἑλλὰς οἴκηται, αἱ δὲ ἐκτὸς Σάνης, ἔσω δὲ τοῦ Ἄθω οἰκημένοι, τὰς τότε ὁ Πέρσης νησιώτιδας ἀντὶ ἡπειρωτίδων ὄρμητο ποιέειν· εἰσὶ δὲ αἶδε, Δῖον Ὀλόφυξος Ἀκρόθωφον Θύσσοις Κλεωναί.

¹ πόλιες μὲν αὐται αἱ τὸν Ἄθων νέμονται, ὠρυσσον δὲ ὧδε δασάμενοι τὸν χῶρον οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ ἔθνεα· κατὰ Σάνην πόλιν σχοινοτενὲς ποιησάμενοι, ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο βαθέα ἡ διῶρυξ, οἱ μὲν κατώτατα ἐστεῶτες ὠρυσσον, ἕτεροι δὲ παρεδίδοσαν τὸν αἰεὶ ἐξορυσσόμενον χοῦν ἄλλοισι κατύπερθε ἐστεῶσι ἐπὶ βάθρων, οἱ δ' αὖ ἐκδεκόμενοι ἐτέροισι, ἔως ἀπίκοντο ἐς τοὺς ἀνωτάτω· οὗτοι δὲ ἐξεφόρεόν τε καὶ ἐξέβαλλον. ² τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοισι πλὴν Φοινίκων καταρρήγνύμενοι οἱ κρημνοὶ τοῦ ὀρύγματος πόνον διπλήσιον παρεῖχον· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ τε ἄνω στόματος καὶ τοῦ κάτω τὰ αὐτὰ μέτρα ποιευμένων, ἔμελλέ σφι τοιοῦτο ἀποβήσεσθαι. ³ οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες

σοφίην ἔν τε τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἔργοισι ἀποδείκνυνται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ. ἀπολαχόντες γὰρ μόριον ὅσον αὐτοῖσι ἐπέβαλλε, ὥρυσσον τὸ μὲν ἄνω στόμα τῆς διώρυχος ποιεῦντες διπλήσιον ἢ ὅσον ἔδεε αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυχα γενέσθαι, προβαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ ἔργου συνῆγον αἰεὶ· κάτω τε δὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐξισοῦτο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι τὸ ἔργον. 4 ἐνθαῦτα λειμών ἐστι, ἵνα σφι ἀγορὴ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ πρητήριον· σῖτος δὲ σφι πολλὸς ἐφοίτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἀληλεσμένος.

24

1 ὥς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλόμενον εὐρίσκειν, μεγαλοφροσύνης εἵνεκεν αὐτὸ Ξέρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε, ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι· παρεὸν γὰρ μηδένα πόνον λαβόντας τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας διειρύσαι, ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε διώρυχα τῇ θαλάσῃ εὗρος ὥς δύο τριήρεας πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρεομένας. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι τούτοισι, τοῖσί περ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, προσετέτακτο καὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ζεύξαντας γαφυρῶσαι.

25

1 ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐποίεε, παρεσκευάζετο δὲ καὶ ὄπλα ἐς τὰς γεφύρας βύβλινά τε καὶ λευκολίνου, ἐπιτάξας Φοίνιξί τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι, καὶ σιτία τῇ στρατιῇ καταβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ λιμῆναι ἢ στρατιῇ μηδὲ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐλαυνόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· 2 ἀναπυθόμενος δὲ τοὺς χώρους καταβάλλειν ἐκέλευε ἵνα ἐπιτηδεότατον εἴη, ἄλλα ἄλλη ἀγινέοντας ὀλκάσι τε καὶ πορθμηίοισι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης πανταχόθεν. τὸν δὲ ὦν πλεῖστον ἐς Λευκὴν ἀκτὴν καλεομένην τῆς Θρηίκης ἀγίνεον, οἱ δὲ ἐς Τυρόδιζαν τὴν Περινθίων, οἱ δὲ ἐς Δορίσκον, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, οἱ δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίην διατεταγμένοι.

26

1 ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι τὸν προκείμενον πόνον ἐργάζοντο, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας συλλελεγμένος ἅμα Ξέρξη ἐπορεύετο ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐκ ἐκ Κριτάλλων ὀρμηθεὶς τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίῃ· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ εἴρητο συλλέγεσθαι πάντα τὸν κατ' ἡπειρον μέλλοντα ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξη πορεύεσθαι στρατόν. 2 ὃς μὲν νυν τῶν ὑπάρχων στρατὸν κάλλιστα ἐσταλμένον ἀγαγὼν τὰ προκείμενα παρὰ βασιλέως ἔλαβε δῶρα, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἐς κρίσιν τούτου πέρι ἐλθόντας οἶδα. 3

οἱ δὲ ἐπεῖτε διαβάντες τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν ὠμίλησαν τῇ Φρυγίῃ, δι' αὐτῆς πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Κελαινάς, ἵνα πηγαὶ ἀναδιδούσι Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐτέρου οὐκ ἐλάσσονος ἢ Μαιάνδρου, τῷ οὐνόματι τυγχάνει ἐὼν Καταρρήκτης, ὃς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀγορῆς τῆς Κελαινέων ἀνατέλλων ἐς τὸν Μαιάνδρον ἐκδιδοῖ· ἐν τῇ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Σιληνοῦ Μαρσύεω ἀσκὸς ἀνακρέμαται, τὸν ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λόγος ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκδαρέντα ἀνακρεμασθῆναι.

27

1 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ὑποκατήμενος Πύθιος ὁ Ἄτους ἀνὴρ Λυδὸς ἐξείνισε τὴν βασιλείος στρατιὴν πᾶσαν ξεινίοισι μεγίστοις καὶ αὐτὸν Ξέρξην, χρήματά τε ἐπαγγέλλετο βουλόμενος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον παρέχειν. 2 ἐπαγγελλομένου δὲ χρήματα Πυθίου, εἶρετο Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς παρεόντας τίς τε ἐὼν ἀνδρῶν Πύθιος καὶ κόσα χρήματα ἐκτημένος ἐπαγγέλλοιτο ταῦτα. οἱ δὲ εἶπαν “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὗτος ἐστὶ ὃς τοι τὸν πατέρα Δαρεῖον ἐδωρήσατο τῇ πλατανίστῳ τῇ χρυσέῃ καὶ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ· ὃς καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων πλούτῳ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν μετὰ σέ”.

28

1 θωμάσας δὲ τῶν ἐπέων τὸ τελευταῖον Ξέρξης αὐτὸς δεύτερα εἶρετο Πύθιον ὁκόσα οἱ εἴη χρήματα. ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε σε ἀποκρύνω οὔτε σκῆψομαι τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὴν ἐμεωυτοῦ οὐσίην, ἀλλ' ἐπιστάμενός τοι ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω. 2 ἐπεῖτε γὰρ τάχιστα σε ἐπυθόμην ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καταβαίνοντα τὴν Ἑλληνίδα, βουλόμενός τοι δοῦναι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον χρήματα ἐξεμάνθανον, καὶ εὖρον λογιζόμενος ἀργυρίου μὲν δύο χιλιάδας εἰσέας μοι ταλάντων, χρυσίου δὲ τετρακοσίας μυριάδας στατήρων Δαρεικῶν ἐπιδεούσας ἑπτὰ χιλιάδων. 3 καὶ τούτοισί σε ἐγὼ δωρέομαι, αὐτῷ δέ μοι ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων τε καὶ γεωπέδων ἀρκέων ἐστὶ βίος”.

29

1 ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Ξέρξης δὲ ἡσθεὶς τοῖσι εἰρημένοις εἶπε “ξείνε Λυδέ, ἐγὼ ἐπεῖτε ἐξῆλθον τὴν Περσίδα χώραν, οὐδενὶ ἀνδρὶ συνένιξα ἐς τόδε ὅστις ἠθέλησε ξείνια προθεῖναι στρατῷ τῷ ἐμῷ, οὐδὲ ὅστις ἐς ὅσιν τὴν ἐμὴν καταστάς αὐτεπάγγελτος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐμοὶ ἠθέλησε συμβαλέσθαι χρήματα, ἔξω σεῦ. σὺ δὲ καὶ ἐξείνισας

μεγάλως στρατὸν τὸν ἑμὸν καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα ἐπαγγέλλεαι. 2 σοὶ ὦν ἐγὼ ἀντὶ αὐτῶν γέρεα τοιάδε δίδωμι· ξεῖνόν τέ σε ποιεῦμαι ἑμὸν καὶ τὰς τετρακοσίας μυριάδας τοὶ τῶν στατήρων ἀποπλήσω παρ' ἐμεωυτοῦ δούς τὰς ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας, ἵνα μὴ τοὶ ἐπιδεέες ἔωσι αἱ τετρακόσαι μυριάδες ἑπτὰ χιλιάδων, ἀλλὰ ἧ τοὶ ἀπαρτιλογίῃ ὑπ' ἐμέο πεπληρωμένη. 3 ἔκτησό τε αὐτὸς τὰ περ αὐτὸς ἐκτήσαο, ἐπίστασό τε εἶναι αἰεὶ τοιοῦτος· οὐ γάρ τοι ταῦτα ποιεῦντι οὔτε ἐς τὸ παρεὸν οὔτε ἐς χρόνον μεταμελήσει”.

30

1 ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἐπιτελέα ποιήσας ἐπορεύετο τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ. Ἄναυα δὲ καλεομένην Φρυγῶν πόλιν παραμειβόμενος καὶ λίμνην ἐκ τῆς ἅλης γίνονται, ἀπίκητο ἐς Κολοσσὰς πόλιν μεγάλην Φρυγίης· ἐν τῇ Λύκος ποταμὸς ἐς χάσμα γῆς ἐσβάλλων ἀφανίζεται, ἔπειτα διὰ σταδίων ὥς πέντε μάλιστα κη ἀναφαινόμενος ἐκδίδοι καὶ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον. 2 ἐκ δὲ Κολοσσέων ὁ στρατὸς ὁρμώμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς οὖρους τῶν Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν ἀπίκητο ἐς Κύδραρα πόλιν, ἔνθα στήλη καταπεπηγυῖα, σταθεῖσα δὲ ὑπὸ Κροΐσου, καταμηνύει διὰ γραμμάτων τοὺς οὖρους.

31

1 ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίης ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὴν Λυδίην, σχιζομένης τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐς ἀριστερὴν ἐπὶ Καρίης φερούσης τῆς δὲ ἐς δεξιὴν ἐς Σάρδεις, τῇ καὶ πορευομένῳ διαβῆναι τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμὸν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη γίνεται καὶ ἰέναι παρὰ Καλλάτηβον πόλιν, ἐν τῇ ἄνδρες δημοεργοὶ μέλι ἐκ μυρίκης τε καὶ πυροῦ ποιεῦσι, ταύτην ἰὼν ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν ὁδὸν εὔρε πλατάνιστον, τὴν κάλλεος εἵνεκα δωρησάμενος κόσμῳ χρυσέῳ καὶ μελεδωνῷ ἀθανάτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτρέψας δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπίκητο ἐς τῶν Λυδῶν τὸ ἄστυ.

32

1 ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Σάρδεις πρῶτα μὲν ἀπέπεμπε κήρυκας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα αἰτήσοντας γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ προερέοντας δεῖπνα βασιλείᾳ παρασκευάζειν· πλὴν οὔτε ἐς Ἀθήνας οὔτε ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπέπεμπε ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ πάντῃ. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα τὸ δεῦτερον ἀπέπεμπε ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ· ὅσοι πρότερον οὐκ ἔδοσαν Δαρεῖω πέμψαντι, τούτους πάγχυ ἐδόκεε τότε δείσαντας δώσειν·

βουλόμενος ὧν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐκμαθεῖν ἀκριβέως ἔπεμπε.

33

¹ μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἐλὼν ἐς Ἄβυδον. οἱ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἐξεύγνυσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Σηστοῦ τε πόλιος μεταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτὴ παχέα ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα Ἀβύδῳ καταντίον· ἔνθα μετὰ ταῦτα, χρόνῳ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ, ἐπὶ Ξανθίππου τοῦ Ἀρίφρονος στρατηγοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι Ἀρταύκτην ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν λαβόντες Σηστοῦ ὑπαρχον ζῶντα πρὸς σανίδα διεπασσάλευσαν, ὃς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω τὸ ἱρὸν ἐς Ἑλαιοῦντα ἀγινεόμενος γυναῖκας ἀθέμιστα ἔρδεσκε.

34

¹ ἐς ταύτην ὧν τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐξ Ἀβύδου ὁρμώμενοι ἐγεφύρουν τοῖσι προσέκειτο, τὴν μὲν λευκολίνου Φοίνικες, τὴν δ' ἐτέρην τὴν βυβλίην Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔστι δὲ ἐπτὰ στάδιοι ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἐς τὴν ἀπαντίον. καὶ δὴ ἐξευγμένου τοῦ πόρου ἐπιγενόμενος χειμῶν μέγας συνέκοψέ τε ἐκεῖνα πάντα καὶ διέλυσε.

35

¹ ὡς δ' ἐπύθετο Ξέρξης, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἐκέλευσε τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγὰς καὶ κατεῖναι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων ζευγος. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα ὡς καὶ στιγέας ἅμα τούτοισι ἀπέπεμψε στίζοντας τὸν Ἑλλησποντον. ² ἐνετέλλετο δὲ ὧν ῥαπίζοντας λέγειν βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα· “ὦ πικρὸν ὕδωρ, δεσπότης τοι δίκην ἐπιτιθεῖ τήνδε, ὅτι μιν ἡδίκησας οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου ἄδικον παθόν. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ξέρξης διαβήσεταιί σε, ἣν τε σύ γε βούλῃ ἦν τε μή· σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων θύει ὡς ἐόντι καὶ θολερῷ καὶ ἀλμυρῷ ποταμῷ”. ³ τὴν τε δὴ θάλασσαν ἐνετέλλετο τούτοισι ζημιοῦν καὶ τῶν ἐπεστεώτων τῇ ζεύξῃ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἀποταμεῖν τὰς κεφαλὰς.

36

¹ καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίηον, τοῖσι προσέκειτο αὕτη ἡ ἄχαρις τιμή, τὰς δὲ ἄλλοι ἀρχιτέκτονες ἐξεύγνυσαν. ἐξεύγνυσαν δὲ ὧδε, πεντηκοντέρους καὶ τριήρεας συνθέντες, ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἐτέρην

τεσσερεσκαίδεκα καὶ τριηκοσίας, τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας τοῦ δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου κατὰ ρόον, ἵνα ἀνακωχεύῃ τὸν τόνον τῶν ὀπλων· 2 συνθέντες δὲ ἀγκύρας κατήκαν περιμήκεας, τὰς μὲν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου τῆς ἐτέρης τῶν ἀνέμων εἵνεκεν τῶν ἔσωθεν ἐκπνεόντων, τῆς δὲ ἐτέρης πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου ζεφύρου τε καὶ νότου εἵνεκα. διέκπλοον δὲ ὑπόφασιν κατέλιπον τῶν πεντηκοντέρων καὶ τριηρέων, ἵνα καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔχῃ ὁ βουλόμενος πλέειν πλοίοισι λεπτοῖσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔξω. 3 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες κατέτεινον ἐκ γῆς στρεβλοῦντες ὄνοισι ξυλίνοισι τὰ ὄπλα, οὐκέτι χωρὶς ἐκάτερα τάξαντες, ἀλλὰ δύο μὲν λευκολίνου δασάμενοι ἐς ἐκατέρην, τέσσερα δὲ τῶν βυβλίνων. παχύτης μὲν ἦν ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ καλλονή, κατὰ λόγον δὲ ἐμβριθέστερα ἦν τὰ λίνεα, τοῦ τάλαντον ὁ πῆχυς εἴλκε. 4 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγεφυρώθη ὁ πόρος, κορμοὺς ξύλων καταπρίσαντες καὶ ποιήσαντες ἴσους τῆς σχεδίας τῷ εὐρεῖ κόσμῳ ἐτίθεσαν κατύπερθε τῶν ὀπλων τοῦ τόνου, θέντες δὲ ἐπεξῆς ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὶς ἐπεξεύγνυνον· 5 ποιήσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ὕλην ἐπεφόρησαν, κόσμῳ δὲ θέντες καὶ τὴν ὕλην γῆν ἐπεφόρησαν, κατανάξαντες δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν φραγμὸν παρείρυσαν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, ἵνα μὴ φοβέηται τὰ ὑποζύγια τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπερορῶντα καὶ οἱ ἵπποι.

37

1 ὥς δὲ τὰ τε τῶν γεφυρέων κατεσκεύαστο καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, οἳ τε χυτοὶ περὶ τὰ στόματα τῆς διώρυχος, οἳ τῆς ῥηχίης εἵνεκεν ἐποιήθησαν, ἵνα μὴ πίμπληται τὰ στόματα τοῦ ὀρύγματος, καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ διώρυξ παντελέως πεποιομένη ἀγγέλλετο, ἐνθαῦτα χειμερίσας ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι παρεσκευασμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὀρμᾶτο ἐλθὼν ἐς Ἀβυδον· 2 ὀρμημένῳ δὲ οἱ ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδρην ἀφανὴς ἦν οὐτ' ἐπινεφέλων ἐόντων αἰθρίης τε τὰ μάλιστα, ἀντὶ ἡμέρης τε νύξ ἐγένετο. ἰδόντι δὲ καὶ μαθόντι τοῦτο τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο, καὶ εἴρετο τοὺς Μάγους τὸ θέλει προφαίνειν τὸ φάσμα. 3 οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον ὥς Ἑλλησι προδεικνύει ὁ θεὸς ἐκλειψιν τῶν πολίων, λέγοντες ἥλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προδέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων. ταῦτα πυθόμενος ὁ Ξέρξης περιχαρὴς ἐὼν ἐποιέετο τὴν ἔλασιν.

38

1 ὥς δ' ἐξήλαυνε τὴν στρατιήν, Πύθιος ὁ Λυδὸς καταρρώδηςας τὸ

ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φάσμα ἐπαερθεῖς τε τοῖσι δωρήμασι, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Ξέρξην ἔλεγε τάδε. “ὦ δέσποτα, χρήσας ἄν τι σεῦ βουλοίμην τυχεῖν, τὸ σοὶ μὲν ἐλαφρὸν τυγχάνει ἐὼν ὑπουργῆσαι, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγα γενόμενον”. ² Ξέρξης δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων μιν χρησίσειν ἢ τὸ ἐδεήθη, ἔφη τε ὑπουργήσειν καὶ δὴ ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευε ὅτεν δέοιτο. ὁ δὲ ἐπεῖτε ταῦτα ἤκουσε, ἔλεγε θαρσήσας τάδε. “ὦ δέσποτα, τυγχάνουσὶ μοι παῖδες ἐόντες πέντε, καὶ σφεας καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἅμα σοὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ³ σὺ δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμὲ ἐς τὸδε ἡλικίης ἤκοντα οἰκτείρας τῶν μοι παίδων ἓνα παράλυσον τῆς στρατηγίας τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἵνα αὐτοῦ τε ἐμεῦ καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἡ μελεδωνός· τοὺς δὲ τέσσερας ἄγευ ἅμα σεωυτῶ, καὶ πρήξας τὰ νοεῖς νοστήσειας ὀπίσω”.

39

¹ κάρτα τε ἐθυμώθη ὁ Ξέρξης καὶ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “ὦ κακὲ ἄνθρωπε, σὺ ἐτόλμησας, ἐμεῦ στρατευομένου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἄγοντος παῖδας ἐμούς καὶ ἀδελφεοὺς καὶ οἰκίους καὶ φίλους, μνήσασθαι περὶ σέο παιδός, ἐὼν ἐμὸς δοῦλος, τὸν χρῆν πανοικίῃ αὐτῇ τῇ γυναικὶ συνέπεσθαι ; εὗ νυν τόδ’ ἐξεπίστασο, ὥς ἐν τοῖσι ὥσὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκέει ὁ θυμός, ὃς χρηστὰ μὲν ἀκούσας τέρψιος ἐμπιπλεῖ τὸ σῶμα, ὑπεναντία δὲ τούτοισι ἀκούσας ἀνοιδέει. ² ὅτε μὲν νυν χρηστὰ ποιήσας ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἐπηγγέλλεο, εὐεργεσίῃσι βασιλέα οὐ καυχῆσαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀναιδέστερον ἐτράπευ, τὴν μὲν ἀξίην οὐ λάμβναι, ἐλάσσω δὲ τῆς ἀξίης. σὲ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς τέσσερας τῶν παίδων ρύεται τὰ ξείνια· τοῦ δὲ ἐνός, τοῦ περιέχειαι μάλιστα, τῇ ψυχῇ ζημιώσεται”. ³ ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκρίνατο, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε τοῖσι προσετέτακτο ταῦτα πρήσσειν, τῶν Πυθίου παίδων ἐξευρόντας τὸν πρεσβύτατον μέσον διαταμεῖν, διαταμόντας δὲ τὰ ἡμίτομα διαθεῖναι τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ δ’ ἐπ’ ἀριστερά, καὶ ταύτῃ διεξιέναι τὸν στρατόν.

40

¹ ποιησάντων δὲ τούτων τοῦτο, μετὰ ταῦτα διεξίηε ὁ στρατός. ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, μετὰ δὲ τούτους σύμμικτος στρατός παντοίων ἐθνέων ἀναμίξ, οὐ διακεκριμένοι· τῇ δὲ ὑπερημίσεες ἦσαν, ἐνθαῦτα διελέλειπτο, καὶ οὐ συνέμισγον οὗτοι βασιλεί. ² προηγεῦντο μὲν δὴ ἱππῶται χίλιοι, ἐκ

Περσέων πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι· μετὰ δὲ αἰχμοφόροι χίλιοι καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι, τὰς λόγχας κάτω ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέψαντες· μετὰ δὲ ἱροὶ Νησαῖοι καλεόμενοι ἵπποι δέκα κεκοσμημένοι ὥς κάλλιστα. ³ Νησαῖοι δὲ καλέονται ἵπποι ἐπὶ τοῦδε· ἔστι πεδίον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς τῷ οὐνομα ἐστὶ Νήσαιον· τοὺς ὧν δὴ ἵππους τοὺς μεγάλους φέρει τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο. ⁴ ὅπισθε δὲ τούτων τῶν δέκα ἵππων ἄρμα Διὸς ἱρὸν ἐπετέτακτο, τὸ ἵπποι μὲν εἴκον λευκοὶ ὀκτώ, ὅπισθε δὲ αὐτῶν ἵππων εἶπετο πεζῇ ἡνίοχος ἐχόμενος τῶν χαλινῶν· οὐδεὶς γάρ δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβαίνει. τούτου δὲ ὅπισθε αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπ' ἄρματος ἵππων Νησαίων· παραβεβήκεε δὲ οἱ ἡνίοχος τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Πατιράμφης, Ὅτάνεω ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω παῖς.

41

¹ ἐξήλασε μὲν οὕτω ἐκ Σαρδίων Ξέρξης, μετεκβαίνεσκε δέ, ὅκως μιν λόγος αἰρέοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς ἀρμάμαξαν. αὐτοῦ δὲ ὅπισθε αἰχμοφόροι Περσέων οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ γενναιότατοι χίλιοι, κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες, μετὰ δὲ ἵππος ἄλλη χιλίη ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένη, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένοι μύριοι. οὗτος πεζὸς ἦν· ² καὶ τούτων χίλιοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσι δόρασι ἀντὶ τῶν σαυρωτήρων ροιὰς εἶχον χρυσέας καὶ πέριξ συνεκλήιον τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ δὲ εἰνακισχίλιοι ἐντὸς τούτων ἐόντες ἀργυρέας ροιὰς εἶχον· εἶχον δὲ χρυσέας ροιὰς καὶ οἱ ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέποντες τὰς λόγχας, καὶ μῆλα οἱ ἄγχιστα ἐπόμενοι Ξέρξη. τοῖσι δὲ μυρίοισι ἐπετέτακτο ἵππος Περσέων μυρὴν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον διέλειπε καὶ δύο σταδίους, καὶ ἔπειτα ὁ λοιπὸς ὄμιλος ἦε ἀναμίξ.

42

¹ ἐποιέετο δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκ τῆς Λυδίας ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τε ποταμὸν Κάικον καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, ἀπὸ δὲ Καϊκου ὁρμώμενος, Κάνης ὄρος ἔχων ἐν ἀριστερῇ, διὰ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος ἐς Καρήνην πόλιν· ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης διὰ Θήβης πεδίου ἐπορεύετο, Ἀδραμύττειόν τε πόλιν καὶ Ἄντανδρον τὴν Πελασγίδα παραμειβόμενος. ² τὴν Ἰδην δὲ λαβὼν ἐς ἀριστερὴν χεῖρα ἦε ἐς τὴν Ἰλιάδα γῆν. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰδῇ νύκτα ἀναμείναντι βρονταὶ τε καὶ πρησιτῆρες ἐπесπίπτουσι καὶ τινα αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συχνὸν ὄμιλον διέφθειραν.

¹ ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Σκάμανδρον, ὃς πρῶτος ποταμῶν, ἐπεῖτε ἐκ Σαρδίων ὀρμηθέντες ἐπεχείρησαν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπέλιπε τὸ ῥέεθρον οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τε καὶ τοῖσι κτήνεσι πινόμενος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἀπίκετο Ξέρξης, ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη ἕμερον ἔχων θεήσασθαι· ² θεησάμενος δὲ καὶ πυθόμενος ἐκείνων ἕκαστα τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσσε βοῦς χιλίας, χοὰς δὲ οἱ Μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι ἐχέαντο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιησαμένοισι νυκτὸς φόβος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε. ἅμα ἡμέρη δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐνθεῦτεν, ἐν ἀριστερῇ μὲν ἀπέργων Ροίτιον πόλιν καὶ Ὀφρύνειον καὶ Δάρδανον, ἣ περ δὴ Ἀβύδω ὄμιμος ἐστί, ἐν δεξιῇ δὲ Γέργιθας Τευκρούς.

¹ ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετο ἐν Ἀβύδω μέση, ἠθέλησε Ξέρξης ιδέσθαι πάντα τὸν στρατόν· καὶ προεπεποίητο γὰρ ἐπὶ κολωνοῦ ἐπίτηδες αὐτῷ ταύτῃ προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἀβυδηνοὶ ἐντειλαμένου πρότερον βασιλέως, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἴζετο, κατορῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὰς νέας, θεύμενος δὲ ἡμέρῃ τῶν νεῶν ἄμιλλαν γινομένην ιδέσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετό τε καὶ ἐνίκων Φοίνικες Σιδώνιοι, ἦσθη τε τῇ ἀμίλλῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ.

¹ ὥς δὲ ὥρα πάντα μὲν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένον, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ Ἀβυδηνῶν πεδία ἐπίπλεα ἀνθρώπων, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης ἐωυτὸν ἐμακάρισε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε.

¹ μαθὼν δέ μιν Ἀρτάβανος ὁ πάτριος, ὃς τὸ πρῶτον γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐλευθέρως οὐ συμβουλευὼν Ξέρξῃ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὗτος ὤνῃρ φρασθεὶς Ξέρξην δακρύσαντα εἶρετο τάδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὥς πολλὸν ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα ἐργάσαιο νῦν τε καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον· μακαρίσας γὰρ σεωυτὸν δακρύεις”. ² ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ἐσῆλθε γάρ με λογισάμενον κατοικτεῖραι ὥς βραχὺς εἴη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος βίος, εἰ τούτων γε ἐόντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς ἐς ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος περιέσται”. ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων “ἕτερα τούτου παρὰ τὴν ζόην

πεπόνθαμεν οἰκτρότερα. ³ ἐν γὰρ οὕτω βραχεί βίῳ οὐδεὶς οὕτω ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν εὐδαίμων πέφυκε οὔτε τούτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται πολλάκις καὶ οὐκὶ ἅπαξ τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν. αἱ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ προσπίπτουσιν καὶ αἱ νοῦσοι συνταράσσουσιν καὶ βραχὺν ἐόντα μακρὸν δοκέειν εἶναι ποιεῦσι τὸν βίον. ⁴ οὕτω ὁ μὲν θάνατος μοχθηρῆς ἐούσης τῆς ζῆς καταφυγὴ αἰρετωτάτη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονε, ὁ δὲ θεὸς γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα φθονερός ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρίσκεται ἐὼν”.

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¹ Ξέρξης δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων “Ἀρτάβανε, βιοτῆς μὲν νυν ἀνθρωπίνης πέρι, ἐούσης τοιαύτης οἴην περ σὺ διαιρέαι εἶναι, παυσώμεθα, μηδὲ κακῶν μεμνώμεθα χρηστὰ ἔχοντες πρήγματα ἐν χερσί, φράσον δέ μοι τόδε· εἴ τοι ἡ ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου μὴ ἐναργῆς οὕτω ἐφάνη, εἶχες ἂν τὴν ἀρχαίην γνώμην, οὐκ ἐὼν με στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢ μετέστης ἂν ; φέρε τοῦτό μοι ἀτρεκέως εἰπέ”. ² ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὄψις μὲν ἡ ἐπιφανείσα τοῦ ὄνειρου ὥς βουλόμεθα ἀμφοτέρωτεροι τελευτήσῃ, ἐγὼ δ’ ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε δείματος εἰμὶ ὑπόπλεος οὐδ’ ἐντὸς ἐμεωντοῦ, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπιλεγόμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ὀρῶν τοι δύο τὰ μέγιστα πάντων ἐόντα πολεμιώτατα”.

48

¹ Ξέρξης δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, κοῖα ταῦτα λέγεις εἶναι δύο μοι πολεμιώτατα; κότερά τοι ὁ πεζὸς μεμπτὸς κατὰ πλῆθος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα φαίνεται πολλαπλήσιον ἔσεσθαι τοῦ ἡμετέρου, ἢ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον λείψεσθαι τοῦ ἐκείνου, ἢ καὶ συναμφοτέρα ταῦτα; εἰ γὰρ τοι ταῦτη φαίνεται ἐνδεέστερα εἶναι τὰ ἡμέτερα πρήγματα, στρατοῦ ἂν ἄλλου τις τὴν ταχίστην ἄγερσιν ποιέοιτο”.

49

¹ ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο λέγων “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε στρατὸν τοῦτον, ὅστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, μέμποιτ’ ἂν οὔτε τῶν νεῶν τὸ πλῆθος· ἦν δὲ πλεῦνας συλλέξης, τὰ δύο τοι τὰ λέγω πολλῷ ἔτι πολεμιώτερα γίνεται. τὰ δὲ δύο ταῦτα ἐστὶ γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα. ² οὔτε γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστὶ λιμὴν τοσοῦτος οὐδαμόθι, ὥς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω, ὅστις ἐγειρομένου

χειμῶνος δεξάμενός σευ τοῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν φερέγγυος ἔσται διασῶσαι τὰς νέας. καίτοι οὐκ ἓνα αὐτὸν δεῖ εἶναι τὸν λιμένα, ἀλλὰ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἡπειρον παρ' ἣν δὴ κομίζεται. 3 οὐκ ὄντων τοι λιμένων ὑποδεξίων, μάθε ὅτι αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄρχουσι καὶ οὐκ ὠνθρωποι τῶν συμφορέων. καὶ δὴ τῶν δύο τοι τοῦ ἑτέρου εἰρημένου τὸ ἕτερον ἔρχομαι ἐρέων. 4 γῇ δὲ πολεμῇ τῇδὲ τοι κατίσταται· εἰ θέλει τοι μηδὲν ἀντίξοον καταστῆναι, τοσοῦτ' οὖν τοι γίνεται πολεμιωτέρη ὅσ' ἂν προβαίνης ἑκαστέρῳ, τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος· εὐπρηξίης δὲ οὐκ ἔστι ἀνθρώποισι οὐδεμία πληθώρα. 5 καὶ δὴ τοι, ὥς οὐδενὸς ἐναντιευμένου, λέγω τὴν χώραν πλεῦνα ἐν πλέονι χρόνῳ γινομένην λιμὸν τέξεσθαι. ἀνὴρ δὲ οὕτ' ἂν εἴη ἄριστος, εἰ βουλευόμενος μὲν ἀρρώδεοι, πᾶν ἐπιλεγόμενος πείσεσθαι χρῆμα, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ θρασὺς εἴη”.

50

1 ἀμείβεται Ξέρξης τοῖσιδε. “Ἀρτάβανε, οἰκότως μὲν σύ γε τούτων ἕκαστα διαιρέαι· ἀτὰρ μήτε πάντα φοβεό μήτε πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεο. εἰ γὰρ δὴ βούλοιο ἐπὶ τῷ αἰεὶ ἐπεσφερομένῳ πρήγματι τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ποιήσεις ἂν οὐδαμὰ οὐδέν· κρέσσον δὲ πάντα θαρσέοντα ἡμῖς τῶν δεινῶν πάσχειν μᾶλλον ἢ πᾶν χρῆμα προδειμαίνοντα μηδαμὰ μηδὲν παθεῖν. 2 εἰ δὲ ἐρίζων πρὸς πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον μὴ τὸ βέβαιον ἀποδέξεις, σφάλλεσθαι ὀφείλεις ἐν αὐτοῖσι ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ὑπεναντία τούτοις λέξας. τοῦτο μὲν νυν ἐπ' ἴσης ἔχει· εἰδέναι δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἔοντα κῶς χρὴ τὸ βέβαιον; δοκέω μὲν οὐδαμῶς. τοῖσι τοίνυν βουλομένοις ποιεῖν ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν φιλέει γίνεσθαι τὰ κέρδεα, τοῖσι δὲ ἐπιλεγόμενοις τε πάντα καὶ ὀκνεοῦσι οὐ μάλα ἐθέλει. 3 ὁρᾷς τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα ἐς ὃ δυνάμιος προκεχώρηκε. εἰ τοίνυν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πρὸ ἐμεῦ γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς γνώμῃσι ἐχρέωντο ὁμοίῃσι καὶ σύ, ἢ μὴ χρεώμενοι γνώμῃσι τοιαύτησι ἄλλους συμβούλους εἶχον τοιούτους, οὐκ ἂν κοτε εἶδες αὐτὰ ἐς τοῦτο προελθόντα· νῦν δὲ κινδύνους ἀναρρίπτεοντες ἐς τοῦτο σφέα προηγάγοντο. μεγάλα γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλοις κινδύνουσι ἐθέλει καταίρεσθαι. 4 ἡμεῖς τοίνυν ὁμοιούμενοι ἐκεῖνοισι ὥρην τε τοῦ ἔτεος καλλίστην πορευόμεθα, καὶ καταστρεψάμενοι πᾶσαν τὴν Εὐρώπην νοστήσομεν ὀπίσω, οὔτε λιμῶ ἐντυχόντες οὐδαμῶθι οὔτε ἄλλο ἄχαρι οὐδὲν παθόντες. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ πολλὴν φορβὴν φερόμενοι πορευόμεθα, τοῦτο δὲ, τῶν ἂν κου ἐπιβέωμεν γῆν καὶ

ἔθνος, τούτων τὸν σῖτον ἔχομεν· ἐπ’ ἀροτῆρας δὲ καὶ οὐ νομάδας στρατευόμεθα ἄνδρας”.

51

1 λέγει Ἀρτάβανος μετὰ ταῦτα “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπεῖτε ἀρρώδεειν οὐδὲν ἔασι πρῆγμα, σὺ δέ μευ συμβουλίην ἔνδεξαι· ἀναγκαίως γὰρ ἔχει περὶ πολλῶν πρηγμάτων πλεῦνα λόγον ἐκτεῖναι. Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω Ἰωνίην πᾶσαν πλὴν Ἀθηναίων κατεστρέψατο δασμοφόρον εἶναι Πέρσῃσι. 2 τούτους ὧν τοὺς ἄνδρας συμβουλεύω τοι μηδεμιῇ μηχανῇ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας· καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων οἳοί τε εἰμὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατυπέρτεροι γίνεσθαι. ἢ γὰρ σφέας, ἢν ἔπωνται, δεῖ ἀδικωτάτους γίνεσθαι καταδουλουμένους τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἢ δικαιοτάτους συνελευθεροῦντας. 3 ἀδικώτατοι μὲν νυν γινόμενοι οὐδὲν κέρδος μέγα ἡμῖν προσβάλλουσι, δικαιοτάτοι δὲ γινόμενοι οἳοί τε δηλήσασθαι μεγάλως τὴν σὴν στρατιὴν γίνονται. ἐς θυμὸν ὧν βάλεν καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔπος ὥς εὖ εἴρηται, τὸ μὴ ἅμα ἀρχῇ πᾶν τέλος καταφαίνεσθαι”.

52

1 ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης “Ἀρτάβανε, τῶν ἀπεφήναο γνωμέων σφάλλειαι κατὰ ταύτην δὴ μάλιστα, ὃς Ἴωνας φοβέαι μὴ μεταβάλωσι, τῶν ἔχομεν γνῶμα μέγιστον, τῶν σύ τε μάρτυς γίνεαι καὶ οἱ συστρατευσάμενοι Δαρεῖω ἄλλοι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτοισι ἢ πᾶσα Περσικὴ στρατιὴ ἐγένετο διαφθεῖραι καὶ περιποιῆσαι, οἳ δὲ δικαιοσύνην καὶ πιστότητα ἐνέδωκαν, ἄχαρι δὲ οὐδέν. 2 πάρεξ δὲ τούτου, ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ καταλιπόντας τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ χρήματα οὐδ’ ἐπιλέγεσθαι χρὴ νεώτερόν τι ποιήσειν. οὕτω μὴδὲ τοῦτο φοβέο, ἀλλὰ θυμὸν ἔχων ἀγαθὸν σῶζε οἶκόν τε τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ τυραννίδα τὴν ἐμήν· σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ μούνῳ ἐκ πάντων σκῆπτρα τὰ ἐμὰ ἐπιτρέπω”.

53

1 ταῦτα εἶπας καὶ Ἀρτάβανον ἀποστείλας ἐς Σοῦσα δευτέρα μετεπέμψατο Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους· ἐπεὶ δέ οἱ παρῆσαν, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. “ὦ Πέρσαι, τῶνδ’ ἐγὼ ὑμέων χριζὼν συνέλεξα, ἄνδρας τε γενέσθαι ἀγαθοὺς καὶ μὴ καταισχύνειν τὰ πρόσθε ἐργασμένα Πέρσῃσι, ἐόντα μεγάλα τε καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξια, ἀλλ’ εἷς τε ἕκαστος καὶ οἱ σύμπαντες προθυμίην ἔχωμεν· ξυνὸν γὰρ πᾶσι

τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν σπεύδεται. 2 τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα προαγορεύω ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου ἐντεταμένως· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπ' ἄνδρας στρατευόμεθα ἀγαθοὺς, τῶν ἦν κρατήσωμεν, οὐ μὴ τις ἡμῖν ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀντιστῇ κοτε ἀνθρώπων. νῦν δὲ διαβαίνωμεν ἐπευξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι οἱ Πέρσας λελόγχασιν”.

54

1 ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν διάβασιν· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἀνέμενον τὸν ἥλιον ἐθέλοντες ἰδέσθαι ἀνίσχοντα, θυμῆματά τε παντοῖα ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρέων καταγίζοντες καὶ μυρσίνησι στορνύντες τὴν ὁδόν. 2 ὥς δ' ἐπανέτελλε ὁ ἥλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσέης φιάλης Ξέρξης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν εὐχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον μηδεμίαν οἱ συντυχίην τοιαύτην γενέσθαι, ἥ μιν παύσει καταστρέψασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ τέρμασι τοῖσι ἐκείνης γένηται. εὐξάμενος δὲ ἐσέβαλε τὴν φιάλην ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ χρύσειον κρητῆρα καὶ Περσικὸν ξίφος, τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. 3 ταῦτα οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι οὔτε εἰ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνατιθεὶς κατήκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, οὔτε εἰ μετεμέλησέ οἱ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μαστιγώσαντι καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἐδωρέετο.

55

1 ὥς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποίητο, διέβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐτέρην τῶν γεφυρέων τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου ὁ πεζὸς τε καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἅπασα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Αἰγαῖον τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἡ θεραπῆ. 2 ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι, ἐστεφανωμένοι πάντες, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὁ σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὗτοι, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τε ἱππῶται καὶ οἱ τὰς λόγχας κάτω τρέποντες· ἐστεφάνωντο δὲ καὶ οὗτοι. 3 μετὰ δὲ οἱ τε ἵπποι οἱ ἱροὶ καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ ἱρόν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτός τε Ξέρξης καὶ οἱ αἰχμοφόροι καὶ οἱ ἱππῶται οἱ χίλιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ ἄλλος στρατός. καὶ αἱ νέες ἅμα ἀνήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίον. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα καὶ ὕστατον διαβῆναι βασιλέα πάντων.

56

1 Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ διέβη ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθηεῖτο τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα· διέβη δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρῃσι καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ εὐφρόνησι, ἐλινύσας οὐδένα χρόνον. 2 ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται,

Ξέρξω ἤδη διαβεβηκότος τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἄνδρα εἰπεῖν Ἑλλησπόντιον “ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος Πέρσῃ καὶ οὔνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ξέρξην θέμενος ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα θέλεις ποιῆσαι, ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων ἐξῆν τοι ποιέειν ταῦτα”.

57

1 ὥς δὲ διέβησαν πάντες, ἐς ὁδὸν ὀρμημένοισι τέρας σφι ἐφάνη μέγα, τὸ Ξέρξης ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποίησατο καίπερ εὐσύμβλητον ἐόν· ἵππος γὰρ ἔτεκε λαγόν. εὐσύμβλητον ὢν τῇδε τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἔμελλε μὲν ἑλᾶν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης ἀγαυρότατα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα, ὀπίσω δὲ περὶ ἐωυτοῦ τρέχων ἦξειν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χῶρον. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἕτερον αὐτῷ τέρας ἐόντι ἐν Σάρδισι· 2 ἡμίονος γὰρ ἔτεκε ἡμίονον διξὰ ἔχουσαν αἰδοῖα, τὰ μὲν ἔρσενος τὰ δὲ θηλέης· κατύπερθε δὲ ἦν τὰ τοῦ ἔρσενος. τῶν ἀμφοτέρων λόγον οὐδένα ποιησάμενος τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύετο, σὺν δέ οἱ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός.

58

1 ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέων παρὰ γῆν ἐκομίζετο, τὰ ἔμπαλιν πρήσσω τοῦ πεζοῦ. 2 ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἔπλεε, ἐπὶ Σαρπηδονίης ἄκρης ποιούμενος τὴν ἄπιξιν, ἐς τὴν αὐτῷ προεῖρητο ἀπικομένῳ περιμένειν· ὁ δὲ κατ’ ἡπειρον στρατὸς πρὸς ἠῷ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐποιέετο τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς Χερσονήσου, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχων τὸν Ἑλλῆς τάφον τῆς Αῥθάμαντος, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ Καρδίην πόλιν, διὰ μέσης δὲ πορευόμενος πόλιος τῇ οὔνομα τυγχάνει ἐὼν Ἀγορή. 3 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κάμπτων τὸν κόλπον τὸν Μέλανα καλεόμενον καὶ Μέλανα ποταμόν, οὐκ ἀντισχόντα τότε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ῥέεθρον ἀλλ’ ἐπιλιπόντα, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάς, ἐπ’ οὗ καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει, ἥτε πρὸς ἐσπέρην, Αἰνὸν τε πόλιν Αἰολίδα καὶ Στεντορίδα λίμνην παρεξίῳν, ἐς ὃ ἀπύκετο ἐς Δορίσκον.

59

1 ὁ δὲ Δορίσκος ἐστὶ τῆς Θρηίκης αἰγιαλός τε καὶ πεδίον μέγα, διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ῥέει ποταμὸς μέγας Ἑβρος· ἐν τῷ τεῖχος τε ἐδέδμητο βασιλῆιον τοῦτο τὸ δὴ Δορίσκος κέκληται, καὶ Περσέων φρουρὴ ἐν αὐτῷ κατεστήκεε ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπεῖτε ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐστρατεύετο. 2 ἔδοξε ὢν τῷ Ξέρξῃ ὁ χῶρος εἶναι ἐπιτήδεος

ἐνδιατάζαι τε καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὸν στρατόν, καὶ ἐποίεε ταῦτα. τὰς μὲν δὴ νέας τὰς πάσας ἀπικομένας ἐς Δορίσκον οἱ ναύαρχοι κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν προσεχέα Δορίσκῳ ἐκόμισαν, ἐν τῷ Σάλη τε Σαμοθρηκίῃ πεπόλισται πόλις καὶ Ζώνη, τελευτᾷ δὲ αὐτοῦ Σέρρρειον ἄκρη ὀνομαστή. ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὗτος τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Κικόνων. ³ ἐς τοῦτον τὸν αἰγιαλὸν κατασχόντες τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνεγκύσαντες. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῆς στρατιῆς ἀριθμὸν ἐποιέετο.

60

¹ ὅσον μὲν νυν ἕκαστοι παρεῖχον πλῆθος ἐς ἀριθμόν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀτρεκές· οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων· σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλῆθος ἐφάνη ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. ² ἐξηρίθμησαν δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· συνήγαγόν τε ἐς ἓνα χῶρον μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συννάξαντες ταύτην ὡς μάλιστα εἶχον περιέγραψαν ἔξωθεν κύκλον· περιγράψαντες δὲ καὶ ἀπέντες τοὺς μυρίους αἵμασιτὴν περιέβαλον κατὰ τὸν κύκλον, ὕψος ἀνήκουσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν ὀμφαλόν· ³ ταύτην δὲ ποιήσαντες ἄλλους ἐσεβίβαζον ἐς τὸ περιοικοδομημένον, μέχρι οὗ πάντας τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐξηρίθμησαν. ἀριθμήσαντες δὲ κατὰ ἔθνεα διέτασπον.

61

¹ οἱ δὲ στρατευόμενοι οἷδε ἦσαν, Πέρσαι μὲν ὧδε ἐσκευασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον τιάρας καλεομένους πῖλους ἀπαγέας, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους,..... λεπίδος σιδηρέης ὅσιν ἰχθυοειδέος, περὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλεα ἀναξυρίδας, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀσπίδων γέρρα· ὑπὸ δὲ φαρετρεῶνες ἐκρέμαντο· αἰχμὰς δὲ βραχέας εἶχον, τόξα δὲ μεγάλα, ὀιστοὺς δὲ καλαμίνους, πρὸς δὲ ἐγχειρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν παραιωρέμενα ἐκ τῆς ζώνης. ² καὶ ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο Ὀτάνεα τὸν Ἀμήστριος πατέρα τῆς Ξέρξεω γυναικός, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων Κηφῆνες, ὑπὸ μέντοι σφέων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Ἀρταῖοι. ³ ἐπεὶ δὲ Περσεὺς ὁ Δανάης τε καὶ Διὸς ἀπίκετο παρὰ Κηφέα τὸν Βήλου καὶ ἔσχε αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀνδρομέδην, γίνεται αὐτῷ παῖς τῷ οὐνομα ἔθετο Πέρσην, τοῦτον δὲ αὐτοῦ καταλείπει· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἅπαις ἐὼν ὁ Κηφεὺς ἔρσενος γόνου. ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔσχον.

¹ Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἐσταλμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο· Μηδικὴ γὰρ αὕτη ἢ σκευὴ ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ Περσικὴ. οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι ἄρχοντα μὲν παρείχοντο Τιγράνην ἄνδρα Ἀχαιμενίδην, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἄριοι, ἀπικομένης δὲ Μηδείης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἐς τοὺς Ἀρίους τούτους μετέβαλον καὶ οὗτοι τὸ οὖνομα. αὐτοὶ περὶ σφέων ὧδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι. ² Κίσσιοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ περ Πέρσαι ἐσκευάδατο, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πύλων μιτρηφόροι ἦσαν. Κισσίων δὲ ἦρχε Ἀνάφης ὁ Ὀτάνεω. Ὑρκάνιοι δὲ κατὰ περ Πέρσαι ἐσεσάχατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Μεγάπανον τὸν Βαβυλῶνος ὕστερον τούτων ἐπιτροπέυσαντα.

¹ Ἀσσύριοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον χάλκεά τε κράνεα καὶ πεπλεγμένα τρόπον τινὰ βάρβαρον οὐκ εὐαπήγητον, ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς καὶ ἐγχειρίδια παραπλήσια τῇσι Αἰγυπτίησι εἶχον, πρὸς δὲ ρόπαλα ξύλων τετυλωμένα σιδήρῳ, καὶ λινέους θώρηκας. οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων καλέονται Σύριοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἀσσύριοι ἐκλήθησαν. τούτων δὲ μεταξὺ Χαλδαῖοι. Ἦρχε δὲ σφέων Ὀτάσπης ὁ Ἀρταχάειω.

¹ Βάκτριοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀγχότατα τῶν Μηδικῶν ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, τόξα δὲ καλάμινα ἐπιχώρια καὶ αἰχμὰς βραχέας. ² Σάκαι δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυρβασίας ἐς ὅξυ ἀπηγμένας ὀρθὰς εἶχον πεπηγνίας, ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἐνεδεδύκεσαν, τόξα δὲ ἐπιχώρια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀξίνας σαγάρεις εἶχον. τούτους δὲ ἐόντας Σκύθας Ἀμυργίους Σάκας ἐκάλεον· οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας καλέουσι Σάκας. Βακτρίων δὲ καὶ Σακέων ἦρχε Ὑστάσπης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου.

¹ Ἴνδοι δὲ εἴματα μὲν ἐνδεδυκότες ἀπὸ ξύλων πεποιημένα, τόξα δὲ καλάμινα εἶχον καὶ οἰστοὺς καλαμίνους· ἐπὶ δὲ σίδηρος ἦν. ἐσταλμένοι μὲν δὴ ἦσαν οὕτω Ἴνδοί, προσετετάχατο δὲ συστρατευόμενοι Φαρναζάθρη τῷ Ἀρταβάτεω.

1 ἄριοι δὲ τόξοισι μὲν ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν Μηδικοῖσι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ περ Βάκριοι. Ἀρίων δὲ ἦρχε Σισάμνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος. Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμοι καὶ Σόγδοι τε καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι τὴν αὐτὴν σκευὴν ἔχοντες τὴν καὶ Βάκριοι ἐστρατεύοντο. 2 τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἶδε. Πάρθων μὲν καὶ Χορασμίων Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος, Σόγδων δὲ Ἀζάνης ὁ Ἀρταίου, Γανδαρίων δὲ καὶ Δαδικέων Ἀρτύφιος ὁ Ἀρταβάνου.

67

1 Κάσπιοι δὲ σισύρνας τε ἐνδεδυκότες καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια καλάμινα ἔχοντες καὶ ἀκινάκας ἐστρατεύοντο. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἐσκευάδατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Ἀριόμαρδον τὸν Ἀρτυφίου ἀδελφεόν, Σαραγγαὶ δὲ εἵματα μὲν βεβαμμένα ἐνέπρεπον ἔχοντες, πέδιλα δὲ ἐς γόνυ ἀνατείνοντα εἶχον, τόξα δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς Μηδικάς. Σαραγγέων δὲ ἦρχε Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζου. 2 Πάκτυες δὲ σισυρνοφόροι τε ἦσαν καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια εἶχον καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. Πάκτυες δὲ ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο Ἀρταύνην τὸν Ἰθαμίτρεω.

68

1 Οὐτίοι δὲ καὶ Μύκοι τε καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ περ Πάκτυες. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἶδε, Οὐτίων μὲν καὶ Μύκων Ἀρσαμένης ὁ Δαρείου, Παρικανίων δὲ Σιρομίτρης ὁ Οἰοβάζου.

69

1 Ἀράβιοι δὲ ζειράς ὑπεζωσμένοι ἦσαν, τόξα δὲ παλίντονα εἶχον πρὸς δεξιὰ, μακρά. Αἰθίοπες δὲ παρδαλέας τε καὶ λεοντέας ἐναμμένοι, τόξα δὲ εἶχον ἐκ φοίνικος σπάθης πεποιημένα, μακρά, τετραπηχέων οὐκ ἐλάσσω, ἐπὶ δὲ καλαμίνους ὀιστοὺς μικροὺς· ἀντὶ δὲ σιδήρου ἐπὶ λίθος ὀξὺς πεποιημένος, τῷ καὶ τὰς σφρηγίδας γλύφουσι· πρὸς δὲ αἰχμὰς εἶχον, ἐπὶ δὲ κέρας δορκάδος ἐπὶ ὀξὺ πεποιημένον τρόπον λόγχης· εἶχον δὲ καὶ ῥόπαλα τυλωτά. τοῦ δὲ σώματος τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ ἐξηλείφοντο γύψω ἰόντες ἐς μάχην, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἥμισυ μίλτω. 2 Ἀραβίων δὲ καὶ Αἰθιόπων τῶν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου οἰκημένων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης ὁ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτυστῶνης τῆς Κύρου θυγατρός, τὴν μάλιστα στέρξας τῶν γυναικῶν Δαρεῖος εἰκὼ χρυσέην σφυρήλατον ἐποίησατο.

70

1 τῶν μὲν δὴ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου Αἰθιοπῶν καὶ Ἀραβίων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων Αἰθίοπες (διξοὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο) προσετετάχατο τοῖσι Ἰνδοῖσι, διαλλάσσοντες εἶδος μὲν οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἑτέροισι, φωνὴν δὲ καὶ τρίχωμα μῶνον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ ἡλίου Αἰθίοπες ἰθύτεριχες εἰσί, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης οὐλότατον τρίχωμα ἔχουσι πάντων ἀνθρώπων. 2 οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Αἰθίοπες τὰ μὲν πλέω κατὰ περ Ἰνδοὶ ἐσεσάχατο, προμετωπίδια δὲ ἵππων εἶχον ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι σύν τε τοῖσι ὥσι ἐκδεδαρμένα καὶ τῇ λοφιῇ· καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν λόφου ἢ λοφιῇ κατέχρα, τὰ δὲ ὦτα τῶν ἵππων ὀρθὰ πεπηγότα εἶχον· προβλήματα δὲ ἀντ' ἀσπίδων ἐποιεῦντο γεράνων δοράς.

71

1 Λίβυες δὲ σκευὴν μὲν σκυτίνην ἦσαν ἔχοντες, ἀκοντίοισι δὲ ἐπικαῦτοισι χρεώμενοι, ἄρχοντα δὲ παρεῖχοντο Μασσάγην τὸν Ὅαρίζου.

72

1 Παφλαγόνες δὲ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα πεπλεγμένα ἔχοντες, ἀσπίδας δὲ μικρὰς αἰχμὰς τε οὐ μεγάλας, πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας πέδιλα ἐπιχώρια ἐς μέσην κνήμην ἀνατείνοντα. Λίγυες δὲ καὶ Ματιηνοὶ καὶ Μαριανδουνοὶ τε καὶ Σύριοι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες Παφλαγόσι ἐστρατεύοντο. οἱ δὲ Σύριοι οὗτοι ὑπὸ Περσέων Καππαδόκαι καλέονται. 2 Παφλαγόνων μὲν νυν καὶ Ματιηῶν Δῶτος ὁ Μεγασίδρου ἦρχε, Μαριανδυνῶν δὲ καὶ Λιγύων καὶ Συρίων Γοβρῆς ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀρτυστῶνης.

73

1 φρύγες δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Παφλαγονικῆς σκευὴν εἶχον, ὀλίγον παραλλάσσοντες. οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὥς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπῆιοι ἐόντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι, μεταβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἅμα τῇ χώρῃ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα μετέβαλον ἐς Φρύγας. Ἀρμένιοι δὲ κατὰ περ Φρύγες ἐσεσάχατο, ἐόντες Φρυγῶν ἄποικοι. τούτων συναμφοτέρων ἦρχε Ἀρτόχμης Δαρείου ἔχων θυγάτερα.

74

1 Λυδοὶ δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν εἶχον ὄπλα. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ Μηῖονες ἐκαλεῦντο τὸ πάλαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄτους ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην, μεταβαλόντες τὸ οὔνομα. Μυσοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, ἀσπίδας δὲ μικράς, ἀκοντίοισι δὲ ἐχρέωντο ἐπικαύτοισι. 2 οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶ Λυδῶν ἄποικοι, ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου δὲ ὄρεος καλέονται Ὀλυμπινοί. Λυδῶν δὲ καὶ Μυσῶν ἦρχε Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Ἀρταφρένεος ὃς ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἐσέβαλε ἅμα Δάτι.

75

1 Θρήικες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἄλωπεκέας ἔχοντες ἐστρατεῦντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας, ἐπὶ δὲ ζειράς περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλας, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας τε καὶ τὰς κνήμας πέδιλα νεβρῶν, πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντιά τε καὶ πέλτας καὶ ἐγχειρίδια μικρά. 2 οὗτοι δὲ διαβάντες μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκλήθησαν Βιθυνοί, τὸ δὲ πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Στρυμόνιοι, οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι· ἐξαναστῆναι δὲ φασὶ ἐξ ἡθέων ὑπὸ Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν. Θρηίκων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἦρχε Βασσάκης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου.

76..... ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοΐνας εἶχον σμικράς, καὶ προβόλους δύο λυκιοεργέας ἕκαστος εἶχε, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χάλκεα· πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι κράνεσι ὧτά τε καὶ κέρεια προσῆν βοδὸς χάλκεα, ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ λόφοι· τὰς δὲ κνήμας ῥάκεσι φοινικέοισι κατειλίχато. ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι ἀνδράσι Ἄρεος ἐστὶ χρηστήριον.

77

1 Καβηλέες δὲ οἱ Μηῖονες, Λασόνιοι δὲ καλούμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν Κίλιξι εἶχον σκευήν, τὴν ἐγὼ, ἐπεὰν κατὰ τὴν Κιλικῶν τάξιν διεξιῶν γένωμαι, τότε σημανέω. Μιλύαι δὲ αἰχμὰς τε βραχέας εἶχον καὶ εἵματα ἐνεπεπορπέατο· εἶχον δὲ αὐτῶν τόξα μετεξέτεροι Λύκια, περὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἐκ διφθερέων πεποιημένας κυνέας. τούτων πάντων ἦρχε Βάδρης ὁ Ὑστάνεος.

78

1 μόσχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας ξυλίνας εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς σμικράς· λόγγαι δὲ ἐπῆσαν μεγάλαι. Τιβαρηνοὶ δὲ καὶ Μάκρωνες καὶ Μοσσύνοικοι κατὰ περ Μόσχοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἐστρατεῦντο. τούτους δὲ συνέτασσαν ἄρχοντες οἶδε, Μόσχους μὲν καὶ Τιβαρηνοὺς Ἀριόμαρδος ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ Πάρμυος τῆς

Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, Μάκρωνας δὲ καὶ Μοσσυνοίκους Ἀρταύκτης ὁ Χεράσμιος, ὃς Σηστὸν τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐπετρόπενε.

79

1 Μᾶρες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ἐπιχώρια πλεκτὰ εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ δερματῖνας μικρὰς καὶ ἀκόντια. Κόλχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ξύλινα, ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοῖνας μικρὰς αἰχμᾶς τε βραχέας, πρὸς δὲ μαχαίρας εἶχον. Μαρῶν δὲ καὶ Κόλχων ἦρχε Φαρανδάτης ὁ Τεάσπιος. Ἀλαρόδιοι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρες κατὰ περ Κόλχοι ὠπλισμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτων δὲ Μασίστιος ὁ Σιρομίτρεω ἦρχε.

80

1 τὰ δὲ νησιωτικὰ ἔθνεα τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἐπόμενα, νήσων δὲ ἐν τῇσι τοὺς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους κατοικίζει βασιλεύς, ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Μηδικῶν εἶχον ἐσθῆτά τε καὶ ὅπλα. τούτων δὲ τῶν νησιωτέων ἦρχε Μαρδόντης ὁ Βαγαίου, ὃς ἐν Μυκάλῃ στρατηγέων δευτέρῳ ἔτει τούτων ἐτελεύτησε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

81

1 ταῦτα ἦν τὰ κατ' ἡπειρον στρατευόμενά τε ἔθνεα καὶ τεταγμένα ἐς τὸν πεζόν. τούτου ὦν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἦρχον μὲν οὗτοι οἱ περ εἰρέαται, καὶ οἱ διατάξαντες καὶ ἐξαριθμήσαντες οὗτοι ἦσαν καὶ χιλιάρχας τε καὶ μυριάρχας ἀποδέξαντες, ἑκατοντάρχας δὲ καὶ δεκάρχας οἱ μυριάρχαι. τελέων δὲ καὶ ἐθνέων ἦσαν ἄλλοι σημάντορες.

82

1 ἦσαν μὲν δὴ οὗτοι οἱ περεῖρέαται ἄρχοντες, ἐστρατήγεον δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ Μαρδόνιός τε ὁ Γοβρύεω καὶ Τριτανταίχμης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου τοῦ γνώμην θεμένου μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Ἑλλάδα καὶ Σμερδομένης ὁ Ὀτάνεω, Δαρείου ἀμφότεροι οὗτοι ἀδελφεῶν παῖδες, Ξέρξη δὲ ἐγίνοντο ἀνεψιοί, καὶ Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης παῖς καὶ Γέργις ὁ Ἀριάζου καὶ Μεγάβυζος ὁ Ζωπύρου.

83

1 οὗτοι ἦσαν στρατηγοὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος πεζοῦ χωρὶς τῶν μυρίων·

τῶν δὲ μυρίων τούτων Περσέων τῶν ἀπολελεγμένων ἐστρατήγεε μὲν Ὑδάρνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ ἀθάνατοι οἱ Πέρσαι οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοῦδε· εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἐξέλιπε τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἢ θανάτῳ βιηθεὶς ἢ νούσῳ, ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀραίρητο, καὶ ἐγίνοντο οὐδαμὰ οὔτε πλεῦνες μυρίων οὔτε ἐλάσσονες. 2 κόσμον δὲ πλεῖστον παρείχοντο διὰ πάντων Πέρσαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄριστοι ἦσαν· σκευὴν μὲν τοιαύτην εἶχον ἢ περ εἴρηται, χωρὶς δὲ χρυσόν τε πολλὸν καὶ ἄφθονον ἔχοντες ἐνέπρεπον, ἄρμαμάξας τε ἅμα ἤγοντο, ἐν δὲ παλλακάς καὶ θεραπήϊν πολλήν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένην· σῖτα δὲ σφι, χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτέων, κάμηλοί τε καὶ ὑποζύγια ἦγον.

84

1 ἰππεύει δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα· πλὴν οὐ πάντα παρείχετο ἵππον, ἀλλὰ τοσάδε μοῦνα, Πέρσαι μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ ὁ πεζὸς αὐτῶν· πλὴν ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον ἔνιοι αὐτῶν καὶ χάλκεα καὶ σιδήρεα ἐξεληλαμένα ποιήματα.

85

1 εἰσὶ δὲ τινὲς νομάδες ἄνθρωποι Σαγάρτιοι καλεόμενοι, ἔθνος μὲν Περσικὸν καὶ φωνῇ, σκευὴν δὲ μεταξὺ ἔχουσι πεποιημένην τῆς τε Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Πακτυϊκῆς· οἱ παρείχοντο μὲν ἵππον ὀκτακισχίλιν, ὅπλα δὲ οὐ νομίζουσι ἔχειν οὔτε χάλκεα οὔτε σιδήρεα ἔξω ἐγχειριδίων, χρέωνται δὲ σειρήσι πεπλεγμένῃσι ἐξ ἱμάντων· 2 ταύτησι πίσυνοι ἔρχονται ἐς πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ μάχη τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦδε· ἐπεὰν συμμίσγῃσι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι, βάλλουσι τὰς σειρὰς ἐπ' ἄκρῳ βρόχους ἐχούσας· ὅτευ δ' ἂν τύχη, ἦν τε ἵππου ἦν τε ἀνθρώπου, ἐπ' ἐωυτὸν ἔλκει· οἱ δὲ ἐν ἔρκεσι ἐμπαλασσόμενοι διαφθεύρονται.

86

1 τούτων μὲν αὕτη ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐπετετάχατο ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας· Μῆδοι δὲ τήν περ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ εἶχον σκευήν, καὶ Κίσσιοι ὡσαύτως. Ἴνδοι δὲ σκευὴ μὲν ἐσεσάχατο τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, ἤλαυνον δὲ κέλητας καὶ ἄρματα· ὑπὸ δὲ τοῖσι ἄρμασι ὑπῆσαν ἵπποι καὶ ὄνοι ἄγριοι. Βάκτριοι δὲ ἐσκευάδατο ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, καὶ Κάσπιοι ὁμοίως. 2 Λίβυες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ· ἤλαυνον δὲ καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἄρματα. ὥς δ' αὕτως Κάσπιοι καὶ

Παρικάνιοι ἐσεσάχατο ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ. Ἀράβιοι δὲ σκευὴν μὲν εἶχον τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, ἤλαυνον δὲ πάντες καμήλους ταχυτῆτα οὐ λειπομένας ἵππων.

87

¹ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα μοῦνα ἱπεύει. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ἵπου ἐγένετο ὀκτὼ μυριάδες, πάρεξ τῶν καμήλων καὶ τῶν ἀρμάτων. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι ἱππῆες ἐτετάχατο κατὰ τέλεα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ ἔσχατοι ἐπετετάχατο· ἅτε γὰρ τῶν ἵππων οὐτὶ ἀνεχομένων τὰς καμήλους, ὕστεροι ἐτετάχατο, ἵνα μὴ φοβέοιτο τὸ ἱππικόν.

88

¹ Ἴππαρχοι δὲ ἦσαν Ἀρμαμίθρης τε καὶ Τίθαιος Δάτιος παῖδες. ὁ δὲ τρίτος σφι συνίππαρχος Φαρνούχης κατελέλειπτο ἐν Σάρδισι νοσέων. ὥς γὰρ ὁρμῶντο ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἐπὶ συμφορὴν περιέπεσε ἀνεθέλητον· ἐλαύνοντι γὰρ οἱ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἵπου ὑπέδραμε κύων, καὶ ὁ ἵππος οὐ προῖδὼν ἐφοβήθη τε καὶ στὰς ὀρθὸς ἀπεσεῖσατο τὸν Φαρνούχεια, πεσὼν δὲ αἱμὰ τε ἡμεε καὶ ἐς φθίσιν περιῆλθε ἡ νοῦσος. ² τὸν δὲ ἵππον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐποίησαν ὥς ἐκέλευε· ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ οἰκέται ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ περ κατέβαλε τὸν δεσπότην, ἐν τοῖσι γούνασι ἀπέταμον τὰ σκέλεα. Φαρνούχης μὲν οὕτω παρελύθη τῆς ἡγεμονίης.

89

¹ τῶν δὲ τριηρέων ἀριθμὸς μὲν ἐγένετο ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκόσiai καὶ χίλiai, παρείχοντο δὲ αὐτὰς οἶδε, Φοίνικες μὲν σὺν Σύροισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ τριηκοσίας, ὧδε ἐσκευασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῆσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας εἶχον ἀγχοτάτω πεποιημένας τρόπον τὸν Ἑλληνικόν, ἐνδεδυκότες δὲ θώρηκας λινέους, ἀσπίδας δὲ ἵτους οὐκ ἐχούσας εἶχον καὶ ἀκόντια. ² οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Φοίνικες τὸ παλαιὸν οἶκεον, ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὑπερβάντες τῆς Συρίας οἰκεῖν τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν· τῆς δὲ Συρίας τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὸ μέχρι Αἰγύπτου πᾶν Παλαιστίνῃ καλέεται. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ νέας παρείχοντο διηκοσίας. ³ οὗτοι δὲ εἶχον περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χηλευτά, ἀσπίδας δὲ κοίλας, τὰς ἵτους μεγάλας ἐχούσας, καὶ δόρατά τε ναύμαχα καὶ τύχους μεγάλους. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος αὐτῶν θωρηκοφόροι ἦσαν, μαχαίρας δὲ μεγάλας εἶχον.

1 οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἐστάλατο, Κύπριοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, ἐσκευασμένοι ὧδε· τὰς μὲν κεφαλὰς εἰλίχατο μίτρησι οἱ βασιλέες αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἶχον κιθῶνας, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ περ Ἑλλήνες. τούτων δὲ τοσάδε ἔθνεα εἰσὶ, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Ἀθηνέων, οἱ δὲ ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Κύθνου, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φοινίκης, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας, ὥς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι.

1 Κίλικες δὲ ἑκατὸν παρείχοντο νέας. οὗτοι δ' αὖ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, λαισήια δὲ εἶχον ἀντ' ἀσπίδων ὠμοβοέης πεποιημένα, καὶ κιθῶνας εἰρινέους ἐνδεδυκότες· δύο δὲ ἀκόντια ἕκαστος καὶ ξίφος εἶχον, ἀγχοτάτω τῇσι Αἰγυπτίησι μαχαίρησι πεποιημένα. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν Ὑπαχαιοὶ ἐκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Κίλικος τοῦ Ἀγήνορος ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. Πάμφυλοι δὲ τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας Ἑλληνικοῖσι ὅπλοισι ἐσκευασμένοι. οἱ δὲ Πάμφυλοι οὗτοι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀποσκεδασθέντων ἅμα Ἀμφιλόχῳ καὶ Κάλχαντι.

1 λύκιοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας πεντήκοντα θωρηκοφόροι τε ἐόντες καὶ κνημιδοφόροι, εἶχον δὲ τόξα κρανείνα καὶ ὀιστοὺς καλαμίνους ἀπτέρους καὶ ἀκόντια, ἐπὶ δὲ αἰγὸς δέρμα περὶ τοὺς ὤμους αἰωρεύμενον, περὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι πῖλους πτεροῖσι περιεστεφανωμένους· ἐγχειρίδια δὲ καὶ δρέπανα εἶχον. Λύκιοι δὲ Τερμίλαι ἐκαλέοντο ἐκ Κρήτης γεγονότες, ἐπὶ δὲ Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίωνος ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην.

1 Δωριέες δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας, ἔχοντές τε Ἑλληνικὰ ὅπλα καὶ γεγονότες ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. Κᾶρες δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ περ Ἑλλήνες ἐσταλμένοι, εἶχον δὲ καὶ δρέπανα καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. οὗτοι δὲ οἵτινες πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοισι τῶν λόγων εἴρηται.

1 Ἴωνες δὲ ἑκατὸν νέας παρείχοντο ἐσκευασμένοι ὥς Ἑλλήνες. Ἴωνες δὲ ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεον τὴν νῦν

καλεομένην Ἀχαιίην, καὶ πρὶν ἢ Δαναόν τε καὶ Εὐθύθον ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ὥς Ἑλλήνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Πελασγοὶ Αἰγιαλέες, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνος τοῦ Εὐθύθου Ἴωνες.

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¹ νησιῶται δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα παρείχοντο νέας, ὠπλισμένοι ὥς Ἑλληνες, καὶ τοῦτο Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος· ὕστερον δὲ Ἴωνικὸν ἐκλήθη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ οἱ δυωδεκαπόλιες Ἴωνες οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων. Αἰολέες δὲ ἐξήκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, ἐσκευασμένοι τε ὥς Ἑλληνες καὶ τὸ πάλοι καλεόμενοι Πελασγοί, ὥς Ἑλλήνων λόγος. ² Ἑλλησπόντιοι δὲ πλὴν Ἀβυδηνῶν (Ἀβυδηνοῖσι γὰρ προσετέτακτο ἐκ βασιλέος κατὰ χώραν μένουσι φύλακας εἶναι τῶν γεφυρέων) οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου στρατευόμενοι παρείχοντο μὲν ἑκατὸν νέας, ἐσκευασμένοι δὲ ἦσαν ὥς Ἑλληνες. οὗτοι δὲ Ἴωνων καὶ Δωριέων ἄποικοι.

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¹ ἐπεβάτευν δὲ ἐπὶ πασέων τῶν νεῶν Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Σαάκαι. τούτων δὲ ἄριστα πλεούσας παρείχοντο νέας Φοίνικες καὶ Φοινίκων Σιδώνιοι. τούτοις πᾶσι καὶ τοῖσι ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τεταγμένοις αὐτῶν ἐπῆσαν ἐκάστοις ἐπιχώριοι ἡγεμόνες, τῶν ἐγώ, οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαίη ἐξέργομαι ἐς ἱστορίας λόγον, οὐ παραμένειν. ² οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνεος ἐκάστου ἐπάξιοι ἦσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ἔν τε ἔθνεϊ ἐκάστῳ ὅσαι περ πόλεις τοσοῦτοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν, εἶποντο δὲ ὥς οὐ στρατηγοὶ ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατευόμενοι δοῦλοι· ἐπεὶ στρατηγοὶ γε οἱ τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες κράτος καὶ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐθνέων ἐκάστων, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Πέρσαι, εἰρέαταί μοι.

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¹ τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐστρατήγεον Ἀριαβίγνης τε ὁ Δαρείου καὶ Πρηξάσπης ὁ Ἀσπαθίνεω καὶ Μεγάβαζος ὁ Μεγαβάτεω καὶ Ἀχαιμένης ὁ Δαρείου, τῆς μὲν Ἰάδος τε καὶ Καρικῆς στρατιῆς Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ τῆς Γοβρύεω θυγατρός· Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ἀχαιμένης Ξέρξεω ἐὼν ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφεός, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης στρατιῆς ἐστρατήγεον οἱ δύο. τριηκόντεροι δὲ καὶ πεντηκόντεροι καὶ κέρκουροι καὶ ἱππαγωγὰ πλοῖα μακρὰ συνελθόντα ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐφάνη τρισχίλια.

¹ τῶν δὲ ἐπιπλεόντων μετὰ γε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς οἶδε ἦσαν ὀνομαστότατοι, Σιδώνιος Τετράμνηστος Ἀνύσου, καὶ Τύριος Ματτὴν Σιρώμου, καὶ Ἀράδιος Μέρβαλος Ἀγβάλου, καὶ Κίλιξ Συνέννεσις Ὀρομέδοντος, καὶ Λύκιος Κυβερνίσκος Σίκα, καὶ Κύπριοι Γόργος τε ὁ Χέρσιος καὶ Τιμῶναξ ὁ Τιμαγόρεω, καὶ Καρῶν Ἰστιαῖός τε ὁ Τύμνεω καὶ Πίγρης ὁ Ὑσσελδώμου, καὶ Δαμασίθυμος ὁ Κανδαύλεω.

¹ τῶν μὲν νυν ἄλλων οὐ παραμέμνημαι ταξιάρχων ὥς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος, Ἀρτεμισίης δὲ τῆς μάλιστα θῶμα ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσαμένης γυναικός· ἥτις ἀποθανόντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτὴ τε ἔχουσα τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ παιδὸς ὑπάρχοντος νεηνίῳ ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ ἀνδρηΐης ἐστρατεύετο, οὐδεμιῆς οἱ ἐούσης ἀναγκαίης. ² οὖνομα μὲν δὴ ἦν αὐτῇ Ἀρτεμισίη, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Λυγδάμιος, γένος δὲ ἐξ Ἀλικαρνησοῦ τὰ πρὸς πατρός, τὰ μητρόθεν δὲ Κρήσσα. ἡγεμόνευε δὲ Ἀλικαρνησσέων τε καὶ Κῶων καὶ Νισυρίων τε καὶ Καλυδονίων, πέντε νέας παρεχομένη. ³ καὶ συναπάσης τῆς στρατιῆς, μετὰ γε τὰς Σιδωνίων, νέας εὐδοξοτάτας παρείχετο, πάντων τε τῶν συμμάχων γνώμας ἀρίστας βασιλεῖ ἀπεδέξατο. τῶν δὲ κατέλεξα πολίων ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτήν, τὸ ἔθνος ἀποφαίνω πᾶν ἐὼν Δωρικόν, Ἀλικαρνησσέας μὲν Τροιζηνίους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἐπιδaurίους. ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς εἴρηται.

¹ Ξέρξης δέ, ἐπεὶ ἡριθμήθη τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ στρατὸς, ἐπεθύμησε αὐτὸς σφεας διεξελάσας θεήσασθαι· μετὰ δὲ ἐποίεε ταῦτα, καὶ διεξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἄρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἐν ἑκάστον ἐπυνθάνετο. καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί, ἕως ἐς ἐσχάτων ἐς ἔσχατα ἀπίκετο καὶ τῆς ἵππου καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ² ὥς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποιήτο, τῶν νεῶν κατελκυσθισέων ἐς θάλασσαν, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης μετεκβάς ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς νέα Σιδωνίην ἵζετο ὑπὸ σκηνῇ χρυσῇ καὶ παρέπλεε παρὰ τὰς πρῶρας τῶν νεῶν, ἐπειρωτῶν τε ἐκάστας ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ ἀπογραφόμενος. ³ τὰς δὲ νέας οἱ ναύαρχοι ἀναγαγόντες ὅσον τε τέσσερα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνεκώχεον, τὰς πρῶρας ἐς γῆν τρέψαντες πάντες μετωπηδόν, καὶ ἐξοπλίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὥς ἐς πόλεμον. ὁ δ' ἐντὸς τῶν πρωρέων πλέων ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ.

¹ ὥς δὲ καὶ ταύτας διεξέπλωσε καὶ ἐξέβη ἐκ τῆς νεός, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος συστρατευόμενον αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καλέσας δ' αὐτὸν εἶρετο τάδε. “Δημάρητε, νῦν μοι σὲ ἡδὺ τι ἐστὶ εἰρέσθαι τὰ θέλω. σὺ εἰς Ἑλλήν τε, καὶ ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι σεῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἐς λόγους ἀπικνεομένων, πόλιος οὐτ' ἐλαχίστης οὐτ' ἀσθενεστάτης. ² νῦν ὦν μοι τόδε φράσον, εἰ Ἑλληνες ὑπομενέουσι χεῖρας ἐμοὶ ἀνταειρόμενοι. οὐ γάρ, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐδ' εἰ πάντες Ἑλληνες καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ πρὸς ἐσπέρης οἰκέοντες ἄνθρωποι συλλεχθείησαν, οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι εἰσὶ ἐμὲ ἐπλέοντα ὑπομεῖναι, μὴ ἐόντες ἄρθμοι. ³ θέλω μέντοι καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ, ὁκοῖόν τι λέγεις περὶ αὐτῶν, πυθέσθαι”. ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰρώτα, ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη “βασιλεῦ, κότερα ἀληθείη χρήσωμαι πρὸς σὲ ἢ ἡδονῇ;” ὁ δὲ μιν ἀληθείη χρήσασθαι ἐκέλευε, φᾶς οὐδέν οἱ ἀηδέστερον ἔσσεσθαι ἢ πρότερον ἦν.

¹ ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε Δημάρητος, ἔλεγε τάδε. “βασιλεῦ, ἐπειδὴ ἀληθείη διαχρήσασθαι πάντως κελεύεις ταῦτα λέγοντα τὰ μὴ ψευδόμενός τις ὕστερον ὑπὸ σεῦ ἀλώσεται, τῇ Ἑλλάδι πενίη μὲν αἰεὶ κοτε σύντροφος ἐστί, ἀρετὴ δὲ ἔπακτος ἐστί, ἀπὸ τε σοφίης κατεργασμένη καὶ νόμου ἰσχυροῦ· τῇ διαχρεωμένῃ ἡ Ἑλλὰς τὴν τε πενίην ἀπαμύνεται καὶ τὴν δεσποσύνην. ² αἰνέω μὲν νυν πάντας Ἑλλήνας τοὺς περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς Δωρικοὺς χώρους οἰκημένους, ἔρχομαι δὲ λέξων οὐ περὶ πάντων τούσδε τοὺς λόγους ἀλλὰ περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μούνων, πρῶτα μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ὅκως κοτὲ σοὺς δέξονται λόγους δουλοσύνην φέροντας τῇ Ἑλλάδι, αὐτίς δὲ ὥς ἀντιώσσονται τοι ἐς μάχην καὶ ἦν οἱ ἄλλοι Ἑλληνες πάντες τὰ σὰ φρονέωσι. ³ ἀριθμοῦ δὲ πέρι, μὴ πύθη ὅσοι τινὲς ἐόντες ταῦτα ποιεῖν οἰοί τε εἰσί· ἦν τε γὰρ τύχῳσι ἐξεστρατευμένοι χίλιοι, οὗτοι μαχήσονται τοι, ἦν τε ἐλάσσονες τούτων ἦν τε καὶ πλεῦνες”.

¹ ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης γελάσας ἔφη “Δημάρητε, οἷον ἐφθέγξαο ἔπος, ἄνδρας χιλίους στρατιῇ τοσῆδε μαχήσεσθαι. ἄγε εἰπέ μοι· σὺ φῆς τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς γενέσθαι· σὺ ὦν ἐθελήσεις αὐτίκα μάλα πρὸς ἄνδρας δέκα μάχεσθαι; καίτοι εἰ τὸ πολιτικὸν ὑμῖν

πᾶν ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον οἶον σὺ διαιρέεις, σέ γε τὸν κείνων βασιλέα πρέπει
 πρὸς τὸ διπλήσιον ἀντιτάσσεσθαι κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους. 2 εἰ
 γὰρ κείνων ἕκαστος δέκα ἀνδρῶν τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀντάξιος
 ἐστί, σὲ δέ γε δίζημαι εἴκοσι εἶναι ἀντάξιον, καὶ οὕτω μὲν ὀρθοῖτ' ἂν
 ὁ λόγος ὁ παρὰ σέο λεγόμενος· εἰ δὲ τοιοῦτοί τε ἐόντες καὶ μεγάθεα
 τοσοῦτοι, ὅσοι σὺ τε καὶ οἱ παρ' ἐμὲ φοιτῶσι Ἑλλήνων ἐς λόγους
 αὐχέετε τοσοῦτον, ὅρα μὴ μάτην κόμπος ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἰρημένος ἦ.
 3 ἐπεὶ φέρε ἴδω παντὶ τῷ οἰκίῳ· κῶς ἂν δυναίαιο χίλιοι ἢ καὶ μύριοι
 ἢ καὶ πεντακισμύριοι, ἐόντες γε ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ὁμοίως καὶ μὴ ὑπ'
 ἐνὸς ἀρχόμενοι, στρατῷ τοσῶδε ἀντιστῆναι; ἐπεὶ τοι πλεῦνες περὶ
 ἓνα ἕκαστον γινόμεθα ἢ χίλιοι, ἐόντων ἐκείνων πέντε χιλιάδων. 4 ὑπὸ
 μὲν γὰρ ἐνὸς ἀρχόμενοι κατὰ τρόπον τὸν ἡμέτερον γενοίαιτ' ἂν,
 δειμαίνοντες τοῦτον, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐωυτῶν φύσιν ἀμείνονες, καὶ
 ἴοιεν ἀναγκαζόμενοι μάστιγι ἐς πλεῦνας ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες· ἀνειμένοι
 δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐλεύθερον οὐκ ἂν ποιεοίεν τούτων οὐδέτερα. δοκέω δὲ
 ἔγωγε καὶ ἀνισωθέντας πλήθει χαλεπῶς ἂν Ἑλληνας Πέρσῃσι
 μούνοισι μάχεσθαι. 5 ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡμῖν μὲν μούνοισι τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ σὺ
 λέγεις, ἔστι γε μὲν οὐ πολλὸν ἀλλὰ σπάνιον· εἰσὶ γὰρ Περσέων τῶν
 ἐμῶν αἰχμοφόρων οἱ ἐθελήσουσι Ἑλλήνων ἀνδράσι τρισὶ ὁμοῦ
 μάχεσθαι· τῶν σὺ ἐὼν ἄπειρος πολλὰ φλυηρέεις".

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1 πρὸς ταῦτα Δημάρτηος λέγει "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀρχῆθην ἠπιστάμην
 ὅτι ἀληθεῖη χρεώμενος οὐ φίλα τοι ἐρέω· σὺ δ' ἐπεὶ ἠνάγκασας
 λέγειν τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀληθεστάτους, ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα
 Σπαρτιήτησι. 2 καίτοι ὥς ἐγὼ τυγχάνω τὰ νῦν τάδε ἐστοργῶς
 ἐκείνους, αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἐξεπίστεται, οἱ με τιμὴν τε καὶ γέρεα
 ἀπελόμενοι πατρώια ἄπολιν τε καὶ φυγάδα πεποιήκασι, πατὴρ δὲ σὸς
 ὑποδεξάμενος βίον τέ μοι καὶ οἶκον ἔδωκε. οὐκὼν οἰκός ἐστι ἄνδρα
 τὸν σῶφρονα εὐνοίην φαινομένην διωθέεσθαι, ἀλλὰ στέργειν
 μάλιστα. 3 ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε δέκα ἀνδράσι ὑπίσχομαι οἷός τε εἶναι
 μάχεσθαι οὔτε δυοῖσι, ἐκὼν τε εἶναι οὐδ' ἂν μουννομαχέοιμι. εἰ δὲ
 ἀναγκαίη εἴη ἢ μέγας τις ὁ ἐποτρύνων ἀγών, μαχοίμην ἂν πάντων
 ἡδιστα ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ Ἑλλήνων ἕκαστος φησὶ τριῶν
 ἄξιος εἶναι. 4 ὥς δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ μὲν ἓνα μαχόμενοι
 οὐδαμῶν εἰσι κακίονες ἀνδρῶν, ἀλέες δὲ ἄριστοι ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων.
 ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ ἐόντες οὐ πάντα ἐλεύθεροι εἰσὶ· ἔπεστι γὰρ σφι

δεσπότης νόμος, τὸν ὑποδειμαίνουνσι πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ σοὶ σέ. 5 ποιεῦσι γῶν τὰ ἄν ἐκεῖνος ἀνώγει· ἀνώγει δὲ τῶντὸ αἰεὶ, οὐκ ἐῶν φεύγειν οὐδὲν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας ἐν τῇ τάξει ἐπικρατέειν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι. σοὶ δὲ εἰ φαίνομαι ταῦτα λέγων φλυηρέειν, τᾶλλα σιγᾶν θέλω τὸ λοιπόν· νῦν τε ἀναγκασθεὶς ἔλεξα. γένοιτο μέντοι κατὰ νόον τοι, βασιλεῦ”.

105

1 ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀμείψατο, Ξέρξης δὲ ἐς γέλωτά τε ἔτρεψε καὶ οὐκ ἐποιήσατο ὀργὴν οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ’ ἡπίως αὐτὸν ἀπεπέμψατο. τούτῳ δὲ ἐς λόγους ἐλθὼν Ξέρξης, καὶ ὕπαρχον ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τούτῳ καταστήσας Μασκάμην τὸν Μεγαδόστω, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου σταθέντα καταπαύσας, ἐξήλανε τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

106

1 κατέλιπε δὲ ἄνδρα τοιόνδε Μασκάμην γενόμενον, τῷ μούνῳ Ξέρξης δῶρα πέμπεσκε ὥς ἀριστεύοντι πάντων ὅσους αὐτὸς κατέστησε ἢ Δαρεῖος ὑπάρχους, πέμπεσκε δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· ὥς δὲ καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξης ὁ Ξέρξεω τοῖσι Μασκαμείοισι ἐκγόνοισι. κατέστασαν γὰρ ἔτι πρότερον ταύτης τῆς ἐλάσιος ὕπαρχοι ἐν τῇ Θρηίκῃ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου πανταχῇ. 2 οὗτοι ὧν πάντες οἱ τε ἐκ Θρηίκης καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, πλὴν τοῦ ἐν Δορίσκῳ, ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὕστερον ταύτης τῆς στρατηλασίης ἐξαίρεθησαν· τὸν δὲ ἐν Δορίσκῳ Μασκάμην οὐδαμοὶ κω ἐδυνάσθησαν ἐξελεῖν πολλῶν πειρησαμένων. διὰ τοῦτο δὴ οἱ τὰ δῶρα πέμπεται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος αἰεὶ ἐν Πέρσῃσι.

107

1 τῶν δὲ ἐξαίρεθέντων ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οὐδένα βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης ἐνόμισε εἶναι ἄγαθόν εἰ μὴ Βόγην μόνον τὸν ἐξ Ἡϊόνος, τοῦτον δὲ αἰνέων οὐκ ἐπαύετο, καὶ τοὺς περιέοντας αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃσι παῖδας ἐτίμα μάλιστα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄξιος αἴνου μεγάλου ἐγένετο Βόγης· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδεω, παρεὼν αὐτῷ ὑπόσπονδον ἐξελεῖν καὶ νοστήσαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐκ ἠθέλησε, μὴ δειλίῃ δόξειε περιεῖναι βασιλείῃ, ἀλλὰ διεκαρτέρεε ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον. 2 ὥς δ’ οὐδὲν ἔτι φορβῆς ἐνῆν ἐν τῷ

τείχεϊ, συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην ἔσφαξε τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ ἔπειτα ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν χρυσὸν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἔσπειρε ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐωυτὸν ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ. οὕτω μὲν οὕτως δικαίως αἰνέεται ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε ὑπὸ Περσέων.

108

¹ Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δορίσκου ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοὺς δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένους ἐμποδῶν συστρατεύεσθαι ἠνάγκαζε· ἐδεδούλωτο γάρ, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, ἢ μέχρι Θεσσαλίας πᾶσα καὶ ἦν ὑπὸ βασιλέα δασμοφόρος, Μεγαβάζου τε καταστρεψαμένου καὶ ὕστερον Μαρδονίου. ² παραμείβετο δὲ πορευόμενος ἐκ Δορίσκου πρῶτα μὲν τὰ Σαμοθρίκια τείχεα, τῶν ἐσχάτη πεπόλισται πρὸς ἐσπέρης πόλις τῇ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Μεσαμβρίη. ἔχεται δὲ ταύτης Θασίων πόλις Στρύμη, διὰ δὲ σφέων τοῦ μέσου Λίσος ποταμὸς διαρρέει, ὃς τότε οὐκ ἀντέσχε τὸ ὕδωρ παρέχων τῷ Ξέρξει στρατῷ ἀλλ' ἐπέλιπε. ³ ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη πάλαι μὲν ἐκαλέετο Γαλλαϊκή, νῦν δὲ Βριαντική· ἔστι μέντοι τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν λόγων καὶ αὕτη Κικόνων.

109

¹ διαβὰς δὲ τοῦ Λίσου ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥέεθρον ἀπεξηρασμένον πόλιας Ἑλληνίδας τάσδε παραμείβετο, Μαρώνειαν Δίκαιαν Ἀβδηρα. ταύτας τε δὴ παρεξήιε καὶ κατὰ ταύτας λίμνας ὀνομαστὰς τάσδε, Μαρωνεῖς μὲν μεταξὺ καὶ Στρύμης κειμένην Ἰσμαρίδα, κατὰ δὲ Δίκαιαν Βιστονίδα, ἐς τὴν ποταμοὶ δύο ἐσιεῖσι τὸ ὕδωρ, Τραῦός τε καὶ Κόμπσαντος. κατὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρα λίμνην μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐοῦσαν ὀνομαστήν παραμείψατο Ξέρξης, ποταμὸν δὲ Νέστον ῥέοντα ἐς θάλασσαν. ² μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς χώρας ἰὼν τὰς ἡπειρώτιδας πόλεις παρήιε, τῶν ἐν μῇ λίμνῃ ἐοῦσα τυγχάνει ὥσει τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα κη τὴν περίοδον, ἰχθυώδης τε καὶ κάρτα ἄλμυρή· ταύτην τὰ ὑποζύγια μούνα ἀρδόμενα ἀνεξήρηνε. τῇ δὲ πόλι ταύτῃ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Πίστυρος.

110

¹ ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς πόλεις τὰς παραθαλασσίας τε καὶ Ἑλληνίδας ἐξ εὐωνύμου χειρὸς ἀπέργων παρεξήιε· ἔθνεα δὲ Θρηίκων δι' ὧν τῆς

χώρης ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο τοσάδε, Παῖτοι Κίκονες Βίστονες Σαπαῖοι Δερσαῖοι Ἥδωνοὶ Σάτραι. τούτων οἱ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν κατοικημένοι ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ εἶποντο· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν μεσόγαιαν οἰκέοντες καταλεχθέντες τε ὑπ' ἐμεῦ, πλὴν Σατρέων, οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες περὶ ἄναγκαζόμενοι εἶποντο.

111

¹ σάτραι δὲ οὐδενὸς κω ἀνθρώπων ὑπήκοοι ἐγένοντο, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἀλλὰ διατελεῦσι τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ ἔοντες ἐλεύθεροι μοῦνοι Θρηίκων· οἰκέουσὶ τε γὰρ ὄρεα ὑψηλά, ἴδησί τε παντοίησι καὶ χιόνι συνηρεφέα, καὶ εἰσὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄκροι. ² οὗτοι οἱ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήιον εἰσὶ ἐκτημένοι· τὸ δὲ μαντήιον τοῦτο ἔστι μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων, Βησσοὶ δὲ τῶν Σατρέων εἰσὶ οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πρόμαντις δὲ ἡ χρέωσα κατὰ περ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ οὐδὲν ποικιλώτερον.

112

¹ παραμειψάμενος δὲ ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν εἰρημένην, δεύτερα τούτων παραμείβετο τείχεα τὰ Πέρων, τῶν ἐνὶ Φάγρης ἐστὶ οὖνομα καὶ ἑτέρῳ Πέργαμος. ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ τείχεα τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο, ἐκ δεξιῆς χειρὸς τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος ἀπέργων, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ὑψηλόν, ἐν τῷ χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ἐνὶ μέταλλα, τὰ νέμονται Πιέρης τε καὶ Ὀδόμαντοι καὶ μάλιστα Σάτραι.

113

¹ ὑπερoικέοντας δὲ τὸ Πάγγαιον πρὸς βορέῳ ἀνέμου Παίονας Δόβηράς τε καὶ Παιόπλας παρεξιὼν ἦε πρὸς ἐσπέρην, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ ποταμὸν τε Στρυμόνα καὶ πόλιν Ἥιόνα, τῆς ἔτι ζωὸς ἐὼν ἦρχε Βόγης τοῦ περ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων λόγον ἐποιεύμην. ² ἡ δὲ γῆ αὕτῃ ἢ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος καλέεται Φυλλίς, κατατείνουσα τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἀγγίτην ἐκδιδόντα ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τείνουσα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν Στρυμόνα· ἐς τὸν οἱ Μάγοι ἐκαλλιερέοντο σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκοῦς.

114

¹ φαρμακεύσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοισι ἐν Ἐννέα ὁδοῖσι τῇσι Ἥδωνῶν ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας, τὸν Στρυμόνα εὐρόντες ἐξευγμένον. Ἐννέα δὲ ὁδοὺς

πυνθανόμενοι τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον καλέεσθαι, τοσούτους ἐν αὐτῷ παῖδός τε καὶ παρθένους ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ζῶοντας κατώρυσσον. 2 Περσικὸν δὲ τὸ ζῶοντας κατορύσσειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀμηστριν τὴν Ξέρξεω γυναῖκα πυνθάνομαι γηράσασαν δις ἑπτὰ Περσέων παῖδας ἐόντων ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἑωυτῆς τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγομένῳ εἶναι θεῷ ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι κατορύσσουσιν.

115

1 ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ἐπορεύετο ὁ στρατός, ἐνθαῦτα πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων ἐστὶ αἰγιαλὸς ἐν τῷ οἰκημένην Ἀργίλον πόλιν Ἑλλάδα παρεξήιε· αὕτη δὲ καὶ ἡ κατῴκιστος ταύτης καλεῖται Βισαλτή. 2 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Ποσιδηίου ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔχων ἦε διὰ Συλέος πεδίου καλεομένου, Στάγειρον πόλιν Ἑλλάδα παραμειβόμενος, καὶ ἀπίκητο ἐς Ἀκανθον, ἅμα ἀγόμενος τούτων ἕκαστον τῶν ἐθνέων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος οἰκεόντων, ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχων οἰκημένους ἐκ νηυσὶ στρατευομένους, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης πεζῇ ἐπομένους. 3 τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν ταύτην, τῇ βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τὸν στρατὸν ἤλασε, οὔτε συγγέουσι Θρήικες οὔτ' ἐπισπείρουσι σέβονται τε μεγάλως τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ.

116

1 ὥς δὲ ἄρα ἐς τὴν Ἀκανθον ἀπίκητο, ξεινὴν τε ὁ Ξέρξης τοῖσι Ἀκανθίοισι προεῖπε καὶ ἐδωρήσατο σφέας ἐσθῆτι Μηδικῇ ἐπαίνεέ τε, ὁρέων καὶ αὐτοὺς προθύμους ἐόντας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα ἀκούων.

117

1 ἐν Ἀκάνθῳ δὲ ἐόντος Ξέρξεω συνήγεικε ὑπὸ νούσου ἀποθανεῖν τὸν ἐπεστεῶτα τῆς διώρυχος Ἀρταχαίην, δόκιμον ἐόντα παρὰ Ξέρξῃ καὶ γένος Ἀχαιμενίδην, μεγάλῃ τε μέγιστον ἐόντα Περσέων (ἀπὸ γὰρ πέντε πηγέων βασιλῆων ἀπέλειπε τέσσερας δακτύλους) φωνέοντά τε μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε Ξέρξην συμφορὴν ποιησάμενον μεγάλην ἐξενεῖκαί τε αὐτὸν κάλλιστα καὶ θάψαι· ἐτυμβοχόεε δὲ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιή. 2 τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀρταχαίῃ θύουσι Ἀκάνθιοι ἐκ θεοπροπίου ὡς ἦρωι, ἐπονομάζοντες τὸ οὔνομα.

118

1 βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἀπολομένου Ἀρταχαιῶ ἐποιέετο συμφορὴν. οἱ δὲ ὑποδεκόμενοι Ἑλλήνων τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίζοντες Ξέρξην ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπίκατο, οὕτω ὥστε ἀνάστατοι ἐκ τῶν οἴκων ἐγίνοντο· ὅκου Θασίοισι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολίων τῶν σφετερέων δεξαμένοισι τὴν Ξέρξεω στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίσασι Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ὀργεὸς ἀραιρημένος, τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὅμοια τῷ μάλιστα, ἀπέδεξε ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελεσμένα.

119

1 ὥς δὲ παραπλησίως καὶ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι πόλιν οἱ ἐπεστεῶτες ἀπεδείκνυσαν τὸν λόγον. τὸ γὰρ δεῖπνον τοιόνδε τι ἐγίνετο, οἷα ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου προειρημένον καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένων· 2 τοῦτο μὲν, ὥς ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα τῶν κηρύκων τῶν περιαγγελλόντων, δασάμενοι σῖτον ἐν τῇσι πόλιν οἱ ἀστοὶ ἄλευρά τε καὶ ἄλφита ἐποίηον πάντες ἐπὶ μῆνας συχνοὺς· τοῦτο δὲ κτήνεα ἐσίτεον ἐξευρίσκοντες τιμῆς τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔτρεφόν τε ὄρνιθας χερσαίους καὶ λιμναίους ἔν τε οἰκήμασι καὶ λάκκοις, ἐς ὑποδοχὰς τοῦ στρατοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ χρύσεα τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ποτήριά τε καὶ κρητῆρας ἐποιεῦντο καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν τιθέεται πάντα. 3 ταῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ τε βασιλεὶ καὶ τοῖσι ὁμοσίτοις μετ' ἐκείνου ἐπεποιήτο, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιῇ τὰ ἐς φορβὴν μούνα τασσόμενα. ὅκως δὲ ἀπίκοιτο ἡ στρατιή, σκηνὴ μὲν ἔσκε πεπηγυῖα ἐτοίμη ἐς τὴν αὐτὸς σταθμὸν ποιέεσκετο Ξέρξης, ἡ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιῇ ἔσκε ὑπαίθριος. 4 ὥς δὲ δεῖπνου ἐγίνετο ὥρη, οἱ μὲν δεκόμενοι ἔχεσκον πόνον, οἱ δὲ ὅκως πλησθέντες νύκτα αὐτοῦ ἀγάγοιεν, τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τὴν τε σκηνὴν ἀνασπάσαντες καὶ τὰ ἐπιπλα πάντα λαβόντες οὕτω ἀπελαύνεσκον, λείποντες οὐδὲν ἀλλὰ φερόμενοι.

120

1 ἔνθα δὴ Μεγακρέοντος ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω ἔπος εὖ εἰρημένον ἐγένετο, ὃς συνεβούλευσε Ἀβδηρίτῃσι πανδημεῖ, αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐλθόντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἱρὰ ἵζεσθαι ἱκέτας τῶν θεῶν παραιτεομένους καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σφι ἀπαμύνειν τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ ἡμίσεια, τῶν τε παροιχομένων ἔχειν σφι μεγάλην χάριν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης οὐ δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἐνόμιζε σῖτον αἰρέεσθαι· 2 παρέχειν γὰρ ἂν Ἀβδηρίτῃσι, εἰ καὶ ἄριστον προείρητο ὅμοια τῷ

δείπνῳ παρασκευάζειν, ἢ μὴ ὑπομένειν Ξέρξην ἐπιόντα ἢ καταμείναντας κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων διατριβῆναι.

121

¹ οἱ μὲν δὴ πιεζόμενοι ὅμως τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον ἐπετέλεον. Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου, ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ ὑπομένειν ἐν Θέρμῃ, ἀπῆκε ἀπ' ἐωυτοῦ πορεύεσθαι τὰς νέας, Θέρμῃ δὲ τῇ ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλῳ οἰκημένη, ἀπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει· ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο συντομώτατον εἶναι. ² μέχρι μὲν γὰρ Ἀκάνθου ὧδε τεταγμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ Δορίσκου τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο· τρεῖς μοίρας ὁ Ξέρξης δασάμενος πάντα τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν, μίαν αὐτέων ἔταξε παρὰ θάλασσαν ἰέναι ὁμοῦ τῷ ναυτικῷ· ³ ταύτης μὲν δὴ ἐστρατήγεον Μαρδόνιός τε καὶ Μασίστης, ἑτέρῃ δὲ τεταγμένη ἦε τοῦ στρατοῦ τριτημορίς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῆς ἐστρατήγεον Τριτανταίχμης τε καὶ Γέργις· ἡ δὲ τρίτῃ τῶν μοιρέων, μετ' ἧς ἐπορεύετο αὐτὸς Ξέρξης, ἦε μὲν τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν, στρατηγοὺς δὲ παρείχετο Σμερδομένεά τε καὶ Μεγάβυζον.

122

¹ ὁ μὲν νυν ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὥς ἀπεΐθη ὑπὸ Ξέρξεω καὶ διεξέπλωσε τὴν διώρυχα τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἄθῳ γενομένην, διέχουσαν δὲ ἐς κόλπον ἐν τῷ Ἄσσῃ τε πόλιν καὶ Πίλωρος καὶ Σίγγος καὶ Σάρτη οἰκῆνται, ἐνθεῦτεν, ὥς καὶ ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολίων στρατιὴν παρέλαβε, ἔπλεε ἀπιέμενος ἐς τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον, κάμπτων δὲ Ἄμπελον τὴν Τορωναίην ἄκρην παραμείβετο Ἑλληνίδας γε τάσδε πόλιν, ἐκ τῶν νέας τε καὶ στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε, Τορώνην Γαληψὸν Σερμύλην Μηκύβερναν Ὀλυνθον.

123

¹ ἡ μὲν νυν χώρα αὕτη Σιθωνίη καλεῖται, ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Ξέρξεω συντάμνων ἀπ' Ἀμπέλου ἄκρης ἐπὶ Καναστραίνην ἄκρην, τὸ δὴ πάρης τῆς Παλλήνης ἀνέχει μάλιστα, ἐνθεῦτεν νέας τε καὶ στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε ἐκ Ποτιδαίης καὶ Ἀφύτιος καὶ Νέης πόλιος καὶ Αἰγῆς καὶ Θεράμβῳ καὶ Σκιώνης καὶ Μένδης καὶ Σάνης· αὗται γὰρ εἰσὶ αἱ τὴν νῦν Παλλήνην πρότερον δὲ Φλέγρην καλεομένην νεμόμεναι. ² παραπλέων δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἔπλεε ἐς τὸ

προειρημένον, παραλαμβάνων στρατιήν καὶ ἐκ τῶν προσεχέων πολίων τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ὁμουμεουσέων δὲ τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλῳ, τῇσι οὐνόματα ἐστὶ τάδε, Λίπαξος Κώμβρεια Αἶσα Γίγωνος Κάμψα Σμίλα Αἴνεια· ἡ δὲ τουτέων χώρα Κροσσαίη ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε καλέεται. ³ ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰνείης, ἐς τὴν ἐτελεύτων καταλέγων τὰς πόλεις, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤδη ἐς αὐτόν τε τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον ἐγένετο τῷ ναυτικῷ στρατῷ ὁ πλόος καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυγδονίην, πλέων δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τε τὴν προειρημένην Θέρμην καὶ Σίνδον τε πόλιν καὶ Χαλέστρην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄξιον ποταμόν, ὃς οὐρίζει χώραν τὴν Μυγδονίην τε καὶ Βοττιαίδα, τῆς ἔχουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν στενὸν χωρίον πόλεις Ἰχναί τε καὶ Πέλλα.

124

¹ ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἄξιον ποταμόν καὶ πόλιν Θέρμην καὶ τὰς μεταξὺ πόλεις τούτων περιμένων Βασιλέα ἐστρατοπεδεύετο, Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς ἐπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ, βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπικέσθαι· ἐπορεύετο δὲ διὰ τῆς Παιονικῆς καὶ Κρηστωνικῆς ἐπὶ ποταμόν Χεΐδωρον, ὃς ἐκ Κρηστωναίων ἀρξάμενος ῥέει διὰ Μυγδονίης χώρας καὶ ἐξιεὶ παρὰ τὸ ἔλος τὸ ἐπ' Ἀξίῳ ποταμῷ.

125

¹ πορευομένῳ δὲ ταύτῃ λέοντές οἱ ἐπεθήκαντο τῇσι σιτοφόροις καμήλοισι. καταφοιτέοντες γὰρ οἱ λέοντες τὰς νύκτας καὶ λείποντες τὰ σφέτερα ἤθεα ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἄπτοντο οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὔτε ἀνθρώπου, οἱ δὲ τὰς καμήλους ἐκεραΐζον μούνας. θωμάζω δὲ τὸ αἶτιον, ὃ τι κοτὲ ἦν τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἀναγκάζον ἀπεχομένους τοὺς λέοντας τῇσι καμήλοισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι, τὸ μήτε πρότερον ὀπώπεσαν θηρίον μήτ' ἐπεπειράτο αὐτοῦ.

126

¹ εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ λέοντες πολλοὶ καὶ βόες ἄγριοι, τῶν τὰ κέρεια ὑπερμεγάθεια ἐστὶ τὰ ἐς Ἑλληνας φοιτέοντα. οὗρος δὲ τοῖσι λέουσι ἐστὶ ὃ τε δι' Ἀβδήρων ῥέων ποταμὸς Νέστος καὶ ὁ δι' Ἀκαρνανίης ῥέων Ἀχελῷος· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τοῦ Νέστου οὐδαμῶθι πάσης τῆς ἔμπροσθε Εὐρώπης ἴδοι τις ἂν λέοντα, οὔτε

πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Ἀχελώου ἐν τῇ ἐπιλοίῳ ἠπείρω, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μεταξὺ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν γίνονται.

127

¹ ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπίκετο ὁ Ξέρξης, ἵδρυσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατιήν. ἐπέσχε δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδευόμενος τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν χώραν τοσὴνδε, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Θέρμης πόλιος καὶ τῆς Μυγδονίης μέχρι Λυδιέω τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἀλιάκμονος, οἱ οὐρίζουσι γῆν τὴν Βοττιαίδα τε καὶ Μακεδονίδα, ἐς τὠντὸ ρέεθρον τὸ ὕδωρ συμμίσγοντες. ² ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι χωρίοις οἱ βάρβαροι, τῶν δὲ καταλεχθέντων τούτων ποταμῶν ἐκ Κρηστωναίων ῥέων Χεῖδωρος μόνος οὐκ ἀντέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ πινόμενος ἀλλ' ἐπέλιπε.

128

¹ Ξέρξης δὲ ὁρέων ἐκ τῆς Θέρμης ὄρεα τὰ Θεσσαλικά, τὸν τε Ὀλύμπον καὶ τὴν Ὀσσαν, μεγάθει τε ὑπερμήκεα ἔοντα, διὰ μέσου τε αὐτῶν αὐλῶνα στεινὸν πυνθανόμενος εἶναι δι' οὗ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειός, ἀκούων τε ταύτῃ εἶναι ὁδὸν ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρουσαν, ἐπεθύμησε πλώσας θεήσασθαι τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, ὅτι τὴν ἄνω ὁδὸν ἔμελλε ἔλᾶν διὰ Μακεδόνων τῶν κατύπερθε οἰκημένων ἔστε Πεῤῥαιβούς παρὰ Γόννον πόλιν· ταύτῃ γὰρ ἀσφαλέστατον ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι. ² ὥς δὲ ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ἐποίησε ταῦτα· ἐσβὰς ἐς Σιδωνίην νέα, ἐς τὴν περ ἐσέβαινε αἰεὶ ὅκως τι ἐθέλοι τοιοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἀνέδεξε σημήιον καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἀνάγεσθαι, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκετο καὶ ἐθεήσατο Ξέρξης τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέσχετο, καλέσας δὲ τοὺς κατηγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ εἶρετο εἰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐστὶ παρατρέψαντα ἐτέρῃ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξαγαγεῖν.

129

¹ τὴν δὲ Θεσσαλίην λόγος ἐστὶ τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι λίμνην, ὥστε γε συγκεκλημένην πάντοθεν ὑπερμήκεσι ὄρεσι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ ἔχοντα τό τε Πήλιον ὄρος καὶ ἡ Ὀσσα ἀποκληθεὶ συμμίσγοντα τὰς ὑπωρείας ἀλλήλοισι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορῶ ἀνέμου Ὀλύμπος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρην Πίνδος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ ἄνεμον νότον ἡ Ὀθρυς· τὸ μέσον δὲ τούτων τῶν λεχθέντων ὁρέων ἡ

Θεσσαλίη ἐστὶ ἐοῦσα κοίλῃ. 2 ὥστε ὧν ποταμῶν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἄλλων συχῶν ἐσβαλλόντων, πέντε δὲ τῶν δοκίμων μάλιστα τῶνδε, Πηνειοῦ καὶ Ἀπιδανοῦ καὶ Ὀνοχώνου καὶ Ἐνιπέος καὶ Παμίσου, οἱ μὲν νυν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον τοῦτο συλλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν ὁρέων τῶν περικληόντων τὴν Θεσσαλίην ὀνομαζόμενοι δι' ἐνὸς αὐλῶνος καὶ τούτου στεينوῦ ἔκροον ἔχουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, προσυμμίσχοντες τὸ ὕδωρ πάντες ἐς τὡντό· 3 ἐπεὰν δὲ συμμιχθῶσι τάχιστα, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ὁ Πηνειὸς τῷ οὐνόματι κατακρατέων ἀνωνύμους τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι ποιεῖ. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν λέγεται, οὐκ ἐόντος κω τοῦ αὐλῶνος καὶ διεκρούου τούτου, τοὺς ποταμοὺς τούτους, καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ποταμοῖσι τούτοισι τὴν Βοιβηίδα λίμνην, οὔτε ὀνομάζεσθαι κατὰ περ νῦν ῥέειν τε οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἢ νῦν, ῥέοντας δὲ ποιεῖν τὴν Θεσσαλίην πᾶσαν πέλαγος. 4 αὐτοὶ μὲν νυν Θεσσαλοὶ φασὶ Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι τὸν αὐλῶνα δι' οὗ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειός, οἰκότα λέγοντες· ὅστις γὰρ νομίζει Ποσειδέωνα τὴν γῆν σείειν καὶ τὰ διεστεῶτα ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου ἔργα εἶναι, κὰν ἐκεῖνο ἰδὼν φαίῃ Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι· ἔστι γὰρ σεισμοῦ ἔργον, ὥς ἐμοὶ φαίνεται εἶναι, ἢ διάστασις τῶν ὁρέων.

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1 οἱ δὲ κατηγεόμενοι, εἰρομένου Ξέρξῳ εἰ ἔστι ἄλλη ἐξοδος ἐς θάλασσαν τῷ Πηνειῷ, ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἀτρεκέως εἶπον “βασιλεῦ, ποταμῷ τούτῳ οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλη ἐξήλυσις ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα, ἀλλ' ἦδε αὐτή· ὅρεσι γὰρ περιεστεφάνωται πᾶσα Θεσσαλίη”. Ξέρξην δὲ λέγεται εἰπεῖν πρὸς ταῦτα “σοφοὶ ἄνδρες εἰσὶ Θεσσαλοὶ. 2 ταῦτ' ἄρα πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐφυλάξαντο γνωσιμαχέοντες καὶ τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι χώραν ἄρα εἶχον εὐαίρετόν τε καὶ ταχυάλωτον. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πρῆγμα ἂν ἦν μόνον ἐπεῖναι σφέων ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, χώματι ἐκ τοῦ αὐλῶνος ἐκβιβάσαντα καὶ παρατρέψαντα δι' ὧν νῦν ῥέει ῥεέθρων, ὥστε Θεσσαλίην πᾶσαν ἔξω τῶν ὁρέων ὑπόβρυχα γενέσθαι”. 3 ταῦτα δὲ ἔχοντα ἔλεγε ἐς τοὺς Ἀλεύῳ παῖδας, ὅτι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἐόντες Θεσσαλοὶ ἔδοσαν ἐωυτοὺς βασιλεί, δοκέων ὁ Ξέρξης ἀπὸ παντός σφεας τοῦ ἔθνεος ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι φιλήν. εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ θεησάμενος ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὴν Θέρμην.

131

1 ὁ μὲν δὴ περὶ Πιερίην διέτριβε ἡμέρας συχνάς· τὸ γὰρ δὴ ὄρος τὸ Μακεδονικὸν ἔκειρε τῆς στρατιῆς τριτημορίς, ἵνα ταύτῃ διεξίη

ἅπανσα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐς Περρῆαιβούς. οἱ δὲ δὴ κήρυκες οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ γῆς αἵτησιν ἀπίκατο οἱ μὲν κεινοί, οἱ δὲ φέροντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ.

132

¹ τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγένοντο οἶδε, Θεσσαλοὶ Δόλοπες Ἐνιῆνες Περρῆαιβοὶ Λοκροὶ Μάγνητες Μηλιέες Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιώται καὶ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλὴν Θεσπιέων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων. ² ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔταμον ὄρκιον οἱ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον ἀειράμενοι· τὸ δὲ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε, ὅσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἕλληνες ἐόντες μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, καταστάντων σφι εὖ τῶν πρηγμάτων, τούτους δεκατεῦσαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ. τὸ μὲν δὴ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι.

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¹ ἐς δὲ Ἀθήνας καὶ Σπάρτην οὐκ ἀπέπεμψε Ξέρξης ἐπὶ γῆς αἵτησιν κήρυκας τῶνδε εἵνεκα· πρότερον Δαρείου πέμπσαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτέοντας ἐς τὸ βάραθρον οἱ δ' ἐς φρέαρ ἐμβαλόντες ἐκέλευον γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τούτων φέρειν παρὰ βασιλέα. ² τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα οὐκ ἔπεμψε Ξέρξης τοὺς αἰτήσοντας· ὅ τι δὲ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις ταῦτα ποιήσασι τοὺς κήρυκας συνήνευκε ἀνεθέλητον γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπαί τι, πλὴν ὅτι σφέων ἡ χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδηλώθη. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην δοκέω γενέσθαι.

134

¹ τοῖσι δὲ ὧν Λακεδαιμονίοις μῆνις κατέσκηψε Ταλθυβίου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κήρυκος, ἐν γὰρ Σπάρτῃ ἐστὶ Ταλθυβίου ἱρόν, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπόγονοι Ταλθυβιάδαι καλεόμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ κηρυκῆαι αἱ ἐκ Σπάρτης πᾶσαι γέρας δέδονται. ² μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Σπαρτιῆτισι καλλιερῆσαι θυομένοισι οὐκ ἐδύνατο· τοῦτο δ' ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἦν σφι. ἀχθομένων δὲ καὶ συμφορῇ χρεωμένων Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλῆς τε πολλάκις συλλεγομένης καὶ κήρυγμα τοιόνδε ποιευμένων, εἴ τις βούλοιτο Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀποθνήσκειν, Σπερθίης τε ὁ Ἀνηρίστος καὶ Βοῦλις ὁ Νικόλεω, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται φύσι τε γεγονότες εὖ καὶ χρήμασι ἀνήκοντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα, ἐθελονταὶ ὑπέδυσαν ποινὴν τίσαι Ξέρξῃ τῶν Δαρείου κηρύκων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων. ³ οὕτω Σπαρτιῆται τούτους ὥς ἀποθανευμένους ἐς

¹ αὕτη τε ἡ τόλμα τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν θώματος ἀξίη καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοις τὰ ἔπεα. πορευόμενοι γὰρ ἐς Σοῦσα ἀπικνέονται παρὰ Ὑδάρνεα· ὁ δὲ Ὑδάρνης ἦν μὲν γένος Πέρσης, στρατηγὸς δὲ τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ· ὃς σφεας ξείνια προθέμενος ἰστία, ξεινίζων δὲ εἵρετο τάδε. ² “ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τί δὴ φεύγετε βασιλείῃ φίλοι γενέσθαι; ὁρᾶτε γὰρ ὡς ἐπίσταται βασιλεὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τιμᾶν, ἐς ἐμέ τε καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πρήγματα ἀποβλέποντες. οὐτῷ δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς εἰ δοίητε ὑμέας αὐτοὺς βασιλεί, δεδοξωσθε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄνδρες εἶναι ἀγαθοί, ἕκαστος ἂν ὑμέων ἄρχοι γῆς Ἑλλάδος δόντος βασιλέως”. ³ πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. “Ὑδαρνες, οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου γίνεται ἡ συμβουλίη ἢ ἐς ἡμέας τείνουσα. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ πεπειρημένος συμβουλευεῖς, τοῦ δὲ ἄπειρος ἐών· τὸ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος εἶναι ἐξεπίστεαι, ἐλευθερίας δὲ οὐκῶ ἐπειρήθης, οὐτ’ εἰ ἔστι γλυκὺ οὐτ’ εἰ μῆ. εἰ γὰρ αὐτῆς πειρήσαιο, οὐκ ἂν δόρασι συμβουλευοῖς ἡμῖν περὶ αὐτῆς μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πελέκεσι”.

¹ ταῦτα μὲν Ὑδάρνεα ἀμείψαντο. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς Σοῦσα καὶ βασιλεί ἐς ὅσιν ἦλθον, πρῶτα μὲν τῶν δορυφόρων κελευόντων καὶ ἀνάγκην σφί προσφερόντων προσκυνεῖν βασιλέα προσπίπτοντας, οὐκ ἔφασαν ὠθεόμενοι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ποιήσιν ταῦτα οὐδαμά· οὔτε γὰρ σφίσι ἐν νόμῳ εἶναι ἄνθρωπον προσκυνεῖν οὔτε κατὰ ταῦτα ἥκειν. ὡς δὲ ἀπεμαχέσαντο τοῦτο, δευτέρᾳ σφί λέγουσι τάδε καὶ λόγου τοιοῦδε ἐχόμενα ² “ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων κηρύκων ποινὴν ἐκείνων τίσοντας”, λέγουσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ταῦτα Ξέρξης ὑπὸ μεγαλοφροσύνης οὐκ ἔφη ὅμοιος ἔσεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι· κείνους μὲν γὰρ συγχέαι τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμιμα ἀποκτείναντας κήρυκας, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ ἐκείνοισι ἐπιπλήσει ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσιν, οὐδὲ ἀνταποκτείνας ἐκείνους ἀπολύσειν Λακεδαιμονίους τῆς αἰτίας.

1 οὕτω ἡ Ταλθυβίου μῆνις καὶ ταῦτα ποιησάντων Σπαρτιητέων ἐπαύσατο τὸ παραυτίκα, καίπερ ἀπονοστησάντων ἐς Σπάρτην Σπερθιέω τε καὶ Βούλιος. χρόνῳ δὲ μετέπειτα πολλῷ ἐπηγέρθη κατὰ τὸν Πελοποννησίῳ καὶ Ἀθηναίων πόλεμον, ὥς λέγουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι. τοῦτο μοι ἐν τοῖσι θειότατον φαίνεται γενέσθαι. 2 ὅτι μὲν γὰρ κατέσκηψε ἐς ἀγγέλους ἡ Ταλθυβίου μῆνις οὐδὲ ἐπαύσατο πρὶν ἢ ἐξῆλθε, τὸ δίκαιον οὕτω ἔφερε· τὸ δὲ συμπεσεῖν ἐς τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων τῶν ἀναβάντων πρὸς βασιλέα διὰ τὴν μῆνιν, ἐς Νικόλαν τε τὸν Βούλιος καὶ ἐς Ἀνήριστον τὸν Σπερθιέω, ὃς εἶλε Ἀλιέας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος ὀλκάδι καταπλώσας πλήρεϊ ἀνδρῶν, δῆλον ὧν μοι ὅτι θεῖον ἐγένετο τὸ πρῆγμα ἐκ τῆς μήνιος· 3 οἱ γὰρ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄγγελοι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, προδοθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Σιτάλκεω τοῦ Τήρεω Θρηίκων βασιλέος καὶ Νυμφοδώρου τοῦ Πύθεω ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω, ἥλωσαν κατὰ Βισάνθην τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, καὶ ἀπαχθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπέθανον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, μετὰ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀδειμάντου Κορίνθιος ἀνὴρ. ταῦτα μὲν νυν πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον ἐγένετο τοῦ βασιλέος στόλου, ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.

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1 ἡ δὲ στρατηλασίῃ ἡ βασιλέος οὖνομα μὲν εἶχε ὥς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, κατίετο δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ οἱ Ἕλληνες οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ πάντες ἐποιεῦντο. 2 οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν δόντες γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἶχον θάρσος ὥς οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρου· οἱ δὲ οὐ δόντες ἐν δείματι μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν, ἅτε οὔτε νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀριθμὸν ἀξιομάχων δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα, οὔτε βουλομένων τῶν πολλῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μηδιζόντων δὲ προθύμως.

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1 ἐνθαῦτα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπίφθονον μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων, ὅμως δὲ τῇ γέ μοι φαίνεται εἶναι ἀληθὲς οὐκ ἐπισχῆσω. 2 εἰ Ἀθηναῖοι καταρρώδησαντες τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον ἐξέλιπον τὴν σφετέρην, ἢ καὶ μὴ ἐκλιπόντες ἀλλὰ μείναντες ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδαμοὶ ἂν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιούμενοι βασιλεῖ. εἰ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν μηδεὶς ἠντιοῦτο Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ γε ἂν τὴν ἡπειρον τοιάδε ἐγίνετο· 3 εἰ

καὶ πολλοὶ τειχέων κιθῶνες ἦσαν ἐληλαμένοι διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ Πελοποννησίοις, προδοθέντες ἂν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἐκόντων ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης, κατὰ πόλιν ἀλISCOμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἐμουνώθησαν, μουνωθέντες δὲ ἂν καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα ἀπέθανον γενναίως. 4 ἢ ταῦτα ἂν ἔπαθον, ἢ πρὸ τοῦ ὀρῶντες ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας μηδίζοντας ὁμολογίῃ ἂν ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς Ξέρην. καὶ οὕτω ἂν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω ἢ Ἑλλὰς ἐγίνετο ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. τὴν γὰρ ὠφελίην τὴν τῶν τειχέων τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένων οὐ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι ἥτις ἂν ἦν, βασιλέος ἐπικρατέοντος τῆς θαλάσσης. 5 νῦν δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἂν τις λέγων σωτήρας γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι τὸ ἀληθές. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ ὁκότερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐτράποντο, ταῦτα ῥέψειν ἔμελλε· ἐλόμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθέρην, τοῦτο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πᾶν τὸ λοιπὸν, ὅσον μὴ ἐμήδισε, αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγείραντες καὶ βασιλέα μετὰ γε θεοὺς ἀνωσάμενοι. 6 οὐδὲ σφέας χρηστήρια φοβερά ἐλθόντα ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἐς δεῖμα βαλόντα ἔπεισε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες ἀνέσχοντο τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν δέξασθαι.

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1 πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους χρηστηριάξεσθαι ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι· καὶ σφι ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα, ὥς ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐσελθόντες ἴζοντο, χρᾶ ἢ Πυθίῃ, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀριστονίκη, τάδε.

2 ὦ μέλαιο, τί κάθησθε; λιπὼν φεῦγ' ἔσχατα γαίης δώματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος ἄκρα κάρηνα. οὔτε γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ μένει ἔμπεδον οὔτε τὸ σῶμα, οὔτε πόδες νέατοι οὔτ' ὦν χέρες, οὔτε τι μέσσης λείπεται, ἀλλ' ἄζηλα πέλει· κατὰ γὰρ μιν ἐρείπει πῦρ τε καὶ ὄξυς Ἄρης, Συριηγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων.

3 πολλὰ δὲ κάλλ' ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα κοῦ τὸ σὸν οἶον, πολλοὺς δ' ἀθανάτων νηοὺς μαλερῷ πυρὶ δώσει, οἳ που νῦν ἰδρῶτι ρεοῦμενοι ἐστήκασι, δείματι παλλόμενοι, κατὰ δ' ἀκροτάτοις ὀρόφοισι αἷμα μέλαν κέχυται, προῖδὸν κακότητος ἀνάγκας. ἀλλ' ἴτον ἐξ ἀδύτοιο, κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν.

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1 ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεοπρόποι συμφορῇ τῇ

μεγίστη ἐχρέωντο. προβάλλουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦ κεκηρησμένου, Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου, τῶν Δελφῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὅμοια τῷ μάλιστα, συνεβούλευέ σφι ἱκετηρίην λαβοῦσι δεύτερα αὐτὶς ἐλθόντας χρᾶσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ὡς ἰκέτας. ² πειθομένοισι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ λέγουσι “ὦναξ, χρῆσον ἡμῖν ἄμεινόν τι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, αἰδεσθεὶς τὰς ἱκετηρίας τάσδε τάς τοι ἤκομεν φέροντες, ἢ οὐ τοι ἄπιμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ τῇδε μενέομεν ἔστ’ ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν”, ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι ἢ πρόμαντις χρᾶ δεύτερα τάδε.

³ οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δί’ Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι λισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῇ. σοὶ δὲ τόδ’ αὐτὶς ἔπος ἐρέω ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας. τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἀλικομένων ὅσα Κέκροπος οὖρος ἐντὸς ἔχει κευθμῶν τε Κιθαιρῶνος ζαθέοιο, τεῖχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς μῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ’ ὀνήσει.

⁴ μηδὲ σύ γ’ ἵπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεζὸν ἰόντα πολλὸν ἀπ’ ἡπείρου στρατὸν ἡσυχος, ἀλλ’ ὑποχωρεῖν νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοι ποτε κἀντίος ἔσση. ὦ θεΐη Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν ἢ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.

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¹ ταῦτα σφι ἡπιώτερα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐδόκεε εἶναι, συγγραψάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. ὥς δὲ ἀπελθόντες οἱ θεοπρόποι ἀπήγγελλον ἐς τὸν δῆμον, γινῶμαι καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ γίνονται διζημένων τὸ μαντήιον καὶ αἶδε συνεστηκυῖαι μάλιστα. τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔλεγον μετεξέτεροι δοκέειν σφίσι τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν χρῆσαι περιέσεσθαι. ἢ γὰρ ἀκρόπολις τὸ πάλαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ῥηγῶ ἐπέφρακτο. ² οἱ μὲν δὲ κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν συνεβάλλοντο τοῦτο τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι, οἱ δ’ αὖ ἔλεγον τὰς νέας σημαίνειν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ταύτας παραρτέεσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέντας. τοὺς ὧν δὲ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἔσφαλλε τὰ δύο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης,

ὦ θεΐη Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν ἢ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.

³ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα συνεχέοντο αἱ γινῶμαι τῶν φαμένων τὰς νέας τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ χρησμολόγοι ταύτῃ ταῦτα ἐλάμβανον, ὥς ἀμφὶ Σαλαμῖνα δεῖ σφεας ἐσσωθῆναι ναυμαχίην

¹ ἦν δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ ἐς πρῶτους νεωστὶ παριών, τῷ οὔνομα μὲν ἦν Θεμιστοκλῆς, παῖς δὲ Νεοκλέος ἐκαλέετο. οὗτος ὦν ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔφη πᾶν ὀρθῶς τοὺς χρησμολόγους συμβάλλεσθαι, λέγων τοιαύτα· εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον ἐόντως, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω μιν δοκέειν ἡπίως χρησθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ὧδε “ὦ σχετλίη Σαλαμὶς” ἀντὶ τοῦ “ὦ θεΐη Σαλαμὶς”, εἴ περ γε ἔμελλον οἱ οἰκήτορες ἄμφ’ αὐτῇ τελευτήσῃν· ² ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ θεῷ εἰρηῇσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὀρθόν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐς Ἀθηναίους· παρασκευάζεσθαι ὧν αὐτοὺς ὡς ναυμαχῆσοντας συνεβούλευε, ὡς τούτου ἐόντος τοῦ ξυλίνου τείχεος. ³ ταύτη Θεμιστοκλέος ἀποφαινομένου Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα σφίσι ἔγνωσαν αἰρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων, οἳ οὐκ ἔων ναυμαχίην ἀρτέεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταείρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκλιπόντας χώραν τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκίζειν.

¹ ἐτέρη τε Θεμιστοκλεί γνώμη ἔμπροσθε ταύτης ἐς καιρὸν ἡρίστευσε, ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοισι γενομένων χρημάτων μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τὰ ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων σφι προσῆλθε τῶν ἀπὸ Λαυρείου, ἔμελλον λάξεσθαι ὀρχηδὸν ἑκάστος δέκα δραχμάς· τότε Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνέγνωσε Ἀθηναίους τῆς διαιρέσιος ταύτης παυσασμένους νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκοσίας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων. ² οὗτος γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος συστάς ἔσωσε ἐς τὸ τότε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀναγκάσας θαλασσίους γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους. αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μὲν ἐποιήθησαν οὐκ ἐχρήσθησαν, ἐς δέον δὲ οὕτω τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐγένοντο. αὐταὶ τε δὴ αἱ νέες τοῖσι Ἀθηναῖοισι προποιεῖσθαι ὑπῆρχον, ἐτέρας τε ἔδεε προσναυπηγέεσθαι. ³ ἔδοξέ τέ σφι μετὰ τὸ χρηστήριον βουλευομένοισι ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον δέκεσθαι τῆσι νηυσὶ πανδημεῖ, τῷ θεῷ πειθομένους, ἅμα Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι.

¹ τὰ μὲν δὴ χρηστήρια ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναῖοισι ἐγεγόνεε.

συλλεγομένων δὲ ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἑλλήνων τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονούντων καὶ διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ πίστιν, ἐνθαῦτα ἐδόκεε βουλευομένοισι αὐτοῖσι πρῶτον μὲν χρημάτων πάντων καταλλάσσεσθαι τὰς τε ἔχθρας καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἀλλήλους ἐόντας πολέμους· ἦσαν δὲ πρὸς τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους ἐγκεκρημένοι, ὁ δὲ ὢν μέγιστος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Αἰγινήτησι. 2 μετὰ δὲ πυνθανόμενοι Ξέρξην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐβουλεύσαντο κατασκόπους πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τῶν βασιλέος πρηγμάτων, ἐς Ἄρος τε ἀγγέλους ὁμαιχμίην συνθησομένους πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ ἐς Σικελίην ἄλλους πέμπειν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένεος ἕς τε Κέρκυραν κελεύσοντας βοηθέειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐς Κρήτην ἄλλους, φρονήσαντες εἴ πως ἔν τε γένοιτο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ εἰ συγκύψαντες τὸ αὐτὸ πρήσσοιεν πάντες, ὥς δεινῶν ἐπιόντων ὁμοίως πᾶσι Ἑλλήσι. τὰ δὲ Γέλωνος πρήγματα μεγάλα ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῶν οὐ πολλὸν μέζω.

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1 ὥς δὲ ταῦτα σφί ἐδοξε, καταλυσάμενοι τὰς ἔχθρας πρῶτα μὲν κατασκόπους πέμπουσι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἄνδρας τρεῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀπικόμενοί τε ἐς Ξάρδις καὶ καταμαθόντες τὴν βασιλέος στρατιήν, ὥς ἐπαίστοι ἐγένοντο, βασανισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπήγοντο ὥς ἀπολεόμενοι. 2 καὶ τοῖσι μὲν κατεκέκριτο θάνατος, Ξέρξης δὲ ὥς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, μεμφθεὶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τὴν γνώμην πέμπει τῶν τινὰς δορυφόρων, ἐντειλάμενος, ἥν καταλάβωσι τοὺς κατασκόπους ζῶντας, ἄγειν παρ' ἐωυτόν. 3 ὥς δὲ ἔτι περιεόντας αὐτοὺς κατέλαβον καὶ ἦγον ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέος, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν πυθόμενος ἐπ' οἷσι ἦλθον, ἐκέλευε σφέας τοὺς δορυφόρους περιάγοντας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πάντα τε τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν ἵππον, ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα θεγύμενοι ἔωσι πλήρεις, ἀποπέμπειν ἐς τὴν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐθέλωσι χώραν ἀσινέας.

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1 ἐπιλέγων δὲ τὸν λόγον τόνδε ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, ὥς εἰ μὲν ἀπώλonton οἱ κατάσκοποι, οὐτ' ἂν τὰ ἐωυτοῦ πρήγματα προεπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐόντα λόγου μέζω, οὐτ' ἂν τι τοὺς πολεμίους μέγα ἐσίναντο, ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπολέσαντες· νοστησάντων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα δοκέειν ἔφη ἀκούσαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰ ἐωυτοῦ

πρήγματα πρὸ τοῦ στόλου τοῦ γινομένου παραδώσειν σφέας τὴν ἰδίην ἐλευθερίην, καὶ οὕτω οὐδὲ δεήσειν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς στρατηλατέοντας πρήγματα ἔχειν. ² οἷκε δὲ αὐτοῦ αὕτη ἡ γνώμη τῇ γε ἄλλῃ. ἐὼν γὰρ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὁ Ξέρξης εἶδε πλοῖα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σιταγωγὰ διεκπλώνοντα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἔς τε Αἴγιναν καὶ Πελοπόννησον κομιζόμενα. οἱ μὲν δὴ πάρεδροι αὐτοῦ ὥς ἐπύθοντο πολέμια εἶναι τὰ πλοῖα, ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν αἰρέειν αὐτά, ἐσβλέποντες ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ὁκότε παραγγελέει. ³ ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης εἶρετο αὐτοὺς ὅκη πλέοιεν· οἱ δὲ εἶπαν “ἐς τοὺς σοὺς πολεμίους, ὧ δέσποτα, σῖτον ἄγοντες”. ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη “οὐκῶν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πλέομεν ἔνθα περ οὔτοι, τοῖσι τε ἄλλοισι ἐξηρτυμένοι καὶ σίτω; τί δῆτα ἀδικέουσι οὔτοι ἡμῖν σιτία παρακομίζοντες;”

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¹ οἱ μὲν νυν κατάσκοποι οὕτω θεησάμενοί τε καὶ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐνόστησαν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, οἱ δὲ συνωμόται Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόπεμψιν τῶν κατασκόπων δευτέρα ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἄργος ἀγγέλους. ² Ἀργεῖοι δὲ λέγουσι τὰ κατ’ ἐωυτοὺς γενέσθαι ὧδε. πυθέσθαι γὰρ αὐτίκα κατ’ ἀρχὰς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐγειρόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πυθόμενοι δέ, καὶ μαθόντες ὥς σφέας οἱ Ἕλληνες πειρήσονται παραλαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσῃ, πέμψαι θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους ὥς σφι μέλλει ἄριστον ποιέουσι γενέσθαι· νεωστὶ γὰρ σφέων τεθνάναι ἐξακισχλίους ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδew· τῶν δὴ εἵνεκα πέμπειν. ³ τὴν δὲ Πυθίην ἐπειρωτῶσι αὐτοῖσι ἀνελεῖν τάδε.

ἐχθρὲ περικτιόνεσσι, φίλ’ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν, εἴσω τὸν προβόλαιον ἔχων πεφυλαγμένος ἦσο καὶ κεφαλὴν πεφύλαξο· κάρη δὲ τὸ σῶμα σαώσει.

ταῦτα μὲν τὴν Πυθίην χρῆσαι πρότερον· μετὰ δὲ ὥς ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος, ἐπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ λέγειν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. ⁴ τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα ὑποκρίνασθαι ὥς ἔτοιμοι εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι ποιέειν ταῦτα, τριήκοντα ἔτα εἰρήνην σπεισάμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ ἡγεόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ πάσης τῆς συμμαχίας. καίτοι κατὰ γε τὸ δίκαιον γίνεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἐωυτῶν· ἀλλ’ ὅμως σφίσι ἀποχρᾶν κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ ἡγεομένοισι.

149

1 ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι τὴν βουλὴν ὑποκρίνασθαι, καίπερ ἀπαγορεύοντός σφι τοῦ χρηστηρίου μὴ ποιέεσθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας συμμαχίην· σπουδὴν δὲ ἔχειν σπονδὰς γενέσθαι τριηκοντοετίδας καίπερ τὸ χρηστήριον φοβεόμενοι, ἵνα δὴ σφι οἱ παῖδες ἀνδρωθῶσι ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἔτεσι· μὴ δὲ σπονδῶν ἐουσέων ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ἣν ἄρα σφέας καταλάβῃ πρὸς τῷ γεγονότι κακῷ ἄλλο πταῖσμα πρὸς τὸν Πέρσῃν, μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔωσι Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπήκοοι. 2 τῶν δὲ ἀγγέλων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης πρὸς τὰ ῥηθέντα ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσιδε· περὶ μὲν σπονδῶν ἀνοίσειν ἐς τοὺς πλεῦνας, περὶ δὲ ἡγεμονίης αὐτοῖσι ἐντετάλθαι ὑποκρίνασθαι, καὶ δὴ λέγειν, σφίσι μὲν εἶναι δύο βασιλέας, Ἀργείοισι δὲ ἓνα· οὐκ ὄν δυνατὸν εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης οὐδέτερον παῦσαι τῆς ἡγεμονίης, μετὰ δὲ δύο τῶν σφετέρων ὁμόψῃφον τὸν Ἀργεῖον εἶναι κωλύειν οὐδέν. 3 οὕτω δὴ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι φασὶ οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν Σπαρτιητέων τὴν πλεονεξίην, ἀλλ' ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχεσθαι ἢ τι ὑπεῖξαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, προειπεῖν τε τοῖσι ἀγγέλοις πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀργείων χώρας, εἰ δὲ μή, περιέψεσθαι ὥς πολεμίους.

150

1 αὐτοὶ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι τοσαῦτα τούτων πέρι λέγουσι· ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος λόγος λεγόμενος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς Ξέρξης ἐπεμψε κήρυκα ἐς Ἄργος πρότερον ἢ περ ὀρμῆσαι στρατεῦεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· 2 ἐλθόντα δὲ τοῦτον λέγεται εἰπεῖν “ἄνδρες Ἀργεῖοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τάδε ὑμῖν λέγει. ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν Πέρσῃν εἶναι ἀπ’ οὗ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν παῖδα Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Κηφέος θυγατρὸς Ἀνδρομέδης. οὕτω ἂν ὧν εἶημεν ὑμέτεροι ἀπόγονοι. οὔτε ὧν ἡμέας οἶκος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους στρατεῦεσθαι, οὔτε ὑμέας ἄλλοις τιμωρόντας ἡμῖν ἀντιζόους γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ παρ’ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖσι ἡσυχίην ἔχοντας κατῆσθαι. ἣν γὰρ ἐμοὶ γένηται κατὰ νόον, οὐδαμὸς μέξονας ὑμέων ἄξω”. 3 ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας Ἀργεῖους λέγεται πρῆγμα ποιήσασθαι, καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους μεταίτεειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας παραλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, οὕτω δὴ ἐπισταμένους ὅτι οὐ μεταδώσουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς Λακεδαιμόνιοι μεταίτεειν, ἵνα ἐπὶ προφάσιος ἡσυχίην ἄγωσι.

151

1 συμπεσεῖν δὲ τούτοις καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον λέγουσι τινὲς Ἑλλήνων πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον γενόμενον τούτων. τυχεῖν ἐν Σούσοις τοῖσι Μεμνονίοις ἐόντας ἑτέρου πρήγματος εἵνεκα ἀγγέλους Ἀθηναίων Καλλίην τε τὸν Ἴππονίκου καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτου ἀναβάντας, Ἀργεῖους δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον πέμψαντας καὶ τούτους ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγέλους εἰρωτᾶν Ἀρτοξέρξεα τὸν Ξέρξεω εἰ σφί ἐτι ἐμμένει ἐθέλουσι τὴν πρὸς Ξέρξην φιλήν συνεκεράσαντο, ἢ νομιζοίαιτο πρὸς αὐτοῦ εἶναι πολέμιοι· βασιλέα δὲ Ἀρτοξέρξεα μάλιστα ἐμμένειν φάναι, καὶ οὐδεμίαν νομίζειν πόλιν Ἀργεος φιλιωτέραν.

152

1 εἰ μὲν νυν Ξέρξης τε ἀπέπεμψε ταῦτα λέγοντα κήρυκα ἐς Ἄργος καὶ Ἀργείων ἄγγελοι ἀναβάντες ἐς Σοῦσα ἐπειρώτων Ἀρτοξέρξεα περὶ φιλίης, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, οὐδέ τινα γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφαίνομαι ἄλλην γε ἢ τὴν περ αὐτοὶ Ἀργεῖοι λέγουσι· 2 ἐπίσταμαι δὲ τοσοῦτο ὅτι εἰ πάντες ἄνθρωποι τὰ οἰκῆια κακὰ ἐς μέσον συνενέικαιεν ἀλλάξασθαι βουλόμενοι τοῖσι πλησίοις, ἐγκύψαντες ἂν ἐς τὰ τῶν πέλας κακὰ ἀσπασίως ἕκαστοι αὐτῶν ἀποφεροίαιτο ὀπίσω τὰ ἐσενεκαίατο. 3 οὕτω δὲ οὐδ' Ἀργείοις αἰσχιστα πεποιήται. ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γε μὲν οὐ παντάπασι ὀφείλω, καί μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα λόγον· ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα λέγεται, ὥς ἄρα Ἀργεῖοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐπειδὴ σφί πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κακῶς ἡ αἰχμὴ ἐστήκεε, πᾶν δὴ βουλόμενοι σφίσι εἶναι πρὸ τῆς παρεούσης λύπης.

153

1 τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀργείων εἴρηται· ἐς δὲ τὴν Σικελίην ἄλλοι τε ἀπίκατο ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων συμμίζοντες Γέλωνι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων Σύαγρος. τοῦ δὲ Γέλωνος τούτου πρόγονος, οἰκῆτωρ ὁ ἐν Γέλῃ, ἦν ἐκ νήσου Τήλου τῆς ἐπὶ Τριοπίῳ κειμένης· ὃς κτιζομένης Γέλῃς ὑπὸ Λινδίων τε τῶν ἐκ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀντιφήμεου οὐκ ἐλείφθη. 2 ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀπόγονοι γενόμενοι ἱεροφάνται τῶν χθονίων θεῶν διετέλεον ἐόντες, Τηλίνεω ἐνός τευ τῶν προγόνων κτησαμένου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐς Μακτώριον πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ Γέλῃς οἰκημένην ἔφυγον ἄνδρες Γελῶν στάσι ἐσσωθέντες· 3 τούτους ὧν ὁ Τηλίνης κατήγαγε ἐς Γέλην, ἔχων οὐδεμίαν ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν ἀλλὰ

ἰρὰ τούτων τῶν θεῶν· ὅθεν δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε ἢ αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο, τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· τούτοισι δ' ὧν πίσυνος ἐὼν κατήγαγε, ἐπ' ᾧ τε οἱ ἀπόγονοι αὐτοῦ ἱροφάνται τῶν θεῶν ἔσονται. 4 θῶμά μοι ὧν καὶ τοῦτο γέγονε πρὸς τὰ πυνθάνομαι, κατεργάσασθαι Τηλίνην ἔργον τοσοῦτον· τὰ τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἔργα οὐ πρὸς τοῦ ἅπαντος ἀνδρὸς νενόμικα γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ψυχῆς τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ ῥώμης ἀνδρηίης· ὁ δὲ λέγεται πρὸς τῆς Σικελίης τῶν οἰκητόρων τὰ ὑπεναντία τούτων πεφυκέναι θηλυδρίης τε καὶ μαλακώτερος ἀνὴρ.

154

1 οὗτος μὲν νυν ἐκτήσατο τοῦτο τὸ γέρας· Κλεάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Παντάρεος τελευτήσαντος τὸν βίον, ὃς ἐτυράννευσε μὲν Γέλης ἑπτὰ ἔτεα, ἀπέθανε δὲ ὑπὸ Σαβύλλου ἀνδρὸς Γελῶου, ἐνθαῦτα ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν μουναρχίην Ἴπποκράτης Κλεάνδρου ἐὼν ἀδελφεός. ἔχοντος δὲ Ἴπποκράτεος τὴν τυραννίδα, ὁ Γέλων ἐὼν Τηλίνεω τοῦ ἱροφάντεω ἀπόγονος, πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων καὶ Αἰνησιδήμου τοῦ Παταίκου... ὃς ἦν δορυφόρος Ἴπποκράτεος. 2 μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον δι' ἀρετὴν ἀπεδέχθη πάσης τῆς ἵππου εἶναι ἵππαρχος· πολιορκέοντος γὰρ Ἴπποκράτεος Καλλιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίους καὶ Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ Λεοντίους καὶ πρὸς Συρηκοσίους τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων συχνούς, ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι πολέμοις ἐὼν ὁ Γέλων λαμπρότατος. τῶν δὲ εἶπον πολίων τουτέων πλὴν Συρηκουσέων οὐδεμία διέφυγε δουλοσύνην πρὸς Ἴπποκράτεος· 3 Συρηκοσίους δὲ Κορίνθιοι τε καὶ Κερκυραῖοι ἐρρύσαντο μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντας ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ἐλώρῳ, ἐρρύσαντο δὲ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοῖσιδε καταλλάξαντες, ἐπ' ᾧ τε Ἴπποκράτει Καμάριναν Συρηκοσίους παραδοῦναι. Συρηκοσίων δὲ ἦν Καμάρινα τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

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1 ὥς δὲ καὶ Ἴπποκράτεα τυραννεύσαντα ἴσα ἔτεα τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Κλεάνδρῳ κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν πρὸς πόλιν Ὑβλῇ στρατευσάμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς Σικελούς, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Γέλων τῷ λόγῳ τιμωρέων τοῖσι Ἴπποκράτεος παισὶ Εὐκλείδῃ τε καὶ Κλεάνδρῳ, οὐ βουλομένων τῶν πολιητέων κατηκόων ἔτι εἶναι, τῷ ἔργῳ, ὥς ἐπεκράτησε μάχῃ τῶν Γελῶν, ἦρχε αὐτὸς ἀποστερήσας τοὺς Ἴπποκράτεος παῖδας. 2 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ εὖρημα τοὺς γαμόρους καλεομένους τῶν Συρηκοσίων ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν σφετέρων δούλων,

καλεομένων δὲ Κυλλυρίων, ὁ Γέλων καταγαγὼν τούτους ἐκ
Κασμένης πόλιος ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἔσχε καὶ ταύτας· ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ὁ
τῶν Συρηκοσίων ἐπιόντι Γέλωνι παραδίδοι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐωυτόν.

1 ὁ δὲ ἐπεῖτε παρέλαβε τὰς Συρηκούσας, Γέλῃς μὲν ἐπικρατέων λόγον ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο, ἐπιτρέψας αὐτὴν Ἰέρωνι ἀδελφεῷ ἑωυτοῦ, ὁ δὲ τὰς Συρηκούσας ἐκράτυνε, καὶ ἥσαν οἱ πάντα αἱ Συρήκουσαι· 2 αἱ δὲ παραυτίκα ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον καὶ ἔβλαστον. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Καμαριναίους ἅπαντας ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀγαγὼν πολιήτας ἐποίησε, Καμαρίνης δὲ τὸ ἄστυ κατέσκαψε, τοῦτο δὲ Γελῶων ὑπερημίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν τῶντὸ τοῖσι Καμαριναίοισι ἐποίησε· Μεγαρέας τε τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ, ὡς πολιορκεόμενοι ἐς ὁμολογίην προσεχώρησαν, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν παχέας, ἀειραμένους τε πόλεμον αὐτῷ καὶ προσδοκῶντας ἀπολέεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο, ἀγαγὼν ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας πολιήτας ἐποίησε· τὸν δὲ δῆμον τῶν Μεγαρέων οὐκ ἐόντα μεταίτιον τοῦ πολέμου τούτου οὐδὲ προσδεκόμενον κακὸν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι, ἀγαγὼν καὶ τούτους ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀπέδοτο ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ ἐκ Σικελίης. 3 τῶντὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Εὐβοέας τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ ἐποίησε διακρίνας. ἐποίηε δὲ ταῦτα τούτους ἀμφοτέρους νομίσας δῆμον εἶναι συνοίκημα ἀχαριτώτατον.

157

1 τοιοῦτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ τύραννος ἐγεγόνεε μέγας ὁ Γέλων· τότε δ' ὥς οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας, ἐλθόντες αὐτῷ ἐς λόγους ἔλεγον τάδε. “ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι παραλαμψομένους σε πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον· τὸν γὰρ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάντως κου πυνθάνει, ὅτι Πέρσης ἀνὴρ μέλλει, ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ ἐπάγων πάντα τὸν ἡῶν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, στρατηλατήσῃ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πρόσχημα μὲν ποιούμενος ὡς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, ἐν νόῳ δὲ ἔχων πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. 2 σὺ δὲ δυνάμιός τε γὰρ ἤκεις μεγάλως καὶ μοῖρά τοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μετὰ ἄρχοντί γε Σικελίης, βοήθεέ τε τοῖσι ἐλευθεροῦσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ συνελευθέρου. ἀλῆς μὲν γὰρ γενομένη πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλὰς χεῖρ μεγάλη συνάγεται, καὶ ἀξιόμαχοι γινόμεθα τοῖσι ἐπιοῦσι· ἦν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἡμέων καταπροδιδῶσι οἱ δὲ μὴ θέλωσι τιμωρέειν, τὸ δὲ ὑγιαῖνον τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ ὀλίγον, τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη δεινὸν γίνεται μὴ πέση πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλὰς. 3 μὴ γὰρ ἐλπίσης, ἦν ἡμέας καταστρέψῃται ὁ Πέρσης μάχη κρατήσας, ὡς οὐκ ἴξαι παρὰ σέ γε, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τούτου φύλαξαι· βοηθέων γὰρ ἡμῖν σεωντῷ τιμωρέεις. τῷ δὲ εὖ βουλευθέντι πρήγματι

τελευτή ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν χρηστή ἐθέλει ἐπιγίνεσθαι”.

158

1 οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Γέλων δὲ πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο λέγων τοιάδε. “ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, λόγον ἔχοντες πλεονέκτην ἐτολήσατε ἐμὲ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον παρακαλέοντες ἐλθεῖν· 2 αὐτοῖς δὲ ἐμεῦ πρότερον δεηθέντος βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ συνεπάψασθαι, ὅτε μοι πρὸς Καρχηδονίους νείκος συνῆπτο, ἐπισκῆπτοντός τε τὸν Δωριέος τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδew πρὸς Ἑγεσταίων φόνον ἐκπρήξασθαι, ὑποτείνοντός τε τὰ ἐμπόρια συνελευθεροῦν ἀπ’ ὧν ὑμῖν μεγάλαι ὠφελίαι τε καὶ ἐπαυρέσιες γεγόνασι, οὔτε ἐμεῦ εἵνεκα ἤλθετε βοηθήσοντες οὔτε τὸν Δωριέος φόνον ἐκπρηξόμενοι, τό τε κατ’ ὑμέας τάδε ἅπαντα ὑπὸ βαρβάροισι νέμεται. 3 ἀλλὰ εὖ γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον κατέστη. νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ περιελήλυθε ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἀπῖκται ἐς ὑμέας, οὕτω δὴ Γέλωνος μνηστis γέγονε. 4 ἀτιμῆς δὲ πρὸς ὑμέων κυρήσας οὐκ ὁμοιώσομαι ὑμῖν, ἀλλ’ ἔτοιμος εἰμι βοηθεῖν παρεχόμενος διηκοσίας τε τριήρεας καὶ δισμυρίους ὀπλίτας καὶ δισχιλίην ἵππον καὶ δισχιλίους τοξότας καὶ δισχιλίους σφενδονήτας καὶ δισχιλίους ἵπποδρόμους ψιλούς· σῖτόν τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλήνων στρατιῇ, ἔστ’ ἂν διαπολεμήσωμεν, ὑποδέκομαι παρέξειν. 5 ἐπὶ δὲ λόγῳ τοιῷδε τάδε ὑπίσχομαι, ἐπ’ ᾧ στρατηγός τε καὶ ἡγεμὼν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔσομαι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον. ἐπ’ ἄλλῳ δὲ λόγῳ οὗτ’ ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλθοιμι οὗτ’ ἂν ἄλλους πέμψαιμι”.

159

1 ταῦτα ἀκούσας οὔτε ἠνέσχετο ὁ Σύαγρος εἶπέ τε τάδε. “ἦ κε μέγ’ οἰμώξειε ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων πυθόμενος Σπαρτιήτας τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἀπαραιρῆσθαι ὑπὸ Γέλωνός τε καὶ Συρηκοσίων. ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν τοῦ λόγου μηκέτι μνησθῆς, ὅπως τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοι παραδώσομεν, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν βούλει βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἴσθι ἀρξόμενος ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δ’ ἄρα μὴ δικαιοῖς ἄρχεσθαι, σὺ δὲ μηδὲ βοήθεε”.

160

1 πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Γέλων, ἐπειδὴ ὥρα ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Συάγρου, τὸν τελευταῖόν σφι τόνδε ἐξέφαινε λόγον. “ὦ ξεῖνε Σπαρτιῆτα, ὀνειδεα κατιόντα ἀνθρώπῳ φιλέει ἐπανάγειν τὸν θυμόν·

σὺ μέντοι ἀποδεξάμενος ὑβρίσματα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ οὐ με πείσεις ἀσχήμονα ἐν τῇ ἀμοιβῇ γενέσθαι. 2 ὅκου δὲ ὑμεῖς οὕτω περιέχεσθε τῆς ἡγεμονίης, οἰκὸς καὶ ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ὑμέων περιέχεσθαι, στρατιῆς τε ἔοντα πολλαπλησίης ἡγεμόνα καὶ νεῶν πολλὸν πλεύνων. ἀλλ' ἐπεῖτε ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος οὕτω προσάντης κατίσταται, ἡμεῖς τι ὑπείξομεν τοῦ ἀρχαίου λόγου· εἰ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ ὑμεῖς ἡγέοισθε, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐγώ. εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἡδονὴ τοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἡγεμονεύειν, τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐγὼ θέλω. καὶ ἢ τοῦτοισι ὑμέας χρεὸν ἐστὶ ἀρέσκεσθαι ἢ ἀπιέναι συμμάχων τοιῶνδε ἐρήμους”.

161

1 Γέλων μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προετίνετο, φθάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἄγγελος τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀμείβετό μιν τοῖσιδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ Συρηκοσίων, οὐκ ἡγεμόνος δεομένη ἡ Ἑλλάς ἀπέπεμψε ἡμέας πρὸς σέ, ἀλλὰ στρατιῆς. σὺ δὲ ὅπως μὲν στρατιὴν πέμψεις μὴ ἡγεύμενος τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ προφαίνεις, ὥς δὲ στρατηγήσεις αὐτῆς γλίχῃαι. 2 ὅσον μὲν νυν παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλλήνων στρατοῦ ἐδέεο ἡγέεσθαι, ἐξήρκεε ἡμῖν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἐπισταμένοισι ὥς ὁ Λάκων ἱκανὸς τοι ἔμελλε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἀπολογεύμενος· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀπάσης ἀπελαινόμενος δέεαι τῆς ναυτικῆς ἄρχειν, οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὐδ' ἦν ὁ Λάκων ἐπιῇ τοι ἄρχειν αὐτῆς, ἡμεῖς ἐπήσομεν· ἡμετέρη γὰρ ἐστὶ αὕτη γε, μὴ αὐτῶν βουλομένων Λακεδαιμονίων. τούτοισι μὲν ὧν ἡγέεσθαι βουλομένοισι οὐκ ἀντιτείνομεν, ἄλλω δὲ παρήσομεν οὐδενὶ ναυαρχεῖν. 3 μάτην γὰρ ἂν ὧδε πάραλον Ἑλλήνων στρατὸν πλεῖστον εἴημεν ἐκτημένοι, εἰ Συρηκοσίοισι ἔοντες Ἀθηναῖοι συγχωρήσομεν τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ἀρχαιότατον μὲν ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι, μῦνοι δὲ ἔοντες οὐ μετανάσται Ἑλλήνων· τῶν καὶ Ὅμηρος ὁ ἐποποιὸς ἄνδρα ἄριστον ἔφησε ἐς Ἴλιον ἀπικέσθαι τάξαι τε καὶ διακοσμήσαι στρατόν. οὕτω οὐκ ὄνειδος οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἐστὶ λέγειν ταῦτα”.

162

1 ἀμείβετο Γέλων τοῖσιδε. “ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ὑμεῖς οἴκατε τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ ἄρξομένους οὐκ ἔξειν. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐδὲν ὑπιέντες ἔχειν τὸ πᾶν ἐθέλετε, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιτε τὴν ταχίστην ὀπίσω ἀπαλλασσόμενοι καὶ ἀγγέλλοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῇ ἐξαίρηται”. 2 οὗτος δὲ ὁ νόος τοῦ ῥήματος τὸ ἐθέλει

λέγειν· ὁ δὲ ἄρα ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐστὶ τὸ ἔαρ δοκιμώτατον, τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατιῆς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ στρατιήν· στερισκομένην ὣν τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς ἐωυτοῦ συμμαχίης εἵκαζε ὡς εἰ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐξαραιρημένον εἶη.

163

οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄγγελοι τοιαῦτα τῷ Γέλωνι χρηματισάμενοι ἀπέπλεον· Γέλων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα δεῖσας μὲν περὶ τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι μὴ οὐ δύνωνται τὸν βάρβαρον ὑπερβαλέσθαι, δεινὸν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ποιησάμενος ἐλθὼν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐὼν Σικελίης τύραννος, ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμέλησε, ὁ δὲ ἄλλης εἶχετο. 2 ἐπεῖτε γὰρ τάχιστα ἐπύθετο τὸν Πέρσῃ διαβεβηκότα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, πέμπει πεντηκοντέροισι τρισὶ Κάδμον τὸν Σκύθεω ἄνδρα Κῶν ἐς Δελφούς, ἔχοντα χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φίλους λόγους, παραδοκῆσοντα τὴν μάχην τῇ πεσέεται, καὶ ἦν μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος νικᾷ, τὰ τε χρήματα αὐτῷ διδόναι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῶν ἄρχει ὁ Γέλων, ἦν δὲ οἱ Ἑλληνες, ὅπισω ἀπάγειν.

164

ὁ δὲ Κάδμος οὗτος πρότερον τούτων παραδεξάμενος παρὰ πατρὸς τυραννίδα Κῶν εὖ βεβηκυῖαν, ἐκὼν τε εἶναι καὶ δεινοῦ ἐπιόντος οὐδενὸς ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ δικαιοσύνης ἐς μέσον Κῶοις καταθεῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν οἶχετο ἐς Σικελίην, ἔνθα παρὰ Σαμίων ἔσχε τε καὶ κατοίκησε πόλιν Ζάγκλην τὴν ἐς Μεσσήνην μεταβαλοῦσαν τὸ οὔνομα. 2 τοῦτον δὴ ὁ Γέλων τὸν Κάδμον καὶ τοιοῦτω τρόπῳ ἀπικόμενον διὰ δικαιοσύνην, τὴν οἱ αὐτὸς ἄλλην συνήδεε ἐοῦσαν, ἔπεμπε· ὃς ἐπὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις δικαίοις τοῖσι ἐξ ἐωυτοῦ ἐργασμένοις καὶ τότε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτων ἐλίπετο. κρατήσας γὰρ μεγάλων χρημάτων τῶν οἱ Γέλων ἐπετράπετο, παρεὼν κατασχέσθαι οὐκ ἠθέλησε, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐπεκράτησαν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ καὶ Ξέρξης οἰχώκεε ἀπελαύνων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὴν Σικελίην ἀπὸ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἄγων.

165

λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σικελίῃ οἰκημένων, ὡς ὅμως καὶ μέλλων ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Γέλων ἐβοήθησε ἂν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ Θήρωνος τοῦ Αἰνησιδήμου Ἀκραγαντίνων

μουνάρχου ἐξελασθεῖς ἐξ Ἰμέρης Τήριλλος ὁ Κρινίππου τύραννος ἐὼν Ἰμέρης ἐπῆγε ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Φοινίκων καὶ Λιβύων καὶ Ἰβήρων καὶ Λιγύων καὶ Ἑλισύκων καὶ Σαρδονίων καὶ Κυρνίων τριήκοντα μυριάδας καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Ἄννωνος, Καρχηδονίων ἐόντα βασιλέα, κατὰ ξεινίην τε τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ὁ Τήριλλος ἀναγνώσας καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν Ἀναξίλεω τοῦ Κρητίνεω προθυμίην, ὃς Ῥηγίου ἐὼν τύραννος τὰ ἑωυτοῦ τέκνα δοὺς ὁμήρους Ἀμίλκα ἐπῆγε ἐπὶ τὴν Σικελίην τιμωρέων τῷ πενθερῷ· Τηρίλλου γὰρ εἶχε θυγατέρα Ἀναξίλεως, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Κυδίπη. οὕτω δὴ οὐκ οἶόν τε γενόμενον βοηθέειν τὸν Γέλωνα τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ἀποπέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς τὰ χρήματα.

166

¹ πρὸς δὲ καὶ τάδε λέγουσι, ὡς συνέβη τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης ἔν τε τῇ Σικελίῃ Γέλωνα καὶ Θήρωνα νικᾶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας τὸν Πέρσην. τὸν δὲ Ἀμίλκαν Καρχηδόνιον ἐόντα πρὸς πατρός, μητρόθεν δὲ Συρηκόσιον, βασιλεύσαντά τε κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην Καρχηδονίων, ὡς ἡ συμβολή τε ἐγένετο καὶ ὡς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ μάχῃ, ἀφανισθῆναι πυνθάνομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ζῶντα οὔτε ἀποθανόντα φανῆναι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἐπεξελθεῖν διζήμενον Γέλωνα.

167

¹ ἔστι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίων ὃδε λόγος λεγόμενος, οἰκότητι χρεωμένων, ὡς οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ἐν τῇ Σικελίῃ ἐμάχοντο ἐξ ἡοῦς ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι δειλῆς ὀψίης (ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ λέγεται ἐλκύσαι τὴν σύστασιν), ὁ δὲ Ἀμίλκας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μένων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐθύετο καὶ ἐκαλλιερέετο ἐπὶ πυρῆς μεγάλης σώματα ὅλα καταγίζων, ἰδὼν δὲ τροπὴν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ γινομένην, ὡς ἔτυχε ἐπισπένδων τοῖσι ἱροῖσι, ὥσε ἑωυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ· οὕτω δὴ κατακαυθέντα ἀφανισθῆναι. ² ἀφανισθέντι δὲ Ἀμίλκα τρόπῳ εἶτε τοιούτῳ ὡς Φοίνικες λέγουσι, εἶτε ἐτέρῳ ὡς Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Συρηκόσιοι, τοῦτο μὲν οἱ θύουσι, τοῦτο δὲ μνήματα ἐποίησαν ἐν πάσῃσι τῇσι πόλεσι τῶν ἀποικίδων, ἐν αὐτῇ τε μέγιστον Καρχηδόνι.

168

¹ τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ Σικελίης τοσαῦτα. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ τάδε ὑποκρινάμενοι τοῖσι ἀγγέλοις τοιάδε ἐποίησαν· καὶ γὰρ τούτους

παρελάμβανον οἱ αὐτοὶ οἱ περ ἐς Σικελίην ἀπίκοντο, λέγοντες τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ πρὸς Γέλωνα ἔλεγον. οἱ δὲ παραντίκα μὲν ὑπίσχοντο πέμψειν τε καὶ ἀμυνέειν, φράζοντες ὥς οὐ σφι περιοπτέη ἐστὶ ἡ Ἑλλάς ἀπολλυμένη· ἦν γὰρ σφαλῇ, σφεῖς γε οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ δουλεύουσιν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἡμερέων· ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέον εἴη ἐς τὸ δυνατότατον. ² ὑπεκρίναντο μὲν οὕτω εὐπρόσωπα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδει βοηθέειν, ἄλλα νοέοντες ἐπλήρωσαν νέας ἐξήκοντα, μόγισ δὲ ἀναχθέντες προσέμιζαν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, καὶ περὶ Πύλον καὶ Ταίναρον γῆς τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνεκώχευον τὰς νέας, караδοκέοντες καὶ οὗτοι τὸν πόλεμον τῇ πεσέεται, ἀελπτέοντες μὲν τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὑπερβαλέεσθαι, δοκέοντες δὲ τὸν Πέρσῃν κατακρατήσαντα πολλὸν ἄρξειν πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ³ ἐποίευν ὦν ἐπίτηδες, ἵνα ἔχῃσι πρὸς τὸν Πέρσῃν λέγειν τοιάδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἡμεῖς, παραλαμβανόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡμέας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον, ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην οὐδὲ νέας ἐλαχίστας παρασχόντες ἂν ἀλλὰ πλείστας μετὰ γε Ἀθηναίους, οὐκ ἠθελήσαμεν τοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι οὐδέ τι ἀποθύμιον ποιῆσαι”. τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἥλιζον πλέον τι τῶν ἄλλων οἴσεσθαι· τά περ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. ⁴ πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἑλληνάς σφι σκῆψις ἐπεποίητο, τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἐχρήσαντο. αἰτιωμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅτι οὐκ ἐβροήθεον, ἔφασαν πληρῶσαι μὲν ἐξήκοντα τριήρεας, ὑπὸ δὲ ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων ὑπερβαλεῖν Μαλέην οὐκ οἰοί τε γενέσθαι· οὕτω οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ οὐδεμιῇ κακότητι λειφθῆναι τῆς ναυμαχίας.

169

¹ οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω διεκρούσαντο τοὺς Ἑλληνας. Κρηῖτες δέ, ἐπεῖτε σφέας παρελάμβανον οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις ταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε· πέμψαντες κοινῇ θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρώτων εἴ σφι ἄμεινον τιμωρέουσι γίνεται τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ² ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ὑπεκρίνατο “ὦ νήπιοι, ἐπιμέφεσθε ὅσα ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν Μενελάου τιμωρημάτων Μίνως ἔπεμψε μηνίων δακρύματα, ὅτι οἱ μὲν οὐ συνεξεπρήξαντο αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Καμικῷ θάνατον γενόμενον, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐκείνοισι τὴν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀρπασθεῖσαν ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς βαρβάρου γυναῖκα”. ταῦτα οἱ Κρηῖτες ὥς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν, ἔσχοντο τῆς τιμωρίας.

170

1 λέγεται γὰρ Μίνων κατὰ ζήτησιν Δαιδάλου ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σικανίην τὴν νῦν Σικελίην καλυμένην ἀποθανεῖν βιαίῳ θανάτῳ. ἀνὰ δὲ χρόνον Κρήτας, θεοῦ σφι ἐποτρύναντος, πάντας πλὴν Πολιχνιτέων τε καὶ Πραισίων ἀπικομένους στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐς Σικανίην πολιορκέειν ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε πόλιν Καμικόν, τὴν κατ' ἐμὲ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι ἐνέμοντο· 2 τέλος δὲ οὐ δυναμένους οὔτε ἐλεῖν οὔτε παραμένειν λιμῷ συνεστεῶτας, ἀπολιπόντας οἴχεσθαι. ὥς δὲ κατὰ Ἱητυγίην γενέσθαι πλέοντας, ὑπολαβόντα σφέας χειμῶνα μέγαν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν γῆν· συναραχθέντων δὲ τῶν πλοίων, οὐδεμίαν γάρ σφι ἔτι κομιδὴν ἐς Κρήτην φαίνεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα Ὑρίην πόλιν κτίσαντας καταμεῖναι τε καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἀντὶ μὲν Κρητῶν γενέσθαι Ἱήπυγας Μεσσαπίους, ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι νησιώτας ἡπειρώτας. 3 ἀπὸ δὲ Ὑρίης πόλιος τὰς ἄλλας οἰκίσαι, τὰς δὴ Ταραντῖνοι χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ ἐξανιστάντες προσέπταισαν μεγάλως, ὥστε φόνος Ἑλληνικὸς μέγιστος οὗτος δὴ ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, αὐτῶν τε Ταραντίνων καὶ Ῥηγίνων, οἱ ὑπὸ Μικύθου τοῦ Χοίρου ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ ἀπικόμενοι τιμωροὶ Ταραντίνουσι ἀπέθανον τρισχίλιοι οὕτω· αὐτῶν δὲ Ταραντίνων οὐκ ἐπὶ ἄριθμός. 4 ὁ δὲ Μίκυθος οἰκέτης ἐὼν Ἀναξίλειω ἐπίτροπος Ῥηγίου καταλέλειπτο, οὗτος ὃς περ ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ Ῥηγίου καὶ Τεγέην τὴν Ἀρκάδων οἰκήσας ἀνέθηκε ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας.

171

1 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ῥηγίνους τε καὶ Ταραντίνους τοῦ λόγου μοι παρενθήκη γέγονε· ἐς δὲ τὴν Κρήτην ἐρημωθεῖσαν, ὥς λέγουσι Πραῖσιοι, ἐσοικίζεσθαι ἄλλους τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάλιστα Ἑλληνας, τρίτη δὲ γενεὴ μετὰ Μίνων τελευτήσαντα γενέσθαι τὰ Τρωικά, ἐν τοῖσι οὐ φλαυροτάτους φαίνεσθαι ἐόντας Κρήτας τιμωροὺς Μενέλεω. 2 ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ σφι ἀπονοστήσασι ἐκ Τροίης λιμὸν τε καὶ λοιμὸν γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι προβάτοισι, ἔστε τὸ δεύτερον ἐρημωθείσης Κρήτης μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τρίτους αὐτὴν νῦν νέμεσθαι Κρήτας. ἡ μὲν δὴ Πυθίη ὑπομνήσασα ταῦτα ἔσχε βουλομένους τιμωρέειν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι.

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1 Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀναγκαίης τὸ πρῶτον ἐμήδισαν, ὥς διέδεξαν, ὅτι οὐ σφι ἦνδανε τὰ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι ἐμηχανῶντο. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ἐπύθοντο

τάχιστα μέλλοντα διαβαίνειν τὸν Πέρσῃν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, πέμπουσι ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀγγέλους· ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἦσαν ἀλισμένοι πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀραιρημένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεουσέων περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ² ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτους τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, δεῖ φυλάσσεσθαι τὴν ἐσβολὴν τὴν Ὀλυμπικὴν, ἵνα Θεσσαλίῃ τε καὶ ἡ σύμπασα ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου. ἡμεῖς μὲν νυν ἔτοιμοι εἰμὲν συμφυλάσσειν, πέμπειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ὑμέας στρατιὴν πολλήν, ὥς, εἰ μὴ πέμψετε, ἐπίστασθε ἡμέας ὁμολογήσειν τῷ Πέρσῃ· οὐ γάρ τι προκατημένους τοσοῦτο πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος μούνους πρὸ ὑμέων δεῖ ἀπολέσθαι. ³ βοηθέειν δὲ οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀναγκαίην ἡμῖν οὐδεμίαν οἰοί τε ἐστὲ προσφέρειν· οὐδαμὰ γὰρ ἀδυνασίης ἀνάγκη κρέσσων ἔφυ. ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρησόμεθα αὐτοῖ τινὰ σωτηρίην μηχανώμενοι”.

173

¹ ταῦτα ἔλεγον οἱ Θεσσαλοί. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες πρὸς ταῦτα ἐβουλεύσαντο ἐς Θεσσαλίην πέμπειν κατὰ θάλασσαν πεζὸν στρατὸν φυλάζοντα τὴν ἐσβολὴν. ὥς δὲ συνελέχθη ὁ στρατός, ἔπλεε δι’ Εὐρίπου· ἀπικόμενος δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιῆς ἐς Ἄλον, ἀποβάς ἐπορεύετο ἐς Θεσσαλίην, τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ καταλιπών, καὶ ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὰ Τέμπεα ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἢ περ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρει παρὰ ποταμὸν Πηνειόν, μεταξὺ δὲ Ὀλύμπου τε ὄρεος ἐόντα καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης. ² ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατὰ μυρίους ὀπλίτας συλλεγέντες, καὶ σφι προσῆν ἡ Θεσσαλῶν ἵππος· ἐστρατήγεε δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Εὐαίνετος ὁ Καρήνου ἐκ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀραιρημένος, γένεος μέντοι ἐὼν οὐ τοῦ βασιλείου, Ἀθηναίων δὲ Θεμιστοκλέης ὁ Νεοκλέος. ἔμειναν δὲ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐνθαῦτα· ³ ἀπικόμενοι γὰρ ἄγγελοι παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀμύντεω ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνος συνεβούλευόν σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι μηδὲ μένοντας ἐν τῇ ἐσβολῇ καταπατηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἐπιόντος, σημαίνοντες τὸ πλῆθός τε τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ τὰς νέας. ὥς δὲ οὗτοί σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, χρηστὰ γὰρ ἐδόκεον συμβουλεύειν καὶ σφι εὖνοος ἐφαίνετο ἐὼν ὁ Μακεδών, ἐπείθοντο. ⁴ δοκέειν δὲ μοι, ἀρρώδιῃ ἦν τὸ πεῖθον, ὥς ἐπύθοντο καὶ ἄλλην ἐοῦσαν ἐσβολὴν ἐς Θεσσαλοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην διὰ Περῤῥαιβῶν κατὰ Γόννον πόλιν, τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἐσέβαλε ἡ στρατιὴ ἡ Ξέρξεω. καταβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὰς νέας ὀπίσω ἐπορεύοντο ἐς τὸν

Ἴσθμόν.

174

1 αὕτη ἐγένετο ἡ ἐς Θεσσαλίην στρατήϊ, βασιλέος τε μέλλοντος διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ ἐόντος ἤδη ἐν Ἀβύδῳ. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ἐρημωθέντες συμμάχων οὕτω δὴ ἐμήδισαν προθύμως οὐδ' ἔτι ἐνδοιαστῶς, ὥστε ἐν τοῖσι πρήγμασι ἐφαίνοντο βασιλεῖ ἄνδρες ἐόντες χρησιμώτατοι.

175

1 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπεῖτε ἀπίκατο ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμόν, ἐβουλευόντο πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν οἰοῖσι χώροισι. ἡ νικῶσα δὲ γνώμη ἐγένετο τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξαι· στεινότερῃ γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ἐοῦσα τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην καὶ ἅμα ἀγχοτέρῃ τῆς ἐωυτῶν· 2 τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν, δι' ἣλωσαν οἱ ἀλόντες Ἑλλήνων ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, οὐδὲ ᾔδεσαν ἐοῦσαν πρότερον ἢ περ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπύθοντο Τρηχινίων. ταύτην ὦν ἐβουλευσάντο φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἐσβολὴν μὴ παριέναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον, τὸν δὲ ναυτικὸν στρατὸν πλέειν γῆς τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγχοῦ τε ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ ὥστε πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ κατὰ ἑκατέρους ἐόντα, οἳ τε χῶροι οὕτω ἔχουσι.

176

1 τοῦτο μὲν τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον· ἐκ τοῦ πελάγεος τοῦ Θρηκίου ἐξ εὐρέος συνάγεται ἐς στεινὸν ἐόντα τὸν πόρον τὸν μεταξὺ νήσου τε Σκιάθου καὶ ἡπείρου Μαγνησίης· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ στεινοῦ τῆς Εὐβοίης ἤδη τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον δέκεται αἰγιαλός, ἐν δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱρόν. 2 ἡ δὲ αὖ διὰ Τρηχίνος ἔσοδος ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστὶ τῇ στεινοτάτῃ ἡμίπλεθρον. οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τοῦτό γε ἐστὶ τὸ στεινότατον τῆς χώρας τῆς ἄλλης, ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθε τε Θερμοπυλέων καὶ ὀπισθε, κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνοὺς ὀπισθε ἐόντας ἐοῦσα ἀμαξιτὸς μούνη, καὶ ἔμπροσθε κατὰ Φοίνικα ποταμὸν ἀγχοῦ Ἀνθήλης πόλιος ἄλλη ἀμαξιτὸς μούνη. 3 τῶν δὲ Θερμοπυλέων τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέρης ὄρος ἄβατόν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, ὑψηλόν, ἀνατεῖνον ἐς τὴν Οἶτην· τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῆς ὁδοῦ θάλασσα ὑποδέκεται καὶ τενάγεια. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ταύτῃ θερμὰ λουτρά, τὰ Χύτρους καλέουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καὶ βωμὸς ἰδρύται Ἡρακλέος ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι. ἐδέδμητο δὲ τεῖχος κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐσβολάς, καὶ τό γε

παλαιὸν πύλαι ἐπῆσαν. 4 ἔδειμαν δὲ Φωκέες τὸ τεῖχος δείσαντες, ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκήσαντες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα τὴν νῦν ἐκτέεται. ἄτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καταστρέφεσθαι σφέας, τοῦτο προεφυλάξαντο οἱ Φωκέες, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ θερμὸν τότε ἐπῆκαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσοδον, ὥς ἂν χαραδρωθεῖ ὁ χῶρος, πᾶν μηχανώμενοι ὅπως μὴ σφι ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν. 5 τὸ μὲν νυν τεῖχος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε ἐδέδμητο καὶ τὸ πλέον αὐτοῦ ἤδη ὑπὸ χρόνου ἔκειτο· τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῖς ὀρθώσασι ἔδοξε ταύτη ἀπαμύνειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν βάρβαρον. κώμη δὲ ἐστὶ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς ὁδοῦ Ἀλπηνοὶ οὖνομα· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ἐπισιτιεῖσθαι ἐλογίζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες.

177

1 οἱ μὲν νυν χῶροι οὗτοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι εἶναι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπιτήδευ· πάντα γὰρ προσκεψάμενοι καὶ ἐπιλογισθέντες ὅτι οὔτε πλήθει ἕξουσιν χρᾶσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε ἵππῳ, ταύτη σφι ἔδοξε δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὥς δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐόντα ἐν Πιερίῃ, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐς Θερμοπύλας πεζῇ, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον.

178

1 οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθειον διαταχθέντες, Δελφοὶ δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐχρηστηριάζοντο τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ ἐωυτῶν καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταρρώδηκότες, καὶ σφι ἐχρήσθη ἀνέμοισι εὐχεσθαι· μεγάλους γὰρ τούτους ἔσεσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι συμμάχους. 2 Δελφοὶ δὲ δεξάμενοι τὸ μαντήιον πρῶτα μὲν Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροις ἐξήγγειλαν τὰ χρησθέντα αὐτοῖσι, καὶ σφι δεινῶς καταρρώδεουσι τὸν βάρβαρον ἐξαγγείλαντες χάριν ἀθάνατον κατέθεντο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Δελφοὶ τοῖσι ἀνέμοισι βωμόν τε ἀπέδεξαν ἐν Θυίῃ, τῇ περ τῆς Κηφισοῦ θυγατρὸς Θυίης τὸ τέμενος ἐστί, ἐπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει, καὶ θυσίησι σφέας μετήσαν.

179

1 Δελφοὶ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀνέμους ἱλάσκονται. ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς Ξέρξῳ στρατὸς ὁρμώμενος ἐκ Θέρμης πόλιος παρέβαλε νηυσὶ τῇσι ἄριστα πλεούσῃσι δέκα ἰθὺ Σκιαθου,

ἐνθα ἦσαν προφυλάσσεσθαι νέες τρεῖς Ἑλληνίδες, Τροϊζηνίη τε καὶ Αἰγιναιή καὶ Ἀττική. προΐδόντες δὲ οὗτοι τὰς νέας τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν ὄρμησαν.

180

¹ τὴν μὲν δὴ Τροϊζηνίην, τῆς ἦρχε Πρηξίνος, αὐτίκα αἰρέουσι ἐπισπόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ἔπειτα τῶν ἐπιβατέων αὐτῆς τὸν καλλιστεύοντα ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τῆς πύργου τῆς νεὸς ἔσφαξαν, διαδέξιον ποιέμενοι τὸν εἶλον τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον καὶ κάλλιστον. τῷ δὲ σφαγιασθέντι τούτῳ οὖνομα ἦν Λέων· τάχα δ' ἂν τι καὶ τοῦ οὐνόματος ἐπαύροιτο.

181

¹ ἡ δὲ Αἰγιναιή, τῆς ἐτρηράρχεε Ἀσωνίδης, καὶ τινὰ σφι θόρυβον παρέσχε, Πυθῶ τοῦ Ἰσχενοῦ ἐπιβατεύοντος, ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου γενομένου ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἡ νηὶς ἡλίσκετο ἐς τοῦτο ἀντεῖχε μαχόμενος ἐς ὃ κατεκρεουργήθη ἅπας. ² ὥς δὲ πεσὼν οὐκ ἀπέθανε ἀλλ' ἦν ἔμπνοος, οἱ Πέρσαι, οἱ περ ἐπεβάτευον ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, δι' ἀρετὴν τὴν ἐκείνου περιποιῆσαί μιν περὶ πλείστου ἐποιήσαντο, σμύρνησί τε ἰώμενοι τὰ ἔλκεα καὶ σινδόνης βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι κατειλίσσοντες· ³ καὶ μιν, ὥς ὀπίσω ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἐωυτῶν στρατόπεδον, ἐπεδείκνυσαν ἐκπαγλόμενοι πάσῃ τῇ στρατιῇ περιέποντες εὖ. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τοὺς ἔλαβον ἐν τῇ νηὶ ταύτῃ περιεῖπον ὥς ἀνδράποδα.

182

¹ αἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν νεῶν οὕτω ἐχειρώθησαν· ἡ δὲ τρίτη, τῆς ἐτρηράρχεε Φόρμος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, φεύγουσα ἐξοκέλλει ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν σκάφεος ἐκράτησαν οἱ βάρβαροι, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐ· ὥς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐπώκειλαν τὴν νέα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀποθορόντες κατὰ Θεσσαλίην πορευόμενοι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐς Ἀθήνας.

183

¹ ταῦτα οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ στρατοπεδεύόμενοι πυνθάνονται παρὰ πυρσῶν ἐκ Σκιάθου· πυθόμενοι δὲ καὶ καταρρώδησαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μετορμίζοντο ἐς Χαλκίδα, φυλάζοντες μὲν τὸν Εὐριπον, λείποντες δὲ ἡμεροσκόπους περὶ τὰ

ὕψηλὰ τῆς Εὐβοίης. 2 τῶν δὲ δέκα νεῶν τῶν βαρβάρων τρεῖς ἐπήλασαν περὶ τὸ ἔρμα τὸ μεταξὺ ἐὼν Σκιάθου τε καὶ Μαγνησίης, καλεόμενον δὲ Μύρμηκα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ στήλην λίθου ἐπέθηκαν κομίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρμα, ὀρμηθέντες αὐτοὶ ἐκ Θέρμης, ὥς σφι τὸ ἐμποδῶν ἐγεγόνεε καθαρὸν, ἐπέπλεον πάσῃσι τῇσι νηυσί, ἔνδεκα ἡμέρας παρέντες μετὰ τὴν βασιλέος ἐξέλασιν ἐκ Θέρμης. 3 τὸ δὲ ἔρμα σφι κατηγήσατο ἐὼν ἐν πόρῳ μάλιστα Πάμμων Σκύριος. πανημερὸν δὲ πλέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανύουσι τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρας ἐπὶ Σηπιάδα τε καὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς.

184

1 μέχρι μὲν νυν τούτου τοῦ χώρου καὶ Θερμοπυλέων ἀπαθῆς τε κακῶν ἦν ὁ στρατός, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν τηνικαῦτα ἔτι, ὥς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης, ἐουσέων ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκοσίων καὶ χιλίων, τὸν μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἐκάστων τῶν ἐθνέων ἐόντα ὅμιλον τέσσερας καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας καὶ πρὸς χιλιάδα τε καὶ τετρακοσίους, ὥς ἀνὰ διηκοσίους ἄνδρας λογιζομένοισι ἐν ἐκάστη νήϊ. 2 ἐπεβάτευον δὲ ἐπὶ τουτέων τῶν νεῶν, χωρὶς ἐκάστων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐπιβατέων, Περσέων τε καὶ Μήδων καὶ Σακέων τριήκοντα ἄνδρες. οὗτος ἄλλος ὅμιλος γίνεται τρισμῦριοι καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι καὶ πρὸς διηκόσιοί τε καὶ δέκα. 3 προσθήσω δ' ἔτι τούτῳ καὶ τῷ προτέρῳ ἀριθμῷ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, ποιήσας, ὃ τι πλέον ἦν αὐτῶν ἢ ἔλασσον, ἀν' ὀγδώκοντα ἄνδρας ἐνεῖναι. συνελέχθη δὲ ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα, ὥς καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, τρισχίλια. ἤδη ὧν ἄνδρες ἂν εἶεν ἐν αὐτοῖσι τέσσερες μυριάδες καὶ εἴκοσι. 4 τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τό ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ναυτικὸν ἦν, σύμπαν ἐὼν πεντήκοντα μυριάδες καὶ μία, χιλιάδες δὲ ἑπτεῖσι ἐπὶ ταύτῃσι ἑπτὰ καὶ πρὸς ἑκατοντάδες ἕξ καὶ δεκάς. τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες ἐγένοντο, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων ὀκτὼ μυριάδες. προσθήσω δ' ἔτι τούτοισι τὰς καμήλους τοὺς ἐλαύνοντας Ἀραβίους καὶ τοὺς τὰ ἄρματα Λίβυας, πλῆθος ποιήσας δισμυρίους ἄνδρας. 5 καὶ δὴ τό τε ἐκ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ πλῆθος συντιθέμενον γίνεται διηκόσιαί τε μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα καὶ μία, καὶ πρὸς χιλιάδες ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἕξ καὶ δεκάς. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀσίης στράτευμα ἐξαναχθὲν εἴρηται, ἄνευ τε τῆς θαλαπῆγης τῆς ἐπομένης καὶ τῶν σιταγωγῶν πλοίων καὶ ὅσοι

ἐνέπλεον τούτοισι.

185

¹ τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀγόμενον στράτευμα ἔτι προσλογιστέα τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ ἐξηριθμημένῳ· δόκησιν δὲ δεῖ λέγειν. νέας μὲν νυν οἱ ἀπὸ Θρηίκης Ἑλληνες καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν νήσων τῶν ἐπικειμενέων τῇ Θρηίκῃ παρείχοντο εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν· ἐκ μὲν νυν τουτέων τῶν νεῶν ἄνδρες τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ δισμύριοι γίνονται. ² πεζοῦ δὲ τὸν Θρήικες παρείχοντο καὶ Παῖονες καὶ Ἑορδοὶ καὶ Βοττιαῖοι καὶ τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος καὶ Βρύγοι καὶ Πίερες καὶ Μακεδόνες καὶ Περῤῥαιβοὶ καὶ Ἐνιῆνες καὶ Δόλοπες καὶ Μάγνητες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ ὅσοι τῆς Θρηίκης τὴν παραλίην νέμονται, τούτων τῶν ἐθνέων τριήκοντα μυριάδας δοκέω γενέσθαι. ³ αὗται ὧν αἱ μυριάδες ἐκείνησι προστεθεῖσαι τῇσι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, γίνονται αἱ πᾶσαι ἀνδρῶν αἱ μάχιμοι μυριάδες διηκόσιαι καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τέσσερες, ἔπεισι δὲ ταύτησι ἑκατοντάδες ἑκκαίδεκα καὶ δεκάς.

186

¹ τοῦ μαχίμου δὲ τούτου ἐόντος ἀριθμὸν τοσούτου, τὴν θεραπήνην τὴν ἐπομένην τούτοισι καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖσι σιταγωγοῖσι ἀκάτοισι ἐόντας καὶ μάλα ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι πλοίοισι τοῖσι ἅμα πλέουσι τῇ στρατιῇ, τούτους τῶν μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν οὐ δοκέω εἶναι ἐλάσσονας ἀλλὰ πλεῦνας. ² καὶ δὴ σφεας ποιέω ἴσους ἐκείνοισι εἶναι καὶ οὔτε πλεῦνας οὔτε ἐλάσσονας οὐδέν· ἐξισούμενοι δὲ οὔτοι τῷ μαχίμῳ ἐκπληροῦσι τὰς ἴσας μυριάδας ἐκείνοισι. οὕτῳ πεντακοσίας τε μυριάδας καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ χιλιάδας τρεῖς καὶ ἑκατοντάδας δύο καὶ δεκάδας δύο ἀνδρῶν ἦγαγε Ξέρξης ὁ Δαρείου μέχρι Σηπιάδος καὶ Θερμοπυλέων.

187

¹ οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦ συνάπαντος τοῦ Ξέρξεω στρατεύματος ἀριθμός, γυναικῶν δὲ σιτοποιῶν καὶ παλλακέων καὶ εὐνούχων οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀτρεκέα ἀριθμόν· οὐδ' αὖ ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτηνέων τῶν ἀχθοφόρων καὶ κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν τῶν ἐπομένων, οὐδ' ἂν τούτων ὑπὸ πλήθεος οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀριθμόν. ὥστε οὐδέν μοι θῶμα παρίσταται προδοῦναι τὰ ρέεθρα τῶν ποταμῶν ἔστι ὧν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὁκῶς τὰ σιτία ἀντέχρησε θῶμά μοι μυριάσι τοσαύτησι. ² εὐρίσκω

γὰρ συμβαλλόμενος, εἰ χοίνικα πυρῶν ἕκαστος τῆς ἡμέρης ἐλάμβανε καὶ μηδὲν πλέον, ἔνδεκα μυριάδας μεδίμνων τελοομένας ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη καὶ πρὸς τριηκοσίους τε ἄλλους μεδίμνους καὶ τεσσεράκοντα· γυναιξὶ δὲ καὶ εὐνούχοισι καὶ ὑποζυγίοισι καὶ κυσὶ οὐ λογίζομαι. ἀνδρῶν δὲ ἐουσέων τοσουτέων μυριάδων, κάλλεός τε εἵνεκα καὶ μεγάθεος οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀξιονικότερος ἦν αὐτοῦ Ξέρξεω ἔχειν τοῦτο τὸ κράτος.

188

1 ὁ δὲ δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐπείτε ὀρμηθεὶς ἔπλεε καὶ κατέσχε τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρας ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς, αἱ μὲν δὴ πρῶται τῶν νεῶν ὄρμεον πρὸς γῆ, ἄλλαι δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνησι ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐόντος οὐ μεγάλου, πρόκροσσαι ὀρμέοντο ἐς πόντον καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ νέας. 2 ταύτην μὲν τὴν εὐφρόνην οὕτω, ἅμα δὲ ὀρθρῳ ἐξ αἰθρίας τε καὶ νηνεμίας τῆς θαλάσσης ζεσάσης ἐπέπεσέ σφι χειμῶν τε μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἄνεμος ἀπηλιώτης, τὸν δὴ Ἑλλησποντίην καλέουσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκημένοι. 3 ὅσοι μὲν νυν αὐτῶν αὐξόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον καὶ τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ὄρμου, οἱ δ' ἔφθησαν τὸν χειμῶνα ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε περιῆσαν καὶ αἱ νέες αὐτῶν· ὅσας δὲ τῶν νεῶν μεταρσίας ἔλαβε, τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἴπνους καλεομένους τοὺς ἐν Πηλῳ, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν· αἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον, αἱ δὲ ἐς Μελίβοιαν πόλιν, αἱ δὲ ἐς Κασθαναίην ἐξεβράσσοντο· ἦν τε τοῦ χειμῶνος χρῆμα ἀφόρητον.

189

1 λέγεται δὲ λόγος ὥς Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Βορέην ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐλθόντος σφι ἄλλου χρηστηρίου τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐπίκουρον καλέσασθαι. Βορέης δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήνων λόγον ἔχει γυναῖκα Ἀττικήν, Ὠρειθυίην τὴν Ἐρεχθέος. 2 κατὰ δὲ τὸ κῆδος τοῦτο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥς φάτις ὀρμηται, συμβαλλόμενοι σφίσι τὸν Βορέην γαμβρὸν εἶναι, ναυλοχέοντες τῆς Εὐβοίης ἐν Χαλκίδι ὥς ἔμαθον αὐξόμενον τὸν χειμῶνα ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἐθύοντό τε καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο τὸν τε Βορέην καὶ τὴν Ὠρειθυίην τιμωρῆσαι σφίσι καὶ διαφθεῖραι τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας, ὥς καὶ πρότερον περὶ Ἄθων. 3 εἰ μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖσι βαρβάροις ὀρμέουσι Βορέης ἐπέπεσε, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· οἱ δ' ὧν Ἀθηναῖοι σφίσι λέγουσι βοηθήσαντα τὸν Βορέην

πρότερον καὶ τότε ἐκεῖνα κατεργάσασθαι, καὶ ἱρὸν ἀπελθόντες Βορέω ἰδρύσαντο παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰλισσόν.

190

¹ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ νέας οἱ ἐλαχίστας λέγουσι διαφθαρῆναι τετρακοσιέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, ἄνδρας τε ἀναριθμήτους χρημάτων τε πλῆθος ἄφθονον. ὥστε Ἀμεινοκλεί τῷ Κρητίνεω ἀνδρὶ Μάγνητι γηοχέοντι περὶ Σηπιάδα μεγάλως ἢ ναυηγίῃ αὕτη ἐγένετο χρηστή· ὃς πολλὰ μὲν χρύσεια ποτήρια ὑστέρω χρόνῳ ἐκβρασσόμενα ἀνεύλετο πολλὰ δὲ ἀργύρεα, θησαυρούς τε τῶν Περσέων εὗρε, ἄλλα τε ἄφατα χρήματα περιεβάλετο. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τᾶλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων εὐρήμασι μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο· ἦν γάρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμφορὴ λυπεῦσα παιδοφόνος.

191

¹ σιταγωγῶν δὲ ὀλκάδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἐπὶν ἀριθμός. ὥστε δεῖσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ μή σφι κεκακωμένοισι ἐπιθέωνται οἱ Θεσσαλοί, ἔρκος ὑψηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ναυηγίων περιεβάλοντο· ² ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχείμαζε τρεῖς. τέλος δὲ ἔντομά τε ποιεῦντες καὶ καταεῖδοντες γόησι οἱ Μάγοι τῷ ἀνέμῳ, πρὸς τε τούτοισι καὶ τῇ Θέτι καὶ τῇσι Νηρηΐσι θύοντες, ἔπαυσαν τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ, ἣ ἄλλως κως αὐτὸς ἐθέλων ἐκόπασε. τῇ δὲ Θέτι ἔθιον πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον. ὥς ἐκ τοῦ χώρου τούτου ἀρπασθείῃ ὑπὸ Πηλέος, εἶη τε ἅπασα ἢ ἀκτὴ ἢ Σηπιάς ἐκείνης τε καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων Νηρηίδων.

192

¹ ὁ μὲν δὴ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπέπαυτο· τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλήσι οἱ ἡμεροσκοποὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκρων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταδραμόντες δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ὁ χειμὼν ὁ πρῶτος ἐγένετο, ἐσήμαινον πάντα τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τὴν ναυηγίην. ² οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐπύθοντο, Ποσειδέωνι σωτῆρι εὐξάμενοι καὶ σπονδὰς προχέαντες τὴν ταχίστην ὀπίσω ἠπείγοντο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐλπίσαντες ὀλίγας τινὰς σφι ἀντιξόους ἔσεσθαι νέας.

193

¹ οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ δεύτερον ἐλθόντες περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐναυλόχεον, Ποσειδέωνος σωτῆρος ἐπωνυμίην ἀπὸ τούτου ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε

νομίζοντες. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ὥς ἐπαύσατό τε ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ τὸ κύμα ἔστρωτο, κατασπάσαντες τὰς νέας ἔπλεον παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον, κάμψαντες δὲ τὴν ἄκρην τῆς Μαγνησίης ἰθέαν ἔπλεον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Παγασέων φέροντα. ² ἔστι δὲ χώρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἔνθα λέγεται τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰήσονος τε καὶ τῶν συνεταίρων ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐπ' ὕδωρ πεμφθέντα, εὖτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἔπλεον ἐς Αἴαν τὴν Κολχίδα· ἐνθεῦτεν γὰρ ἔμελλον ὑδρευσάμενοι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφήσειν. ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ τῷ χώρῳ οὖνομα γέγονε Ἀφέται. ἐν τούτῳ ὧν ὄρμον οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐποιεῦντο.

194

¹ πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τῶν νεῶν τουτέων ἔτυχόν τε ὕσταται πολλὸν ἐξαναχθεῖσαι καὶ κως κατεῖδον τὰς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέας. ἔδοξάν τε δὴ τὰς σφετέρας εἶναι οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ πλέοντες ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους· τῶν ἐστρατήγεε ὁ ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος ὑπαρχος Σανδώκης ὁ Θαμασίου τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ἐπ' αἰτίῃ τοιῇδε λαβὼν ἀνεσταύρωσε ἐόντα τῶν βασιλῆων δικαστέων. ὁ Σανδώκης ἐπὶ χρήμασι ἄδικον δίκην ἐδίκησε. ² ἀνακρεμασθέντος ὧν αὐτοῦ, λογιζόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος εὖρὲ οἱ πλέω ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πεποιημένα ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασιλῆιον· εὖρων δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Δαρεῖος, καὶ γνοὺς ὡς ταχύτερα αὐτὸς ἢ σοφώτερα ἐργασμένος εἴη, ἔλυσε. ³ βασιλέα μὲν δὴ Δαρεῖον οὕτω διαφυγὼν μὴ ἀπολέσθαι περιῆν, τότε δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας καταπλώσας ἔμελλε οὐ τὸ δεύτερον διαφυγὼν ἔσεσθαι· ὥς γὰρ σφέας εἶδον προσπλέοντας οἱ Ἑλληνες, μαθόντες αὐτῶν τὴν γινομένην ἀμαρτάδα, ἐπαναχθέντες εὐπετέως σφέας εἶλον.

195

¹ ἐν τουτέων μὴ Ἀρίδωλις πλέων ἦλω, τύραννος Ἀλαβάνδων τῶν ἐν Καρίῃ, ἐν ἐτέρῃ δὲ ὁ Πάφιος στρατηγὸς Πενθύλος ὁ Δημονόου, ὃς ἦγε μὲν δωδέκα νέας ἐκ Πάφου, ἀποβαλὼν δὲ σφέων τὰς ἑνδεκα τῷ χειμῶνι τῷ γενομένῳ κατὰ Σηπιάδα, μὴ τῇ περιγενομένη καταπλέων ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦλω. τούτους οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐξιστορήσαντες τὰ ἐβούλοντο πυθέσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Ξέρξεω στρατιῆς, ἀποπέμπουσι δεδemeνους ἐς τὸν Κορινθίων ἰσθμόν.

196

1 ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατός, παρέξ τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα νεῶν τῶν εἶπον Σανδώκεα στρατηγέειν, ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ἀφέτας. Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς πορευθεὶς διὰ Θεσσαλίας καὶ Ἀχαιῆς ἐσβεβληκῶς ἦν καὶ δὴ τριταῖος ἐς Μηλιάας, ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ μὲν ἄμιλλαν ποιησάμενος ἵππων τῶν τε ἐωυτοῦ ἀποπειρώμενος καὶ τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἵππου, πυθόμενος ὥς ἀρίστη εἶη τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησι· ἔνθα δὴ αἱ Ἑλληνίδες ἵπποι ἐλείποντο πολλόν. τῶν μὲν νυν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ποταμῶν Ὀνόχωνος μούνος οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ῥέεθρον πινόμενος· τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀχαιῇ ποταμῶν ῥεόντων οὐδὲ ὅστις μέγιστος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ Ἡπιδανός, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἀντέσχε εἰ μὴ φλαύρωσ.

197

1 ἐς Ἄλον δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιῆς ἀπικομένῳ Ξέρξῃ οἱ κατηγεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ βουλόμενοι τὸ πᾶν ἐξηγέεσθαι ἔλεγόν οἱ ἐπιχώριον λόγον, τὰ περὶ τὸ ἶρὸν τοῦ Λαφυστίου Διός, ὥς Ἀθάμας ὁ Αἰόλου ἐμηχανήσατο Φρίξῳ μόρον σὺν Ἴνοϊ βουλευσας, μετέπειτα δὲ ὥς ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀχαιοὶ προτιθεῖσι τοῖσι ἐκείνου ἀπογόνοισι ἀέθλους τοιούσδε· 2 ὃς ἂν ἦ τοῦ γένεος τούτου πρεσβύτατος, τούτῳ ἐπιτάξαντες ἔργεσθαι τοῦ λήϊτου αὐτοὶ φυλακὰς ἔχουσι. λήϊτον δὲ καλέουσι τὸ πρυτανήιον οἱ Ἀχαιοί. ἦν δὲ ἐσέλθῃ, οὐκ ἔστι ὅκως ἔξεισι πρὶν ἢ θύσεσθαι μέλλῃ· ὥς τ' ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις πολλοὶ ἤδη τούτων τῶν μελλόντων θύσεσθαι δείσαντες οἴχοντο ἀποδράντες ἐς ἄλλην χώραν, χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ὀπίσω κατελθόντες ἦν ἀλίσκωνται ἐστέλλοντο ἐς τὸ πρυτανήιον· ὥς θύεται τε ἐξηγέοντο στέμμασι πᾶς πυκασθεὶς καὶ ὥς σὺν πομπῇ ἐξαχθεῖς. 3 ταῦτα δὲ πάσχουσι οἱ Κυτισσώρου τοῦ Φρίξου παιδὸς ἀπόγονοι, διότι καθαρμὸν τῆς χώρας ποιευμένων Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀθάμαντα τὸν Αἰόλου καὶ μελλόντων μιν θύειν ἀπικόμενος οὗτος ὁ Κυτίσσωρος ἐξ Αἴης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐρρύσατο, ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο τοῖσι ἐπιγενομένοις ἐξ ἐωυτοῦ μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέβαλε. 4 Ξέρξης δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὥς κατὰ τὸ ἄλλος ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς τε ἔργετο αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ πάσῃ παρήγγειλε, τῶν τε Ἀθάμαντος ἀπογόνων τὴν οἰκίην ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐσέβετο.

198

1 ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀχαιῇ· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χώρων ἦε ἐς τὴν Μηλίδα παρὰ κόλπον θαλάσσης, ἐν τῷ ἄμπωτίς τε

καὶ ῥηχίη ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. περὶ δὲ τὸν κόλπον τοῦτον ἐστὶ χῶρος πεδινός, τῇ μὲν εὐρύς τῇ δὲ καὶ κάρτα στεινός· περὶ δὲ τὸν χῶρον ὄρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἄβατα περικληθεὶς πᾶσαν τὴν Μηλίδα γῆν, Τρηχίνια πέτραι καλεόμεναι. ² πρώτη μὲν νυν πόλις ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ἰόντι ἀπὸ Ἀχαιῆς Ἀντικύρη, παρ' ἣν Σπερχειὸς ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐξ Ἐνιήνων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδόι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου διὰ εἴκοσιν σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμὸς τῷ οὖνομα κεῖται Δύρας, τὸν βοηθέοντα τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ καιομένῳ λόγος ἐστὶ ἀναφανῆναι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου δι' ἄλλων εἴκοσι σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμὸς ἐστὶ ὃς καλέεται Μέλας.

199

¹ Τρηχίς δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλανος τούτου ποταμοῦ πέντε στάδια ἀπέχει. ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ εὐρύτατον ἐστὶ πάσης τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων ἐς θάλασσαν, κατ' ἣν Τρηχίς πεπόλισται· δισχίλιά τε γὰρ καὶ δισμύρια πλέθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστί. τοῦ δὲ ὄρεος τὸ περικληθεὶς τὴν γῆν τὴν Τρηχινίην ἐστὶ διασφᾶξ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην Τρηχίνος, διὰ δὲ τῆς διασφάγος Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ῥέει παρὰ τὴν ὑπωρείαν τοῦ ὄρεος.

200

¹ ἐστὶ δὲ ἄλλος Φοῖνιξ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, ὃς ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων τούτων ῥέων ἐς τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ἐκδιδόι. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Φοῖνικα ποταμὸν στεινότατον ἐστὶ· ἀμαξιτὸς γὰρ μούνη δέδμηται. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἐστὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας. ² ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ καὶ Θερμοπυλέων κώμῃ τε ἐστὶ τῇ οὖνομα Ἀνθήλη κεῖται, παρ' ἣν δὴ παραρρέων ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδόι, καὶ χῶρος περὶ αὐτὴν εὐρύς, ἐν τῷ Δήμητρος τε ἱρὸν Ἀμφικτυονίδος ἱδρυται καὶ ἔδραι εἰσὶ Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος ἱρὸν.

201

¹ βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἐστρατοπεδεύετο τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Τρηχινίῃ, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῇ διόδῳ. καλέεται δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλεόνων Ἑλλήνων Θερμοπύλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ περιοίκων Πύλαι. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν νυν ἑκάτεροι ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις, ἐπεκράτεε δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορρῆν ἄνεμον ἔχόντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχίνος, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότον καὶ μεσαμβρίην φερόντων τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡπείρου.

ἦσαν δὲ οἶδε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ὑπομένοντες τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ, Σπαρτιητέων τε τριηκόσιοι ὀπλῖται καὶ Τεγεητέων καὶ Μαντινέων χίλιοι, ἡμίσεες ἑκατέρων, ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ τε τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀρκαδίας χίλιοι· τοσοῦτοι μὲν Ἀρκάδων, ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι καὶ ἀπὸ Φλειοῦντος διηκόσιοι καὶ Μυκηναίων ὀγδώκοντα. οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρῆσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ Βοιωτῶν Θεσπιδέων τε ἑπτακόσιοι καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι.

ἰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐπὶ κλητοὶ ἐγένοντο Λοκροὶ τε οἱ Ὀπούντιοι πανστρατιῇ καὶ Φωκέων χίλιοι. αὐτοὶ γὰρ σφέας οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεκαλέσαντο, λέγοντες δι' ἀγγέλων ὥς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἦκοιεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων προσδόκιμοι πᾶσαν εἶεν ἡμέρην, ἢ θάλασσά τέ σφι εἴη ἐν φυλακῇ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων τε φρουρεομένη καὶ Αἰγινητέων καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντων, καὶ σφι εἴη δεινὸν οὐδέν· 2 οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπον, εἶναι δὲ θνητὸν οὐδένα οὐδὲ ἔσεσθαι τῷ κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ οὐ συνεμίχθη, τοῖσι δὲ μεγίστοις αὐτῶν μέγιστα. ὀφείλειν ὦν καὶ τὸν ἐπελαύνοντα, ὥς ἐόντα θνητὸν, ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσεῖν ἄν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἐβοήθειον ἐς τὴν Τρηχίνα.

ἰ τούτοις ἦσαν μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατὰ πόλιος ἑκάστων, ὁ δὲ θωμαζόμενος μάλιστα καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγούμενος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν Λεωνίδης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδῃ τοῦ Λέοντος τοῦ Εὐρυκράτιδῃ τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ Εὐρυκράτους τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Ἀλκαμένους τοῦ Τηλέκλου τοῦ Ἀρχέλεω τοῦ Ἥγησίλεω τοῦ Δορύσσου τοῦ Λεωβώτῃ τοῦ Ἐχέστράτου τοῦ Ἥγιος τοῦ Εὐρυσθένης τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὑλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, κτησάμενος τὴν βασιλείην ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου.

ἰ διζῶν γὰρ οἱ ἐόντων πρεσβυτέρων ἀδελφεῶν, Κλεομένεός τε καὶ

Δωριέος, ἀπελήλατο τῆς φροντίδος περὶ τῆς βασιλείης. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Κλεομένεος ἄπαιδος ἔρσηνος γόνου, Δωριέος τε οὐκέτι ἐόντος ἀλλὰ τελευτήσαντος καὶ τούτου ἐν Σικελίῃ, οὕτω δὴ ἐς Λεωνίδην ἀνέβαινε ἡ βασιλείη, καὶ διότι πρότερος ἐγγόνεε Κλεομβρότου· οὗτος γὰρ ἦν νεώτατος Ἀναξανδρίδεω παῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ εἶχε Κλεομένεος θυγατέρα. ² ὃς τότε ἦε ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κατεστεῶτας τριηκοσίους καὶ τοῖσι ἐτύγγανον παῖδες ἐόντες· παραλαβὼν δὲ ἀπίκετο καὶ Θηβαίων τοὺς ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν λογισάμενος εἶπον, τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Λεοντιάδης ὁ Εὐρυμάχου. ³ τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα τούτους σπουδὴν ἐποιήσατο Λεωνίδης μούνους Ἑλλήνων παραλαβεῖν, ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγόρητο μηδίζειν· παρεκάλει ὧν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, θέλων εἰδέναι εἴτε συμπέμψουσι εἴτε καὶ ἀπερέουσι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος τὴν Ἑλλήνων συμμαχίην. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοφρονέοντες ἔπεμπον.

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¹ τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην πρώτους ἀπέπεμψαν Σπαρτιῆται, ἵνα τούτους ὀρῶντες οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι στρατεύωνται μηδὲ καὶ οὗτοι μηδίσωσι, ἦν αὐτοὺς πυνθάνωνται ὑπερβαλλομένους· μετὰ δέ, Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἦν ἐμποδῶν, ἔμελλον ὀρτάσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ κατὰ τάχος βοηθέειν πανδημεῖ. ² ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐνένωντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιήσιν· ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ Ὀλυμπιάς τούτοις τοῖσι πρήγμασι συμπεσοῦσα· οὐκὼν δοκέοντες κατὰ τάχος οὕτω διακριθήσεσθαι τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι πόλεμον ἔπεμπον τοὺς προδρόμους.

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¹ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτω διενένωντο ποιήσιν· οἱ δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἕλληνες, ἐπειδὴ πέλας ἐγένετο τῆς ἐσβολῆς ὁ Πέρσης, καταρρώδεόντες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς. τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοις Πελοποννησίοις ἐδόκεε ἐλθοῦσι ἐς Πελοπόννησον τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ· Λεωνίδης δέ, Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν περισπερχέοντων τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἐνηφιζέτο πέμπειν τε ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς πόλεις κελεύοντάς σφι ἐπιβοηθέειν, ὥς ἐόντων αὐτῶν ὀλίγων στρατὸν τὸν Μήδων ἀλέξασθαι.

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1 ταῦτα βουλευομένων σφέων, ἔπεμπε Ξέρξης κατάσκοπον ἱπέα ἰδέσθαι ὁκόσοι εἰσὶ καὶ ὅ τι ποιέοιεν. ἀκηκόεε δὲ ἔτι ἐὼν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ὡς ἀλισμένη εἴη ταύτη στρατιὴ ὀλίγη, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὡς εἶησαν Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Λεωνίδης ἐὼν γένος Ἡρακλείδης. 2 ὡς δὲ προσήλασε ὁ ἱππεὺς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐθηεῖτό τε καὶ κατώρα πᾶν μὲν οὐ τὸ στρατόπεδον· τοὺς γὰρ ἔσω τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχεος, τὸ ἀνορθώσαντες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, οὐκ οἶά τε ἦν κατιδέσθαι· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω ἐμάνθανε, τοῖσι πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὰ ὄπλα ἔκειτο· ἔτυχον δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔξω τεταγμένοι. 3 τοὺς μὲν δὴ ὥρα γυμναζομένους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας κτενιζομένους. ταῦτα δὴ θεώμενος ἐθώμαζε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐμάνθανε. μαθὼν δὲ πάντα ἀτρεκέως ἀπήλαυνε ὀπίσω κατ' ἡσυχίην· οὔτε γάρ τις ἐδῶκε ἀλογίης τε ἐνεκύρησε πολλῆς· ἀπελθὼν τε ἔλεγε πρὸς Ξέρξην τά περ ὁπώπεε πάντα.

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1 ἀκούων δὲ Ξέρξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλέσθαι τὸ ἐόν, ὅτι παρασκευάζοιντο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι τε καὶ ἀπολέοντες κατὰ δύναμιν· ἀλλ' αὐτῷ γελοῖα γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο ποιέειν, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρτητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος ἐόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· 2 ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν εἰρώτα Ξέρξης ἕκαστα τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθεῖν τὸ ποιούμενον πρὸς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ὁ δὲ εἶπε “Ἦκουσας μὲν καὶ πρότερόν μεν, εὔτε ὁρμῶμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων, ἀκούσας δὲ γέλωτά με ἔθου λέγοντα τῇ περ ὥρων ἐκβησόμενα πρήγματα ταῦτα· ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθείην ἀσκέειν ἀντία σεῦ βασιλεῦ ἀγὼν μέγιστος ἐστί. 3 ἄκουσον δὲ καὶ νῦν· οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἀπίκαται μαχησόμενοι ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς ἐσόδου, καὶ ταῦτα παρασκευάζονται. νόμος γάρ σφι ἔχων οὕτω ἐστί· ἐπεὰν μέλλωσι κινδυνεῦειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς κεφαλὰς κοσμέονται. 4 ἐπίστασο δέ, εἰ τούτους γε καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ καταστρέψαι, ἔστι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων τὸ σὲ βασιλεῦ ὑπομενέει χεῖρας ἀνταειρόμενον· νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασιληίην τε καὶ καλλίστην πόλιν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι προσφέρειαι καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους”. 5 κάρτα τε δὴ Ξέρξῃ ἅπιστα ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ δεύτερα ἐπειρώτα ὄντινα τρόπον τοσοῦτοι ἐόντες τῇ ἐωυτοῦ στρατιῇ μαχίσονται. ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἀνδρὶ ψεύσῃ, ἢ μὴ ταῦτά τοι ταύτῃ ἐκβῇ τῇ ἐγὼ λέγω”.

1 ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ξέρξην τέσσερας μὲν δὴ παρεξῆκε ἡμέρας, ἐλπίζων αἰεὶ σφεας ἀποδρήσεσθαι· πέμπτη δέ, ὥς οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἀλλὰ οἱ ἐφαίνοντο ἀναιδείῃ τε καὶ ἀβουλίῃ διαχρεώμενοι μένειν, πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Μῆδους τε καὶ Κισσίους θυμωθεῖς, ἐντειλάμενος σφέας ζωγρήσαντας ἄγειν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ. 2 ὥς δ' ἐσέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἔπιπτον πολλοί, ἄλλοι δ' ἐπεσήσαν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπηλαύνοντο, καίπερ μέγας πρὸς πταίνοντες. δῆλον δ' ἐποίευν παντὶ τεφρῇ καὶ οὐκ ἦκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλεί, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ συμβολὴ δι' ἡμέρης.

1 ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τριχέως περιείποντο, ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν ὑπεξῆσαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι ἐπήσαν, τοὺς ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεε βασιλεὺς, τῶν ἥρχε Ὑδάρνης, ὥς δὴ οὗτοί γε εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι. 2 ὥς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συνέμισγον τοῖσι Ἑλλησι, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς Μηδικῆς ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτά, ἅτε ἐν στεινοπόρῳ τε χώρῳ μαχόμενοι καὶ δόρασι βραχυτέροισι χρεώμενοι ἢ περ οἱ Ἑλληνες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλήθει χρήσασθαι. 3 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου, ἄλλα τε ἀποδεικνύμενοι ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοισι μάχεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενοι, καὶ ὅπως ἐντρένγειαν τὰ νῶτα, ἀλέες φεύγεσκον δῆθεν, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὀρῶντες φεύγοντας βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ ἐπήσαν, οἱ δ' ἂν καταλαμβανόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἶναι τοῖσι βαρβάροις, μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ κατέβαλλον πλήθει ἀναριθμήτους τῶν Περσέων· ἔπιπτον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐνθαῦτα ὀλίγοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνάετο παραλαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐσόδου πειρώμενοι καὶ κατὰ τέλεα καὶ παντοίως προσβάλλοντες, ἀπήλουν ὀπίσω.

1 ἐν ταύτῃσι τῇσι προσόδοις τῆς μάχης λέγεται βασιλέα θεεύμενον τρεῖς ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου δέισαντα περὶ τῇ στρατιῇ. τότε μὲν οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀέθλεον. ἅτε γὰρ ὀλίγων ἐόντων, ἐλπίσαντες σφέας κατατετρωματίσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ οἴους τε ἔσεσθαι ἔτι χειρας ἀνταείρασθαι συνέβαλλον. 2 οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες κατὰ τάξιν τε καὶ κατὰ

ἔθνεα κεκοσμημένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν μέρει ἕκαστοι ἐμάχοντο, πλὴν Φωκέων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἐτάχθησαν φυλάζοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν. ὥς δὲ οὐδὲν εὗρισκον ἀλλοιότερον οἱ Πέρσαι ἢ τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐνῶρων, ἀπήλαινον.

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¹ ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέος ὃ τι χρήσεται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι, Ἐπιάλτης ὁ Εὐρυδήμου ἀνὴρ Μηλιεύς ἦλθέ οἱ ἐς λόγους· ὃς μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέος δοκέων οἴσασθαι ἔφρασέ τε τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ ὄρεος φέρουσιν ἐς Θερμοπύλας, καὶ διέφθειρε τοὺς ταύτη ὑπομείναντας Ἑλλήνων. ² ὕστερον δὲ δεῖσας Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφυγε ἐς Θεσσαλίην, καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγόρων τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐς τὴν Πυλαίην συλλεγομένων ἀργύριον ἐπεκηρύχθη. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, κατῆλθε γὰρ ἐς Ἀντικύρην, ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ Ἀθηνάδεω ἀνδρὸς Τρηχινίου. ³ ὁ δὲ Ἀθηνάδης οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μὲν Ἐπιάλτεα δι' ἄλλην αἰτίην, τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι σημανέω, ἐτιμήθη μέντοι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲν ἥσσον.

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¹ Ἐπιάλτης μὲν οὕτω ὕστερον τούτων ἀπέθανε, ἔστι δὲ ἕτερος λεγόμενος λόγος, ὥς Ὀνήτης τε ὁ Φαναγόρεω ἀνὴρ Καρύστιος καὶ Κορυδαλλὸς Ἀντικυρεὺς εἰσὶ οἱ εἵπαντες πρὸς βασιλέα τούτους τοὺς λόγους καὶ περιγησάμενοι τὸ ὄρος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστός. ² τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τῷδε χρή σταθμώσασθαι, ὅτι οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Πυλαγόροι ἐπεκήρυξαν οὐκ ἐπὶ Ὀνήτῃ τε καὶ Κορυδαλλῷ ἀργύριον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ἐπιάλτῃ τῷ Τρηχινίῳ, πάντως κου τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον πυθόμενοι· τοῦτο δὲ φεύγοντα Ἐπιάλτην ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην οἶδαμεν. ³ εἰδείη μὲν γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐὼν μὴ Μηλιεύς ταύτην τὴν ἀτραπὸν Ὀνήτης, εἰ τῇ χώρῃ πολλὰ ὠμιληκῶς εἶη· ἀλλ' Ἐπιάλτης γὰρ ἐστὶ ὁ περιγησάμενος τὸ ὄρος κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν, τοῦτον αἴτιον γράφω.

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¹ Ξέρξης δέ, ἐπεὶ ἤρесе τὰ ὑπέσχετο ὁ Ἐπιάλτης κατεργάσασθαι, αὐτίκα περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἔπεμπε Ὑδάρνεα καὶ τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Ὑδάρνης· ὁρμέατο δὲ περὶ λύχων ἀφὰς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν ταύτην ἐξεῦρον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Μηλιέες, ἐξευρόντες δὲ

Θεσσαλοῖσι κατηγήσαντο ἐπὶ Φωκέας, τότε ὅτε οἱ Φωκέες φράξαντες τείχει τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπη τοῦ πολέμου· ἔκ τε τόσου δὴ κατεδέδεκτο ἐοῦσα οὐδὲν χρηστὴ Μηλιεῦσι.

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¹ ἔχει δὲ ὧδε ἡ ἀτραπὸς αὕτη· ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ διὰ τῆς διασφάγος ῥέοντος, οὖνομα δὲ τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ καὶ τῇ ἀτραπῷ τούτῳ κεῖται, Ἀνόπαια· τείνει δὲ ἡ Ἀνόπαια αὕτη κατὰ ῥάχιν τοῦ ὄρους, λήγει δὲ κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνὸν πόλιν, πρώτην ἐοῦσαν τῶν Λοκρίδων πρὸς τῶν Μηλιέων, καὶ κατὰ Μελαμπύγου τε καλεόμενον λίθον καὶ κατὰ Κερκώπων ἔδρας, τῇ καὶ τὸ στεινότατον ἐστί.

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¹ κατὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀτραπὸν καὶ οὕτω ἔχουσιν οἱ Πέρσαι, τὸν Ἀσωπὸν διαβάντες, ἐπορεύοντο πᾶσαν τὴν νύκτα, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχοντες ὄρεα τὰ Οἰταίων, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ τὰ Τρηκινίων. ἡὼς τε δὴ διέφαινε καὶ οἱ ἐγένοντο ἐπ' ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ ὄρους. ² κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ ὄρους ἐφύλασσον, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, Φωκέων χίλιοι ὀπλῖται, ῥυόμενοι τε τὴν σφετέρην χώραν καὶ φρουρέοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ κάτω ἐσβολὴ ἐφυλάσσετο ὑπὸ τῶν εἴρηται· τὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ ὄρους ἀτραπὸν ἐθελονταὶ Φωκέες ὑποδεξάμενοι Λεωνίδῃ ἐφύλασσον.

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¹ ἔμαθον δὲ σφέας οἱ Φωκέες ὧδε ἀναβεβηκότας· ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐλάνθανον οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ ὄρος πᾶν ἐὼν δρυῶν ἐπίπλεον. ἦν μὲν δὴ νηγεμίη, ψόφου δὲ γινομένου πολλοῦ, ὥς οἶκος ἦν φύλλων ὑποκεχυμένων ὑπὸ τοῖσι ποσί, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον οἱ Φωκέες καὶ ἐνέδυνον τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ βάρβαροι παρήσαν. ² ὥς δὲ εἶδον ἄνδρας ἐνδυομένους ὄπλα, ἐν θώματι ἐγένοντο· ἐλπόμενοι γὰρ οὐδένα σφι φανήσεσθαι ἀντίζοον ἐνεκύρησαν στρατῷ. ἐνθαῦτα Ὑδάρνης καταρρώδηςας μὴ οἱ Φωκέες ἔωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἶρετο Ἐπιάλτην ὀποδαπὸς εἶη ὁ στρατός, πυθόμενος δὲ ἀτρεκέως διέτασσε τοὺς Πέρσας ὥς ἐς μάχην. ³ οἱ δὲ Φωκέες ὥς ἐβάλλοντο τοῖσι τοξεύμασι πολλοῖσί τε καὶ πυκνοῖσι, οἷχοντο φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τὸν κόρυμβον, ἐπιστάμενοι ὥς ἐπὶ σφέας ὀρμήθησαν ἀρχήν,

καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὥς ἀπολεόμενοι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐφρόνεον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἐπιάλτην καὶ Ὑδάρνεα Πέρσαι Φωκέων μὲν οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῦντο, οἱ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ ὄρος κατὰ τάχος.

219

1 τοῖσι δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον μὲν ὁ μάντις Μεγιστίης ἐσιδὼν ἐς τὰ ἱρὰ ἔφρασε τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι ἅμα ἡοῖ σφι θάνατον, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτόμολοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐξαγγείλαντες τῶν Περσέων τὴν περίοδον. οὗτοι μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐσήμηναν, τρίτοι δὲ οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἤδη διαφαινούσης ἡμέρης. 2 ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλευόντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ σφεων ἐσχίζοντο αἰ γνῶμαι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔων τὴν τάξιν ἐκλιπεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἀντέτεινον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διακριθέντες οἱ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσοντο καὶ διασκεδασθέντες κατὰ πόλιν ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἅμα Λεωνίδῃ μένειν αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάδατο.

220

1 λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὥς αὐτὸς σφεας ἀπέπεμψε Λεωνίδης, μὴ ἀπόλωνται κηδόμενος· αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιητέων τοῖσι παρευοῖσι οὐκ ἔχειν εὐπρεπέως ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν ἐς τὴν ἦλθον φυλάζοντες ἀρχήν. 2 ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην πλεῖστος εἰμί, Λεωνίδην, ἐπεῖτε ἦσθετο τοὺς συμμάχους ἐόντας ἀπροθύμους καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας συνδιακινδυνεύειν, κελεῦσαι σφέας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπέναι οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν· μένοντι δὲ αὐτοῦ κλέος μέγα ἐλείπετο, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐξηλείφετο. 3 ἐκέχρηστο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι χρεωμένοισι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐγειρομένου, ἢ Λακεδαίμονα ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τὴν βασιλέα σφέων ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ σφι ἐν ἔπεσι ἐξαμέτροισι χρᾶ λέγοντα ᾤδε.

4 ὑμῖν δ', ὦ Σπάρτης οἰκήτορες εὐρυχόροιο,
ἢ μέγα ἄστυ ἐρικυδὲς ὑπ' ἀνδράσι Περσεΐδῃσι
πέρθεται, ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐχί, ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους δὲ γενέθλης
πενθήσει βασιλῇ φθίμενον Λακεδαίμονος οὔρος.
οὐ γὰρ τὸν ταύρων σχήσει μένος οὐδὲ λεόντων
ἀντιβίην· Ζηνὸς γὰρ ἔχει μένος· οὐδέ ἐφημί
σχήσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶνδ' ἕτερον διὰ πάντα δάσσηται.

ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐπιλεγόμενον Λεωνίδην, καὶ βουλόμενον κλέος καταθέσθαι μούνων Σπαρτιητέων, ἀποπέμψαι τοὺς συμμάχους μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμη διενειχθέντας οὕτω ἀκόσμως οἴχεσθαι τοὺς οἰχομένους.

221

1 μαρτύριον δέ μοι καὶ τόδε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτου πέρι γέγονε, ὅτι καὶ τὸν μάντιν ὃς εἶπετο τῇ στρατιῇ ταύτῃ, Μεγιστίνην τὸν Ἀκαρνηῖνα, λεγόμενον εἶναι τὰ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Μελάμποδος, τοῦτον εἶπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἱρώων τὰ μέλλοντά σφι ἐκβαίνειν, φανερός ἐστι Λεωνίδης ἀποπέμπων, ἵνα μὴ συναπόληταί σφι. ὁ δὲ ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἀπέλιπε, τὸν δὲ παῖδα συστρατευόμενον, ἐόντα οἱ μουνογενέα, ἀπέπεμψε.

222

1 οἱ μὲν νυν σύμμαχοι οἱ ἀποπεμπόμενοι οἴχοντό τε ἀπιόντες καὶ ἐπέιθοντο Λεωνίδῃ, Θεσπιάες δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι κατέμειναν μούνοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοισι. τούτων δὲ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἀέκοντες ἔμενον καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι· κατεῖχε γὰρ σφέας Λεωνίδης ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ποιεύμενος· Θεσπιάες δὲ ἐκόντες μάλιστα, οἳ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀπολιπόντες Λεωνίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάξεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες συναπέθανον. ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτῶν Δημόφιλος Διαδρόμεω.

223

1 Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἡλίου ἀνατεΐλαντος σπονδὰς ἐποιήσατο, ἐπισχὼν χρόνον ἐς ἀγορῆς κου μάλιστα πληθώρην πρόσοδον ἐποιέετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ Ἐπιάλτεω οὕτω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὄρεος ἡ κατάβασις συντομωτέρη τε ἐστὶ καὶ βραχύτερος ὁ χῶρος πολλὸν ἢ περ ἡ περίοδος τε καὶ ἀνάβασις. 2 οἳ τε δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην προσήισαν, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην Ἑλληνας, ὥς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξοδον ποιεύμενοι, ἤδη πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπεξήισαν ἐς τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρυμα τοῦ τεύχεος ἐφυλάσσετο, οἳ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιόντες ἐς τὰ στεινόπορα ἐμάχοντο. 3 τότε δὲ συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν στείνων ἐπιπτον πλήθει πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὀπισθε γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων ἔχοντες μάστιγας ἐρράπιζον πάντα ἄνδρα, αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύνοντες.

πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ ἐσέπιπτον αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ διεφθείροντο, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες κατεπατέοντο ζωοὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων· ἦν δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. 4 ἅτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν μέλλοντα σφίσι ἔσσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιόντων τὸ ὅρος, ἀπεδείκνυντο ῥώμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, παραχρεώμενοί τε καὶ ἀτέοντες.

224

1 δόρατα μὲν νυν τοῖσι πλέοσι αὐτῶν τηνικαῦτα ἤδη ἐτύγγανε κατεηγότα, οἱ δὲ τοῖσι ξίφεσι διεργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄριστος καὶ ἕτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ ὀνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα, ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων. 2 καὶ δὴ Περσέων πίπτουσι ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο παῖδες Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ Ὑπεράνθης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνεω θυγατρὸς Φραταγούνης γεγονότες Δαρεῖω. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάνης Δαρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ἦν ἀδελφεός, Ὑστάσπεος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος παῖς· ὃς καὶ ἐκδιδούς τὴν θυγατέρα Δαρεῖω τὸν οἶκον πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ ἐπέδωκε, ὡς μούνης οἱ ἐούσης ταύτης τέκνου.

225

1 Ξέρξεω τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφοὶ ἐνθαῦτα πίπτουσι μαχόμενοι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδεω Περσέων τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὠθισμὸς ἐγένετο πολλός, ἐς ὃ τοῦτόν τε ἀρετῇ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπεξείρυσαν καὶ ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους τετράκις. τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκεε μέχρι οὗ οἱ σὺν Ἐπιάτῃ παρεγένοντο. 2 ὡς δὲ τούτους ἦκειν ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος· ἔς τε γὰρ τὸ στενὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρεον ὀπίσω, καὶ παραμειψάμενοι τὸ τεῖχος ἐλθόντες ἴζοντο ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν πάντες ἀλέες οἱ ἄλλοι πλην Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ κολωνὸς ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ὅκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἔστηκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ. 3 ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῷ χώρῳ ἀλεξομένους μαχαίρησι, τοῖσι αὐτῶν ἐτύγγανον ἔτι περιεοῦσαι, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι κατέχωσαν οἱ βάρβαροι βάλλοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος συγχώσαντες, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες πάντοθεν περισταδόν.

1 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπιέων τοιούτων γενομένων ὅμως λέγεται ἀνὴρ ἄριστος γενέσθαι Σπαρτιήτης Διηνέκης· τὸν τότε φασὶ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἔπος πρὶν ἢ συμμῖξαι σφέας τοῖσι Μήδοισι, πυθόμενον πρὸς τευ τῶν Τρηχινίων ὥς ἐπεὰν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπίωσι τὰ τοξεύματα, τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν οἰστῶν ἀποκρύπτουσι· τοσοῦτο πλῆθος αὐτῶν εἶναι. 2 τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτοις εἰπεῖν ἐν ἀλογίῃ ποιούμενον τὸ Μήδων πλῆθος, ὥς πάντα σφι ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχίνιος ξεῖνος ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν Μήδων τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ σκιῇ ἔσοιτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἡλίῳ.

1 ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα ἔπεα φασὶ Διηνέκεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀριστεῦσαι λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο ἀδελφεοί, Ἀλφεός τε καὶ Μάρων Ὀρσιφάντου παῖδες. Θεσπιέων δὲ εὐδοκίμεε μάλιστα τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Διθύραμβος Ἀρματίδεω.

1 θαφθεῖσι δὲ σφι αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇ περ ἔπεσον, καὶ τοῖσι πρότερον τελευτήσασι ἢ ὑπὸ Λεωνίδεω ἀποπεμφθέντας οἴχεσθαι, ἐπιγέγραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε.

*μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο
ἐκ Πελοποννήσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.*

2 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι πᾶσι ἐπιγέγραπται, τοῖσι δὲ Σπαρτιήτησι ἰδίῃ.

*ὃ ζεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.*

3 Λακεδαιμονίοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ μάντι τότε.

*μῆμα τότε κλεινοῖο Μεγιστία, ὃν ποτε Μῆδοι
Σπερχειὸν ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι,
μάντιος, ὃς τότε κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδώς
οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνα προλιπεῖν.*

4 ἐπιγράμμασι μὲν νυν καὶ στήλῃσι, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ μάντιος ἐπίγραμμα, Ἀμφικτύονες εἰσὶ σφέας οἱ ἐπικοσμήσαντες· τὸ δὲ τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίεω Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπεος ἐστὶ κατὰ ξεινίην ὁ ἐπιγράψας.

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1 δύο δὲ τούτων τῶν τριηκοσίων λέγεται Εὐρυτόν τε καὶ Ἀριστόδημον, παρεὼν αὐτοῖσι ἀμφοτέροισι κοινῶ λόγῳ χρησαμένοισι ἢ ἀποσωθῆναι ὁμοῦ ἐς Σπάρτην, ὥς μεμετιμένοι γε ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὑπὸ Λεωνίδεω καὶ κατεκέατο ἐν Ἀλπηνοῖσι ὀφθαλμιῶντες ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον, ἢ εἴ γε μὴ ἐβούλοντο νοστήσαι, ἀποθανεῖν ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοις, παρεὼν σφι τούτων τὰ ἕτερα ποιεῖν οὐκ ἐθέλῃσαι ὁμοφρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ γνώμη διενειχθέντας Εὐρυτόν μὲν, πυθόμενον τῶν Περσέων τὴν περίοδον, αἰτήσαντά τε τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ἐνδύντα ἄγειν ἐωυτὸν κελεῦσαι τὸν εἴλωτα ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους, ὅκως δὲ αὐτὸν ἦγαγε, τὸν μὲν ἀγαγόντα οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, τὸν δὲ ἐσπεσόντα ἐς τὸν ὄμιλον διαφθαρῆναι, Ἀριστόδημον δὲ λιποψυχέοντα λειφθῆναι. 2 εἰ μὲν νυν ἢ μόνον Ἀριστόδημον ἀλγήσαντα ἀπονοστήσαι ἐς Σπάρτην ἢ καὶ ὁμοῦ σφεων ἀμφοτέρων τὴν κομιδὴν γενέσθαι, δοκέειν ἐμοί, οὐκ ἂν σφι Σπαρτιότηας μῆνιν οὐδεμίαν προσθέσθαι· νυνὶ δὲ τοῦ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπολομένου, τοῦ δὲ τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς ἐχομένου προφάσιος οὐκ ἐθέλησαντος δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀναγκαίως σφι ἔχειν μηνῖσαι μεγάλως Ἀριστοδήμῳ.

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1 οἱ μὲν νυν οὕτω σωθῆναι λέγουσι Ἀριστόδημον ἐς Σπάρτην καὶ διὰ πρόφασιν τοιήνδε, οἱ δὲ ἄγγελον πεμφθέντα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἔξεδὸν αὐτῷ καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην γινομένην οὐκ ἐθέλῃσαι, ἀλλ' ὑπομείναντα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ περιγενέσθαι, τὸν δὲ συνάγγελον αὐτοῦ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀποθανεῖν.

231

1 ἀπονοστήσας δὲ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ὁ Ἀριστόδημος εἶχε ὄνειδός τε καὶ ἀτιμίην· πάσχων δὲ τοιάδε ἡτίμωτο· οὔτε οἱ πῦρ οὐδεις ἔναυε Σπαρτιητέων οὔτε διελέγετο. ὄνειδος δὲ εἶχε ὁ τρέσας Ἀριστόδημος καλεόμενος. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι μάχῃ ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν

ἐπενειχθεῖσαν αἰτίην·

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¹ λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀποπεμφθέντα ἄγγελον ἐς Θεσσαλίην τῶν τριηκοσίων τούτων περιγενέσθαι, τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Παντίτην· νοστήσαντα δὲ τοῦτον ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς ἡτίμωτο, ἀπάγξασθαι.

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¹ οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, τῶν ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐστρατήγεε, τέως μὲν μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐόντες ἐμάχοντο ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι πρὸς τὴν βασιλέος στρατιήν· ὥς δὲ εἶδον κατυπέρτερα τῶν Περσέων γινόμενα τὰ πρήγματα, οὕτω δὴ, τῶν σὺν Λεωνίδῃ Ἑλλήνων ἐπειγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνόν, ἀποσχισθέντες τούτων χεῖράς τε προέτεινον καὶ ἦσαν ἄσπον τῶν βαρβάρων, λέγοντες τὸν ἀληθέστατον τῶν λόγων, ὡς καὶ μηδίζουσι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν πρώτοισι ἔδοσαν βασιλεί, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀπικοίατο καὶ ἀναίτιοι εἶεν τοῦ τρώματος τοῦ γεγονότος βασιλεί. ² ὥστε ταῦτα λέγοντες περιεγίνοντο· εἶχον γὰρ καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς τούτων τῶν λόγων μάρτυρας· οὐ μέντοι τά γε πάντα εὐτύχησαν· ὥς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔλαβον οἱ βάρβαροι ἐλθόντας, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν προσιόντας, τοὺς δὲ πλεῦνας αὐτῶν κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλῆα, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Λεοντιάδεω· τοῦ τὸν παῖδα Εὐρύμαχον χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσαν Πλαταιέες στρατηγήσαντα ἀνδρῶν Θηβαίων τετρακοσίων καὶσχόντα τὸ ἄστὺ τὸ Πλαταιέων.

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¹ οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ Θερμοπύλας Ἕλληνες οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο, Ξέρξης δὲ καλέσας Δημάρητον εἰρώτα ἀρξάμενος ἐνθένδε. “Δημάρητε, ἀνὴρ εἰς ἀγαθός. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ ἀληθείῃ· ὅσα γὰρ εἶπας, ἅπαντα ἀπέβη οὕτω. νῦν δέ μοι εἶπέ, κόσσοι τινὲς εἰσὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τούτων ὁκόσοι τοιοῦτοι τὰ πολέμια εἶτε καὶ ἅπαντες”. ² ὁ δ' εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, πλῆθος μὲν πολλὸν πάντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πόλεις πολλαί· τὸ δὲ θέλεις ἐκμαθεῖν, εἰδήσεις. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη πόλις ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστα, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοισι· οἳ γε μὲν ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοις μὲν οὐκ ὅμοιοι, ἀγαθοὶ δέ”. ³ εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης “Δημάρητε, τέφω τρόπῳ ἀπονητότατα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων

ἐπικρατήσομεν· ἴθι ἐξηγέο· σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων οἷα βασιλεὺς γενόμενος”.

235

1 ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο “ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἰ μὲν δὴ συμβουλευεαί μοι προθύμως, δίκαιόν με σοὶ ἐστὶ φράζειν τὸ ἄριστον· εἰ τῆς ναυτικῆς στρατιῆς νέας τριηκοσίας ἀποστείλειας ἐπὶ τὴν Λάκαιναν χώραν. 2 ἔστι δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ νῆσος ἐπικειμένη τῇ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Κύθηρα, τὴν Χίλων ἀνὴρ παρ’ ἡμῖν σοφώτατος γενόμενος κέρδος μέζον ἂν ἔφη εἶναι Σπαρτιήτησι κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καταδεδυκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπερέχειν, αἰεὶ τι προσδοκῶν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς τοιοῦτο ἔσεσθαι οἷόν τοι ἐγὼ ἐξηγέομαι, οὔτι τὸν σὸν στόλον προειδώς, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως φοβεόμενος ἀνδρῶν στόλον. 3 ἐκ ταύτης τῆς νήσου ὁρμώμενοι φοβεόντων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. παροίκου δὲ πολέμου σφι ἐόντος οἰκίου, οὐδὲν δεινοὶ ἔσονται τοι μὴ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀλίσκομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ βοηθέωσι ταύτῃ. καταδουλωθείσης δὲ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀσθενὲς ἤδη τὸ Λακωνικὸν μῦνον λείπεται. 4 ἦν δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιέης, τάδε τοι προσδόκα ἔσεσθαι. ἔστι τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἰσθμὸς στενός· ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ πάντων Πελοποννησίων συνομοσάντων ἐπὶ σοὶ μάχας ἰσχυροτέρας ἄλλας τῶν γενομένων προσδέκεο ἔσεσθαί τοι. ἐκεῖνο δὲ ποιήσαντι ἀμαχητὶ ὃ τε ἰσθμὸς οὗτος καὶ αἱ πόλεις προσχωρήσουσι”.

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1 λέγει μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀχαιμένης, ἀδελφεός τε ἐὼν Ξέρξῳ καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατηγός, παρατυχῶν τε τῷ λόγῳ καὶ δείσας μὴ ἀναγνωσθῇ Ξέρξης ποιέειν ταῦτα, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὁρῶ σε ἀνδρὸς ἐνδεκόμενον λόγους ὃς φθονεῖ τοι εὖ πρήσσοντι ἢ καὶ προδιδοῖ πρήγματα τὰ σά. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τρόποισι τοιούτοισι χρεώμενοι Ἕλληνες χαίρουσι· τοῦ τε εὐτυχέειν φθονέουσι καὶ τὸ κρέσσον στυγέουσι. 2 εἰ δ’ ἐπὶ τῇσι παρεούσησι τύχησι, τῶν νέες νεναυηγῆκασι τετρακόσiai, ἄλλας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τριηκοσίας ἀποπέμψεις περιπλέειν Πελοπόννησον, ἀξιόμαχοί τοι γίνονται οἱ ἀντίπαλοι· ἀλῆς δὲ ἐὼν ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς δυσμεταχείριστός τε αὐτοῖσι γίνεται, καὶ ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοί τοι ἔσονται, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ναυτικὸς τῷ πεζῷ ἀρήξει καὶ ὁ πεζὸς τῷ ναυτικῷ ὁμοῦ πορευόμενος· εἰ δὲ διασπάσεις, οὔτε σὺ ἔσαι ἐκείνοισι χρήσιμος οὔτε ἐκείνοι σοί.

3 τὰ σεωτοῦ δὲ τιθέμενον εὖ γνώμην ἔχω τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων μὴ ἐπιλέγεσθαι πρήγματα, τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον τά τε ποιήσουσι ὅσοι τε πλῆθος εἰσί. ἱκανοὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοί γε αὐτοὶ ἐωυτῶν πέρι φροντίζειν εἰσί, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμέων ὡσαύτως. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἦν ἴωσι ἀντία Πέρσῃσι ἐς μάχην, οὐδὲν τὸ παρεὸν τρῶμα ἀκεῦνται”.

237

1 ἀμείβεται Ξέρξης τοῖσιδε. “Ἀχαίμενες, εὖ τε μοι δοκέεις λέγειν καὶ ποιήσω ταῦτα. Δημάρητος δὲ λέγει μὲν τὰ ἄριστα ἔλπεται εἶναι ἐμοί, γνώμη μέντοι ἐσσοῦται ὑπὸ σεῦ. 2 οὐ γὰρ δὴ κείνῳ γε ἐνδέξομαι ὅκως οὐκ εὐνοέει τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι, τοῖσί τε λεγομένοισι πρότερον ἐκ τούτου σταθμώμενος καὶ τῷ ἐόντι, ὅτι πολίτης μὲν πολίτη εὖ πρήσσοντι φθονέει καὶ ἔστι δυσμενῆς τῇ σιγῇ, οὐδ’ ἂν συμβουλευομένου τοῦ ἀστοῦ πολίτης ἀνὴρ τὰ ἄριστα οἱ δοκέοντα εἶναι ὑποθέοιτο, εἰ μὴ πρόσω ἀρετῆς ἀνήκοι· σπάνιοι δὲ εἰσὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι· 3 ξεῖνος δὲ ξεῖνῳ εὖ πρήσσοντι ἐστὶ εὐμενέστατον πάντων, συμβουλευομένου τε ἂν συμβουλεύσειε τὰ ἄριστα. οὕτω ὦν κακολογίης τῆς ἐς Δημάρητον, ἐόντος ἐμοὶ ξείνου πέρι, ἔχεσθαι τινὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ κελεύω”.

238

1 ταῦτα εἶπας Ξέρξης διεξήιε διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ Λεωνίδεω, ἀκηκοὼς ὅτι βασιλεὺς τε ἦν καὶ στρατηγὸς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκέλευσε ἀποταμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρῶσαι. 2 δῆλὰ μοι πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι τεκμηρίοις, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷδε οὐκ ἦκιστα γέγονε, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης πάντων δὴ μάλιστα ἀνδρῶν ἐθυμώθη ζῶντι Λεωνίδῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτε ἐς τὸν νεκρὸν ταῦτα παρενόμηνε, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν μάλιστα νομίζουσι τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀνθρώπων Πέρσαι ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, τοῖσι ἐπετέτακτο ποιέειν.

239

1 ἄναιμι δὲ ἐκεῖσε τοῦ λόγου τῇ μοι τὸ πρότερον ἐξέλιπε. ἐπύθοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅτι βασιλεὺς στέλλοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρῶτοι, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψαν, ἔνθα δὴ σφι ἐχρήσθη τὰ ὀλίγα πρότερον εἶπον· ἐπύθοντο δὲ τρόπῳ θωμασίῳ. 2 Δημάρητος γὰρ ὁ Ἀρίστωνος φυγὼν ἐς Μήδους, ὥς μὲν

ἐγὼ δοκέω καὶ τὸ οἶκός ἐμοὶ συμμάχεται, οὐκ ἦν εὖνοος Λακεδαιμονίοισι, πάρεστι δὲ εἰκάζειν εἴτε εὐνοίῃ ταῦτα ἐποίησε εἴτε καὶ καταχαίρων. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ Ξέρξης ἔδοξε στρατηλατέειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐὼν ἐν Σούσοισι ὁ Δημάρτητος καὶ πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἠθέλησε Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐξαγγεῖλαι. ³ ἄλλως μὲν δὴ οὐκ εἶχε σημῆναι· ἐπικίνδυνον γὰρ ἦν μὴ λαμφθεῖη· ὁ δὲ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε· δελτίον δίπτυχον λαβὼν τὸν κηρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξέκνησε, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ τοῦ δελτίου ἔγραψε τὴν βασιλέος γνώμην, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ὀπίσω ἐπέτηξε τὸν κηρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ γράμματα, ἵνα φερόμενον κεινὸν τὸ δελτίον μηδὲν πρῆγμα παρέχοι πρὸς τῶν ὁδοφυλάκων. ⁴ ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπίκητο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὶν γε δὴ σφι, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Κλεομένεος μὲν θυγάτηρ Λεωνίδεω δὲ γυνὴ Γοργῷ ὑπέθετο ἐπιφρασθεῖσα αὐτή, τὸν κηρὸν κνᾶν κελεύουσα, καὶ εὐρήσειν σφέας γράμματα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ. πειθόμενοι δὲ εὗρον καὶ ἐπελέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήσι ἐπέστειλαν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι.

Βιβλίο Η - Ουρανία

1

¹ οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἦσαν οἷδε, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νέας παρεχόμενοι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτὰ· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίας Πλαταιεὺς ἄπειροι τῆς ναυτικῆς ἐόντες συνεπλήρουν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς νέας. Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσεράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, Μεγαρέες δὲ εἴκοσι. ² καὶ Χαλκιδεὺς ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι, Ἀθηναίων σφι παρεχόντων τὰς νέας, Αἰγινῆται δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα, Σικυώνιοι δὲ δυοκαίδεκα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δέκα, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτώ, Ἐρετριεὺς δὲ ἑπτὰ, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Στυρέες δὲ δύο, καὶ Κήιοι δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέρους δύο· Λοκροὶ δὲ σφι οἱ Ὀπούντιοι ἐπεβοήθεον πεντηκοντέρους ἔχοντες ἑπτὰ.

2

¹ ἦσαν μὲν ὧν οὗτοι οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, εἴρηται δέ μοι καὶ ὥς τὸ πλῆθος ἕκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρείχοντο. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλλεχθεισέων νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, διηκόσιαι καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ μία. ² τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κράτος ἔχοντα παρείχοντο Σπαρτιῆται Εὐρυβιάδην Εὐρυκλείδew· οἱ γὰρ σύμμαχοι οὐκ ἔφασαν, ἦν μὴ ὁ Λάκων ἡγεμονεύῃ, Ἀθηναίοισι ἔψεσθαι ἡγεομένοισι, ἀλλὰ λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι στράτευμα.

3

¹ ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν ἐπὶ συμμαχίην, ὥς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοισι χρεὼν εἶη ἐπιτρέπειν. ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἶκον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μέγα πεποιημένοι περιεῖναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ γνόντες, εἰ στασιάσουσι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὥς ἀπολέεται ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὀρθὰ νοεῦντες· στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσοῦτω κάκιον ἐστὶ ὅσῳ πόλεμος εἰρήνης. ² ἐπιστάμενοι ὧν αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀντέτεινον ἀλλ' εἶκον, μέχρι ὅσου κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν, ὥς διέδεξαν· ὥς γὰρ δὴ ὠσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσην περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἡδὴ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο, πρόφασιν τὴν Πausανίew ὕβριν προῖσχύμενοι ἀπέειλοντο τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοὺς

Λακεδαιμονίους. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.

4

¹ τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἑλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι ὥς εἶδον νέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας καὶ στρατῆς ἅπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἢ ὥς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον, καταρρώδησαντες δρησμὸν ἐβουλεύοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ² γνόντες δὲ σφέας οἱ Εὐβοέες ταῦτα βουλευομένους ἐδέοντο Εὐρυβιάδew προσμεῖναι χρόνον ὀλίγον, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθον, μεταβάντες τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθῷ τριήκοντα τάλαντοισι, ἐπ' ᾧ τε καταμείναντες πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίης ποιήσονται τὴν ναυμαχίην.

5

¹ ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπισχεῖν ὧδε ποιέει· Εὐρυβιάδῃ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδίδοι πέντε τάλαντα ὥς παρ' ἐωυτοῦ δῆθεν διδούς. ὥς δὲ οἱ οὗτος ἀνεπέπειστο, Ἀδεϊμάντος γὰρ ὁ Ὠκύτου ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς τῶν λοιπῶν ἥσπαιρε μῦθος, φάμενος ἀποπλεύσεσθαι τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ οὐ παραμενέειν, πρὸς δὴ τούτον εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπομόσας ² “οὐ σὺ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεὶ τοι ἐγὼ μέζω δῶρα δώσω ἢ βασιλεὺς ἂν τοι ὁ Μῆδων πέμπει ἀπολιπόντι τοὺς συμμάχους”. ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἠγόρευε καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀδεϊμάντου τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρία· ³ οὗτοί τε δὴ πάντες δώροισι ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἦσαν καὶ τοῖσι Εὐβοεῦσι ἐκεχάριστο, αὐτὸς τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκέρδην, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἠπιστέατο οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ τὰ χρήματα.

6

¹ οὕτω δὴ κατέμεινάν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν, ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε. ἐπεῖτε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας περὶ δείλῃν πρωίην γινομένην ἀπίκατο οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἔτι καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπιχειρεῖν, εἴ κως ἔλοιεν αὐτάς. ² ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίης προσπλέειν οὐ κώ σφι ἐδόκεε τῶνδε εἵνεκα, μὴ κως ἰδόντες οἱ Ἑλληνες προσπλέοντας ἐς φυγὴν ὀρμήσειαν φεύγοντάς τε

εὐφρόνη καταλαμβάνη· καὶ ἔμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι, ἔδει δὲ
μηδὲ πυρφόρον τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι.

7

¹ πρὸς ταῦτα ὧν τάδε ἐμηχανῶντο· τῶν νεῶν ἀπασέων
ἀποκρίναντες διηκοσίας περιέπεμπον ἔξωθεν Σκιάθου, ὥς ἂν μὴ
ὀφθείησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλέουσai Εὐβοίαν κατὰ τε
Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐς τὸν Εὐρίπον, ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν οἱ
μὲν ταύτη ἀπικόμενοι καὶ φράζαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀπίσω φέρουσαν
ὁδόν, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἐξ ἐναντίας. ² ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι
ἀπέπεμπον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ταύτης
τῆς ἡμέρης τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐπιθήσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά
σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν περιπλεόντων ὡς ἠκόντων. ταύτας
μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων νεῶν ἐν τῇσι Ἀφέτησι
ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμόν.

8

¹ ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι ἀριθμόν ἐποιεῦντο τῶν νεῶν,
ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλίης Σκιωναῖος δύτης τῶν τότε
ἀνθρώπων ἄριστος, ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίᾳ τῇ κατὰ Πήλιον γενομένη
πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσησι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
περιεβάλετο· οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλίης ἐν νόῳ μὲν εἶχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον
αὐτομολήσειν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἱ παρέσχε ὡς τότε. ²
ὅτε μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἔτι ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὐκ
ἔχω εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως, θωμάζω δὲ εἰ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐστὶ ἀληθέα· λέγεται
γὰρ ὡς ἐξ Αφετέων δὺς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἢ
ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, σταδίους μάλιστά κη τούτους ἐς
ὀγδώκοντα διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διεξελθόν. ³ λέγεται μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλα
ψευδέσι εἴκελα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα·
περὶ μέντοι τούτου γνώμη μοι ἀποδεδέχθω πλοῖῳ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ
τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμνηε τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὴν
τε ναυηγίην ὡς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθείσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ
Εὐβοίαν.

9

¹ τοῦτο δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες λόγον σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ἐδίδοσαν.
πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων ἐνίκα τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μείναντάς τε

καὶ αὐλισθέντας, μετέπειτα νύκτα μέσῃν παρέντας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἀπαντᾶν τῇσι περιπλεούσῃσι τῶν νεῶν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ὥς οὐδεὶς σφι ἐπέπλεε, δείλῃν ὀψίῃν γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάζαντες αὐτοὶ ἐπανέπλεον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου.

10

¹ ὁρῶντες δὲ σφέας οἱ τε ἄλλοι στρατιῶται οἱ Ξέρξεω καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλέοντας νηυσὶ ὀλίγῃσι, πάγχυ σφι μανίην ἐπενείκαντες ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας, ἐλπίσαντες σφέας εὐπετέως αἰρήσειν, οἰκότα κάρτα ἐλπίσαντες, τὰς μὲν γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρῶντες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἐωυτῶν πλήθει τε πολλαπλησίας καὶ ἄμεινον πλεούσας. καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα ἐκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον. ² ὅσοι μὲν νυν τῶν Ἰώνων ἦσαν εὐνοοὶ τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι, ἀέκοντές τε ἐστρατεύοντο συμφορὴν τε ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην ὁρῶντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὥς οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀπονοστήσει· οὕτω ἀσθενέα σφι ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα. ³ ὅσοισι δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον, ἄμιλλαν ἐποιεῦντο ὅκως αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτος νέα Ἀττικὴν ἐλὼν παρὰ βασιλέος δῶρα λάμψεται· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖσι λόγος ἦν πλεῖστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα.

11

¹ τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλήσι ὥς ἐσήμηνε, πρῶτα μὲν ἀντίπρωροι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον, δεύτερα δὲ σημήναντος ἔργου εἶχοντο ἐν ὀλίγῳ περ ἀπολαμφθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. ² ἐνθαῦτα τριήκοντα νέας αἰρέουσι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Γόργου τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸν Φιλάονα τὸν Χέρσιος, λόγιμον ἐόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ Ἑλλήνων νέα τῶν πολεμίων εἶλε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Λυκομήδης Αἰσχραίου, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήιον ἔλαβε οὗτος. ³ τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἑτεραλκέως ἀγωνιζομένους νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλληνες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλεον, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Ἀντίδωρος Λήμιος μόνος τῶν σὺν βασιλεῖ Ἑλλήνων ἐόντων αὐτομολέει ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χῶρον ἐν Σαλαμῖνι.

¹ ὥς δὲ εὐφρόνη ἐγεγόνεε, ἦν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον θέρος, ἐγίνετο δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἄπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ σκληραὶ βρονταὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου· οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυήγια ἐξεφέποντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, καὶ περὶ τε τὰς πύργους τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο καὶ ἐτάρασσον τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν κωπέων. ² οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι ἐς οἷα κακὰ ἦκον. πρὶν γὰρ ἢ καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι σφέας ἔκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ Πήλιον, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχίῃ καρτερή, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίης ὄμβρος τε λάβρος καὶ ρεύματα ἰσχυρὰ ἐς θάλασσαν ὀρμημένα βρονταὶ τε σκληραί.

¹ καὶ τούτοισι μὲν τοιαύτῃ ἡ νύξ ἐγίνετο, τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλέειν Εὐβοίαν ἡ αὐτὴ περ ἐοῦσα νύξ πολλὸν ἦν ἔτι ἀγριωτέρη, τοσοῦτω ὅσῳ ἐν πελάγει φερομένοισι ἐπέπιπτε, καὶ τὸ τέλος σφι ἐγίνετο ἄχαρι. ὥς γὰρ δὴ πλέουσι αὐτοῖσι χειμῶν τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο ἐοῦσι κατὰ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας· ἐποιέτό τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅκως ἂν ἐξισωθεῖν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικὸν μηδὲ πολλῷ πλέον εἶη.

¹ οὗτοι μὲν νυν περὶ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης διεφθείροντο· οἱ δ' ἐν Ἀφέτῃσι βάρβαροι, ὥς σφι ἀσμένοισι ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε, ἀτρέμας τε εἶχον τὰς νέας καὶ σφι ἀπεχρᾶτο κακῶς πρήσουσι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι. τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλήσι ἐπεβοήθειον νέες τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα Ἀττικάι. ² αὐταὶ τε δὴ σφεας ἐπέρρωσαν ἀπικόμεναι καὶ ἅμα ἀγγελίῃ ἐλθοῦσα, ὥς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ περιπλέοντες τὴν Εὐβοίαν πάντες εἶσαν διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου χειμῶνος. φυλάζαντες δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, πλέοντες ἐπέπεσον νηυσὶ Κιλίσσησι· ταύτας δὲ διαφθείραντες, ὥς εὐφρόνη ἐγίνετο, ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον.

¹ τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ δεινὸν τι ποιησάμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων νέας οὕτω σφι ὀλίγας λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξεω

δειμαίνοντες, οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἔτι τοὺς Ἑλληνας μάχης ἄρξαι, ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρης ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας. συνέπιπτε δὲ ὥστε τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας τὰς τε ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας καὶ τὰς πεζομαχίας τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι. ² ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ ἀγὼν τοῖσι κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ Εὐρίπου, ὥσπερ τοῖσι ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην τὴν ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ παρεκελεύοντο ὅπως μὴ παρήσουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἱ δ' ὅπως τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα διαφθείραντες τοῦ πόρου κρατήσουσι. ὥς δὲ ταξάμενοι οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐπέπλεον, οἱ Ἑλληνες ἀτρέμας εἶχον πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μνηνοειδὲς ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἐκυκλοῦντο, ὥς περιλάβοιεν αὐτούς.

16

¹ ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐπανέπλεόν τε καὶ συνέμισγον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐγίνοντο. ² ὁ γὰρ Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὑπὸ μεγάρους τε καὶ πλήθους αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐωυτοῦ ἔπιπτε, ταρασσομενέων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπιπτουσέων περὶ ἀλλήλας· ὁμῶς μέντοι ἀντεῖχε καὶ οὐκ εἶκε· δεινὸν γὰρ χρῆμα ἐποיעῦντο ὑπὸ νεῶν ὀλιγέων ἐς φυγὴν τρέπεσθαι. ³ πολλαὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέες διεφθείροντο πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες νέες τε τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἄνδρες, οὕτω δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενοι διέστησαν χωρὶς ἑκάτεροι.

17

¹ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν τῶν Ξέρξεω στρατιωτέων ἡρίστευσαν, οἱ ἄλλα τε μεγάλα ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ νέας αὐτοῖσι ἀνδράσι εἶλον Ἑλληνίδας πέντε. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ἡρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναίων Κλεινίης ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδεω, ὃς δαπάνην οἰκίην παρεχόμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἀνδράσι τε διηκοσίοισι καὶ οἰκίῃ νηί.

18

¹ ὥς δὲ διέστησαν, ἄσμενοι ἑκάτεροι ἐς ὄρμον ἠπείγοντο. οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ὥς διακριθέντες ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἀπηλλάχθησαν, τῶν μὲν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων ἐπεκράτεον, τρηχέως δὲ περιεφθέντες, καὶ οὐκ ἤκιστα Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν αἰ ἡμίσεαι τῶν νεῶν τετρωμέναι ἦσαν, δρησμὸν δὲ ἐβούλευον ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

1 νόφ δὲ λαβὼν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὡς εἰ ἀπορράγειν ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου τό τε Ἴωνικὸν φῦλον καὶ τὸ Καρικόν, οἳοί τε εἶησαν ἄν τῶν λοιπῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι, ἐλαυνόντων τῶν Εὐβοέων πρόβατα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ταύτην, συλλέξας τοὺς στρατηγούς ἔλεγε σφι ὡς δοκεοί ἔχειν τινὰ παλάμην, τῇ ἐλπίζοι τῶν βασιλέος συμμάχων ἀποστήσειν τοὺς ἀρίστους. 2 ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμνου, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι τάδε ποιητέα σφι εἶναι ἔλεγε, τῶν τε προβάτων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταθῦειν ὅσα τις ἐθέλοι· κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν στρατιὴν ἔχειν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους· παραίνεέ τε προειπεῖν τοῖσι ἐωυτῶν ἐκάστους πῦρ ἀνακαίειν· κομιδῆς δὲ πέρι τὴν ὥρην αὐτῷ μελήσειν, ὥστε ἀσινέας ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ταῦτα ἤρεσέ σφι ποιέειν, καὶ αὐτίκα πῦρ ἀνακαυσάμενοι ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα.

1 οἱ γὰρ Εὐβοέες, παραχρησάμενοι τὸν Βάκιδος χρησμὸν ὡς οὐδὲν λέγοντα, οὔτε τι ἐξεκομίσαντο οὐδὲν οὔτε προσεσάζαντο ὡς παρεσομένου σφι πολέμου, περιπετέα τε ἐποίησαντο σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τὰ πρήγματα. 2 Βάκιδι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχει περὶ τούτων ὁ χρησμός.

*φράζω, βαρβαρόφωνος ὅταν ζυγὸν εἰς ἄλλα βάλλῃ
βύβλινον, Εὐβοίης ἀπέχειν πολυμηκάδας αἰγας.*

τούτοισι οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἔπεσι χρησαμένοισι ἐν τοῖσι τότε παρευοῦσι τε καὶ προσδοκίμοις κακοῖσι παρῆν σφι συμφορῇ χρᾶσθαι πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα.

1 οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔπρησσαν, παρῆν δὲ ὁ ἐκ Τρηχίνος κατάσκοπος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ κατάσκοπος Πολύας, γένος Ἀντικυρεύς, τῷ προσετέτακτο, καὶ εἶχε πλοῖον κατῆρες ἔτοιμον, εἰ παλήσειε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός, σημαίνειν τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐοῦσι· ὥς δ' αὐτως ἦν Ἀβρώνιχος ὁ Λυσικλέος Ἀθηναῖος καὶ παρὰ Λεωνίδῃ ἔτοιμος τοῖσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐοῦσι ἀγγέλλειν τριηκοντέρῳ, ἦν τι καταλαμβάνῃ νεώτερον τὸν πεζόν. 2 οὗτος ὢν ὁ Ἀβρώνιχος ἀπικόμενός σφι ἐσήμαινε τὰ γεγονότα περὶ Λεωνίδην καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, οὐκέτι ἐς ἀναβολὰς

ἐποιεῦντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ἐκομίζοντο δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν, Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι, ὕστατοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι.

22

1 Ἀθηναίων δὲ νέας τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας ἐπιλεξάμενος Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπορεύετο περὶ τὰ πότιμα ὕδατα, ἐντάμνων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοις γράμματα. τὰ Ἴωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπελέξαντο. τὰ δὲ γράμματα τάδε ἔλεγε. “ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οὐ ποιεέτε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλούμενοι. 2 ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθε· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο μὴ δυνατόν ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν Καρῶν δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιέειν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων οἶόν τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἀναγκαίης μέζονος κατέξενυχθε ἢ ὥστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, ἐθελοκακέετε μεμνημένοι ὅτι ἀπ’ ἡμέων γέγονατε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχῆθεν ἢ ἔχθρῃ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ’ ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε “. 3 Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ταῦτα ἔγραφε, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρα νοέων, ἵνα ἢ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἴωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἐωυτῶν, ἢ ἐπεῖτε ἀνενειχθῇ καὶ διαβληθῇ πρὸς Ξέρξην, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἴωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιῶν αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχη.

23

1 Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα ἐνέγραψε· τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα πλοίῳ ἦλθε ἀνὴρ Ἰστιαεὺς ἀγγέλλων τὸν δρησμὸν τὸν ἀπ’ Ἀρτεμισίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οἱ δ’ ὑπ’ ἀπιστίας τὸν μὲν ἀγγέλλοντα εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, νέας δὲ ταχέας ἀπέστειλαν προκατοψομένας· ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ τούτων τὰ ἦν, οὕτω δὴ ἅμα ἡλίῳ σκιδναμένῳ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐπέπλεε ἀλῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ἐπισχόντες δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρης, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔπλεον ἐς Ἰστιαίην· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔσχον τῶν Ἰστιαίων, καὶ τῆς Ἑλλοπίνης μοίρης γῆς δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος τὰς παραθαλασσίας χώρας πάσας ἐπέδραμον.

24

1 ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τούτων ἐόντων, Ξέρξης ἐτοιμασάμενος τὰ περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἔπεμπε ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κήρυκα, προετοιμάσατο δὲ

τάδε· ὅσοι τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἐωυτοῦ ἦσαν νεκροὶ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι (ἦσαν δὲ καὶ δύο μυριάδες), ὑπολιπόμενος τούτων ὡς χιλίους, τοὺς λοιποὺς τάφρους ὀρυζάμενος ἔθαψε, φυλλάδα τε ἐπιβαλὼν καὶ γῆν ἐπαμυσάμενος, ἵνα μὴ ὀφθῇσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ. 2 ὥς δὲ διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην ὁ κῆρυξ, σύλλογον ποιησάμενος παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγε τάδε. “ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τῷ βουλομένῳ ὑμέων παραδίδωσι ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἐλθόντα θεήσασθαι ὅπως μάχεται πρὸς τοὺς ἀνόητους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ ἥλπισαν τὴν βασιλείος δύναμιν ὑπερβαλέεσθαι “.

25

1 ταῦτα ἐπαγγεिलाμένου, μετὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πλοίων σπανιώτερον· οὕτω πολλοὶ ἤθελον θεήσασθαι. διαπεραιωθέντες δὲ ἐθηεύντο διεξιόντες τοὺς νεκρούς· πάντες δὲ ἠπιστέατο τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Θεσπιάας, ὀρῶντες καὶ τοὺς εἰλωτας. 2 οὐ μὲν οὐδ’ ἐλάνθανε τοὺς διαβεβηκότας Ξέρξης ταῦτα πρήξας περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐωυτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ γελοῖον ἦν· τῶν μὲν χίλιοι ἐφαίνοντο νεκροὶ κείμενοι, οἱ δὲ πάντες ἐκέατο ἀλέες συγκεκομισμένοι ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ χωρίον, τέσσερες χιλιάδες. 3 ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πρὸς θῆν ἐτράποντο, τῇ δ’ ὕστεραίῃ οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλεον ἐς Ἰστιαίην ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην ἐς ὁδὸν ὁρμέατο.

26

1 ἦκον δὲ σφι αὐτόμολοι ἄνδρες ἀπ’ Ἀρκαδίας ὀλίγοι τινές, βίου τε δεόμενοι καὶ ἐνεργοὶ βουλόμενοι εἶναι. ἄγοντες δὲ τούτους ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλείος ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Πέρσαι περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τί ποιεοίεν· εἷς δὲ τις πρὸ πάντων ἦν ὁ εἰρωτῶν αὐτοὺς ταῦτα. 2 οἱ δὲ σφι ἔλεγον ὡς Ὀλύμπια ἄγουσι καὶ θεωρέοιεν ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικόν. ὁ δὲ ἐπείρετο ὅ τι τὸ ἄεθλον εἴη σφι κείμενον περὶ ὅτεν ἀγωνίζονται· οἱ δ’ εἶπον τῆς ἐλαίης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον. ἐνθαῦτα εἶπας γνώμην γενναιοτάτην Τιγράνης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου δειλίην ὥφλε πρὸς βασιλέος. 3 πυνθανόμενος γὰρ τὸ ἄεθλον ἐὸν στέφανον ἀλλ’ οὐ χρήματα, οὔτε ἠνέσχετο σιγῶν εἰπέ τε ἐς πάντας τάδε. “παπαῖ Μαρδόνιε, κοίους ἐπ’ ἄνδρας ἡγαγες μαχισομένους ἡμέας, οἱ οὐ περὶ χρημάτων τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιεῦνται ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀρετῆς “. τοῦτω μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἶρητο.

1 ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐπεῖτε τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τρῶμα ἐγεγόνεε, αὐτίκα Θεσσαλοὶ πέμπουσι κήρυκα ἐς Φωκέας, ἅτε σφι ἔχοντες αἰεὶ χόλον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὑστάτου τρώματος καὶ τὸ κάρτα. 2 ἐσβαλόντες γὰρ πανστρατιῇ αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Φωκέας, οὐ πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον ταύτης τῆς βασιλέος στρατηλασίης, ἐσώθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων καὶ περιέφθησαν τρηχέως. 3 ἐπεῖτε γὰρ κατελιθήσαν ἐς τὸν Παρνησὸν οἱ Φωκέες ἔχοντες μάντιν Τελλίην τὸν Ἥλειον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Τελλίης οὗτος σοφίζεται αὐτοῖσι τοιόνδε. γυψώσας ἄνδρας ἐξακοσίους τῶν φωκέων τοὺς, ἀρίστους, αὐτοὺς τε τούτους καὶ τὰ ὄπλα αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς ἐπεθήκατο τοῖσι Θεσσαλοῖσι, προεῖπας αὐτοῖσι, τὸν ἄν μὴ λευκανθίζοντα ἴδωνται, τοῦτον κτείνειν. 4 τούτους ὧν αἱ τε φυλακαὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν πρῶται ἰδοῦσαι ἐφοβήθησαν, δόξασαι ἄλλο τι εἶναι τέρας, καὶ μετὰ τὰς φυλακὰς αὐτὴ ἡ στρατιὴ οὕτω ὥστε τετρακισχιλίων κρατῆσαι νεκρῶν καὶ ἀσπίδων Φωκέας, τῶν τὰς μὲν ἡμισέας ἐς Ἄβας ἀνέθεσαν τὰς δὲ ἐς Δελφούς· 5 ἡ δὲ δεκάτη ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστεῶτες ἔμπροσθε τοῦ νηοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι ἐν Ἀβῇσι ἀνακέαται.

1 ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὸν πεζὸν ἐργάσαντο τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ Φωκέες πολιορκέοντας ἐωυτούς· ἐσβαλοῦσαν δὲ ἐς τὴν χώραν τὴν ἵππον αὐτῶν ἐλυμήναντο ἀνηκέστως. ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσβολῇ ἡ ἐστὶ κατὰ Ὑάμπολιν, ἐν ταύτῃ τάφρον μεγάλην ὀρύξαντες ἀμφορέας κενεοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν κατέθηκαν, χοῦν δὲ ἐπιφορήσαντες καὶ ὁμοιώσαντες τῷ ἄλλῳ χώρῳ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἐσβάλλοντας. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Φωκέας φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς ἀμφορέας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἵπποι τὰ σκέλεα διεφθάρησαν.

1 τούτων δὴ σφι ἀμφοτέρων ἔχοντες ἔγκοτον οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἡγόρευον τάδε. “ὦ Φωκέες, ἥδη τι μᾶλλον γνωσιμαχέετε μὴ εἶναι ὅμοιοι ἡμῖν. 2 πρόσθε τε γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι, ὅσον χρόνον ἐκεῖνα ἡμῖν ἦνδανε, πλέον αἰεὶ κοτε ὑμέων ἐφερόμεθα· νῦν τε παρὰ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τοσοῦτο δυνάμεθα ὥστε ἐπ’ ἡμῖν ἐστι τῆς

γῆς ἐστερηῆσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἡνδραποδίσθαι ὑμέας. ἡμεῖς μέντοι τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες οὐ μνησικακέομεν, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν γενέσθω ἀντ' αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, καὶ ὑμῖν ὑποδεκόμεθα τὰ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἀποτρέψειν “.

30

1 ταῦτά σφι ἐπαγγέλλοντο οἱ Θεσσαλοί. οἱ γὰρ Φωκέες μόνον τῶν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμήδιζον, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὥς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν· 2 εἰ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἠῦξον, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐμήδιζον ἂν οἱ Φωκέες. ταῦτα ἐπαγγελλομένων Θεσσαλῶν, οὔτε δώσειν ἔφασαν χρήματα, παρέχειν τε σφίσι Θεσσαλοῖσι ὁμοίως μηδίζειν, εἰ ἄλλως βουλοίατο· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔσεσθαι ἐκόντες εἶναι προδόται τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

31

1 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνηνεΐχθησαν οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ κεχολωμένοι τοῖσι Φωκεῦσι ἐγένοντο ἡγεμόνες τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς Τρηχινίης ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον· τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρας ποδῶν στεινὸς ταύτῃ κατατείνει, ὥς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστά κη εὖρος, κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ Φωκίδος χώρας, ἥ περ ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυοπίς· ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωριέων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. ταύτην ὦν τὴν Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ ἐσίναντο ἐσβαλόντες οἱ βάρβαροι· ἐμήδιζόν τε γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἐδόκεε Θεσσαλοῖσι.

32

1 ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσέβαλον, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Φωκέας οὐκ αἰρέουσι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκέων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀνέβησαν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδὴ δέξασθαι ὄμιλον τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἢ κορυφή, κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν κειμένη ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς· Τιθορέα οὖνομα αὐτῇ· ἐς τὴν δὴ ἀνηνεΐκαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν. 2 οἱ δὲ πλεῖνες αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Ὀζόλας Λοκροὺς ἐξεκομίσαντο, ἐς Ἀμφισσαν πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισαίου πεδίου οἰκημένην. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα· Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ οὕτω ἦγον τὸν στρατόν· ὁκόσα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἔκειρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐνιέντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά.

33

1 πορευόμενοι γὰρ ταύτη παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν ποταμὸν ἐδήϊον πάντα, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔκαυσαν Δρυμὸν πόλιν κατὰ δὲ Χαράδραν καὶ Ἔρωχον καὶ Τεθρώνιον καὶ Ἀμφίκαιαν καὶ Νέωνα καὶ Πεδιέας καὶ Τριτέας καὶ Ἐλάτειαν καὶ Ὑάμπολιν καὶ Παραποταμίους καὶ Ἄβας, ἔνθα ἦν ἱρὸν Ἀπόλλωνος πλούσιον, θησαυροῖσί τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖσι κατεσκευασμένον· ἦν δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρηστήριον αὐτόθι. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν. καὶ τινὰς διώκοντες εἶλον τῶν Φωκέων πρὸς τοῖσι ὄρεσι, καὶ γυναῖκας τινὰς διέφθειραν μισγόμενοι ὑπὸ πλήθους.

34

1 παραποταμίους δὲ παραμειβόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Πανοπέας. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἤδη διακρινομένη ἡ στρατιὴ αὐτῶν ἐσχίζετο. τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον καὶ δυνατώτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορευόμενον ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐσέβαλε ἐς Βοιωτοὺς, ἐς γῆν τὴν Ὀρχομενίων. Βοιωτῶν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμῆδιζε, τὰς δὲ πόλεις αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένοι ἔσωζον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες· ἔσωζον δὲ τῇδε, δῆλον βουλόμενοι ποιέειν Ξέρξῃ ὅτι τὰ Μήδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονέουσιν.

35

1 οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ταύτη ἐτράποντο, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες ὁρμέατο ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Παρνησὸν ἀπέργοντες. ὅσα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος, πάντα ἐσιναμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανοπέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ Αἰολιδέων. 2 ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταύτη ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅπως συλήσαντες τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι βασιλείᾳ Ξέρξῃ ἀποδέξαιεν τὰ χρήματα. πάντα δ' ἡπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ὅσα λόγου ἦν ἄξια Ξέρξης, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἄμεινον ἢ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοις ἔλιπε, πολλῶν αἰεὶ λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροίσου τοῦ Ἀλυάττεω ἀναθήματα.

36

1 οἱ Δελφοὶ δὲ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρῥωδίην ἀπίκατο, ἐν δείματι δὲ μεγάλῳ κατεστεῶτες ἐμαντεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων, εἴτε σφέα κατὰ γῆς κατορύξωσι εἴτε ἐκκομίσωσι ἐς ἄλλην χώραν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφεας οὐκ ἔα κινέειν, φὰς αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς εἶναι τῶν

έωυτοῦ προκατῆσθαι. 2 Δελφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες σφέων αὐτῶν πέρι ἐφρόντιζον. τέκνα μὲν νυν καὶ γυναῖκας πέρην ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιῖν διέπεμψαν, αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνησοῦ τὰς κορυφάς καὶ ἐς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον ἀνηνείκαντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀμφισσαν τὴν Λοκρίδα ὑπεξῆλθον. πάντες δὲ ὧν οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, πλην ἐξήκοντα ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ προφήτεω.

37

¹ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιόντες καὶ ἀπώρων τὸ ἱρόν, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀκήρατος, ὅρᾳ πρὸ τοῦ νηοῦ ὅπλα προκείμενα ἔσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξενηνεγμένα ἰρά, τῶν οὐκ ὅσιον ἦν ἅπτεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί. ² ὁ μὲν δὴ ἦε Δελφῶν τοῖσι παρευοῦσι σημανέων τὸ τέρας· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο ἐπειγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἱρόν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐπιγίνεται σφι τέρεα ἔτι μέζονα τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου τέρεος. θῶμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο κάρτα ἐστί, ὅπλα ἀρήια αὐτόματα φανῆναι ἔξω προκείμενα τοῦ νηοῦ· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεύτερα ἐπιγενόμενα καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων ἄξια θωμάσαι μάλιστα. ³ ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἦσαν ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἱρόν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀπορράγεισαι δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῷ πατάγῳ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέβαλον συχνούς σφεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προναίης βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγένετο.

38

¹ συμμιγέντων δὲ τούτων πάντων, φόβος τοῖσι βαρβάροις ἐνεπεπτώκεε. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγοντας σφέας, ἐπικαταβάντες ἀπέκτειναν πλῆθος τι αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ περιέοντες ἰθὺ Βοιωτῶν ἔφευγον. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ὥς πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἄλλα ὥρων θεῖα· δύο γὰρ ὀπλίτας μέζοντας ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἔχοντας ἔπεσθαί σφι κτείνοντας καὶ διώκοντας.

39

¹ τούτους δὲ τοὺς δύο Δελφοὶ λέγουσι εἶναι ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας, Φύλακόν τε καὶ Αὐτόνοον, τῶν τὰ τεμένεα ἐστί περὶ τὸ ἱρόν, Φυλάκου μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν κατύπερθε τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς

Προναίης, Αὐτονόου δὲ πέλας τῆς Κασταλῆς ὑπὸ τῇ Ὑαμπεΐη κορυφῇ. ² οἱ δὲ πεσόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ λίθοι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ἦσαν σόοι, ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης κείμενοι, ἐς τὸ ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων φερόμενοι. τούτων μὲν νυν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀπαλλαγή γίνεται.

40

¹ ὁ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου Ἀθηναίων δεηθέντων ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατίσχει τὰς νέας. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα προσεδεήθησαν αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμίνα Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα αὐτοὶ παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξαγάγωνται ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλευσῶνται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλὴν ἔμελλον ποιήσασθαι ὡς ἐψευσμένοι γνώμης. ² δοκέοντες γὰρ εὐρήσειν Πελοποννησίους πανδημεὶ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ὑποκατημένους τὸν βάρβαρον, τῶν μὲν εὖρον οὐδὲν ἔόν, οἱ δὲ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Ἴσθμον αὐτοὺς τειχέοντας, ὡς τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου τε ποιευμένους περιεῖναι καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ ἀπιέναι. ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι οὕτω δὴ προσεδεήθησαν σφέων σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα.

41

¹ οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν κήρυγμα ἐποιήσαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σώζειν τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροίζηνα ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Αἴγιναν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμίνα. ² ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρετέειν καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦδε εἵνεκα οὐκ ἤκιστα. λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ὄφιν μέγαν φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ· λέγουσὶ τε ταῦτα καὶ δὴ ὡς ἔοντι ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες· τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσα ἐστί. ³ αὕτη δὴ ἡ μελιτόεσσα ἐν τῷ πρόσθε αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμουμένη τότε ἦν ἄψαυστος. σημενάσης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱρείης, μᾶλλον τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπυῖης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὡς δέ σφι πάντα ὑπεξέκειτο, ἔπλεον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

42

¹ ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατέσχον τὰς νέας,

συνέρρει καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυνθανόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐκ Τροίζηνος· ἐς γὰρ Πώγωνα τὸν Τροϊζηνίων λιμένα προείρητο συλλέγεσθαι. συνελέχθησάν τε δὴ πολλῶ πλεῦνες νέες ἢ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχεον καὶ ἀπὸ πολίων πλευνών. ² ναύαρχος μὲν νυν ἐπὶν αὐτὸς ὅς περ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Εὐρυβιάδης ὁ Εὐρυκλείδew ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιήτης, οὐ μέντοι γένεος τοῦ βασιλίου ἐών· νέας δὲ πολλῶ πλείστας τε καὶ ἄριστα πλεούσας παρείχοντο Ἀθηναῖοι.

43

¹ ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ οἶδε· ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἑκκαίδεκα νέας παρεχόμενοι, Κορίνθιοι δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα παρεχόμενοι καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ· Σικυώνιοι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα παρείχοντο νέας, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ δέκα, Τροϊζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Ἑρμιονέες δὲ τρεῖς, ἐόντες οὗτοι πλὴν Ἑρμιονέων Δωρικὸν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος, ἐξ Ἑρινεοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὀρμηθέντες. οἱ δὲ Ἑρμιονέες εἰς Δρύοπες, ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέος τε καὶ Μηλιάων ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος καλεομένης χώρας ἐξαναστάντες.

44

¹ οὗτοι μὲν νυν Πελοποννησίων ἐστρατεύοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔξω ἡπείρου, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους παρεχόμενοι νέας ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, μούνοι· ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γὰρ οὐ συνεναυμάχησαν Πλαταιέες Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τοιόνδε τι πρῆγμα· ἀπαλλασσομένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, ὥς ἐγίνοντο κατὰ Χαλκίδα, οἱ Πλαταιέες ἀποβάντες ἐς τὴν περαιὴν τῆς Βοιωτῆς χώρας πρὸς ἐκκομιδὴν ἐτράποντο τῶν οἰκετέων. οὗτοι μὲν νυν τούτους σώζοντες ἐλείφθησαν. ² Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ἐχόντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλεομένην ἦσαν Πελασγοί, ὀνομαζόμενοι Κραναοί, ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος βασιλέος ἐκλήθησαν Κεκροπίδαι, ἐκδεξαμένου δὲ Ἑρεχθέος τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀθηναῖοι μετωνομάσθησαν, Ἴωνος δὲ τοῦ Ξούθου στρατάρχειω γενομένου Ἀθηναίοισι ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου Ἴωνες.

45

¹ Μεγαρέες δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα παρείχοντο καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Ἀμπρακιῶται δὲ ἐπὶ νέας ἔχοντες ἐπεβοήθησαν, Λευκάδιοι δὲ τρεῖς, ἔθνος ἐόντες οὗτοι Δωρικὸν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου.

1 νησιωτέων δὲ Αἰγινῆται τριήκοντα παρείχοντο. ἦσαν μὲν σφι καὶ ἄλλαι πεπληρωμέναι νέες, ἀλλὰ τῇσι μὲν τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἐφύλασσον, τριήκοντα δὲ τῇσι ἄριστα πλεούσησι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ἐναυμάχησαν. Αἰγινῆται δὲ εἰσὶ Δωριεὲς ἀπὸ Ἐπιδαύρου· 2 τῇ δὲ νήσῳ πρότερον οὖνομα ἦν Οἰνώνη. μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινήτας Χαλκιδεὲς τὰς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ εἴκοσι παρεχόμενοι καὶ Ἑρετριεὲς τὰς ἐπτά· οὗτοι δὲ Ἴωνες εἰσὶ. μετὰ δὲ Κήιοι τὰς αὐτὰς παρεχόμενοι, ἔθνος ἐὼν Ἴωνικὸν ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων. 3 Νάξιοι δὲ παρείχοντο τέσσερας, ἀποπεμφθέντες μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτέων κατὰ περ οἱ ἄλλοι νησιῶται, ἀλογήσαντες δὲ τῶν ἐντολέων ἀπίκατο ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας Δημοκρίτου σπεύσαντος, ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου καὶ τότε τριηραρχέοντος. Νάξιοι δὲ εἰσὶ Ἴωνες ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων γεγονότες. 4 Στυρέες δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς παρείχοντο νέας τὰς περ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Κύθιοι δὲ μίαν καὶ πεντηκόντερον, ἐόντες συναμφοτέροι οὗτοι Δρύοπες. καὶ Σερίφιοι τε καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ Μήλιοι ἐστρατεύοντο· οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ ἔδοσαν μοῦνοι νησιωτέων τῷ βαρβάρῳ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ.

1 οὗτοι μὲν ἅπαντες ἐντὸς οἰκημένοι Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ Ἀχέροντος ποταμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο· Θεσπρωτοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ ὁμωρέοντες Ἀμπρακιώτησι καὶ Λευκαδίοις, οἱ ἐξ ἐσχατέων χωρέων ἐστρατεύοντο. τῶν δὲ ἐκτὸς τούτων οἰκημένων Κροτωνιῆται μοῦνοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐβοήθησαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνευούσῃ μιῇ νηί, τῆς ἦρχε ἀνὴρ τρὶς πυθιονίκης Φάυλλος· Κροτωνιῆται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἀχαιοί.

1 οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι τριήρεας παρεχόμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο, Μήλιοι δὲ καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ Σερίφιοι πεντηκοντέρους· Μήλιοι μὲν γένος ἐόντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμόνος δύο παρείχοντο, Σίφνιοι δὲ καὶ Σερίφιοι Ἴωνες ἐόντες ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων μίαν ἑκάτεροι. ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, τριηκόσiai καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ.

1 ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν

εἰρημενέων πολίων, ἐβουλεύοντο, προθέντος Εὐρυβιάδεω γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον, ὅκου δοκέοι ἐπιτηδεότατον εἶναι ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι τῶν αὐτοῖ χωρέων ἐγκρατέες εἰσί· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ἀπείτο ἤδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων πέρι προετίθεε. 2 αἱ γνῶμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλεῖσται συνεξέπιπτον πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν πλώσαντας ναυμαχέειν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὥς εἰ νικηθέωσι τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μὲν ἐόντες πολιορκήσονται ἐν νήσῳ, ἵνα σφι τιμωρίῃ οὐδεμία ἐπιφανήσεται, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἴσθμῳ ἐς τοὺς ἐσωτῶν ἐξοίσονται.

50

1 ταῦτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγομένων, ἐληλύθεε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἡκεῖν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέεσθαι. 2 ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξῃ, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπιέων τὴν πόλιν, αὐτῶν ἐκκλειοπτότων ἐς Πελοπόννησον, καὶ τὴν Πλαταιέων ὡσαύτως, ἦκε τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐδήϊου. ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θέσπειάν τε καὶ Πλάταιαν πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμῆδιζον.

51

1 ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἔνθεν πορεύεσθαι ἤρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἕνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες μῆνα ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν τρισὶ ἐτέροισι μῆσι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιάδεω ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοισι. 2 καὶ αἰρέουσι ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ τινες ὀλίγους εὐρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἐόντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους, οἱ φραζάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρησί τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἡμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήιον τὸ ἢ Πυθίῃ σφι ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον ἔσεσθαι· αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήιον καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας.

52

1 οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὄχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλέουσι Ἀρήιον πάγον, ἐπολιόρκεον τρόπον τοιόνδε· ὅκως στυππεῖον περὶ τοὺς οἰστοὺς περιθέντες ἄψειαν, ἐτόξευον ἐς τὸ φράγμα. ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολιορκεόμενοι ὁμῶς ἡμύνοντο,

καίπερ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προδεδωκότος· 2 οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν προσφερόντων περὶ ὁμολογίης ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντεμνηχανῶντο καὶ δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὀλοιτρόχους ἀπίεσαν, ὥστε Ξέρξην ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀπορίῃσι ἐνέχεσθαι οὐ δυνάμενον σφέας ἐλεῖν.

53

1 χρόνῳ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη δὴ τις ἔξοδος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἔδεε γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. ἔμπροσθε ὧν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὴ οὕτε τις ἐφύλασσε οὐτ' ἂν ἤλπισε μὴ κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίῃ ἀνθρώπων, ταύτῃ ἀνέβησαν τινὲς κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου, καίτοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ χώρου. 2 ὥς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἐωυτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κάτω καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον. τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐφόνευσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφι πάντες κατέστρωντο, τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

54

1 σχὼν δὲ παντελέως τὰς Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Σοῦσα ἄγγελον ἱππέα Ἀρταβάνῳ ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφι εὐπρηξίην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψιος τοῦ κήρυκος δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς φυγάδας, ἐωυτῷ δὲ ἐπομένους, ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ θῆσαι τὰ ἱρὰ ἀναβάντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, εἴτε δὴ ὧν ὅσιν τινὰ ἰδὼν ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ ἐνθύμιόν οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντι τὸ ἱρὸν. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα.

55

1 τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φράσω. ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἑρεχθεὺς τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηός, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῃ τε καὶ θάλασσα ἔνι, τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδῶνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρας μαρτύρια θέσθαι. ταύτην ὧν τὴν ἐλαίην ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων·

δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέος κελευόμενοι ὥς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἱρόν, ὥρων βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον ἀναδεδραμηκότα. οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔφρασαν.

56

1 οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἕλληνες, ὥς σφι ἐξηγγέλθη ὥς ἔσχε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, ἐς τοσοῦτον θόρυβον ἀπίκοντο ὥς ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθῆναι ἔμενον τὸ προκείμενον πρῆγμα, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὰς νέας ἐσέπιπτον καὶ ἰστία ἀείροντο ὥς ἀποθευσόμενοι· τοῖσί τε ὑπολειπομένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμαχεῖν. νύξ τε ἐγένετο καὶ οἱ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐσέβαινον ἐς τὰς νέας.

57

1 ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Θεμιστοκλέα ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νέα εἴρετο Μνησιφίλος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ὃ τι σφι εἶη βεβουλευμένον. πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὥς εἶη δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναυμαχεῖν, εἶπε 2 “οὐτ’ ἄρα, ἦν ἀπαείρωσι τὰς νέας ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, περὶ οὐδεμιῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις· κατὰ γὰρ πόλις ἕκαστοι τρέψονται, καὶ οὔτε σφέας Εὐρυβιάδης κατέχειν δυνήσεται οὔτε τις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος ὥστε μὴ οὐ διασκεδασθῆναι τὴν στρατιήν· ἀπολέεται τε ἡ Ἑλλάς ἀβουλίῃσι. ἀλλ’ εἴ τις ἐστὶ μηχανή, ἴθι καὶ πειρῶ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἦν κως δύνῃ ἀναγνῶσαι Εὐρυβιάδην μεταβουλεύσασθαι ὥστε αὐτοῦ μένειν”.

58

1 κάρτα τε τῷ Θεμιστοκλείῃ ἤρесе ἡ ὑποθήκη, καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμεινῶμενος ἦε ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔφη ἐθέλειν οἱ κοινόν τι πρῆγμα συμμῖξαι· ὃ δ’ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νέα ἐκέλευε ἐσβάντα λέγειν, εἴ τι θέλει. 2 ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης παριζόμενός οἱ καταλέγει ἐκεῖνά τε πάντα τὰ ἤκουσε Μνησιφίλου, ἐωυτοῦ ποιούμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προστιθείς, ἐς ὃ ἀνέγνωσε χρηίζων ἕκ τε τῆς νεὸς ἐκβῆναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον.

59

1 ὥς δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθησαν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην προθεῖναι τὸν λόγον τῶν εἵνεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολλὸς ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος· λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδεϊμαντος ὁ Ὠκύτου εἶπε “ὦ Θεμιστόκλεες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι ραπίζονται “. ὁ δὲ ἀπολόμενος ἔφη “οἱ δέ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανοῦνται “.

60

1 τότε μὲν ἡπίως πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμείψατο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην ἔλεγε ἐκείνων μὲν ἔτι οὐδὲν τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, ὥς ἐπεὰν ἀπαείρῃσι ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος διαδρήσονται· παρεόντων γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἔφερε οἱ κόσμον οὐδένα κατηγορεῖν· ὁ δὲ ἄλλου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων τάδε.

60A. “ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστὶ σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἦν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιέεσθαι, μηδὲ πειθόμενος τούτων τοῖσι λόγοισι ἀναξεύξης πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν τὰς νέας. ἀντίθες γὰρ ἐκάτερον ἀκούσας. πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ συμβάλλον ἐν πελάγει ἀναπεπταμένῳ ναυμαχήσεις, ἐς τὸ ἥκιστα ἡμῖν σύμφορον ἐστὶ νέας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονας· τοῦτο δὲ ἀπολέεις Σαλαμῖνά τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Αἴγιναν, ἦν περ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχήσωμεν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ ναυτικῷ αὐτῶν ἔσεται καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός, καὶ οὕτω σφέας αὐτὸς ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνεύσεις τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι.

60B. ἦν δὲ τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω ποιήσης, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι χρηστὰ εὐρήσεις· πρῶτα μὲν ἐν στεινῷ συμβάλλοντες νηυσὶ ὀλίγησι πρὸς πολλὰς, ἦν τὰ οἰκότα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβαίней, πολλὸν κρατήσομεν· τὸ γὰρ ἐν στεινῷ ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς ἡμέων ἐστὶ, ἐν εὐρυχωρίῃ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνων. αὗτις δὲ Σαλαμῖς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπέκκειται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ μὲν καὶ τόδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι, τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα· ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε μένων προναυμαχήσεις Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἴσθμῳ, οὐδὲ σφέας, εἴ περ εὖ φρονέεις, ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

60C. ἦν δὲ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγὼ ἐλπίζω γένηται καὶ νικήσωμεν τῇσι νηυσί, οὔτε ὑμῖν ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν παρέσονται οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε προβήσονται ἐκαστέρῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀπίαςί τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, Μεγάροισί τε κερδανέομεν περιεοῦσι καὶ Αἰγίνη καὶ Σαλαμῖνι, ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιον ἐστὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατώτερθε γενέσθαι. οἰκότα μὲν νυν

βουλευομένοισι ἀνθρώποισι ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι· μὴ δὲ οἰκότα βουλευομένοισι οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσχωρέειν πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπίας γνώμας “.

61

1 ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέος αὐτίς ὁ Κορίνθιος Ἀδεΐμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, σιγᾶν τε κελεύων τῷ μὴ ἐστὶ πατρίς καὶ Εὐρυβιάδην οὐκ ἔων ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπόλι ἀνδρί· πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον οὕτω ἐκέλευε γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ προέφερε ὅτι ἠλώκεσάν τε καὶ κατεΐχοντο αἱ Ἀθῆναι. 2 τότε δὴ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς κεῖνόν τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους πολλά τε καὶ κακὰ ἔλεγε, ἑωυτοῖσι τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ ὡς εἶη καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ μέζων ἢ περ ἐκείνοισι, ἔστ’ ἂν διηκόσiai νέες σφι ἔωσι πεπληρωμένοι· οὐδαμῶς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀποκρούσεσθαι.

62

1 σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ διέβαινε ἐς Εὐρυβιάδην, λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα. “σὺ εἰ μενέεις αὐτοῦ καὶ μένων ἔσσει ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ νέες. ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ πείθεο. 2 εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσης, ἡμεῖς μὲν ὡς ἔχομεν ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκέτας κομιεύμεθα ἐς Σῆριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ, ἢ περ ἡμετέρη τε ἐστὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὑπ’ ἡμέων αὐτὴν δέειν κτισθῆναι· ὑμεῖς δὲ συμμάχων τοιῶνδε μουνωθέντες μεμνήσεσθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων “.

63

1 ταῦτα δὲ Θεμιστοκλέος λέγοντος ἀνεδιδάσκετο Εὐρυβιάδης· δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρώδησας μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνεδιδάσκετο, μὴ σφεας ἀπολίπωσι, ἦν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀγάγῃ τὰς νέας· ἀπολιπόντων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων οὐκέτι ἐγίνοντο ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ λοιποί. ταύτην δὲ αἰρέεται τὴν γνώμην, αὐτοῦ μένοντας διανασμαχεῖν.

64

1 οὕτω μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἔπεσι ἀκροβολισάμενοι, ἐπεῖτε Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἔδοξε, αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχῆσοντες. ἡμέρη τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι σεισμός ἐγένετο ἐν τε τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ. 2 ἔδοξε δὲ σφι εὐξασθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμμάχους. ὡς δὲ σφι ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα·

εὐξάμενοι γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Αἴαντά τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας νέα ἀπέστελλον ἐς Αἴγιναν.

65

1 ἔφη δὲ Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος φυγὰς τε καὶ παρὰ Μήδοισι λόγιμος γενόμενος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐπεῖτε ἐκείρετο ἡ Ἀττικὴ χώρα ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ξέρξεω ἐοῦσα ἔρημος Ἀθηναίων, τυχεῖν τότε ἐὼν ἅμα Δημαρῆτῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ, ἰδεῖν δὲ κονιορτὸν χωρέοντα ἀπ' Ἐλευσίνος ὡς ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα κη τρισμυρίων, ἀποθωμάζειν τε σφέας τὸν κονιορτὸν ὅτεον κοτὲ εἶη ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πρόκατε φωνῆς ἀκούειν, καὶ οἱ φαίνεσθαι τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν ἱακχόν. 2 εἶναι δ' ἀδαήμονα τῶν ἱρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι γινομένων τὸν Δημάρητον, εἰρέσθαι τε αὐτὸν ὅτι τὸ φθεγγόμενον εἶη τοῦτο. αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπεῖν “Δημάρητε, οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως οὐ μέγα τι σίνος ἔσται τῇ βασιλέος στρατιῇ· τάδε γὰρ ἀρίδηλα, ἐρήμου ἐούσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θεῖον τὸ φθεγγόμενον, ἀπ' Ἐλευσίνος ἰὼν ἐς τιμωρίην Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ τοῖσι συμμάχοισι. 3 καὶ ἦν μὲν γε κατασκήψῃ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κίνδυνος αὐτῷ τε βασιλείῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἔσται, ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς νέας τράπηται τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κινδυνεύσει βασιλεὺς ἀποβαλεῖν. 4 τὴν δὲ ὀρτὴν ταύτην ἄγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτεα τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μυεῖται· καὶ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς ἀκούεις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὀρτῇ ἱακχάζουσι “. πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεῖν Δημάρητον “σίγα τε καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον εἴπῃς· 5 ἦν γάρ τοι ἐς βασιλέα ἀνενειχθῇ τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα, ἀποβαλέεις τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ σε οὔτε ἐγὼ δυνήσομαι ρύσασθαι οὔτ' ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ εἷς. ἀλλ' ἔχ' ἥσυχος, περὶ δὲ στρατιῆς τῆσδε θεοῖσι μελήσει “. 6 τὸν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παραινέειν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι νέφος καὶ μεταρσιωθὲν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὕτω δὲ αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ξέρξεω ἀπολέεσθαι μέλλοι. ταῦτα μὲν Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος ἔλεγε, Δημαρῆτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενος.

66

1 οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ξέρξεω ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Τρηχῖνος θεησάμενοι τὸ τρῶμα τὸ Λακωνικὸν διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην, ἐπισχόντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἔπλεον δι' Εὐρίπου, καὶ ἐν ἐτέρησι τρισὶ ἡμέρησι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. ὥς μὲν ἔμοι δοκέειν, οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, κατὰ τε ἡπειρον καὶ τῆσι νηυσὶ ἀπικόμενοι, ἢ ἐπὶ τε Σηπιάδα ἀπίκοντο καὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας· 2 ἀντιθήσω γὰρ τοῖσί τε ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος αὐτῶν ἀπολομένοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι καὶ τῆσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχίῃσι τούσδε τοὺς τότε οὐκω ἐπομένους βασιλεῖ, Μηλιάς καὶ Δωριέας καὶ Λοκροὺς καὶ Βοιωτοὺς πανστρατῇ ἐπομένους πλὴν Θεσπιέων καὶ Πλαταιέων, καὶ μάλα Καρυστίους τε καὶ Ἀνδρίους καὶ Τηγίους τε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς νησιώτας πάντας, πλὴν τῶν πέντε πολίων τῶν ἐπεμνήσθημεν πρότερον τὰ οὐνόματα. ὅσῳ γὰρ δὴ προέβαινε ἐσωτέρῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁ Πέρσης, τοσούτῳ πλέω ἔθνεά οἱ εἶπετο.

67

1 ἐπεὶ ὧν ἀπίκато ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πάντες οὗτοι πλὴν Παρίων (Πάριοι δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες ἐν Κύθνῳ ἐκαρὰδόκεον τὸν πόλεμον κῆ ἀποβήσεται), οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ὥς ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ Φάληρον, ἐνθαῦτα κατέβη αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, ἐθέλων σφι συμμῖξαι τε καὶ πυθέσθαι τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων τὰς γνώμας. 2 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπικόμενος προΐζετο, παρῆσαν μετάπεμπτοι οἱ τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν σφετέρων τύραννοι καὶ ταξίαρχοι ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, καὶ ἵζοντο ὥς σφι βασιλεὺς ἐκάστῳ τιμὴν ἐδεδώκεε, πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος βασιλεὺς, μετὰ δὲ ὁ Τύριος, ἐπὶ δὲ ὅλλοι. ὥς δὲ κόσμῳ ἐπεξῆς ἵζοντο, πέμψας Ξέρξης Μαρδόνιον εἰρώτα ἀποπειρώμενος ἐκάστου εἰ ναυμαχίην ποιέοιτο.

68

1 ἐπεὶ δὲ περιὼν εἰρώτα ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιδωνίου, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατὰ τὰντὸ γνώμην ἐξεφέροντο κελεύοντες ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι, Ἀρτεμισίῃ δὲ τάδε ἔφη.

68A. “εἰπεῖν μοι πρὸς βασιλέα, Μαρδόνιε, ὥς ἐγὼ τάδε λέγω, οὔτε κακίστη γενομένη ἐν τῇσι ναυμαχίῃσι τῇσι πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ οὔτε ἐλάχιστα ἀποδεξαμένη. δέσποτα, τὴν δὲ ἐοῦσαν γνώμην με δίκαιον ἐστὶ ἀποδείκνυσθαι, τὰ τυγχάνω φρονέουσα ἄριστα ἐς πρήγματα τὰ σά. καὶ τοι τάδε λέγω, φείδω τῶν νεῶν μηδὲ ναυμαχίην ποιέο. οἱ γὰρ

ἄνδρες τῶν σῶν ἀνδρῶν κρέσσονες τοσοῦτο εἰσὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ὅσον ἄνδρες γυναικῶν. 2 τί δὲ πάντως δέει σε ναυμαχίῃσι ἀνακινδυνεύειν; οὐκ ἔχεις μὲν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν περ εἵνεκα ὀρμήθης στρατεύεσθαι, ἔχεις δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα; ἐμποδῶν δέ τοι ἴσταται οὐδεὶς· οἱ δὲ τοι ἀντέστησαν, ἀπήλλαξαν οὕτω ὥς κείνους ἔπρεπε.

68B. τῇ δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω ἀποβήσεσθαι τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων πρήγματα, τοῦτο φράσω. ἦν μὲν μὴ ἐπειχθῆς ναυμαχίην ποιεύμενος, ἀλλὰ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ ἔχῃς πρὸς γῇ μένων ἢ καὶ προβαίνων ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, εὐπετέως τοι δέσποτα χωρήσει τὰ νοέων ἐλήλυθας. 2 οὐ γὰρ οἱοί τε πολλὸν χρόνον εἰσὶ τοι ἀντέχειν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ σφέας διασκεδᾷς, κατὰ πόλιν δὲ ἕκαστοι φεύζονται. οὔτε γὰρ σῖτος πάρα σφι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, οὔτε αὐτοὺς οἰκός, ἦν σὺ ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλαύνῃς τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν, ἀτρεμεῖν τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῶν ἦκοντας, οὐδὲ σφι μελήσει πρὸ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ναυμαχεῖν.

68C. ἦν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπειχθῆς ναυμαχῆσαι, δειμαίνω μὴ ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακῶθῃς τὸν πεζὸν προσδηλήσῃται. πρὸς δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τόδε ἐς θυμὸν βάλεν, ὥς τοῖσι μὲν χρηστοῖσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακοὶ δοῦλοι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι, τοῖσι δὲ κακοῖσι χρηστοί. σοὶ δὲ ἐόντι ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρῶν πάντων κακοὶ δοῦλοι εἰσὶ, οἱ ἐν συμμάχων λόγῳ λέγονται εἶναι ἐόντες Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ Κύπριοι καὶ Κίλικες καὶ Πάμφυλοι, τῶν ὄφελος ἐστὶ οὐδέν “.

69

1 ταῦτα λεγούσης πρὸς Μαρδόνιον, ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν εὖνοοι τῇ Ἀρτεμισίῃ, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο τοὺς λόγους ὥς κακόν τι πεισομένης πρὸς βασιλέος, ὅτι οὐκ ἔα ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀγαιόμενοι τε καὶ φθονέοντες αὐτῇ, ἅτε ἐν πρώτοισι τετιμημένης διὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων, ἐτέρποντο τῇ ἀνακρίσει ὥς ἀπολεομένης αὐτῆς. 2 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν αἱ γινῶμαι ἐς Ξέρξην, κάρτα τε ἦσθη τῇ γνώμῃ τῇ Ἀρτεμισίης, καὶ νομίζων ἔτι πρότερον σπουδαίην εἶναι τότε πολλῶ μᾶλλον αἶνεε. ὅμως δὲ τοῖσι πλέοσι πείθεσθαι ἐκέλευε, τάδε καταδόξας, πρὸς μὲν Εὐβοίῃ σφέας ἐθελοκακέειν ὥς οὐ παρεόντος αὐτοῦ, τότε δὲ αὐτὸς παρεσκεύαστο θεήσασθαι ναυμαχέοντας.

70

1 ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήγγελλον ἀναπλέειν, ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα καὶ παρεκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες κατ' ἡσυχίην. τότε μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐξέχρησέ σφι ἡ ἡμέρη ναυμαχίην ποιήσασθαι· νύξ γὰρ ἐπεγένετο· οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην. 2 τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνας εἶχε δέος τε καὶ ἀρρώδιη, οὐκ ἦκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου· ἀρρώδεον δὲ ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατήμενοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχεῖν μέλλοιεν, νικηθέντες τε ἐν νήσῳ ἀπολαμφθέντες πολιορκήσονται, ἀπέντες τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἀφύλακτον· τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεζὸς ὑπὸ τὴν παρεούσαν νύκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

71

1 καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο ὅκως κατ' ἡπειρον μὴ ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὥς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα Πελοποννήσιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν πολίων ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἵζοντο, καὶ σφι ἐπὶ στρατηγὸς Κλεόμβροτος ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew, Λεωνίδew δὲ ἀδελφεός. 2 ἰζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ καὶ συγγώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδόν, μετὰ τοῦτο ὥς σφι ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ τεῖχος. ἅτε δὲ ἐουσέων μυριάδων πολλέων καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου, ἦνετο τὸ ἔργον· καὶ γὰρ λίθοι καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρεις ἐσεφέροντο, καὶ ἐλίνυον οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρης.

72

1 οἱ δὲ βοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν πανδημεὶ οἶδε ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων, Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες πάντες καὶ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Φλιάσιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Ἑρμιονέες. οὗτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ βοηθήσαντες καὶ ὑπεραρρώδέοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνεύουση· τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Πελοποννησίοισι ἔμελε οὐδέν. Ὀλύμπια δὲ καὶ Κάρνεια παροιχώκεε ἤδη.

73

1 οἰκέει δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔθνεα ἑπτὰ. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα ἐόντα κατὰ χώραν ἱδρυταὶ νῦν τε καὶ τὸ πάλαι οἶκεον, Ἀρκάδες τε καὶ Κυνourioi· ἐν δὲ ἔθνος τὸ Ἀχαιικὸν ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου οὐκ ἐξεχώρησε, ἐκ μέντοι τῆς ἐωυτῶν, οἰκέει δὲ τὴν

ἄλλοτρίην. 2 τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἔθνεα τῶν ἐπὶ τέσσερα ἐπήλυδα ἐστί, Δωριέες τε καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Δρύορες καὶ Λήμνιοι. Δωριέων μὲν πολλαὶ τε καὶ δόκιμοι πόλεις, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ Ἥλις μούνη, Δρυόρων δὲ Ἑρμιῶν τε καὶ Ἀσίνη ἢ πρὸς Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ, Λημνίων δὲ Παρωρεῖται πάντες. 3 οἱ δὲ Κυνοῦριοι αὐτόχθονες ἐόντες δοκέουσι μόνον εἶναι Ἴωνες, ἐκδεδωρίευνται δὲ ὑπὸ τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, ἐόντες Ὀρνεῖται καὶ οἱ περίοικοι. τούτων ὧν τῶν ἐπὶ ἔθνεων αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις, πάρεξ τῶν κατέλεξα, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατέατο· εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέρως ἔξεστι εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ κατήμενοι ἐμῆδιζον.

74

1 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν, ἅτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη δρόμου θέοντες καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἐλλάμψεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὁμῶς ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἀρρώδεον, οὐκ οὕτω περὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δειμαίνοντες ὥς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. 2 τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παραστὰς σιγῇ λόγον ἐποιέετο, θῶμα ποιούμενοι τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω ἀβουλίην· τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη ἐς τὸ μέσον. σύλλογός τε δὴ ἐγένετο καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο τῶν αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν ὥς ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεὸν εἶη ἀποπλέειν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν μηδὲ πρὸ χώρας δοριαλώτου μένοντας μάχεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Αἰγινῆται καὶ Μεγαρέες αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνεσθαι.

75

1 ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλῆς ὥς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων ἄνδρα πλοῖφ ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεόν, τῷ οὖνομα μὲν ἦν Σίκιννος, οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος παίδων· τὸν δὴ ὕστερον τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλῆς Θεσπιέα τε ἐποίησε, ὥς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπιέες πολιήτας, καὶ χρήμασι ὄλβιον. 2 ὃς τότε πλοῖφ ἀπικόμενος ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων τάδε. “ἐπεμψέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναίων λάθρη τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος καὶ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ὑμέτερα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα) φράσσοντα ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες δρησμὸν βουλευόμενοι καταρρώδηκοτες, καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργων ἀπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἣν μὴ περιύδητε διαδράντας

αὐτούς. 3 οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι ὁμοφρονέουσι οὔτε ἀντιστήσονται ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἑωυτούς τε σφέας ὄψεσθε ναυμαχέοντας τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας καὶ τοὺς μὴ “.

76

1 ὁ μὲν ταῦτά σφι σημήνας ἐκποδὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο· τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἀγγελθέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνός τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβιβάσαντο· τοῦτο δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνῆγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ’ ἐσπέρης κέρας κυκλοῦμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, ἀνῆγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχόν τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῆσι νηυσί. 2 τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι μηδὲ φυγεῖν ἐξῆ, ἀλλ’ ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι δοῖεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἀγωνισμάτων. ἐς δὲ τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὡς ἐπεὰν γίνηται ναυμαχίη, ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων (ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι ἔκειτο ἡ νῆσος), ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιέωσι τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρῳσι. 3 ἐποίουν δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ πυνθανοῖατο οἱ ἐναντίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες παραρτέοντο.

77

1 χρημοῖσι δὲ οὐκ ἔχω ἀντιλέγειν ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ ἀληθεές, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐναργέως λέγοντας πειρᾶσθαι καταβάλλειν, ἐς τοιαῶδε πρήγματα ἐσβλέψας.

*ἀλλ’ ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαόρου ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν
νηυσὶ γεφυρώσωσι καὶ εἰναλίην Κυνόσουραν
ἐλπίδι μαινομένη, λιπαρὰς πέρσαντες Ἀθήνας,
δῖα δίκη σβέσσει κρατερὸν κόρον, ὕβριος υἱόν,
δεινὸν μαιμώνοντα, δοκεῦντ’ ἀνὰ πάντα πίεσθαι.*

2 χαλκὸς γὰρ χαλκῷ συμμίζεται, αἷματι δ’ Ἄρης
πόντον φοινίζει. τότε’ ἐλεύθερον Ἑλλάδος ἦμαρ
εὐρύοπα Κρονίδης ἐπάγει καὶ πότνια Νίκη.

ἐς τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ οὕτω ἐναργέως λέγοντι Βάκιδι ἀντιλογίης

χρησμών περί οὔτε αὐτὸς λέγειν τολμέω οὔτε παρ' ἄλλων ἐνδέκομαι.

78

¹ τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν ἐγίνετο ὠθισμὸς λόγων πολλός· ἥδεσαν δὲ οὐκ ὅτι σφέας περιεκυκλοῦντο τῇσι νηυσὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὥρων αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους, ἐδόκεον κατὰ χώραν εἶναι.

79

¹ συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐξ Αἰγίνης διέβη Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος μὲν ἐξωστρακισμένος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου· τὸν ἐγὼ νενόμικα, πυνθανόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, ἄριστον ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι καὶ δικαιοτάτον. ² οὗτος ὦν ἡρ στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἐξεκαλέετο Θεμιστοκλέα, ἐόντα μὲν ἐωυτῷ οὐ φίλον ἐχθρὸν δὲ τὰ μάλιστα· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάλῃ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν λήθην ἐκείνων ποιούμενος ἐξεκαλέετο, θέλων αὐτῷ συμμῖξαι· προακηκόεε δὲ ὅτι σπεύδοιεν οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμόν. ³ ὥς δὲ ἐξῆλθέ οἱ Θεμιστοκλέης, ἔλεγε Ἀριστείδης τάδε. “ἡμέας στασιάζειν χρεόν ἐστι ἐν τε τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷδε περὶ τοῦ ὀκότερος ἡμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάσεται. ⁴ λέγω δέ τοι ὅτι ἴσον ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ ὀλίγα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλόου τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν Πελοποννησίοισι. ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτόπτης τοι λέγω γενόμενος ὅτι νῦν οὐδ' ἦν θέλωσι Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ αὐτὸς Εὐρυβιάδης οἰοί τε ἔσονται ἐκπλῶσαι· περιεχόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κύκλῳ. ἀλλ' ἐσελθὼν σφι ταῦτα σήμενον “· ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε.

80

¹ “κάρτα τε χρηστὰ διακελεύεαι καὶ εὖ ἡγγεilas· τὰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐδεόμην γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ἦκεις. ἴσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιούμενα ὑπὸ Μήδων· ἔδεε γάρ, ὅτε οὐκ ἐκόντες ἤθελον ἐς μάχην κατίστασθαι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀέκοντας παραστήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ ἐπεὶ περ ἦκεις χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτὸς σφι ἡγγειλον. ² ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγω, δόξω πλάσας λέγειν καὶ οὐ πείσω, ὥς οὐ ποιούντων τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ σφι σήμενον αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὥς ἔχει. ἐπεὰν δὲ σημήνης, ἦν μὲν πείθονται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα, ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖσι μὴ πιστὰ γένηται, ὅμοιον ἡμῖν ἔσται· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διαδρήσονται, εἴ περ

περιεχόμεθα πανταχόθεν, ὥς σὺ λέγεις “.

81

¹ ἐνθαῦτα ἔλεγε παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, φάμενος ἐξ Αἰγίνης τε ἦκειν καὶ μόγις ἐκπλῶσαι λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας· περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ξέρξεω· παραρτέεσθαι τε συνεβούλευε ὥς ἀλεξισομένους. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας μετεστῆκε, τῶν δὲ αὗτις ἐγένετο λόγων ἀμφισβασίῃ· οἱ γὰρ πλεῦνες τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο τὰ ἐσαγγελθέντα.

82

¹ ἀπιστεόντων δὲ τούτων ἦκε τριήρης ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων αὐτομολέουσα, τῆς ἦρχε ἀνὴρ Παναίτιος ὁ Σωσιμένεος, ἥ περ δὴ ἔφερε τὴν ἀληθείην πᾶσαν. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐνεγράφησαν Τήνιοι ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα ἐν τοῖσι τὸν βάρβαρον κατελοῦσι. ² σὺν δὲ ὧν ταύτῃ τῇ νηὶ τῇ αὐτομολησάσῃ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα καὶ τῇ πρότερον ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμίσιον τῇ Λημνίῃ ἐξεπληροῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ἐς τὰς ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας νέας· δύο γὰρ δὴ νεῶν τότε κατέδεε ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν.

83

¹ τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλήσι ὥς πιστὰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἦν τῶν Τηνίων ῥήματα, παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς ναυμαχήσοντες. ἡὼς τε διέφαινε καὶ οἱ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμενοι, προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλῆς, τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν πάντα κρέσσω τοῖσι ἥσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα, ὅσα δὴ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει καὶ καταστάσει ἐγγίνεται· ² παραινέσας δὲ τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἰρέεσθαι καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νέας. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐσέβαινον, καὶ ἦκε ἡ ἀπ’ Αἰγίνης τριήρης, ἥ κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀπεδήμησε.

84

¹ ἐνθαῦτα ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἀπάσας Ἕλληνες, ἀναγομένοισι δέ σφι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο οἱ βάρβαροι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ πρύμνῃν ἀνεκρούοντο καὶ ὤκελλον τὰς νέας, Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλληνεὺς ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἐξαναχθεὶς νηὶ ἐμβάλλει· συμπλακείσης δὲ τῆς νεὸς καὶ οὐ δυναμένων ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινίῃ βοηθέοντες συνέμισγον. ² Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι τῆς ναυμαχίας γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, Αἰγινῆται δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς

Αἰγιναν, ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὡς φάσμα σφι γυναικὸς ἐφάνη, φανεῖσαν δὲ διακελεύσασθαι ὥστε καὶ ἅπαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὄνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε, “ὦ δαιμόνιοι, μέχρι κόσου ἔτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούεσθε; “

85

1 κατὰ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἐτετάχατο Φοίνικες (οὔτοι γὰρ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς Ἑλευσῖνός τε καὶ ἐσπέρης κέρας), κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους Ἴωνες· οὔτοι δ' εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιέα. ἐθελοκάκεον μέντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέος ἐντολὰς ὀλίγοι, οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες οὐ. 2 ἔχω μὲν νυν συχῶν οὐνόματα τριηράρχων καταλέξει τῶν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ἐλόντων, χρήσομαι δὲ αὐτοῖσι οὐδὲν πλὴν Θεομήστορός τε τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφοτέρων. 3 τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα μέμνημαι τούτων μούνων, ὅτι Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννευσε καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων, Φύλακος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη καὶ χώρῃ ἐδωρήθη πολλῇ. οἱ δ' εὐεργέται βασιλέος ὁροσάγγαι καλέονται περσιστί.

86

1 περὶ μὲν νυν τούτους οὕτω εἶχε· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ἐκεραΐζετο, αἱ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι αἱ δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγινητέων. ἅτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεόντων καὶ κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὔτε τεταγμένων ἔτι οὔτε σὺν νόῳ ποιεόντων οὐδέν, ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι οἷόν περ ἀπέβη. καίτοι ἦσάν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῷ ἀμείνονες αὐτοῖ ἐωυτῶν ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ, πᾶς τις προθυμεόμενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ξέρξῃν, ἐδόκεε τε ἕκαστος ἐωυτὸν θεήσασθαι βασιλέα.

87

1 κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως ὥς ἕκαστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἠγωνίζοντο· κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ' ὧν εὐδοκίμησε μᾶλλον ἔτι παρὰ βασιλεί. 2 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπύκετο τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἡ νηὺς ἡ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδίωκετο ὑπὸ νεὸς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἡ οὐκ ἔχουσα διαφυγεῖν, ἔμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νέες φίλιναι, ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα

ἐτύγχανε ἐοῦσα, ἔδοξε οἱ τόδε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεικε ποιησάσῃ. διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νηὶ φιλήν ἄνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλέος Δαμασιθύμου. ³ εἰ μὲν καὶ τι νεῖκος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνεε ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἐόντων, οὐ μέντοι ἔχω γε εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, οὔτε εἰ συνεκύρησε ἢ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσοῦσα νηῦς. ⁴ ὥς δὲ ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ κατέδυσε, εὐτυχίῃ χρησαμένη διπλᾷ ἐωυτὴν ἀγαθὰ ἐργάσατο. ὃ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νεὸς τριῆραρχος ὥς εἶδε μιν ἐμβάλλουσαν νηὶ ἄνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης ἢ Ἑλληνίδα εἶναι ἢ αὐτομολέειν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἀμύνειν, ἀποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπετο.

88

¹ τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ συνέβη ὥστε κακὸν ἐργασαμένην ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρὰ Ξέρξῃ. ² λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θεούμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νέα ἐμβαλοῦσαν, καὶ δὴ τίνα εἰπεῖν τῶν παρεόντων “δέσποτα, ὁρᾷς Ἀρτεμισίην ὥς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νέα τῶν πολεμίων κατέδυσε; “ καὶ τὸν ἐπειρέσθαι εἰ ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς φάναι, σαφέως τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νεὸς ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ διαφθαρεῖσαν ἠπιστάετο εἶναι πολεμίην. ³ τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὥς εἴρηται, αὐτῇ συνήνεικε ἐς εὐτυχίην γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυνδικῆς νεὸς μηδένα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ εἰπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα “οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες “. ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἰπεῖν.

89

¹ ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξῳ ἐὼν ἀδελφεός, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλλοι πολλοί τε καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ Περσέων καὶ Μήδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινὲς καὶ Ἑλλήνων· ἅτε γὰρ νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ νέες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα διένεον. ² τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ διεφθάρησαν νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλεῖσται διεφθείροντο· οἱ γὰρ ὀπισθε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῇσι νηυσὶ παριέναι πειρώμενοι ὥς ἀποδεξόμενοι τι καὶ

αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλεί, τῇσι σφετέρησι νηυσὶ φευγούσῃσι περιέπιπτον.

90

¹ ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ. τῶν τινες Φοινίκων, τῶν αἱ νέες διεφθάραι, ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοὺς Ἴωνας, ὥς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολοίαι αἱ νέες, ὥς προδόντων. συνήνεικε ὧν οὕτω ὥστε Ἴωνων τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι Φοινίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοιόνδε μισθόν. ² ἔτι τούτων ταῦτα λεγόντων ἐνέβαλε νηὶ Ἀττικῇ Σαμοθρηκικὴ νηῦς. ἥ τε δὴ Ἀττικὴ κατεδύετο καὶ ἐπιφερομένη Αἰγιναίῃ νηῦς κατέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρηκικῶν τὴν νέα. ἅτε δὲ ἐόντες ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Σαμοθρήκες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νεὸς βάλλοντες ἀπήραξαν καὶ ἐπέβησάν τε καὶ ἔσχον αὐτήν. ³ ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐρρύσατο· ὥς γὰρ εἶδε σφέας Ξέρξης ἔργον μέγα ἐργασαμένους, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας οἷα ὑπερλυπεόμενός τε καὶ πάντας αἰτιώμενος, καὶ σφεων ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποταμεῖν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωσι. ⁴ ὅκως γάρ τινα ἴδοι Ξέρξης τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἔργον τι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρεϊ τῷ ἀντίον Σαλαμῖνος τὸ καλεῖται Αἰγάλεως, ἀνεπυνθάνετο τὸν ποιήσαντα, καὶ οἱ γραμματισταὶ ἀνέγραφον πατρόθεν τὸν τριήραρχον καὶ τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δέ τι καὶ προσεβάλετο φίλος ἐὼν Ἀριαράμνης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης παρεὼν τούτου τοῦ Φοινικίου πάθεος. οἱ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐτράποντο.

91

¹ τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν τραπομένων καὶ ἐκπλεόντων πρὸς τὸ Φάληρον, Αἰγινῆται ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο λόγου ἄξια. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκεραίζον τὰς τε ἀντισταμένας καὶ τὰς φευγούσας τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται τὰς ἐκπλεούσας· ὅκως δὲ τινὲς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαφύγοιεν, φερόμενοι ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας.

92

¹ ἐνθαῦτα συνεκύρεον νέες ἥ τε Θεμιστοκλέος διώκουσα νέα καὶ ἡ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Κριοῦ ἀνδρὸς Αἰγινήτεω νηὶ ἐμβαλοῦσα Σιδωνίῃ, ἥ περ εἶλε τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ τὴν Αἰγιναίην, ἐπ' ἧς ἔπλεε Πυθῆς ὁ Ἰσχενοῦ, τὸν οἱ Πέρσαι κατακοπέντα ἀρετῆς εἵνεκα

εἶχον ἐν τῇ νηὶ ἐκπαγλεόμενοι· τὸν δὲ περιάγουσα ἅμα τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἦλω ἢ νηὺς ἢ Σιδωνίη, ὥστε Πυθέην οὕτω σωθῆναι ἐς Αἴγιναν. ² ὥς δὲ ἐσεῖδε τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Πολύκριτος, ἔγνω τὸ σημήιον ἰδὼν τῆς στρατηγίδος, καὶ βώσας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπεκερτόμησε ἐς τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν μηδισμὸν ὀνειδίζων. ταῦτα μὲν νυν νηὶ ἐμβαλὼν ὁ Πολύκριτος ἀπερῆριψε ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῶν αἰ νέες περιεγένοντο, φεύγοντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Φάληρον ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν.

93

¹ ἐν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ ἤκουσαν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστα Αἰγινῆται, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτός τε ὁ Αἰγινήτης καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀναγυράσιος καὶ Ἀμεινίης Παλληνεύς, ὃς καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπεδιώξε. εἰ μὲν νυν ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ πλέοι Ἀρτεμισίη, οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσατο πρότερον ἢ εἰλέ μιν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦλω. ² τοῖσι γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τριηράρχοισι παρεκεκέλευστο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἄεθλον ἔκειτο μύρια δραχμαί, ὃς ἂν μιν ζώην ἔλῃ· δεινὸν γάρ τι ἐποιεῦντο γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας στρατεύεσθαι. αὕτη μὲν δὴ, ὥς πρότερον εἴρηται, διέφυγε· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, τῶν αἰ νέες περιεγεγόνεσαν, ἐν τῷ Φαλήρῳ.

94

¹ Ἀδεΐμαντον δὲ τὸν Κορίνθιον στρατηγὸν λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχάς, ὥς συνέμισγον αἰ νέες, ἐκπλαγέντα τε καὶ ὑπερδείσαντα, τὰ ἰστία ἀειράμενον οἷχεσθαι φεύγοντα, ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τὴν στρατηγίδα φεύγουσαν ὡσαύτως οἷχεσθαι. ² ὥς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γίνεσθαι τῆς Σαλαμίνης κατὰ ἱρὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος, περιπίπτειν σφι κέλητα θεῇ πομπῇ, τὸν οὔτε πέμψαντα φανῆναι οὐδένα, οὔτε τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς εἰδόσι προσφέρεισθαι τοῖσι Κορινθίοις. τῇδε δὲ συμβάλλονται εἶναι θεῖον τὸ πρῆγμα. ὥς γὰρ ἀγχοῦ γενέσθαι τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κέλητος λέγειν τάδε. ³ “Ἀδεΐμαντε, σὺ μὲν ἀποστρέψας τὰς νέας ἐς φυγὴν ὀρμησαι καταπροδοὺς τοὺς Ἑλληνας· οἱ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι ὅσον αὐτοὶ ἡρῶντο ἐπικρατήσαντες τῶν ἐχθρῶν “. ταῦτα λεγόντων ἀπιστέειν γὰρ τὸν Ἀδεΐμαντον, αὐτὶς τάδε λέγειν, ὥς αὐτοὶ οἰοί τε εἶεν ἀγόμενοι ὄμηροι ἀποθνήσκειν, ἣν μὴ νικῶντες φαίνονται οἱ Ἕλληνες. ⁴ οὕτω δὴ ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν νέα αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοις

ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε Κορίνθιοι ὁμολογέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐν πρώτοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς ναυμαχίης νομίζουσι γενέσθαι· μαρτυρεῖ δέ σφι καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς.

95

1 Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ Λυσιμάχου ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγω τι πρότερον τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου, οὗτος ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ τῷ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα γενομένῳ τάδε ἐποίηε· παραλαβὼν πολλοὺς τῶν ὀπλιτέων οἱ παρατετάχατο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμίνης χώρας, γένος ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νῆσον ἀπέβησε ἄγων, οἱ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησίδι ταύτῃ κατεφόνευσαν πάντας.

96

1 ὡς δὲ ἡ ναυμαχίη διελέλυτο, κατειρύσαντες ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα οἱ Ἕλληνες τῶν ναυηγίων ὅσα ταύτῃ ἐτύγγανε ἔτι ἐόντα, ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν ἐς ἄλλην ναυμαχίην, ἐλπίζοντες τῇσι περιουσίῃσι νηυσὶ ἔτι χρήσεσθαι βασιλείᾳ. 2 τῶν δὲ ναυηγίων πολλὰ ὑπολαβὼν ἄνεμος ζέφυρος ἔφερε τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡϊόνα τὴν καλεομένην Κωλιάδα· ὥστε ἀποπλησθῆναι τὸν χρησμὸν τὸν τε ἄλλον πάντα τὸν περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης ταύτης εἰρημένον Βάκιδι καὶ Μουσαίῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ναυήγια τὰ ταύτῃ ἐξενειχθέντα τὸ εἰρημένον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐν χρησμῷ Λυσιστράτῳ Ἀθηναίῳ ἀνδρὶ χρησμολόγῳ, τὸ ἐλελήθεε πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, *Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἐρετμοῖσι φρύζουσι* τοῦτο δὲ ἔμελλε ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέος ἔσεσθαι.

97

1 Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε τὸ γεγονὸς πάθος, δείσας μή τις τῶν Ἰώνων ὑποθῆται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἢ αὐτοὶ νοήσωσι πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμφθῆις ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κινδυνεύσει ἀπολέσθαι, δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε. θέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπίδηλος εἶναι μήτε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μήτε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα χῶμα ἐπειράτο διαχοῦν, γαύλους τε Φοινικίους συνέδεε, ἵνα ἀντί τε σχεδὶς ἔωσι καὶ τείχεος, ἀρτέετό τε ἐς πόλεμον ὡς ναυμαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος. 2 ὁρῶντες δὲ μιν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα εὖ

ἡπιστέατο ὥς ἐκ παντὸς νόου παρεσκευάσται μένων πολεμήσειν·
Μαρδόνιον δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλάνθανε ὥς μάλιστα ἔμπειρον ἐόντα
τῆς ἐκείνου διανοίης.

98

1 ταῦτά τε ἅμα Ξέρξης ἐποίεε καὶ ἔπεμπε ἐς Πέρσας ἀγγελέοντα
τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφι συμφορὴν. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐστὶ οὐδὲν ὃ
τι θᾶσσον παραγίνεται θνητὸν ἐόν· οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξεύρηται
τοῦτο. λέγουσι γὰρ ὥς ὁσέων ἂν ἡμερέων ἦ ἡ πᾶσα ὁδός, τοσοῦτοι
ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες διεστᾶσι κατὰ ἡμερησίην ὁδὸν ἐκάστην ἵππος τε
καὶ ἀνὴρ τεταγμένος· τοὺς οὕτε νιφετός, οὐκ ὄμβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ
νύξ ἔργει μὴ οὐ κατανύσαι τὸν προκείμενον αὐτῷ δρόμον τὴν
ταχίστην. 2 ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος δραμὼν παραδιδοῖ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ
δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δευτέρος τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη κατ' ἄλλον καὶ
ἄλλον διεξέρχεται παραδιδόμενα, κατὰ περ ἐν Ἑλλήσι ἡ
λαμπαδηφορίῃ τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελέουσι. τοῦτο τὸ δράμημα τῶν
ἵππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ἀγαρήιον.

99

1 ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγελίη ἀπικομένη, ὥς ἔχοι Ἀθήνας
Ξέρξης, ἔτερψε οὕτω δὴ τι Περσέων τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ὥς τάς τε
ὁδοὺς μυρσίην πάσας ἐστόρεσαν καὶ ἐθυμίων θυμῆματα καὶ αὐτοὶ
ἦσαν ἐν θυσίῃσι τε καὶ εὐπαθείῃσι. 2 ἡ δὲ δευτέρη σφι ἀγγελίῃ
ἐπεσελθοῦσα συνέχεε οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς κιθῶνας κατερῥήξαντο
πάντες, βοῇ τε καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἐχρέωντο ἀπλέτῳ, Μαρδόνιον ἐν αἰτίῃ
τιθέντες. οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι
ἐποίουν ὥς περὶ αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ δειμαίνοντες.

100

1 καὶ περὶ Πέρσας μὲν ἦν ταῦτα τὸν πάντα μεταξὺ χρόνον
γενόμενον, μέχρι οὗ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς σφεας ἀπικόμενος ἔπαυσε.
Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὁρῶν μὲν Ξέρξην συμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐκ τῆς
ναυμαχίης ποιούμενον, ὑποπτεύων δὲ αὐτὸν δρησμὸν βουλεύειν ἐκ
τῶν Ἀθηνέων, φροντίσας πρὸς ἐαυτὸν ὥς δώσει δίκην ἀναγνώσας
βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ οἱ κρέσσον εἶη
ἀνακινδυνεῦσαι ἢ κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἢ αὐτὸν καλῶς
τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἰωρηθέντα· πλεον μέντοι ἔφερε

οἱ ἢ γνώμη κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα· λογισάμενος ὧν ταῦτα προσέφερε τὸν λόγον τόνδε. ² “δέσποτα, μήτε λυπέο μήτε συμφορὴν μηδεμίαν μεγάλην ποιεῦ τοῦδε τοῦ γεγονότος εἵνεκα πρήγματος. οὐ γὰρ ξύλων ἀγὼν ὁ τὸ πᾶν φέρων ἐστὶ ἡμῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων. σοὶ δὲ οὔτε τις τούτων τῶν τὸ πᾶν σφίσι ἤδη δοκεόντων κατεργάσθαι ἀποβάς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πειρήσεται ἀντιωθῆναι οὗτ’ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου τῆσδε· οἱ τε ἡμῖν ἠντιώθησαν, ἔδοσαν δίκας. ³ εἰ μὲν νυν δοκέει, αὐτίκα πειρώμεθα τῆς Πελοποννήσου· εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκέει ἐπισχεῖν, παρέχει ποιέειν ταῦτα. μηδὲ δυσθύμεε· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι Ἑλλήσι οὐδεμία ἔκδυσις μὴ οὐ δόντας λόγον τῶν ἐποίησαν νῦν τε καὶ πρότερον εἶναι σοὺς δούλους. μάλιστα μὲν νυν ταῦτα ποίεε· εἰ δ’ ἄρα τοι βεβούλευται αὐτὸν ἀπελαύνοντα ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιήν, ἄλλην ἔχω καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε βουλήν. ⁴ σὺ Πέρσας, βασιλεῦ, μὴ ποιήσης καταγελάστους γενέσθαι Ἑλλήσι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν Πέρσῃσί τοί τι δεδήληται τῶν πρηγμάτων, οὐδ’ ἐρέεις ὅκου ἐγενόμεθα ἄνδρες κακοί. εἰ δὲ Φοίνικές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Κύπριοί τε καὶ Κίλικες κακοὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν πρὸς Πέρσας τοῦτο προσήκει τὸ πάθος. ⁵ ἦδη ὧν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ Πέρσαι τοι αἴτιοι εἰσὶ, ἐμοὶ πείθεο· εἴ τοι δέδοκται μὴ παραμένειν, σὺ μὲν ἐς ἡθεα τὰ σεωυτοῦ ἀπέλανε τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπάγων τὸ πολλόν, ἐμὲ δὲ σοὶ χρὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖν δεδουλωμένην, τριήκοντα μυριάδας τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον”.

101

¹ ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης ὥς ἐκ κακῶν ἐχάρη τε καὶ ἤσθη, πρὸς Μαρδόνιον τε βουλευσάμενος ἔφη ὑποκρινέεσθαι ὁκότερον ποιήσει τούτων. ὥς δὲ ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα Περσέων τοῖσι ἐπικλήτοισι, ἔδοξε οἱ καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐς συμβουλίην μεταπέμψασθαι, ὅτι πρότερον ἐφαίνετο μούνη νοέουσα τὰ ποιητέα ἦν. ² ὥς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἡ Ἀρτεμισίη, μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τε συμβούλους Περσέων καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους, ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε. “κελεύει με Μαρδόνιος μένοντα αὐτοῦ πειρᾶσαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, λέγων ὥς μοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς οὐδενὸς μεταίτιοι πάθεος εἰσὶ, ἀλλὰ βουλομένοισι σφί γένοιτ’ ἂν ἀπόδεξις. ³ ἐμὲ ὧν ἢ ταῦτα κελεύει ποιέειν, ἢ αὐτὸς ἐθέλει τριήκοντα μυριάδας ἀπολεξάμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρασχεῖν μοι τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεδουλωμένην, αὐτὸν δὲ με κελεύει ἀπελαύνειν σὺν τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ ἐς ἡθεα τὰ ἐμά. ⁴ σὺ ὧν ἐμοί, καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης εὔ συνεβούλευσας τῆς γενομένης οὐκ ἐῷσα ποιέεσθαι,

νῦν τε συμβούλευσον ὁκότερα ποιέων ἐπιτύχω εὖ βουλευσάμενος “.

102

¹ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβουλευέτο, ἡ δὲ λέγει τάδε. “*βασιλεῦ, χαλεπὸν μὲν ἐστὶ συμβουλευομένῳ τυχεῖν τὰ ἄριστα εἶπασαν, ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι δοκέει μοι αὐτὸν μὲν σε ἀπελαύνειν ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιον δέ, εἰ ἐθέλει τε καὶ ὑποδέκεται ταῦτα ποιήσῃν, αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν σὺν τοῖσι ἐθέλει.* ² τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἦν καταστρέψῃται τὰ φησὶ θέλειν καὶ οἱ προχωρήσῃ τὰ νοέων λέγει, σὺν τὸ ἔργον ὃ δέσποτα γίνεται· οἱ γὰρ σοὶ δοῦλοι κατεργάσαντο. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τὰ ἐναντία τῆς Μαρδονίου γνώμης γένηται, οὐδεμία συμφορὴ μεγάλη ἔσται σέο τε περιέοντος καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν πρηγμάτων περὶ οἶκον τὸν σόν· ³ ἦν γὰρ σὺ τε περιῆς καὶ οἶκος ὁ σός, πολλοὺς πολλάκις ἀγῶνας δραμέονται περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οἱ Ἕλληνες. Μαρδονίου δέ, ἦν τι πάθη, λόγος οὐδεὶς γίνεται, οὐδέ τι νικῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῶσι, δοῦλον σὺν ἀπολέσαντες· σὺ δέ, τῶν εἵνεκα τὸν στόλον ἐποίησαο, πυρώσας τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπελῆς “.

103

¹ ἦσθη τε δὴ τῇ συμβουλίῃ Ξέρξης· λέγουσα γὰρ ἐπετύγχανε τὰ περ αὐτὸς ἐνόεε. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ μένειν, ἔμενε ἂν δοκέειν ἐμοί· οὕτω καταβῶδῃκεε. ἐπαινέσας δὲ τὴν Ἀρτεμισίην, ταύτην μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἄγουσαν αὐτοῦ παῖδας ἐς Ἑφεσον· νόθοι γὰρ τινὲς παῖδές οἱ συνέσποντο.

104

¹ συνέπεμπε δὲ τοῖσι παισὶ φύλακον Ἑρμότιμον, γένος μὲν ἐόντα Πηδασέα, φερόμενον δὲ οὐ τὰ δεύτερα τῶν εὐνούχων παρὰ βασιλεί· [οἱ δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέουσι ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ· ἐν δὲ τοῖσι Πηδάσοισι τούτοισι τοιόνδε συμφέρεται πρήγμα γίνεσθαι· ἐπεὰν τοῖσι ἀμφικτυόσι πᾶσι τοῖσι ἀμφὶ ταύτης οἰκέουσι τῆς πόλιος μέλλῃ τι ἐντὸς χρόνου ἔσεσθαι χαλεπόν, τότε ἡ ἱρεὶα αὐτόθι τῆς Ἀθηναίης φύει πώγωνα μέγαν. τοῦτο δὲ σφι δις ἤδη ἐγένετο.

105

¹ ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν Πηδασέων ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἦν] τῷ μεγίστῃ τίσις ἦδη ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. ἀλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ πωλεόμενον ὠνέεται Πανιώνιος ἀνὴρ Χῖος, ὃς τὴν

ζόην κατεστήσατο ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων· ὅκως γὰρ κτήσαιο παῖδας εἵδεος ἐπαμμένους, ἐκτάμων ἀγινέων ἐπώλεε ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ Ἐφεσον χρημάτων μεγάλων. ² παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τιμιώτεροι εἰσὶ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι πίστιος εἵνεκα τῆς πάσης τῶν ἐνορχίων. ἄλλους τε δὴ ὁ Πανιώνιος ἐξέταμε πολλούς, ἅτε ποιούμενος ἐκ τούτου τὴν ζόην, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦτον. καὶ οὐ γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐδυστύχεε ὁ Ἑρμότιμος, ἀπικνέεται ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα μετ' ἄλλων δώρων, χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος πάντων τῶν εὐνούχων ἐτιμήθη μάλιστα παρὰ Ξέρξη.

106

¹ ὥς δὲ τὸ στρατεύμα τὸ Περσικὸν ὄρμα βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐὼν ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐνθαῦτα καταβάς κατὰ δὴ τι πρῆγμα ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἐς γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, τὴν Χίοι μὲν νέμονται Ἀταρνεὺς δὲ καλέεται, εὐρίσκει τὸν Πανιώνιον ἐνθαῦτα. ² ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλοὺς καὶ φιλίους λόγους, πρῶτα μὲν οἱ καταλέγων ὅσα αὐτὸς δι' ἐκεῖνον ἔχοι ἀγαθὰ, δευτέρα δὲ οἱ ὑπισχνεύμενος ἀντὶ τούτων ὅσα μιν ἀγαθὰ ποιήσει ἢν κομίσας τοὺς οἰκέτας οἰκῇ ἐκεῖνη, ὥστε ὑποδεξάμενον ἄσμενον τοὺς λόγους τὸν Πανιώνιον κομίσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα. ³ ὥς δὲ ἄρα πανοικίη μιν περιέλαβε, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἑρμότιμος τάδε. “ὦ πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἤδη μάλιστα ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων τὸν βίον κτησάμενε, τί σε ἐγὼ κακὸν ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τίς σε προγόνων ἐργάσατο, ἢ σὲ ἢ τῶν σῶν τινα, ὅτι με ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς ἐποίησας τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι; ἐδόκεές τε θεοὺς λήσειν οἷα ἐμηχανῶ τότε· οἱ σε ποιήσαντα ἀνόσια, νόμῳ δικαίῳ χρεώμενοι, ὑπήγαγον ἐς χεῖρας τὰς ἐμάς, ὥστε σε μὴ μέμψασθαι τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέο τοι ἐσομένην δίκην “. ⁴ ὥς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα ὠνείδισε, ἀχθέντων τῶν παίδων ἐς ὅψιν ἠναγκάζετο ὁ Πανιώνιος τῶν ἐωυτοῦ παίδων τεσσέρων ἐόντων τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀποτάμνειν, ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ἐποίηε ταῦτα· αὐτοῦ τε, ὥς ταῦτα ἐργάσατο, οἱ παῖδες ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀπέταμνον. Πανιώνιον μὲν νυν οὕτω περιῆλθε ἢ τε τίσις καὶ Ἑρμότιμος.

107

¹ Ξέρξης δὲ ὥς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπέτρεψε Ἀρτεμισίη ἀπάγειν ἐς Ἐφεσον, καλέσας Μαρδόνιον ἐκέλευσέ μιν τῆς στρατιῆς διαλέγειν τοὺς βούλεται, καὶ ποιέειν τοῖσι λόγοισι τὰ ἔργα πειρώμενον ὅμοια.

ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγίνετο, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς κελεύσαντος βασιλέος τὰς νέας οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκ τοῦ Φαλήρου ἀπῆγον ὀπίσω ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὡς τάχεις εἶχε ἕκαστος, διαφυλαξούσας τὰς σχεδίας πορευθῆναι βασιλεί. 2 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν Ζωστήρος πλέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γὰρ ἄκραι λεπταὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης, ἔδοξάν τε νέας εἶναι καὶ ἔφευγον ἐπὶ πολλόν· χρόνῳ δὲ μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ νέες εἶεν ἀλλ' ἄκραι, συλληχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο.

108

1 ὥς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγίνετο, ὁρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες κατὰ χώραν μένοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν πεζὸν ἡλπίζον καὶ τὰς νέας εἶναι περὶ Φάληρον, ἐδόκεόν τε ναυμαχῆσιν σφέας παραρτέοντό τε ὡς ἀλεξήσόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὰς νέας οἰχωκυίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκεε ἐπιδιώκειν. τὸν μὲν νυν ναυτικὸν τὸν Ξέρξῳ στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπεῖδον διώξαντες μέχρι Ἀνδρου, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀνδρον ἀπικόμενοι ἐβουλεύοντο. 2 Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο διὰ νήσων τραπομένους καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας τὰς νέας πλέειν ἰθέως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας· Εὐρυβιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίην ταύτη γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων ὡς εἰ λύσουσι τὰς σχεδίας, τοῦτ' ἂν μέγιστον πάντων σφι κακῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐργάσαιτο. 3 εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθῇ ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, πειρῶτο ἂν ἡσυχίην μὴ ἄγειν, ὡς ἄγοντι μὲν οἱ ἡσυχίην οὔτε τι προχωρεῖν οἷόν τε ἔσται τῶν πρηγμάτων οὔτε τις κομιδὴ τὰ ὀπίσω φανήσεται, λιμῶ τέ οἱ ἡ στρατιὴ διαφθερέεται, ἐπιχειροῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔργου ἐχομένῳ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην οἶά τε ἔσται προσχωρῆσαι κατὰ πόλιν τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα, ἥτοι ἀλισκομένων γε ἢ πρὸς τοῦτου ὁμολογεόντων· τροφὴν τε ἔξῃ σφέας τὸν ἐπέτειον αἰεὶ τὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καρπὸν. 4 ἀλλὰ δοκέειν γὰρ νικηθέντα τῇ ναυμαχίῃ οὐ μενέειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσιν· ἐατέον ὧν εἶναι φεύγειν, ἐς ὃ ἔλθοι φεύγων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ποιέεσθαι ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκέλευε. ταύτης δὲ εἶχοντο τῆς γνώμης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἄλλων οἱ στρατηγοί.

109

1 ὥς δὲ ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐ πείσει τοὺς γε πολλοὺς πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους

(οὗτοι γὰρ μάλιστα ἐκπεφευγότες περιημέκτεον, ὁρμέατό τε ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον πλέειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι, εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι μὴ βουλοίατο) ἔλεγε σφι τάδε. ² “καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη πολλοῖσι παρεγενόμενος καὶ πολλῷ πλέω ἀκήκοα τοιάδε γενέσθαι, ἄνδρας ἐς ἀναγκαίην ἀπειληθέντας νενικημένους ἀναμάχασθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέραν κακότητα. ἡμεῖς δέ, εὖρημα γὰρ εὐρήκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, νέφος τοσοῦτο ἀνθρώπων ἀνωσάμενοι, μὴ διώκωμεν ἄνδρας φεύγοντας. ³ τάδε γὰρ οὐκ ἡμεῖς κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τε καὶ ἥρωες, οἱ ἐφθόνησαν ἄνδρα ἓνα τῆς τε Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεῦσαι ἔοντα ἀνόσιόν τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλον· ὃς τὰ τε ἱρὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποίεετο, ἐμπιπράς τε καὶ καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα· ὃς καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατῆκε. ⁴ ἀλλ’ εὖ γὰρ ἔχει ἐς τὸ παρεὸν ἡμῖν, νῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταμείναντας ἡμέων τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τῶν οἰκετέων, καὶ τις οἰκίην τε ἀναπλάσασθω καὶ σπόρου ἀνακῶς ἐχέτω, παντελέως ἀπελάσας τὸν βάρβαρον· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι καταπλέωμεν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Ἰωνίης “. ⁵ ταῦτα ἔλεγε ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσασθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσιν, ἵνα ἦν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνη πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος ἔχῃ ἀποστροφῇ· τά περ ὧν καὶ ἐγένετο.

110

¹ Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπέιθοντο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ πρότερον δεδογμένος εἶναι σοφὸς ἐφάνη ἐὼν ἀληθῶς σοφός τε καὶ εὖβουλος, πάντως ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν λέγοντι πείθεσθαι. ² ὥς δὲ οὗτοί οἱ ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμπε ἔχοντας πλοῖον, τοῖσι ἐπίστευε σιγᾷ ἐς πᾶσαν βάσανον ἀπικνεομένοισι τὰ αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο βασιλεί φράσαι· τῶν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκῆτης αὐτὶς ἐγένετο· οἱ ἐπεῖτε ἀπίκοντο πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οἱ μὲν κατέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ, Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβάς παρὰ Ξέρξην ἔλεγε τάδε. ³ “ἔπεμψέ με Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλῆος, στρατηγὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων ἄριστος καὶ σοφώτατος, φράσσοντά τοι ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, σοὶ βουλόμενος ὑπουργεῖν, ἔσχε τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰς νέας βουλομένους διώκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ γεφύρας λύειν. καὶ νῦν κατ’ ἡσυχίην πολλὴν κομίζεο “. οἱ μὲν ταῦτα σημήναντες ἀπέπλεον ὅπισω.

1 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεῖτε σφι ἀπέδοξε μήτ' ἐπιδιώκειν ἔτι προσωτέρω τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας μήτε πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὸν πόρον, τὴν Ἄνδρον περικατέατο ἐξελεῖν ἐθέλοντες. 2 πρῶτοι γὰρ Ἄνδριοι νησιωτέων αἰτηθέντες πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέος χρήματα οὐκ ἔδοσαν, ἀλλὰ προῖσχομένου Θεμιστοκλέος λόγον τόνδε, ὡς ἦκοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ ἐωυτοὺς ἔχοντες δύο θεοὺς μεγάλους, πειθῷ τε καὶ ἀναγκαίῃν, οὕτω τέ σφι κάρτα δοτέα εἶναι χρήματα, ὑπεκρίναντο πρὸς ταῦτα λέγοντες ὡς κατὰ λόγον ἦσαν ἄρα αἱ Ἀθῆναι μεγάλαι τε καὶ εὐδαίμονες, αἱ καὶ θεῶν χρηστῶν ἦκοιεν εὖ, 3 ἐπεὶ Ἀνδρίους γε εἶναι γεωπεινάς ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκοντας, καὶ θεοὺς δύο ἀχρήστους οὐκ ἐκλείπειν σφέων τὴν νῆσον ἀλλ' αἰεὶ φιλοχωρεῖν, πενίην τε καὶ ἀμηχανίην, καὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἐπηβόλους ἐόντας Ἀνδρίους οὐ δώσειν χρήματα· οὐδέκοτε γὰρ τῆς ἐωυτῶν ἀδυναμίας τὴν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν εἶναι κρέσσω.

1 οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὑποκρινάμενοι καὶ οὐ δόντες τὰ χρήματα ἐπολιορκέοντο. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύετο πλεονεκτέων, ἐσπέμπων ἐς τὰς ἄλλας νήσους ἀπειλητηρίους λόγους αἵτεα χρήματα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων, χρεώμενος τοῖσι καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα ἐχρήσατο, λέγων ὡς εἰ μὴ δώσουσι τὸ αἰτεόμενον, ἐπάξει τὴν στρατιὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πολιορκέων ἐξαίρῃσει. 2 λέγων ταῦτα συνέλεγε χρήματα μεγάλα παρὰ Καρυστίων τε καὶ Παρίων, οἱ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν τε Ἄνδρον ὡς πολιορκέοιτο διότι ἐμῆδισε, καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα ὡς εἶη ἐν αἴνῃ μεγίστῃ τῶν στρατηγῶν, δεῖσαντες ταῦτα ἔπεμπον χρήματα. εἰ δὲ δὴ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι ἔδοσαν νησιωτέων, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκέω δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους δοῦναι καὶ οὐ τούτους μούνους. 3 καίτοι Καρυστίοισί γε οὐδὲν τούτου εἵνεκα τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβολὴ ἐγένετο· Πάριοι δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα χρήμασι ἱλασάμενοι διέφυγον τὸ στράτευμα. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν ἐξ Ἀνδρου ὁρμώμενος χρήματα παρὰ νησιωτέων ἐκτάτο λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν.

1 οἱ δ' ἄμφι Ξέρξην ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην

ἐξήλαυνον ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν. ἔδοξε γὰρ Μαρδονίῳ ἅμα μὲν προπέμψαι βασιλέα, ἅμα δὲ ἀνωρίη εἶναι τοῦ ἔτεος πολεμέειν, χειμερίσαι τε ἄμεινον εἶναι ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, καὶ ἔπειτα ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου. 2 ὥς δὲ ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίην, ἐνθαῦτα Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέγετο πρώτους μὲν τοὺς Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς ἀθανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν Ὑδάρνεος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ (οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέος), μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν χιλίην, καὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Σάκας καὶ Βακτρίους τε καὶ Ἰνδούς, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἵππον. 3 ταῦτα μὲν ἔθνεα ὅλα εἴλετο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμαχῶν ἐξελέγετο κατ' ὀλίγους, τοῖσι εἶδεά τε ὑπῆρχε διαλέγων καὶ εἰ τεοῖσι τι χρηστὸν συνήδεε πεποιημένον· ἐν δὲ πλεῖστον ἔθνος Πέρσας αἰρέετο, ἄνδρας στρεπτοφόρους τε καὶ ψελιοφόρους, ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδους· οὗτοι δὲ τὸ πλῆθος μὲν οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἦσαν τῶν Περσέων, ῥώμῃ δὲ ἥσσονες. ὥστε σύμπαντας τριήκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι σὺν ἱππεῦσι.

114

1 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Μαρδονίῳ τε τὴν στρατιὴν διέκρινε καὶ Ξέρξης ἦν περὶ Θεσσαλίην, χρηστήριον ἐληλύθεε ἐκ Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι, Ξέρξην αἰτέειν δίκας τοῦ Λεωνίδεω φόνου καὶ τὸ διδόμενον ἐξ ἐκείνου δέκεσθαι. πέμπουσι δὴ κήρυκα τὴν ταχίστην Σπαρτιῆται, ὃς ἐπειδὴ κατέλαβε ἐοῦσαν ἔτι πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ἐλθὼν ἐς ὅψιν τὴν Ξέρξεω ἔλεγε τάδε. 2 “ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, Λακεδαιμόνιοί τέ σε καὶ Ἡρακλεῖδαι οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης αἰτέουσι φόνου δίκας, ὅτι σφέων τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέκτεινας ῥυόμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα “. ὁ δὲ γελάσας τε καὶ κατασχὼν πολλὸν χρόνον, ὥς οἱ ἐτύγγανε παρεστῶς Μαρδόνιος, δεικνὺς ἐς τοῦτον εἶπε “τοιγὰρ σφι Μαρδόνιος ὃδε δίκας δώσει τοιαύτας οἷας ἐκείνοισι πρέπει “.

115

1 ὁ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενος τὸ ῥηθὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο, Ξέρξης δὲ Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καταλιπὼν αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὸν πόρον τῆς διαβάσιος ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρησι, ἀπάγων τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος ὥς εἰπεῖν. 2 ὅκου δὲ πορευόμενοι γινοίατο καὶ κατ' οὔστινας ἀνθρώπους, τὸν τούτων καρπὸν ἀρπάζοντες ἐσιτέοντο· εἰ δὲ καρπὸν

μηδένα εὔροιεν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ποίην τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναφυομένην καὶ τῶν δενδρέων τὸν φλοιὸν περιλέποντες καὶ τὰ φύλλα καταδρέποντες κατήσθιον, ὁμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρῳ καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων, καὶ ἔλειπον οὐδέν· ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεον ὑπὸ λιμοῦ. ³ ἐπιλαβὼν δὲ λοιμός τε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερίη κατ' ὁδὸν ἔφθειρε. τοὺς δὲ καὶ νοσέοντας αὐτῶν κατέλειπε, ἐπιτάσσων τῇσι πόλισι, ἵνα ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο ἐλαύνων, μελεδαίνειν τε καὶ τρέφειν, ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ τε τινὰς καὶ ἐν Σίρι τῆς Παιονίης καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίῃ. ⁴ ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἄρμα καταλιπὼν τοῦ Διός, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤλαυνε, ἀπιὼν οὐκ ἀπέλαβε, ἀλλὰ δόντες οἱ Παῖονες τοῖσι Θρηίξι ἀπαιτέοντος Ξέρξῳ ἔφασαν νεμομένας ἀρπασθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνω Θρηίκων τῶν περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Στρυμόνος οἰκημένων.

116

¹ ἔνθα καὶ ὁ τῶν Βισαλτέων βασιλεὺς γῆς τε τῆς Κρηστωνικῆς Θρηΐξ ἔργον ὑπερφυῆς ἐργάσατο· ὃς οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐκὼν εἶναι δουλεύσειν, ἀλλ' οἷχeto ἄνω ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ῥοδόπην, τοῖσι τε παισὶ ἀπηγόρευε μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ² οἱ δὲ ἀλογήσαντες, ἢ ἄλλως σφι θυμὸς ἐγένετο θεήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐστρατεύοντο ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχώρησαν ἀσινέες πάντες ἐξ ἐόντες, ἐξώρυξε αὐτῶν ὁ πατήρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διὰ τὴν αἰτίην ταύτην.

117

¹ καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τοῦτον τὸν μισθὸν ἔλαβον, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὥς ἐκ τῆς Θρηίκης πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον, ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον τῇσι νηυσὶ διέβησαν ἐς Ἀβυδὸν· τὰς γὰρ σχεδίας οὐκ εὔρον ἔτι ἐντεταμένας ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλελυμένας. ² ἐνθαῦτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι σιτία τε πλέω ἢ κατ' ὁδὸν ἐλάγχανον, καὶ οὐδένα τε κόσμον ἐμπιπλάμενοι καὶ ὕδατα μεταβάλλοντες ἀπέθνησκον τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ περιέοντος πολλοί. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις.

118

¹ ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὁδε λόγος λεγόμενος, ὥς ἐπειδὴ Ξέρξης ἀπελαύνων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἀπίκετο ἐπ' Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκέτι ὁδοιπορίῃσι διεχρᾶτο, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν

Ὑδάρνει ἐπιτράπει ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ νεὸς Φοινίσσης ἐπιβὰς ἐκομίζετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. ² πλέοντα δέ μιν ἄνεμον Στρυμονίην ὑπολαβεῖν μέγαν καὶ κυματίνην. καὶ δὴ μᾶλλον γάρ τι χερμαίνεσθαι γεμούσης τῆς νεὸς, ὥστε ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐπεόντων συγχῶν Περσέων τῶν σὺν Ξέρξῃ κομιζομένων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς δεῖμα πεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα εἰρέσθαι βώσαντα τὸν κυβερνήτην εἴ τις ἐστὶ σφι σωτηρίη, ³ καὶ τὸν εἶπαι “δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι οὐδεμία, εἰ μὴ τούτων ἀπαλλαγὴ τις γένηται τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιβατέων “. καὶ Ξέρξην λέγεται ἀκούσαντα ταῦτα εἰπεῖν “ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, νῦν τις διαδεξάτω ὑμέων βασιλέος κηδόμενος· ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ οἴκε εἶναι ἐμοὶ ἢ σωτηρίη “. ⁴ τὸν μὲν ταῦτα λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ προσκυνέοντας ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ τὴν νέα ἐπικουφισθεῖσαν οὕτω δὴ ἀποσωθῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. ὥς δὲ ἐκβῆναι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τὸν Ξέρξην, ποιῆσαι τοιόνδε· ὅτι μὲν ἔσωσε βασιλέος τὴν ψυχὴν, δωρήσασθαι χρυσῇ στεφάνῃ τὸν κυβερνήτην, ὅτι δὲ Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε, ἀποταμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

119

¹ οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος περὶ τοῦ Ξέρξεω νόστου, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστὸς οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο πάθος· εἰ γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα οὕτω εἰρέθη ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτεω πρὸς Ξέρξην, ἐν μυρίῃσι γνώμῃσι μίαν οὐκ ἔχω ἀντίξοον μὴ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι βασιλέα τοιόνδε, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος καταβιβάσαι ἐς κοίλῃν νέα ἐόντας Πέρσας καὶ Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, τῶν δ' ἐρετέων ἐόντων Φοινίκων ὅκως οὐκ ἂν ἴσον πλῆθος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξέβαλε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ὁδῶ χρεώμενος ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

120

¹ μέγα δὲ καὶ τότε μαρτύριον· φαίνεται γὰρ Ξέρξης ἐν τῇ ὀπίσω κομιδῇ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Ἀβδηρα καὶ ξεινίην τέ σφι συνθέμενος καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀκινάκη τε χρυσῆν καὶ τήρη χρυσοπάστῳ. καὶ ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Ἀβδηρίται, λέγοντες ἔμοιγε οὐδαμῶς πιστά, πρῶτον ἐλύσατο τὴν ζώνην φεύγων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὀπίσω, ὥς ἐν ἀδείῃ ἐών. τὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρα ἱδρύται πρὸς τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ τῆς Ἡϊόνος, ὅθεν δὴ μιν φασὶ ἐπιβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν νέα.

¹ οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπεῖτε οὐκ οἴοι τε ἐγίνοντο ἐξελεῖν τὴν Ἄνδρον, τραπόμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον καὶ δηιώσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. πρῶτα μὲν νυν τοῖσι θεοῖσι ἐξεῖλον ἀκροθίνια ἄλλα τε καὶ τριήρεας τρεῖς Φοινίσσας, τὴν μὲν ἐς Ἴσθμὸν ἀναθεῖναι, ἥ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σούνιον, τὴν δὲ τῷ Αἴαντι αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. ² μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διεδάσαντο τὴν ληΐην καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς Δελφούς, ἐκ τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδριὰς ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκρωτήριον νεός, ἐὼν μέγαθος δωδέκα πηχέων· ἔστηκε δὲ οὗτος τῇ περ ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ χρύσεος.

¹ πέμψαντες δὲ ἀκροθίνια οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς Δελφούς ἐπειρώτων τὸν θεὸν κοινῇ εἰ λελάβηκε πλήρεα καὶ ἀρεστὰ τὰ ἀκροθίνια. ὁ δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήνων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἔφησε ἔχειν, παρὰ Αἰγινητέων δὲ οὐ, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀριστήια τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίης. Αἰγινῆται δὲ πυθόμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἀστέρας χρυσεούς, οἱ ἐπὶ ἱστοῦ χαλκεοὺ ἐστάσι τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίης, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κροίσου κρητῆρος.

¹ μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς ληΐης ἔπλεον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἀριστήια δώσοντες τῷ ἀξιώτάτῳ γενομένῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον. ² ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ διένεμον τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεῦτερον κρίνοντες ἐκ πάντων, ἐνθαῦτα πᾶς τις αὐτῶν ἐωυτῷ ἐτίθετο τὴν ψῆφον, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος δοκέων ἄριστος γενέσθαι, δεῦτερα δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτον Θεμιστοκλέα κρίνοντες. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐμουνούντο, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ δευτερείοισι ὑπερεβάλλετο πολλόν.

¹ οὐ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα κρίνειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φθόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἀποπλεόντων ἐκάστων ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἀκρίτων, ὅμως Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐβῶσθη τε καὶ ἐδοξώθη εἶναι ἀνὴρ πολλὸν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ² ὅτι δὲ νικῶν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχησάντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπύκετο θέλων τιμηθῆναι· καὶ μιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλῶς μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο, μεγάλως δὲ ἐτίμησαν. ἀριστήια μὲν νυν ἔδοσαν.. Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἐλαίης στέφανον,

σοφίης δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος Θεμιστοκλεί καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἐλαίης· ἐδωρήσαντό τέ μιν ὅχῳ τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύσαντι. ³ αἰνέσαντες δὲ πολλά, προέπεμψαν ἀπρόντα τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὗτοι οἱ περ ἱππέες καλέονται, μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Τεγεητικῶν. μῦνον δὴ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Σπαρτιῆται προέπεμψαν.

125

¹ ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος ἀπύκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἐὼν, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, φθόνῳ καταμαργέων ἐνεΐκεε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα ἄπιζιν προφέρων, ὥς διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχοι τὰ γέρεα τὰ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἐωυτόν. ² ὁ δέ, ἐπεῖτε οὐκ ἐπαύετο λέγων ταῦτα ὁ Τιμόδημος, εἶπε “οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὗτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἐὼν Βελβινίτης ἐτιμήθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων, οὗτ' ἂν σὺ, ὦνθρωπε, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος “. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

126

¹ Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος ἀνὴρ ἐν Πέρσῃσι λόγιμος καὶ πρόσθε ἐὼν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Πλαταικῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι γενόμενος, ἔχων ἑξ μυριάδας στρατοῦ τοῦ Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέξατο, προέπεμπε βασιλέα μέχρι τοῦ πόρου. ² ὥς δὲ ὁ μὲν ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω πορευόμενος κατὰ τὴν Παλλήνην ἐγένετο, ἅτε Μαρδονίου τε χειμερίζοντος περὶ Θεσσαλίην τε καὶ Μακεδονίην καὶ οὐδέν κω κατεπεΐγοντος ἦκειν ἐς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἐδικαίου ἐντυχῶν ἀπεστεῶσι Ποτιδαίητησι μὴ οὐκ ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι σφέας. ³ οἱ γὰρ Ποτιδαίηται, ὥς βασιλεὺς παρεξεληλάκεε καὶ ὁ ναυτικὸς τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι οἰχώκεε φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀπέστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τὴν Παλλήνην ἔχοντες.

127

¹ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Ποτίδαιαν. ὑποπτεύσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ταύτην ἐπολιόρκεε· εἶχον δὲ αὐτὴν Βοττιαῖοι ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου ἐξαναστάντες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας εἶλε πολιορκέων, κατέσφαξε ἐξαγαγὼν ἐς λίμνην, τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδιδῶι Κριτοβούλῳ

Τορωναίῳ ἐπιτροπεύειν καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει, καὶ οὕτω Ὀλυνθον Χαλκιδέες ἔσχον.

128

¹ ἐξελὼν δὲ ταύτην ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος τῇ Ποτιδαίῃ ἐντεταμένως προσεῖχε· προσέχοντι δὲ οἱ προθύμως συντίθεται προδοσίην Τιμόξεινος ὁ τῶν Σκιωναίων στρατηγός, ὄντινα μὲν τρόπον ἀρχήν, ἔγωγε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν [οὐ γὰρ ὧν λέγεται), τέλος μέντοι τοιάδε ἐγένετο· ὅκως βυβλίον γράψει ἢ Τιμόξεινος ἐθέλων παρὰ Ἀρτάβαζον πέμψαι ἢ Ἀρτάβαζος παρὰ Τιμόξεινον, τοξεύματος παρὰ τὰς γλυφίδας περιελιξάντες καὶ πτερώσαντες τὸ βυβλίον ἐτόξευον ἐς συγκείμενον χωρίον. ² ἐπαιστος δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ Τιμόξεινος προδιδούς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν· τοξεύων γὰρ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χωρίου τούτου βάλλει ἀνδρὸς Ποτιδαιήτεω τὸν ὦμον, τὸν δὲ βληθέντα περιέδραμε ὄμιλος, οἷα φιλέει γίνεσθαι ἐν πολέμῳ, οἱ αὐτίκα τὸ τόξευμα λαβόντες ὥς ἔμαθον τὸ βυβλίον, ἔφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς· παρῆν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Παλληναίων συμμαχίν. ³ τοῖσι δὲ στρατηγοῖσι ἐπιλεξαμένοισι τὸ βυβλίον καὶ μαθοῦσι τὸν αἴτιον τῆς προδοσίης ἔδοξε μὴ καταπλῆξαι Τιμόξεινον προδοσίῃ τῆς Σκιωναίων πόλιος εἵνεκα, μὴ νομιζοῖατο εἶναι Σκιωναῖοι ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον αἰεὶ προδόται.

129

¹ ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἐπαιστος ἐγεγόνεε· Ἀρταβάζῳ δὲ ἐπειδὴ πολιορκέοντι ἐγεγόνεσαν τρεῖς μῆνες, γίνεται ἄμπωτις τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τέναγος γενόμενον παρήισαν ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην. ² ὥς δὲ τὰς δύο μὲν μοίρας διοδοιπορήκεσαν, ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι ἦσαν, τὰς διελθόντας χρῆν εἶναι ἔσω ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ἐπῆλθε πλημμυρίς τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη, ὅση οὐδαμὰ κω, ὥς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι, πολλάκις γινομένη. οἱ μὲν δὴ νέειν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι διεφθείροντο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπισταμένους οἱ Ποτιδαῖται ἐπιπλώσαντες πλοίοισι ἀπώλεσαν. ³ αἴτιον δὲ λέγουσι Ποτιδαῖται τῆς τε ῥηγίης καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος καὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ πάθεος γενέσθαι τότε, ὅτι τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἠσέβησαν οὗτοι τῶν Περσέων οἱ περ καὶ διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης· αἴτιον δὲ τοῦτο λέγοντες εὖ λέγειν ἔμοιγε δοκέουσι. τοὺς

δὲ περιγενομένους ἀπῆγε Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς Θεσσαλίην παρὰ Μαρδόνιον. οὗτοι μὲν οἱ προπέμψαντες βασιλέα οὕτω ἔπρηξαν.

130

1 ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ὁ Ξέρξεω περιγενόμενος ὡς προσέμιξε τῇ Ἀσίῃ φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Χερσονήσου διεπόρθμευσε ἐς Ἄβυδον, ἐχειμέριζε ἐν Κύμῃ. ἄρος δὲ ἐπιλάμψαντος πρώιος συνελέγετο ἐς Σάμον· αἱ δὲ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐχειμέρισαν αὐτοῦ· Περσέων δὲ καὶ Μήδων οἱ πλεῦνες ἐπεβάτευν. 2 στρατηγοὶ δὲ σφι ἐπῆλθον Μαρδόντης τε ὁ Βαγαίου καὶ Ἀρταῦντης ὁ Ἀρταχάειω· συνῆρχε δὲ τούτοισι καὶ ἀδελφιδεὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀρταῦντεω προσελομένου Ἰθαμίτρης. ἅτε δὲ μεγάλως πληγέντες, οὐ προήισαν ἀνωτέρω τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης, οὐδ' ἐπηνάγκαζε οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ κατήμενοι ἐφύλασσαν τὴν Ἰωνίην μὴ ἀποστῆ, νέας ἔχοντες σὺν τῇσι Ἰάσι τριηκοσίας. 3 οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ προσεδέκοντο τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐλεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀλλ' ἀποχρήσειν σφι τὴν ἐωυτῶν φυλάσσειν, σταθμεύμενοι ὅτι σφέας οὐκ ἐπεδίωξαν φεύγοντας ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἀλλ' ἄσμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο. κατὰ μὲν νυν τὴν θάλασσαν ἐσσωμένοι ἦσαν τῷ θυμῷ, πεζῇ δὲ ἐδόκεον πολλῷ κρατῆσειν τὸν Μαρδόνιον. 4 ἐόντες δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ ἅμα μὲν ἐβουλεύοντο εἴ τι δυναίαιτο κακὸν τοὺς πολεμίους ποιέειν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὠτακούστεον ὅκη πεσέεται τὰ Μαρδονίου πρήγματα.

131

1 τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνας τό τε ἔαρ γινόμενον ἤγειρε καὶ Μαρδόνιος ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ἐὼν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεζὸς οὐκῶ συνελέγετο, ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἀπῖκετο ἐς Αἴγιναν, νέες ἀριθμὸν δέκα καὶ ἑκατόν. 2 στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ ναύαρχος ἦν Λευτυχίδης ὁ Μενάρεος τοῦ Ἥγησίλειω τοῦ Ἴπποκρατίδειω τοῦ Λευτυχίδειω τοῦ Ἀναξίλειω τοῦ Ἀρχιδήμου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδειω τοῦ Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλειω τοῦ Εὐνόμου τοῦ Πολυδέκτεω τοῦ Πρυτάνιος τοῦ Εὐρυφῶντος τοῦ Προκλέος τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὑλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, ἐὼν τῆς ἐτέρης οἰκίης τῶν βασιλέων. 3 οὗτοι πάντες, πλὴν τῶν ἐπτά τῶν μετὰ Λευτυχίδεα πρώτων καταλεχθέντων, οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλέες ἐγένοντο Σπάρτης. Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρωνος.

¹ ὥς δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Αἴγιναν πᾶσαι αἱ νέες, ἀπίκοντο Ἰώνων ἄγγελοι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἳ καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων ἀπικόμενοι ἐδέοντο Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλευθεροῦν τὴν Ἰωνίην· ² τῶν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Βασιλίδεω ἦν· οἱ στασιῶται σφίσι γενόμενοι ἐπεβούλευον θάνατον Στράττι τῷ Χίου τυράννῳ, ἐόντες ἀρχὴν ἐπτά· ἐπιβουλευόντες δὲ ὥς φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο, ἐξενείκαντος τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐνὸς τῶν μετεχόντων, οὕτω δὴ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐξ ἐόντες ὑπεξέσχον ἐκ τῆς Χίου καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην τε ἀπίκοντο καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐς τὴν Αἴγιναν, τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεόμενοι καταπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην· οἱ προήγαγον αὐτοὺς μόγισ μέχρι Δήλου· ³ τὸ γὰρ προσωτέρω πᾶν δεινὸν ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι οὔτε τῶν χώρων ἐοῦσι ἐμπείροισι, στρατιῆς τε πάντα πλέα ἐδόκεε εἶναι, τὴν δὲ Σάμον ἐπιστέατο δόξῃ καὶ Ἡρακλέας στήλας ἴσον ἀπέχειν. συνέπιπτε δὲ τοιοῦτο ὥστε τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἀνωτέρω Σάμου μὴ τολμᾶν καταπλῶσαι καταρρώδηκότας, τοὺς δὲ Ἑλληνας, χρηζόντων Χίων, τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ κατωτέρω Δήλου· οὕτω δέος τὸ μέσον ἐφύλασσε σφέων.

¹ οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλληνες ἔπλεον ἐς τὴν Δῆλον, Μαρδόνιος δὲ περὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίην ἐχειμάζε. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὀρμώμενος ἔπεμπε κατὰ τὰ χρηστήρια ἄνδρα Εὐρωπέα γένος, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Μῦς, ἐντειλάμενος πανταχῇ μιν χρησόμενον ἐλθεῖν, τῶν οἷά τε ἦν σφι ἀποπειρήσασθαι. ὃ τι μὲν βουλόμενος ἐκμαθεῖν πρὸς τῶν χρηστηρίων ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· οὐ γὰρ ὧν λέγεται· δοκέω δ' ἐγώ γε περὶ τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων καὶ οὐκ ἄλλων πέρι πέμψαι.

¹ οὗτος ὁ Μῦς ἐξ τε Λεβιάδειαν φαίνεται ἀπικόμενος καὶ μισθῷ πείσας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἄνδρα καταβῆναι παρὰ Τροφώνιον, καὶ ἐς Ἄβας τὰς Φωκέων ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας πρῶτα ὥς ἀπίκετο, τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ Απόλλωνι ἐχρήσατο· ἔστι δὲ κατὰ περ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἱροῖσι αὐτόθι χρηστηριάζεσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ ξεῖνον τινὰ καὶ οὐ Θηβαῖον χρήμασι πείσας κατεκοίμησε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω. ² Θηβαίων δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεστι μαντεύεσθαι αὐτόθι διὰ τόδε· ἐκέλευσε σφέας ὁ Ἀμφιάρεως διὰ

χρηστηρίων ποιεύμενος όκότερα βούλονται έλέσθαι τούτων, έωυτῷ ἢ ἄτε μάντι χρᾶσθαι ἢ ἄτε συμμάχῳ, τοῦ έτέρου άπεχομένους· οἱ δέ σύμμαχόν μιν εἶλοντο εἶναι. διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ έξεστι Θηβαίων οὐδενί αὐτόθι έγκατακοιμηθῆναι.

135

1 τότε δέ θῶμά μοι μέγιστον γενέσθαι λέγεται ὑπὸ Θηβαίων· έλθεῖν ἄρα τὸν Εὐρωπέα Μῦν, περιστρωφόμενον πάντα τὰ χρηστήρια, καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πτόφου Απόλλωνος τὸ τέμενος. τοῦτο δέ τὸ ἱρὸν καλέεται μὲν Πτόφον, έστι δέ Θηβαίων, κείται δέ ὑπὲρ τῆς Κωπαΐδος λίμνης πρὸς ὄρεϊ άγχοτάτῳ Ακραιφίης πόλιος. 2 ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν έπέιτε παρελθεῖν τὸν καλεόμενον τοῦτον Μῦν, έπεσθαι δέ οἱ τῶν άστῶν αίρετοὺς ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὡς άπογραφόμενους τὰ θεσπιέειν έμελλε, καὶ πρόκατε τὸν πρόμαντιν βαρβάρῳ γλώσσει χρᾶν. 2 καὶ τοὺς μὲν έπομένους τῶν Θηβαίων ἐν θώματι έχεσθαι άκούοντας βαρβάρου γλώσσης ἀντὶ Έλλάδος, οὐδὲ έχειν ὃ τι χρήσονται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι· τὸν δέ Εὐρωπέα Μῦν εξαρπάσαντα παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν έφέροντο δέλτον, τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτεω γράφειν ἐς αὐτήν, φάναι δέ Καρίη μιν γλώσσει χρᾶν, συγγραψάμενον δέ οἴχεσθαι άπίόντα ἐς Θεσσαλίην.

136

1 Μαρδόνιος δέ έπιλεξάμενος ὃ τι δὴ λέγοντα ἦν τὰ χρηστήρια μετὰ ταῦτα έπεμψε άγγελον ἐς Αθήνας Αλέξανδρον τὸν Αμύντεω ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα, ἅμα μὲν ὅτι οἱ προσκηδέες οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν· Αλέξανδρου γάρ άδελφεὴν Γυγαίην, Αμύντεω δέ θυγατέρα, Βουβάρης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης έσχε, ἐκ τῆς οἱ έγεγόνεε Αμύντης ὁ ἐν τῇ Ασίῃ, έχων τὸ οὔνομα τοῦ μητροπάτορος, τῷ δὴ ἐκ βασιλέος τῆς Φρυγίης έδόθη Αλάβανδα πόλις μεγάλη νέμεσθαι· ἅμα δέ ὁ Μαρδόνιος πυθόμενος ὅτι πρόξεινός τε εἶη καὶ εὐεργέτης ὁ Αλέξανδρος έπεμπε· 2 τοὺς γάρ Αθηναίους οὔτῳ έδόκεε μάλιστα προσκτήσεσθαι, λεών τε πολλὸν ἄρα άκούων εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, τά τε κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν συντυχόντα σφι παθήματα κατεργασαμένους μάλιστα Αθηναίους έπίστατο. 3 τούτων δέ προσγενομένων κατήλπιζε εὐπετέως τῆς θαλάσσης κρατήσιν, τά περ ἂν καὶ ἦν, πεζῇ τε έδόκεε πολλῷ εἶναι κρέσσων, οὔτῳ τε έλογίζετο κατύπερθέ οἱ τὰ πρήγματα έσεσθαι τῶν Έλληνικῶν. τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια ταῦτά οἱ

προλέγοι, συμβουλευόντα σύμμαχον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ποιέεσθαι· τοῖσι δὴ πειθόμενος ἔπεμπε.

137

1 τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τούτου ἑβδομος γενέτωρ Περδίκκης ἐστὶ ὁ κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐξ Ἄργεος ἔφυγον ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τῶν Τημένου ἀπογόνων τρεῖς ἀδελφεοί, Γαυάνης τε καὶ Ἀέροπος καὶ Περδίκκης, ἐκ δὲ Ἰλλυριῶν ὑπερβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην ἀπίκοντο ἐς Λεβαίην πόλιν. 2 ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἐθήτευν ἐπὶ μισθῷ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεί, ὃ μὲν ἵππους νέμων, ὁ δὲ βοῦς, ὁ δὲ νεώτατος αὐτῶν Περδίκκης τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῇ τὰ σιτία σφι ἔπεσσε· ἦσαν γὰρ τὸ πάλαι καὶ αἱ τυραννίδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενέες χρήμασι, οὐ μόνον ὁ δῆμος· 3 ὅκως δὲ ὀπτῶη, ὁ ἄρτος τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ θητὸς Περδίκκew διπλήσιος ἐγίνετο αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰεὶ τῷτὸ τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑωυτῆς· τὸν δὲ ἀκούσαντα ἐσηῆλθε αὐτίκα ὥς εἴη τέρας καὶ φέροι μέγα τι. καλέσας δὲ τοὺς θήτας προηγόρευέ σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ γῆς τῆς ἑωυτοῦ. 4 οἱ δὲ τὸν μισθὸν ἔφασαν δίκαιοι εἶναι ἀπολαβόντες οὕτω ἐξιέναι. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μισθοῦ πέρι ἀκούσας, ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν καπνοδόκην ἐς τὸν οἶκον ἐσέχων ὁ ἥλιος, εἶπε θεοβλαβὴς γενόμενος “μισθὸν δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὑμέων ἄξιον τόνδε ἀποδίδωμι“, δέξας τὸν ἥλιον. 5 ὁ μὲν δὴ Γαυάνης τε καὶ ὁ Ἀέροπος οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἔστασαν ἐκπεπληγμένοι, ὥς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ παῖς, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἔχων μάχαιραν, εἶπας τάδε “δεκόμεθα ὃ βασιλεῦ τὰ διδοῖς“, περιγράφει τῇ μαχαίρῃ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ οἴκου τὸν ἥλιον, περιγράψας δέ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τρις ἀρυσάμενος τοῦ ἡλίου, ἀπαλλάσσετο αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ μετ’ ἐκείνου.

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1 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπήισαν, τῷ δὲ βασιλεί σημαίνει τις τῶν παρέδρων οἷόν τι χρῆμα ποιήσῃε ὁ παῖς καὶ ὥς σὺν νόῳ κείνων ὁ νεώτατος λάβοι τὰ διδόμενα. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ ὀξυνθεὶς πέμπει ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἱππέας ἀπολέοντας. ποταμὸς δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, τῷ θύουσι οἱ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπ’ Ἄργεος ἀπόγονοι σωτήρι· 2 οὗτος, ἐπεῖτε διέβησαν οἱ Τημενίδαι, μέγας οὕτω ἐρρῦη ὥστε τοὺς ἱππέας μὴ οἴους τε γενέσθαι διαβῆναι. οἱ δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς ἄλλην γῆν τῆς Μακεδονίης οἴκησαν πέλας τῶν κήπων τῶν λεγομένων εἶναι Μίδεω

τοῦ Γορδίου, ἐν τοῖσι φύεται αὐτόματα ῥόδα, ἐν ἑκαστον ἔχον ἐξήκοντα φύλλα, ὁδμῇ τε ὑπερφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων. ³ ἐν τούτοις καὶ ὁ Σιληνὸς τοῖσι κήποις ἦλω, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν κήπων ὄρος κεῖται Βέρμιον οὐνομα, ἄβατον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁρμώμενοι, ὡς ταύτην ἔσχον, κατεστρέφοντο καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίην.

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¹ ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Περδίκκεω Ἀλέξανδρος ὧδε ἐγένετο· Ἀμύντεω παῖς ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀμύντης δὲ Ἀλκέτεω, Ἀλκέτεω δὲ πατὴρ ἦν Αἰρόπος, τοῦ δὲ Φίλιππος, Φιλίππου δὲ Ἀργαῖος, τοῦ δὲ Περδίκκης ὁ κτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν.

^{140A} ἐγεγόνεε μὲν δὴ ὧδε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω· ὡς δὲ ἀπῖκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου, ἔλεγε τάδε. “ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Μαρδόνιος τάδε λέγει. ἐμοὶ ἀγγελίη ἦκει παρὰ βασιλέος λέγουσα οὕτω “. Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς ἀμαρτάδας τὰς ἐς ἐμὲ ἐξ ἐκείνων γενομένας πάσας μετήμι. ² νῦν τε ὧδε Μαρδόνιε ποίει· τοῦτο μὲν τὴν γῆν σφί ἀπόδος, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτην ἐλίσθων αὐτοί, ἦντινα ἂν ἐθέλωσι, ἐόντες αὐτόνομοι· ἰρά τε πάντα σφί, ἦν δὴ βούλωνται γε ἐμοὶ ὁμολογέειν, ἀνόρθωσον, ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐνέπρησα “. τούτων δὲ ἀπιγμένων ἀναγκαίως ἔχει μοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα, ἦν μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον αἴτιον γένηται. ³ λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τάδε. νῦν τί μαίνεσθε πόλεμον βασιλεῖ ἀειρόμενοι; οὔτε γὰρ ἂν υπερβάλοισθε οὔτε οἰοί τε ἐστὲ ἀντέχειν τὸν πάντα χρόνον. εἴδετε μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ξέρξεω στρατηλασίης τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ ἔργα, πυνθάνεσθε δὲ καὶ τὴν νῦν παρ’ ἐμοὶ εὐδοσαν δύναμιν· ὥστε καὶ ἦν ἡμέας υπερβάλησθε καὶ νικήσητε, τοῦ περ ὑμῖν οὐδεμία ἐλπίς εἴ περ εὖ φρονέετε, ἄλλη παρέσται πολλαπλησίη. ⁴ μὴ ὦν βούλεσθε παρισύμενοι βασιλεῖ στέρεσθαι μὲν τῆς χώρας, θέειν δὲ αἰεὶ περὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καταλύσασθε· παρέχει δὲ ὑμῖν κάλλιστα καταλύσασθαι, βασιλέος ταύτη ὀρμημένου. ἔστε ἐλεύθεροι, ἡμῖν ὁμαιχμίην συνθέμενοι ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης.

^{140B.} Μαρδόνιος μὲν ταῦτα ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνετείλατό μοι εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμέας· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν εὐνοίης τῆς πρὸς ὑμέας εὐούσης ἐξ ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν λέξω, οὐ γὰρ ἂν νῦν πρῶτον ἐκμάθοιτε, προσχρηρίζω δὲ ὑμέων πείθεσθαι Μαρδονίῳ. ² ἐνορῶ γὰρ ὑμῖν οὐκ οἰοίσι τε ἐσομένοις τὸν πάντα χρόνον πολεμεῖν Ξέρξῃ· εἰ γὰρ ἐνῶρων τοῦτο ἐν ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἂν

κοτε ἐς ὑμέας ἦλθον ἔχων λόγους τούσδε· καὶ γὰρ δύναμις ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἢ βασιλέος ἐστὶ καὶ χεὶρ ὑπερμήκης. ³ ἢν ὧν μὴ αὐτίκα ὁμολογήσητε, μεγάλα προτεινόντων ἐπ’ οἷσι ὁμολογέειν ἐθέλουσι, δειμαίνω ὑπὲρ ὑμέων ἐν τρίβῳ τε μάλιστα οἰκημένων τῶν συμμάχων πάντων αἰεὶ τε φθειρομένων μούνων, ἐξαιρετον μεταίχμιόν τε τὴν γῆν ἐκτημένων. ⁴ ἀλλὰ πείθεσθε· πολλοῦ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἄξια ταῦτα, εἰ βασιλεύς γε ὁ μέγας μούνοισι ὑμῖν Ἑλλήνων τὰς ἀμαρτάδας ἀπείεις ἐθέλει φίλος γενέσθαι “.

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¹ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ἤκειν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐς ὁμολογίην ἄξοντα τῷ βαρβάρῳ Ἀθηναίους, ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν λογίων ὥς σφεας χρεόν ἐστι ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Δωριεῦσι ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Μήδων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων, κάρτα τε ἔδεισαν μὴ ὁμολογήσωσι τῷ Πέρσῃ Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτίκα τέ σφι ἔδοξε πέμπειν ἀγγέλους. ² καὶ δὴ συνέπιπτε ὥστε ὁμοῦ σφεων γίνεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν· ἐπανέμειναν γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διατρίβοντες, εὖ ἐπιστάμενοι ὅτι ἔμελλον Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεύσεσθαι ἤκοντα παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἄγγελον ἐπ’ ὁμολογίῃ, πυθόμενοί τε πέμψειν κατὰ τάχος ἀγγέλους. ἐπίτηδες ὧν ἐποίησεν, ἐνδεικνύμενοι τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι τὴν ἐσωτῶν γνώμην.

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¹ ὥς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λέγων Ἀλέξανδρος, διαδεξάμενοι ἔλεγον οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἄγγελοι “ἡμέας δὲ ἔπεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι δεησομένους ὑμέων μήτε νεώτερον ποιέειν μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα μήτε λόγους ἐνδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου. ² οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὐδαμῶς οὔτε κόσμον φέρον οὔτε γε ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι, ὑμῖν δὲ δὴ καὶ διὰ πάντων ἥκιστα πολλῶν εἴνεκα. ἡγείρατε γὰρ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ὑμεῖς οὐδὲν ἡμέων βουλομένων, καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχῆθεν ὁ ἀγὼν ἐγένετο, νῦν δὲ φέρει καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ³ ἄλλως τε τούτων ἀπάντων αἰτίους γενέσθαι δουλοσύνης τοῖσι Ἑλλησι Ἀθηναίους οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν, οἵτινες αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ πάλαι φαίνεσθε πολλοὺς ἐλευθερώσαντες ἀνθρώπων. πιεξευμένοισι μέντοι ὑμῖν συναχθόμεθα, καὶ ὅτι καρπῶν ἐστερήθητε διζῶν ἤδη καὶ ὅτι οἰκοφθόρησθε χρόνον ἤδη πολλόν. ⁴ ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ ὑμῖν Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπαγγέλλονται γυναικῶς τε καὶ τὰ

ἐς πόλεμον ἄχρηστα οἰκετέων ἐχόμενα πάντα ἐπιθρέψειν, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε συνεστήκη. μηδὲ ὑμέας Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἀναγνώσῃ, λείνας τὸν Μαρδονίου λόγον. ⁵ τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ποιητέα ἐστί· τύραννος γὰρ ἐὼν τυράννῳ συγκατεργάζεται· ὑμῖν δὲ οὐ ποιητέα, εἴ περ εὖ τυγχάνετε φρονέοντες, ἐπισταμένοισι ὡς βαρβάροισι ἐστί οὔτε πιστὸν οὔτε ἀληθὲς οὐδέν “. ταῦτα ἔλεξαν οἱ ἄγγελοι.

143

¹ Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. “καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦτό γε ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι πολλαπλησίη ἐστί τῷ Μήδῳ δύναμις ἢ περ ἡμῖν, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεῖ τοῦτό γε ὀνειδίζειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐλευθερίας γλιχόμενοι ἀμυνέμεθα οὕτω ὅπως ἂν καὶ δυνώμεθα. ὁμολογῆσαι δὲ τῷ βαρβάρῳ μήτε σὺ ἡμέας πειρῶ ἀναπείθειν οὔτε ἡμεῖς πεισόμεθα. ² νῦν τε ἀπάγγελλε Μαρδονίῳ ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ ἥλιος τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἦ τῇ περ καὶ νῦν ἔρχεται, μήκοτε ὁμολογήσῃν ἡμέας Ξέρξῃ· ἀλλὰ θεοῖσι τε συμμάχοισι πίσυνοί μιν ἐπέξιμεν ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ τοῖσι ἥρωσι, τῶν ἐκείνος οὐδεμίαν ὄπιν ἔχων ἐνέπρησε τοὺς τε οἴκους καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα. ³ σύ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ λόγους ἔχων τοιούσδε μὴ ἐπιφαίνεο Ἀθηναίοισι, μηδὲ δοκέων χρηστὰ ὑπουργεῖν ἀθέμιστα ἔρδειν παραίνεε· οὐ γὰρ σε βουλόμεθα οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πρὸς Ἀθηναίων παθεῖν ἐόντα πρόξεινόν τε καὶ φίλον “.

144

¹ πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἀγγέλους τάδε. “τὸ μὲν δεῖσαι Λακεδαιμονίους μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ βαρβάρῳ, κάρτα ἀνθρωπήιον ἦν· ἀτὰρ αἰσχυρῶς γε οἴκατε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὸ Ἀθηναίων φρόνημα ἀρρώδῃσαι, ὅτι οὔτε χρυσὸς ἐστί γῆς οὐδαμόθι τοσοῦτος οὔτε χώρα κάλλει καὶ ἀρετῇ μέγα ὑπερφέρουσα, τὰ ἡμεῖς δεξάμενοι ἐθέλοιμεν ἂν μηδίσαντες καταδουλώσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ² πολλὰ τε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα ἐστί τὰ διακωλύοντα ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖν μηδ' ἦν ἐθέλωμεν, πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπερησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα, τοῖσι ἡμέας ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τιμωρεῖν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα μᾶλλον ἢ περ ὁμολογῆσαι τῷ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένῳ, αὐτὶς δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὼν ὅμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἡθεὰ τε ὁμότροπα, τῶν προδότας γενέσθαι

Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἂν εὖ ἔχοι. 3 ἐπίστασθέ τε οὕτω, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐτυγχάνετε ἐπιστάμενοι, ἔστ' ἂν καὶ εἷς περιῇ Ἀθηναίων, μηδαμὰ ὁμολογήσοντας ἡμέας Ξέρξῃ. ὑμέων μέντοι ἀγάμεθα τὴν προνοίην τὴν πρὸς ἡμέας ἐοῦσαν, ὅτι προεΐδετε ἡμέων οἰκοφθορημένων οὕτω ὥστε ἐπιθρέψαι ἐθέλειν ἡμέων τοὺς οἰκέτας. 4 καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἡ χάρις ἐκπεπλήρωται, ἡμεῖς μέντοι λιπαρήσομεν οὕτω ὅπως ἂν ἔχωμεν, οὐδὲν λυπέοντες ὑμέας. νῦν δέ, ὥς οὕτω ἐχόντων, στρατιὴν ὡς τάχιστα ἐκπέμπετε. 5 ὥς γὰρ ἡμεῖς εἰκάζομεν, οὐκ ἐκὰς χρόνου παρέσται ὁ βάρβαρος ἐσβαλὼν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα πύθεται τὴν ἀγγελίην ὅτι οὐδὲν ποιήσομεν τῶν ἐκεῖνος ἡμέων προσεδέετο. πρὶν ὧν παρεῖναι ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἡμέας καιρὸς ἐστὶ προβοηθῆσαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην “. οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ὑποκριναμένων Ἀθηναίων ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σπάρτην.

Βιβλίο Θ – Καλλιόπη

1

¹ Μαρδόνιος δέ, ὥς οἱ ἀπονοστήσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐσήμηνε, ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἤγε τὴν στρατιὴν σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας. ὅκου δὲ ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο, τούτους παρελάμβανε. τοῖσι δὲ Θεσσαλίας ἡγεομένοισι οὔτε τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πεπρηγμένα μετέμελε οὐδὲν πολλῶ τε μᾶλλον ἐπῆγον τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ συμπροέπεμψε τε Θώρηξ ὁ Ληρισαῖος Ξέρξην φεύγοντα καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ παρήκε Μαρδόνιον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

2

¹ ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος γίνεται ὁ στρατὸς ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι, οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ λέγοντες ὥς οὐκ εἴη χῶρος ἐπιτηδεότερος ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐκείνου, οὐδὲ ἔων ἰέναι ἐκαστέρῳ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἰζόμενον ποιέειν ὅκως ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα καταστρέψεται. ² κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν Ἕλληνας ὁμοφρονέοντας, οἳ περ καὶ πάρος ταυτὰ ἐγίνωσκον, χαλεπὰ εἶναι περιγίνεσθαι καὶ ἅπασι ἀνθρώποισι. “εἰ δὲ ποιήσεις τὰ ἡμεῖς παραινέομεν ... ἔφασαν λέγοντες, “ἔξεις ἀπόνως πάντα τὰ ἐκείνων ἰσχυρὰ βουλευμάτων. ³ πέμπε χρήματα ἐς τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ἄνδρας ἐν τῇσι πόλεσι, πέμπων δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τοὺς μὴ τὰ σὰ φρονέοντας ῥηιδίως μετὰ τῶν στασιωτῶν καταστρέψαι ...

3

¹ οἳ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπεΐθετο, ἀλλὰ οἱ δεινὸς ἐνέστακτο ἥμερος τὰς Ἀθήνας δευτέρα ἐλεῖν, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀγνωμοσύνης, ἅμα δὲ πυρσοῖσι διὰ νήσων ἐδόκεε βασιλεῖ δηλώσειν ἐόντι ἐν Σάρδισι ὅτι ἔχοι Ἀθήνας. ² ὃς οὐδὲ τότε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εὔρε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ' ἐν τε Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς πλείστους ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι ἐν τε τῇσι νηυσί, αἰρέει τε ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ. ἡ δὲ βασιλέος αἵρεσις ἐς τὴν ὑστέρην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἐπιστρατηγὴν δεκάμηνος ἐγένετο.

4

¹ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἐγένετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος, πέμπει ἐς Σαλαμῖνα

Μουρυχίδην ἄνδρα Ἑλλησπόντιον φέροντα τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διεπόρθμευσε. 2 ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέστελλε προέχων μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας, ἐλπίζων δὲ σφέας ὑπῆσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης, ὡς δοριαλώτου ἐούσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρας καὶ ἐούσης ὑπ' ἐαυτῷ.

5

1 τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα ἀπέπεμψε Μουρυχίδην ἐς Σαλαμίνα, ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ Μαρδονίου. τῶν δὲ βουλευτέων Λυκίδης εἶπε γνώμην ὡς ἐδόκεε ἄμεινον εἶναι δεξαμένους τὸν λόγον, τὸν σφι Μουρυχίδης προφέρει, ἐξενεῖκαι ἐς τὸν δῆμον. 2 ὁ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο, εἴτε δὴ δεδεγμένος χρήματα παρὰ Μαρδονίου, εἴτε καὶ ταῦτά οἱ ἐάνδανε· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ αὐτίκα δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι οἱ τε ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν ὡς ἐπύθοντο, περιστάντες Λυκίδην κατέλευσαν βάλλοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἑλλησπόντιον Μουρυχίδην ἀπέπεμψαν ἀσινέα. 3 γενομένου δὲ θορύβου ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι περὶ τὸν Λυκίδην, πυνθάνονται τὸ γινόμενον αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Ἀθηναίων, διακελευσαμένη δὲ γυνὴ γυναικὶ καὶ παραλαβοῦσα ἐπὶ τὴν Λυκίδεω οἰκίην ἦσαν αὐτοκελέες, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔλευσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα κατὰ δὲ τὰ τέκνα.

6

1 ἐς δὲ τὴν Σαλαμίνα διέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὧδε. ἕως μὲν προσεδέκοντο ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν ἥξειν τιμωρήσόντα σφι, οἱ δὲ ἔμενον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν μακρότερα καὶ σχολαίτερα ἐποίηον, ὁ δὲ ἐπιὼν καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὕτω δὴ ὑπεξεκομίσαντό τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἐς Σαλαμίνα, ἐς Λακεδαίμονά τε ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἅμα μὲν μεμψομένους τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ὅτι περιεῖδον ἐμβalόντα τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄλλ' οὐ μετὰ σφέων ἠντίασαν ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίνην, ἅμα δὲ ὑπομνήσοντας ὅσα σφι ὑπέσχετο ὁ Πέρσης μεταβαλοῦσι δώσειν, προεῖπαί τε ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἀμυνεῦσι Ἀθηναίοισι, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τινα ἀλεωρὴν εὐρήσονται.

7

1 οἱ γὰρ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὄρταζόν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ σφι ἦν Ὑακίνθια, περὶ πλείστου δ' ἦγον τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν· ἅμα δὲ

τὸ τεῖχος σφι, τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ ἐτείχεον, καὶ ἤδη ἐπάλξις ἐλάμβανε. ὥς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμόνα οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι ἔκ τε Μεγάρων ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐκ Πλαταιέων, ἔλεγον τάδε ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους.

7Α. “ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Ἀθηναῖοι λέγοντες ὅτι ἡμῖν βασιλεὺς ὁ Μῆδων τοῦτο μὲν τὴν χώραν ἀποδίδοι, τοῦτο δὲ συμμάχους ἐθέλει ἐπ' ἴση τε καὶ ὁμοίῃ ποιήσασθαι ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης, ἐθέλει δὲ καὶ ἄλλην χώραν πρὸς τῇ ἡμετέρῃ διδόναι, τὴν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐλώμεθα. 2 ἡμεῖς δὲ Δία τε Ἑλλήνιον αἰδεσθέντες καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι προδοῦναι οὐ καταινέσαμεν ἀλλ' ἀπειπάμεθα, καίπερ ἀδικούμενοι ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ καταπροδιδόμενοι, ἐπιστάμενοί τε ὅτι κερδαλεώτερον ἐστὶ ὁμολογέειν τῷ Πέρσῃ μᾶλλον ἢ περ πολεμέειν· οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ὁμολογήσομεν ἐκόντες εἶναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ' ἡμέων οὕτω ἀκίβδηλον νέμεται ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας·

7Β. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρώδιην τότε ἀπικόμενοι μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ Πέρσῃ, ἐπεῖτε ἐξεμάθετε τὸ ἡμέτερον φρόνημα σαφέως, ὅτι οὐδαμὰ προδώσομεν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ διότι τεῖχος ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ ἐλαυνόμενον ἐν τέλει ἐστί, καὶ δὴ λόγον οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιέεσθε, συνθέμενοί τε ἡμῖν τὸν Πέρσῃ ἀντιώσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτὴν προδεδώκατε, περιεῖδετέ τε προεσβαλόντα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸν βάρβαρον. 2 ἐς μὲν νυν τὸ παρεὸν Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμῖν μηνίουσι· οὐ γὰρ ἐποιήσατε ἐπιτηδέως. νῦν δὲ ὅτι τάχος στρατιὴν ἅμα ἡμῖν ἐκέλευσαν ὑμέας ἐκπέμπειν, ὥς ἂν τὸν βάρβαρον δεκώμεθα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν τῆς Βοιωτῆς, τῆς γε ἡμετέρης ἐπιτηδεότατον ἐστὶ μαχέσασθαι τὸ Θριάσιον πεδῖον ,,

8

1 ὥς δὲ ἄρα ἤκουσαν οἱ ἔφοροι ταῦτα, ἀνεβάλλοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ὑποκρίνασθαι, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς τὴν ἐτέρην· τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ἐποίηον, ἐξ ἡμέρης ἐς ἡμέρην ἀναβαλλόμενοι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἐτείχεον σπουδὴν ἔχοντες πολλὴν πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι, 2 καὶ σφι ἦν πρὸς τέλει. οὐδ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ αἴτιον διότι ἀπικομένου μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνοιο ἐς Ἀθήνας σπουδὴν μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο μὴ μηδίσαι Ἀθηναίους, τότε δὲ ὥρην ἐποιήσαντο οὐδεμίαν, ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι ὁ Ἴσθμός σφι ἐτετείχιστο καὶ ἐδόκεον Ἀθηναίων ἔτι δεῖσθαι οὐδέν· ὅτε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπίκητο ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οὐκ ὠφελετετείχιστο, ἐργάζοντο δὲ μεγάλως

καταρρώδηκότες τοὺς Πέρσας.

9

1 τέλος δὲ τῆς τε ὑποκρίσιος καὶ ἐξόδου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐγένετο τρόπος τοιόσδε. τῇ προτεραίῃ τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσιος μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι Χίλεος ἀνὴρ Τεγεήτης, δυνάμενος ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι μέγιστον ξείνων, τῶν ἐφόρων ἐπύθετο πάντα λόγον τὸν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Χίλεος ἔλεγε ἄρα σφι τάδε. 2 “οὐτῷ ἔχει, ἄνδρες ἔφοροι· Ἀθηναίων ἡμῖν ἐόντων μὴ ἀρθμίων τῷ δὲ βαρβάρῳ συμμάχων, καίπερ τείχεος διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένου καρτεροῦ, μεγάλαι κλισιάδες ἀναπεπτεάται ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἀλλ’ ἐσακούσατε, πρὶν τι ἄλλο Ἀθηναίοισι δόξαι σφάλμα φέρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι ,,,

10

ὁ μὲν σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλευε· οἱ δὲ φρενὶ λαβόντες τὸν λόγον αὐτίκα, φράσαντες οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι ἀπιγμένοις ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, νυκτὸς ἔτι ἐκπέμπουσι πεντακισχιλίους Σπαρτιητέων καὶ ἐπὶ περὶ ἕκαστον τάξαντες τῶν εἰλώτων, Πausanίῃ τῷ Κλεομβρότου ἐπιτάξαντες ἐξάγειν. 2 ἐγένετο μὲν ἡ ἡγεμονίῃ Πλειστάρχου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω· ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἦν ἔτι παῖς, ὁ δὲ τούτου ἐπίτροπός τε καὶ ἀνεψιός. Κλεομβροτος γὰρ ὁ Pausanίεω μὲν πατὴρ Ἀναξανδρίδεω δὲ παῖς οὐκέτι περιῆν, ἀλλ’ ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τὸ τεῖχος δεῖμασαν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τινὰ βιοὺς ἀπέθανε. 3 ἀπῆγε δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ὁ Κλεομβροτος ἐκ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ διὰ τόδε· θυομένῳ οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ ὁ ἥλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. προσαιρέεται δὲ ἐωυτῷ Pausanίης Εὐρυάνακτα τὸν Δωριέος, ἄνδρα οἰκίης ἐόντα τῆς αὐτῆς.

11

1 οἱ μὲν δὴ σὺν Pausanίῃ ἐξεληλύθεσαν ἔξω Σπάρτης· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι, ὥς ἡμέρῃ ἐγεγόνεε, οὐδὲν εἰδότες περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἐν νόῳ δὲ ἔχοντες ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ ἕκαστος· ἐπελθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον τάδε. “ὕμεῖς μὲν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοῦ τῆδε μένοντες Ὑακίνθιά τε ἄγετε καὶ παίζετε, καταπροδόντες τοὺς συμμάχους· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὥς ἀδικέομενοι ὑπὸ ὑμέων χήτεϊ τε συμμάχων καταλύσονται τῷ Πέρσῃ οὐτῷ ὅκως ἄν

δύνωνται· 2 καταλυσάμενοι δέ, δηλα γὰρ ὅτι σύμμαχοι βασιλέος γινόμεθα, συστρατευσόμεθα ἐπ' ἣν ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγέωνται. ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν μαθήσεσθε ὁκοῖον ἂν τι ὑμῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκβαίνει, ταῦτα λεγόντων τῶν ἀγγέλων, οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπ' ὄρκου καὶ δὴ δοκέειν εἶναι ἐν Ὁρεσθειῷ στείχοντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους. ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς βαρβάρους. 3 οἱ δὲ ὥς οὐκ εἰδότες ἐπειρώτων τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπειρόμενοι δὲ ἐξέμαθον πᾶν τὸ ἐόν, ὥστε ἐν θώματι γενόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο τὴν ταχίστην διώκοντες· σὺν δέ σφι τῶν περιοίκων Λακεδαιμονίων λογάδες πεντακισχίλιοι ὀπλῖται τὠντὸ τοῦτο ἐποίηον.

12

1 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἠπείγοντο· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντο τοὺς μετὰ Πausανίῳ ἐξεληλυθότας ἐκ Σπάρτης, πέμπουσι κήρυκα τῶν ἡμεροδρόμων ἀνευρόντες τὸν ἄριστον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, πρότερον αὐτοὶ Μαρδονίῳ ὑποδεξάμενοι σχήσειν τὸν Σπαρτιήτην μὴ ἐξιέναι· 2 ὃς ἐπεῖτε ἀπύκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔλεγε τάδε. “Μαρδόνιε, ἔπεμψάν με Ἀργεῖοι φράσοντά τοι ὅτι ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος ἐξελήλυθε ἡ νεότης, καὶ ὥς οὐ δυνατοὶ αὐτὴν ἔχειν εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι μὴ οὐκ ἐξιέναι. πρὸς ταῦτα τύγχανε εὖ βουλευόμενος,·

13

1 ὁ μὲν δὴ εἶπας ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιος δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἔτι πρόθυμος ἦν μένειν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὥς ἤκουσε ταῦτα. πρὶν μὲν νυν ἢ πυθέσθαι ἀνεκώχευε, θέλων εἰδέναι τὸ παρ' Ἀθηναίων, ὁκοῖόν τι ποιήσουσι, καὶ οὔτε ἐπήμαινε οὔτε ἐσίνετο γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἐλπίζων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου ὁμολογήσειν σφέας· 2 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, πυθόμενος πάντα λόγον, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς μετὰ Πausανίῳ ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐσβαλεῖν, ὑπεξεχώρει ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἰ κού τι ὀρθὸν ἦν τῶν τειχέων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρῶν, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας. 3 ἐξήλαυνε δὲ τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅτι οὔτε ἱπασίμη ἢ χώρα ἦν ἢ Ἀττικὴ, εἴ τε νικῶτο συμβαλὼν, ἀπάλλαξις οὐκ ἦν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ στεινόν, ὥστε ὀλίγους σφέας ἀνθρώπους ἴσχειν. ἐβουλεύετο ὦν ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐς τὰς Θήβας συμβαλεῖν πρὸς πόλιν τε φιλίῃ καὶ χώρῃ ἱπασίμῃ.

14

1 Μαρδόνιος μὲν δὴ ὑπεξεχώρεε, ἤδη δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐόντι αὐτῷ ἦλθε ἀγγελίη πρόδρομον ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἥκειν ἐς Μέγαρα, Λακεδαιμονίων χιλίους· πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύετο θέλων εἰ κως τούτους πρῶτον ἔλοι. ὑποστρέψας δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ἦγε ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα· ἡ δὲ ἵππος προελθοῦσα κατιππάσατο χώραν τὴν Μεγαρίδα. ἐς ταύτην δὴ ἐκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου δύνοντος ἡ Περσικὴ αὕτη στρατιὴ ἀπίκητο.

15

1 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μαρδονίῳ ἦλθε ἀγγελίη ὡς ἀλέες εἶησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ. οὕτω δὴ ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο διὰ Δεκελῆς· οἱ γὰρ βοιωτάρχαι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσωπίων, οὗτοι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγέοντο ἐς Σφενδαλέας, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐς Τάναγραν· 2 ἐν Τανάγρῃ δὲ νύκτα ἐναλίσσάμενος, καὶ τραπόμενος τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς Σκῶλον ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων ἦν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων καίπερ μηδιζόντων ἔκειρε τοὺς χώρους, οὔτι κατὰ ἔχθος αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μεγάλης ἐχόμενος ἔρυμά τε τῷ στρατῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἦν συμβαλόντι οἱ μὴ ἐκβαίνειν ὁκοῖόν τι ἐθέλοι, κρησφύγετον τοῦτο ἐποιέετο. 3 παρῆκε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων παρὰ Ὑσιάς, κατέτεινε δὲ ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν τεταγμένον. οὐ μέντοι τό γε τεῖχος τοσοῦτο ἐποιέετο, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους μάλιστα κη μέτωπον ἕκαστον.

16

1 ἐχόντων δὲ τὸν πόνον τοῦτον τῶν βαρβάρων, Ἀτταγῖνος ὁ Φρύωνος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως ἐκάλεε ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτόν τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ πεντήκοντα Περσέων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους, κληθέντες δὲ οὗτοι εἶποντο· ἦν δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ποιούμενον ἐν Θήβῃσι. τάδε δὲ ἤδη τὰ ἐπίλοιπα ἤκουον Θερσάνδρου ἀνδρὸς μὲν Ὀρχομενίου, λογίμου δὲ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ. ἔφη δὲ ὁ Θέρσανδρος κληθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀτταγῖνου ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦτο, κληθῆναι δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἄνδρας πεντήκοντα, καὶ σφεων οὐ χωρὶς ἐκατέρους κλίνειν, ἀλλὰ Πέρσῃν τε καὶ Θηβαίων ἐν κλίνῃ ἐκάστη. 2 ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, διαπινόντων τὸν Πέρσῃν τὸν ὁμόκλινον Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἰέντα εἰρέσθαι αὐτὸν ὀποδαπὸς ἐστι, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς εἴη Ὀρχομένιος. τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν “ἐπεὶ νῦν ὁμοτράπεζός τέ μοι καὶ ὁμόσπονδος ἐγένεο, μνημόσυνά τοι γνώμης

τῆς ἐμῆς καταλιπέσθαι θέλω, ἵνα καὶ προειδῶς αὐτὸς περὶ σεαυτοῦ
βουλευέσθαι ἔχῃς τὰ συμφέροντα. ³ ὁρᾷς τούτους τοὺς δαινυμένους
Πέρσας καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἐλίπομεν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ
στρατοπεδευόμενον· τούτων πάντων ὄψαι ὀλίγου τινὸς χρόνου
διελθόντος ὀλίγους τινὰς τοὺς περιγενομένους „ ταῦτα ἅμα τε τὸν
Πέρσῃν λέγειν καὶ μετιέναι πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων. ⁴ αὐτὸς δὲ θωμάσας
τὸν λόγον εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν “οὐκῶν Μαρδονίῳ τε ταῦτα χρεόν ἐστι
λέγειν καὶ τοῖσι μετ’ ἐκεῖνον ἐν αἴνῃ εἶναι Περσέων; „ τὸν δὲ μετὰ
ταῦτα εἰπεῖν “ξεῖνε, ὃ τι δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμήχανον
ἀποτρέψαι ἀνθρώπῳ· οὐδὲ γὰρ πιστὰ λέγουσι ἐθέλει πείθεσθαι
οὐδεῖς. ⁵ ταῦτα δὲ Περσέων συχνοὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπόμεθα ἀναγκαίῃ
ἐνδεδεμένοι, ἐχθίστη δὲ ὀδύνη ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι αὕτη, πολλὰ
φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρατέειν „ ταῦτα μὲν Ὀρχομενίου Θερσάνδρου
ἤκουον, καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοις, ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτίκα λέγοι ταῦτα πρὸς
ἀνθρώπους πρότερον ἢ γενέσθαι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν μάχην.

17

¹ Μαρδονίου δὲ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ στρατοπεδευομένου οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι
παρείχοντο ἅπαντες στρατιὴν καὶ συνεσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας, ὅσοι περ
ἐμήδιζον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, μῦνοι δὲ Φωκέες οὐ
συνεσέβαλον (ἐμήδιζον γὰρ δὴ σφόδρα καὶ οὗτοι) οὐκ ἐκόντες ἀλλ’
ὑπ’ ἀναγκαίης. ² ἡμέρησι δὲ οὐ πολλῇσι μετὰ τὴν ἄπιξιν τὴν ἐς
Θήβας ὕστερον ἦλθον αὐτῶν ὀπλίται χίλιοι, ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς
Ἀρμοκύδης ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκατο καὶ οὗτοι
ἐς Θήβας, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἱππέας ἐκέλευσε σφέας ἐπ’ ἐκινῶν
ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἵζεσθαι. ³ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα, αὐτίκα παρῆν ἵππος ἢ
ἅπασα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διεξῆλθε μὲν διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ
Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μήδων ἐόντος φήμη ὡς κατακοντιεῖ σφας,
διεξῆλθε δὲ δι’ αὐτῶν Φωκέων τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο. ⁴ ἔνθα δὴ σφι ὁ
στρατηγὸς Ἀρμοκύδης παραίνεε λέγων τοιάδε. “ὦ Φωκέες, πρόδηλα
γὰρ ὅτι ἡμέας οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι μέλλουσι προόπτῳ θανάτῳ δώσειν,
διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω· νῦν ἄνδρα πάντα
τινὰ ὑμῶν χρεόν ἐστι γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν· κρέσσον γὰρ ποιεῦντάς τι
καὶ ἀμυνομένους τελευτῆσαι τὸν αἰῶνα ἢ περ παρέχοντας
διαφθαρῆναι αἰσχίστῳ μόρῳ. ἀλλὰ μαθέτω τις αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐόντες
βάρβαροι ἐπ’ Ἑλλήσι ἀνδράσι φόνον ἐρράπαν „

1 ὁ μὲν ταῦτα παραΐνεε· οἱ δὲ ἰππέες ἐπεὶ σφεας ἐκυκλώσαντο, ἐπήλαυνον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, καὶ δὴ διετείνοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀπήσοντες, καὶ κού τις καὶ ἀπῆκε. καὶ οἱ ἀντίοι ἔστησαν πάντη συστρέψαντες ἐωυτοὺς καὶ πυκνώσαντες ὡς μάλιστα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἰππόται ὑπέστρεφον καὶ ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω. 2 οὐκ ἔχω δ' ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἦλθον μὲν ἀπολέοντες τοὺς Φωκέας δεηθέντων Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρων πρὸς ἀλέξησιν τραπομένους, δείσαντες μὴ καὶ σφίσι γένηται τρώματα, οὕτω δὴ ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω· ὥς γάρ σφι ἐνετείλατο Μαρδόνιος· οὐτ' εἰ αὐτῶν πειρηθῆναι ἠθέλησε εἴ τι ἀλκῆς μετέχουσι. 3 ὡς δὲ ὀπίσω ἀπήλασαν οἱ ἰππόται, πέμψας Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε. “θαρσέετε ὦ Φωκέες· ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐφάνητε ἐόντες ἀγαθοί, οὐκ ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην. καὶ νῦν προθύμως φέρετε τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον· εὐεργεσίησι γὰρ οὐ νικήσετε οὐτ' ὦν ἐμὲ οὔτε βασιλέα „ τὰ περὶ Φωκέων μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

1 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὡς ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἦλθον, ἐν τούτῳ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ λοιποὶ Πελοποννήσιοι τοῖσι τὰ ἀμείνω ἐάνδανε, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὀρῶντες ἐξιόντας Σπαρτιήτας, οὐκ ἔδικαίειν λείπεσθαι τῆς ἐξόδου Λακεδαιμονίων. 2 ἐκ δὴ ὧν τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ καλλιερησάντων τῶν ἱρῶν ἐπορεύοντο πάντες καὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Ἐλευσίνα· ποιήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἱρά, ὡς σφι ἐκαλλιέρεε, τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύοντο, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἅμα αὐτοῖσι, διαβάντες μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, συμμιγέντες δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι. 3 ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἀπίκοντο τῆς Βοιωτῆς ἐς Ἐρυθράς, ἔμαθόν τε δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ στρατοπεδευομένους, φρασθέντες δὲ τοῦτο ἀντετάσσοντο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος.

1 Μαρδόνιος δέ, ὡς οὐ κατέβαινον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸ πεδῖον, πέμπει ἐς αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν ἵππον, τῆς ἱπάρχεε Μασίστιος εὐδοκιμέων παρὰ Πέρσῃσι, τὸν Ἕλληνας Μακίστιον καλέουσι, ἵππον ἔχων Νησαῖον χρυσοχάλινον καὶ ἄλλως κεκοσμημένον καλῶς. ἐνθαῦτα ὡς προσήλασαν οἱ ἰππόται πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, προσέβαλλον κατὰ τέλεα, προσβάλλοντες δὲ κακὰ μεγάλα ἐργάζοντο καὶ γυναικας σφέας ἀπεκάλεον.

¹ κατὰ συντυχίην δὲ Μεγαρέες ἔτυχον ταχθέντες τῇ τε ἐπιμαχώτατον ἦν τοῦ χωρίου παντός, καὶ πρόσοδος μάλιστα ταύτη ἐγίνετο τῇ ἵπῳ. προσβαλλούσης ὧν τῆς ἵππου οἱ Μεγαρέες πιεζόμενοι ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κήρυκα, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ κῆρυξ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε. ² “Μεγαρέες λέγουσι· ἡμεῖς, ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, οὐ δυνατοί εἰμεν τὴν Περσέων ἵππον δέκεσθαι μοῦνοι, ἔχοντες στάσιν ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἔστημεν ἀρχήν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τόδε λιπαρίη τε καὶ ἀρετῇ ἀντέχομεν καίπερ πιεζόμενοι. νῦν τε εἰ μὴ τινας ἄλλους πέμψετε διαδόχους τῆς τάξις, ἴστε ἡμέας ἐκλείποντας τὴν τάξιν, ,” ³ ὁ μὲν δὴ σφι ταῦτα ἀπήγγελλε, Πausανίης δὲ ἀποπειρᾶτο τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἴ τινες ἐθέλοιεν ἄλλοι ἐθελονταὶ ἰέναι τε ἐς τὸν χώρον τοῦτον καὶ τάσσεσθαι διάδοχοι Μεγαρεῦσι. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ τριηκόσιοι λογάδες, τῶν ἐλοχῆγεε Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ὁ Λάμπωνος.

¹ οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ τε ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρεόντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς ταχθέντες, τοὺς τοξότας προσελόμενοι. μαχομένων δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ χρόνον τέλος τοιόνδε ἐγένετο τῆς μάχης. προσβαλλούσης τῆς ἵππου κατὰ τέλεα, ὁ Μασιστίου προέχων τῶν ἄλλων ἵππος βάλλεται τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά, ἀλγήσας δὲ ἴσταται τε ὀρθὸς καὶ ἀποσειέται τὸν Μασίστιον· ² πεσόντι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο. τὸν τε δὴ ἵππον αὐτοῦ λαμβάνουσι καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμενον κτείνουσι, κατ’ ἀρχὰς οὐ δυνάμενοι. ἐνεσκεύαστο γὰρ οὕτω· ἐντὸς θώρηκα εἶχε χρύσειον λεπιδωτόν, κατύπερθε δὲ τοῦ θώρηκος κιθῶνα φοινίκεον ἐνεδεδύκεε. τύπτοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν θώρηκα ἐποίευν οὐδέν, πρὶν γε δὴ μαθὼν τις τὸ ποιεύμενον παῖει μιν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν. οὕτω δὴ ἔπεσέ τε καὶ ἀπέθανε. ³ ταῦτα δὲ κῶς γινόμενα ἐλελήθεε τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας· οὔτε γὰρ πεσόντα μιν εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου οὔτε ἀποθνήσκοντα, ἀναχωρήσιός τε γινομένης καὶ ὑποστροφῆς οὐκ ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἔστησαν, αὐτίκα ἐπόθεσαν, ὥς σφεας οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ τάσσεων μαθόντες δὲ τὸ γεγονός, διακελευσάμενοι ἤλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους πάντες, ὥς ἂν τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελοῖατο.

¹ ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι κατὰ τέλεα προσελαύνοντας τοὺς ἱππέας ἀλλὰ πάντας, τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἐπεβώσαντο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας ἐβοήθειε, ἐν τούτῳ μάχῃ ὀξέα περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ γίνεται. ² ἕως μὲν νυν μοῦνοι ἦσαν οἱ τριηκόσιοι, ἐσσοῦντό τε πολλὸν καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀπέλειπον· ὥς δέ σφι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεβοήθησε, οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι οἱ ἱππῶται ὑπέμενον οὐδέ σφι ἐξεγένετο τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελέσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνῳ ἄλλους προσαπώλεσαν τῶν ἱππέων. ἀποστήσαντες ὦν ὅσον τε δύο στάδια ἐβουλεύοντο ὅ τι χρεὸν εἴη ποιέειν· ἐδόκεε δέ σφι ἀναρχίης ἐούσης ἀπελαύνειν παρὰ Μαρδόνιον.

¹ ἀπικομένης δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πένθος ἐποιήσαντο Μασιστίου πᾶσά τε ἡ στρατιὴ καὶ Μαρδόνιος μέγιστον, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια οἰμωγῇ τε χρεώμενοι ἀπλέτῳ· ἅπασαν γὰρ τὴν Βοιωτίνην κατεῖχε ἡχώ ὥς ἀνδρὸς ἀπολομένου μετὰ γε Μαρδόνιον λογιμωτάτου παρὰ τε Πέρσῃσι καὶ βασιλεί.

¹ οἱ μὲν νυν βάρβαροι τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἀποθανόντα ἐτίμων Μασίστιον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὥς τὴν ἵππον ἐδέξαντο προσβάλλουσιν καὶ δεξάμενοι ὥσαντο, ἐθάρσησάν τε πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐς ἅμαξαν ἐσθέντες τὸν νεκρὸν παρὰ τὰς τάξεις ἐκόμιζον· ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ἦν θέης ἄξιος μεγάθεος εἵνεκα καὶ κάλλεος, τῶν δὴ εἵνεκα καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίουν· ἐκλείποντες τὰς τάξεις ἐφοίτων θεησόμενοι Μασίστιον. ² μετὰ δὲ ἔδοξέ σφι ἐπικαταβῆναι ἐς Πλαταιάς· ὁ γὰρ χώρος ἐφαίνετο πολλῷ ἐὼν ἐπιτηδεότερός σφι ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ὁ Πλαταιικὸς τοῦ Ἐρυθραίου τά τε ἄλλα καὶ εὐυδρότερος. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χώρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην τὴν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ ἐούσαν ἔδοξέ σφι χρεὸν εἶναι ἀπικέσθαι καὶ διαταχθέντας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ³ ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἦσαν διὰ τῆς ὑπώρεης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος παρὰ Ὑσιᾶς ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο κατὰ ἔθνεα πλησίον τῆς τε κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ τοῦ τεμένεος τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτεος τοῦ ἥρωος, διὰ ὅχθων τε οὐκ ὑψηλῶν καὶ ἀπέδου χώρου.

¹ ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ διατάξει ἐγένετο λόγων πολλῶν ὠθισμὸς Τεγεατέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων· ἐδικαίουν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας, καὶ καινὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παραφέροντες ἔργα. τοῦτο μὲν οἱ Τεγεῆται ἔλεγον τάδε. ² “ἡμεῖς αἰεὶ κοτε ἀξιεύμεθα ταύτης τῆς τάξις ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπάντων, ὅσαι ἤδη ἐξοδοὶ κοιναὶ ἐγένοντο Πελοποννησίοις καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τὸ νέον, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπεῖτε Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπειρῶντο μετὰ τὸν Εὐρυσθέος θάνατον κατιόντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον· ³ τότε εὐρόμεθα τοῦτο διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε. ἐπεὶ μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἰώνων τῶν τότε ἐόντων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἰζόμεθα ἀντίοι τοῖσι κατιούσι, τότε ὦν λόγος Ὑλλὸν ἀγορεύσασθαι ὥς χρεὸν εἶη τὸν μὲν στρατὸν τῷ στρατῷ μὴ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πελοποννησίου στρατοπέδου τὸν ἄν σφέων αὐτῶν κρίνωσι εἶναι ἄριστον, τοῦτόν οἱ μουννομαχῆσαι ἐπὶ διακειμένοις. ⁴ ἔδοξέ τε τοῖσι Πελοποννησίοις ταῦτα εἶναι ποιητέα καὶ ἔταμον ὄρκιον ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε, ἦν μὲν Ὑλλος νικήσῃ τὸν Πελοποννησίων ἡγεμόνα, κατιέναι Ἡρακλείδας ἐπὶ τὰ πατρώια, ἦν δὲ νικηθῇ, τὰ ἔμπαλιν Ἡρακλείδας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιὴν ἑκατόν τε ἐτέων μὴ ζητῆσαι κάτοδον ἐς Πελοπόννησον. ⁵ προσκρίθη τε δὴ ἐκ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων ἐθελοντῆς Ἐχεμος ὁ Ἡερόπου τοῦ Φηγέος στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡμέτερος, καὶ ἐμουνομάχησέ τε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε Ὑλλόν. ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εὐρόμεθα ἐν Πελοποννησίοις γε τοῖσι τότε καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα, τὰ διατελέομεν ἔχοντες, καὶ τοῦ κέρεος τοῦ ἐτέρου αἰεὶ ἡγεμονεύειν κοινῆς ἐξόδου γινομένης. ⁶ ὑμῖν μὲν νυν ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἀντιεύμεθα, ἀλλὰ διδόντες αἵρεσιν ὁκοτέρου βούλεσθε κέρεος ἄρχειν παρίεμεν· τοῦ δὲ ἐτέρου φάμεν ἡμέας ἰκνέεσθαι ἡγεμονεύειν κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ. χωρὶς τε τούτου τοῦ ἀπηγημένου ἔργου ἀξιονικότεροί εἰμεν Ἀθηναίων ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἔχειν. ⁷ πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ εἴ ἔχοντες πρὸς ὑμέας ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται, ἀγῶνες ἀγωνίζονται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους. οὕτω ὦν δίκαιον ἡμέας ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας ἢ περ Ἀθηναίους· οὐ γάρ σφι ἐστὶ ἔργα οἷά περ ἡμῖν κατεργασμένα, οὐτ’ ὦν καινὰ οὔτε παλαιά ,,.

¹ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε.

“ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν σύνοδον τήνδε μάχης εἵνεκα συλλεγῆναι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, ἀλλ’ οὐ λόγων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τεγεήτης προέθηκε παλαιὰ καὶ καινὰ λέγειν τὰ ἑκατέροισι ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ κατέργασται χρηστά, ἀναγκαίως ἡμῖν ἔχει δηλῶσαι πρὸς ὑμέας ὅθεν ἡμῖν πατρώιον ἐστὶ ἐοῦσι χρηστοῖσι αἰεὶ πρῶτοισι εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρκάσι. ² Ἡρακλείδας, τῶν οὗτοι φασὶ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, τοῦτο μὲν τούτους, πρότερον ἐξελαυνομένους ὑπὸ πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο φεύγοντες δουλοσύνην πρὸς Μυκηναίων, μοῦνοι ὑποδεξάμενοι τὴν Εὐρυσθέος ὕβριν κατείλομεν, σὺν ἐκείνοισι μάχη νικήσαντες τοὺς τότε ἔχοντας Πελοπόννησον. ³ τοῦτο δὲ Ἀργεῖους τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνείκεος ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐλάσαντας, τελευτήσαντας τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἀτάφους κειμένους, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Καδμείους ἀνελέσθαι τε τοὺς νεκροὺς φαμὲν καὶ θάψαι τῆς ἡμετέρης ἐν Ἐλευσίνι. ⁴ ἐστὶ δὲ ἡμῖν ἔργον εὖ ἔχον καὶ ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος ποταμοῦ ἐσβαλούσας κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ ἐν τοῖσι Τρωικοῖσι πόνοισι οὐδαμῶν ἐλειπόμεθα. ἀλλ’ οὐ γάρ τι προέχει τούτων ἐπιμενῆσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἂν χρηστοὶ τότε ἐόντες ὡυτοὶ νῦν ἂν εἶεν φλαυρότεροι, καὶ τότε ἐόντες φλαῦροι νῦν ἂν εἶεν ἀμείνονες. ⁵ παλαιῶν μὲν νυν ἔργων ἅλις ἔστω· ἡμῖν δὲ εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ ἀποδεδεγμένον, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ εὖ ἔχοντα εἰ τεοῖσι καὶ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔργου ἄξιοι εἰμὲν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἔχειν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτῳ, οἵτινες μοῦνοι Ἑλλήνων δὴ μουνوماχήσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ καὶ ἔργῳ τοσοῦτῳ ἐπιχειρήσαντες περιεγενόμεθα καὶ ἐνικήσαμεν ἔθνεα ἕξ τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα. ⁶ ἄρ’ οὐ δίκαιοι εἰμὲν ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ τούτου μούνου τοῦ ἔργου; ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τάξιος εἵνεκα στασιάζειν πρέπει, ἄρτιοι εἰμὲν πείθεσθαι ὑμῖν ὃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἵνα δοκέει ἐπιτηδεότατον ἡμέας εἶναι ἐστάναι καὶ κατ’ οὐστίνας· πάντῃ γὰρ τεταγμένοι πειρησόμεθα εἶναι χρηστοί. ἐξηγέεσθε δὲ ὥς πεισομένων

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¹ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἀμείβοντο, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀνέβωσε ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀθηναίους ἄξιονικότερους εἶναι ἔχειν τὸ κέρας ἢ περ Ἀρκάδας. οὕτω δὴ ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὑπερεβάλοντο τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ² μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε οἱ ἐπιφοιτῶντές τε καὶ οἱ ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες Ἑλλήνων. τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἶχον Λακεδαιμονίων

μύριοι· τούτων δὲ τοὺς πεντακισχίλιους ἐόντας Σπαρτιήτας ἐφύλασσαν ψилоὶ τῶν εἰλώτων πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι, περὶ ἄνδρα ἕκαστον ἐπτὰ τεταγμένοι. ³ προσεχέας δὲ σφίσι εἵλοντο ἐστάναι οἱ Σπαρτιῆται τοὺς Τεγεήτας καὶ τιμῆς εἵνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς· τούτων δ' ἦσαν ὀπλῖται χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἴσταντο Κορινθίων πεντακισχίλιοι, παρὰ δὲ σφίσι εὗροντο παρὰ Πausανίῳ ἐστάναι Ποτιδαιητῶν τῶν ἐκ Παλλήνης τοὺς παρεόντας τριηκοσίους. ⁴ τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἴσταντο Ἀρκάδες Ὀρχομένιοι ἑξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Σικυώνιοι τρισχίλιοι. τούτων δὲ εἶχοντο Ἐπιδαυρίων ὀκτακόσιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους Τροιζηνίων ἐτάσσοντο χίλιοι, Τροιζηνίων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Λεπρεητέων διηκόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Μυκηναίων καὶ Τιρυνθίων τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Φλειάσιοι χίλιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἔστησαν Ἑρμιονέες τριηκόσιοι. ⁵ Ἑρμιονέων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἴσταντο Ἑρετριέων τε καὶ Στυρέων ἑξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Χαλκιδέες τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Ἀμπρακιητέων πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀνακτορίων ὀκτακόσιοι ἔστησαν, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Παλέες οἱ ἐκ Κεφαλληνίης διηκόσιοι. ⁶ μετὰ δὲ τούτους Αἰγινήτων πεντακόσιοι ἐτάχθησαν. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἐτάσσοντο Μεγαρέων τρισχίλιοι. εἶχοντο δὲ τούτων Πλαταιέες ἑξακόσιοι. τελευταῖοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐτάσσοντο, κέρας ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον, ὀκτακισχίλιοι· ἐστρατήγεε δ' αὐτῶν Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου.

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¹ οὗτοι, πλὴν τῶν ἐπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τεταγμένων Σπαρτιήτησι, ἦσαν ὀπλῖται, σύμπαντες ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἐπτὰ. ὀπλῖται μὲν οἱ πάντες συλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἦσαν τοσοῦτοι, ψιλῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἦν τότε, τῆς μὲν Σπαρτιητικῆς τάξιος πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄνδρες, ὡς ἐόντων ἐπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον ἄνδρα, καὶ τούτων πᾶς τις παρήρητο ὡς ἐς πόλεμον· ² οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων ψилоί, ὡς εἷς περὶ ἕκαστον ἑὸν ἄνδρα, πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἦσαν.

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¹ ψιλῶν μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀπάντων τῶν μαχίμων ἦν τὸ πλῆθος ἕξ τε μυριάδες καὶ ἑννέα χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες πέντε, τοῦ δὲ

σύμπαντος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ συνελθόντος ἐς Πλαταιὰς σύν τε ὀπλίτησι καὶ ψιλοῖσι τοῖσι μαχίμοισι ἔνδεκα μυριάδες ἦσαν, μιῆς χιλιάδος, πρὸς δὲ ὀκτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν καταδέουσαι. σύν δὲ Θεσπιέων τοῖσι παρεοῦσι ἐξεπληροῦντο αἱ ἔνδεκα μυριάδες· παρήσαν γὰρ καὶ Θεσπιέων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ περιεόντες, ἀριθμὸν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους· ὅπλα δὲ οὐδ' οὗτοι εἶχον. οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταχθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.

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1 οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ὥς ἀπεκήδευσαν Μασίστιον, παρήσαν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς Ἑλληνας εἶναι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν τὸν ταύτη ρέοντα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἀντετάσσοντο ὧδε ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου. κατὰ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ἔστησε Πέρσας. 2 καὶ δὴ πολλὸν γὰρ περιῆσαν πλήθει οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐπὶ τε τάξις πλεῦνας ἐκεκοσμέατο καὶ ἐπέιχον τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἔταξε δὲ οὕτω· ὃ τι μὲν ἦν αὐτῶν δυνατώτατον πᾶν ἀπολέξας ἔστησε ἀντίον Λακεδαιμονίων, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστερον παρέταξε κατὰ τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεε φραζόντων τε καὶ διδασκόντων Θηβαίων. 3 Περσέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Μήδους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Κορινθίους τε καὶ Ποτιδαιήτας καὶ Ὀρχομενίους τε καὶ Σικωνίους. Μήδων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Βακτρίους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἐπιδαυρίους τε καὶ Τροιζηνίους καὶ Λεπρεήτας τε καὶ Τιρυνθίους καὶ Μυκηναίους τε καὶ Φλειασίους. 4 μετὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ἔστησε Ἰνδοὺς· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἑρμιονέας τε καὶ Ἑρετριάς καὶ Στυρέας τε καὶ Χαλκιδέας. Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἐχομένους Σάκας ἔταξε, οἱ ἐπέσχον Ἀμπρακίητας τε καὶ Ἀνακτορίους καὶ Λευκαδίους καὶ Παλέας καὶ Αἰγινήτας. 5 Σακέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε ἀντία Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων καὶ Μεγαρέων Βοιωτοὺς τε καὶ Λοκροὺς καὶ Μηλιέας τε καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ Φωκέων τοὺς χιλίους· οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἅπαντες οἱ Φωκέες ἐμήδισαν, ἀλλὰ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἠῦξον περὶ τὸν Παρνησὸν κατειλημένοι, καὶ ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμώμενοι ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον τήν τε Μαρδονίου στρατιήν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐόντας Ἑλλήνων. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

32

1 ταῦτα μὲν τῶν ἐθνέων τὰ μέγιστα ὠνόμασται τῶν ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου ταχθέντων, τὰ περ ἐπιφανέστατά τε ἦν καὶ λόγου

πλείστου· ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων ἄνδρες ἀναμεμιγμένοι, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Θρηίκων καὶ Μυσῶν τε καὶ Παιόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν δὲ καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ τε Ἑρμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίριες καλεόμενοι μαχαιοφόροι, οἱ περ εἰσὶ Αἰγυπτίων μοῦνοι μάχιμοι. ² τούτους δὲ ἔτι ἐν Φαλήρῳ ἐὼν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀπεβιβάσατο ἐόντας ἐπιβάτας· οὐ γὰρ ἐτάχθησαν ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τὸν ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν μὲν δὴ βαρβάρων ἦσαν τριήκοντα μυριάδες, ὡς καὶ πρότερον δεδῆλωται· τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τῶν Μαρδονίου συμμάχων οἶδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀριθμόν· οὐ γὰρ ὧν ἠριθμήθησαν· ὡς δὲ ἐπείκασαι, ἐς πέντε μυριάδας συλλεγῆναι εἰκάζω. οὗτοι οἱ παραταχθέντες πεζοὶ ἦσαν, ἡ δὲ ἵππος χωρὶς ἐτέτακτο.

33

¹ ὡς δὲ ἄρα πάντες οἱ ἐτετάχατο κατὰ ἔθνεα καὶ κατὰ τέλεα, ἐνθαῦτα τῇ δευτέρῃ ἐθύοντο καὶ ἀμφοτέρω. Ἑλλησι μὲν Τισαμενὸς Ἀντιόχου ἦν ὁ θύόμενος· οὗτος γὰρ δὴ εἶπετο τῷ στρατεύματι τούτῳ μάντις· τὸν ἐόντα Ἥλεϊον καὶ γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμιδέων [Κλυτιάδην] Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐποίησαντο λεωσφέτερον. ² Τισαμενῶ γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ γόνου ἀνεῖλε ἡ Πυθίη ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους ἀναιρήσεσθαι πέντε. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρηστηρίου προσεῖχε γυμνασίοις ὡς ἀναιρησόμενος γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἀσκέων δὲ πεντάεθλον παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε νικᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδα, Ἰερωνύμῳ τῷ Ἀνδρίῳ ἐλθὼν ἐς ἔριν. ³ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μαθόντες οὐκ ἐς γυμνικοὺς ἀλλ' ἐς ἀρηίους ἀγῶνας φέρον τὸ Τισαμενοῦ μαντήιον, μισθῷ ἐπειρῶντο πείσαντες Τισαμενὸν ποιέεσθαι ἅμα Ἡρακλειδέων τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ἡγεμόνα τῶν πολέμων. ⁴ ὁ δὲ ὀρέων περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένου Σπαρτιήτας φίλον αὐτὸν προσθέσθαι, μαθὼν τοῦτο ἀνετίμα, σημαίνων σφι ὡς ἦν μιν πολυήτην σφέτερον ποιήσονται τῶν πάντων μεταδιδόντες, ποιήσει ταῦτα, ἐπ' ἄλλῳ μισθῷ δ' οὔ. ⁵ Σπαρτιῆται δὲ πρῶτα μὲν ἀκούσαντες δεινὰ ἐποιεῦντο καὶ μετίεσαν τῆς χρησιμοσύνης τὸ παράπαν, τέλος δὲ δείματος μεγάλου ἐπικρεμαμένου τοῦ Περσικοῦ τούτου στρατεύματος καταΐνεον μετιόντες. ὁ δὲ γνοὺς τετραμμένους σφέας οὐδ' οὕτω ἔτι ἔφη ἀρκέεσθαι τούτοις μούνοισι, ἀλλὰ δεῖν ἔτι τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἐωυτοῦ Ἠγίην γίνεσθαι Σπαρτιήτην ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι λόγοις τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται.

1 ταῦτα δὲ λέγων οὗτος ἐμμέετο Μελάμποδα, ὥς εἰκάσαι βασιλῆην τε καὶ πολιτηὴν αἰτεομένους. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μελάμπους τῶν ἐν Ἀργεῖ γυναικῶν μανισέων, ὥς μιν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐμισθοῦντο ἐκ Πύλου παῦσαι τὰς σφετέρας γυναῖκας τῆς νούσου, μισθὸν προετείνατο τῆς βασιλῆης τὸ ἥμισυ. 2 οὐκ ἀνασχομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων ἄλλ' ἀπιόντων, ὥς ἐμαίνοντο πλεῦνες τῶν γυναικῶν, οὕτω δὴ ὑποστάντες τὰ ὁ Μελάμπους προετείνατο ἦσαν δώσοντές οἱ ταῦτα. ὁ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπορέγεται ὀρέων αὐτοὺς τετραμμένους, φάς, ἦν μὴ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Βίαντι μεταδῶσι τὸ τριτημόριον τῆς βασιλῆης, οὐ ποιήσιν τὰ βούλονται. οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ἀπειληθέντες ἐς στεινὸν καταινέουσι καὶ ταῦτα.

1 ὥς δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιῆται, ἐδέοντο γὰρ δεινῶς τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ, πάντως συνεχώρεόν οἱ. συγχωρησάντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, οὕτω δὴ πέντε σφι μαντευόμενος ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ἥλεϊος, γενόμενος Σπαρτιήτης, συγκαταίρει. μῦνοι δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Σπαρτιήτησι πολιῆται. 2 οἱ δὲ πέντε ἀγῶνες οἶδε ἐγένοντο, εἷς μὲν καὶ πρῶτος οὗτος ὁ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ ἐν Τεγέῃ πρὸς Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἀργεῖους γενόμενος, μετὰ δὲ ὁ ἐν Διπαιεῦσι πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πάντας πλὴν Μαντινέων, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς Ἰθώμῃ, ὕστατος δὲ ὁ ἐν Τανάγρῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Ἀργεῖους γενόμενος· οὗτος δὲ ὕστατος κατεργάσθη τῶν πέντε ἀγώνων.

1 οὗτος δὴ τότε τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ὁ Τισαμενός, ἀγόντων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, ἐμαντεύετο ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι. τοῖσι μὲν νυν Ἑλλήσι καλὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρὰ ἀμυνομένοισι, διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ μάχης ἄρχουσι οὔ.

1 Μαρδονίῳ δὲ προθυμομένῳ μάχης ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρὰ, ἀμυνομένῳ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ καλά. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἱροῖσι ἐχρᾶτο, μάντιν ἔχων Ἠγησίστρατον ἄνδρα Ἥλεϊόν τε καὶ τῶν Τελλιαδέων ἐόντα λογιμώτατον, τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων Σπαρτιῆται

λαβόντες ἔδησαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ὡς πεπονθότες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ² ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἐχόμενος, ὥστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρό τε τοῦ θανάτου πεισόμενος πολλά τε καὶ λυγρά, ἔργον ἐργάσατο μέζον λόγου. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐδέδετο ἐν ξύλῳ σιδηροδέτῳ, ἐσενειχθέντος κως σιδηρίου ἐκράτησε, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐμυχανᾶτο ἀνδρηϊότατον ἔργον πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· σταθμησάμενος γὰρ ὁκως ἐξελεύσεται οἱ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ποδός, ἀπέταμε τὸν ταρσὸν ἑωυτοῦ. ³ ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ὡς φυλασσόμενος ὑπὸ φυλάκων, διορύξας τὸν τοῖχον ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην, τὰς μὲν νύκτας πορευόμενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταδύνων ἐς ὕλην καὶ αὐλιζόμενος, οὕτω ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων πανδημεὶ διζημένων τρίτη εὐφρόνη γενέσθαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέχεσθαι τῆς τε τόλμης, ὀρῶντας τὸ ἡμίτομον τοῦ ποδός κείμενον, κάκεῖνον οὐ δυναμένους εὐρεῖν. ⁴ τότε μὲν οὕτω διαφυγὼν Λακεδαιμονίους καταφεύγει ἐς Τεγέην ἐοῦσαν οὐκ ἀρθμῖν Λακεδαιμονίοισι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον· ὕγις δὲ γενόμενος καὶ προσποιησάμενος ξύλινον πόδα κατεστήκεε ἐκ τῆς ἰθέης Λακεδαιμονίοισι πολέμιος. οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τέλος οἱ συνήνεικε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους συγκεκυρημένον· ἦλω γὰρ μαντευόμενος ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανε.

38

¹ ὁ μέντοι θάνατος ὁ Ἥγησιστράτου ὕστερον ἐγένετο τῶν Πλαταικῶν, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ Μαρδονίῳ μεμισθωμένος οὐκ ὀλίγου ἐθύετό τε καὶ προεθυμέετο κατὰ τε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ κατὰ τὸ κέρδος. ² ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρεε ὥστε μάχεσθαι οὔτε αὐτοῖσι Πέρσησι οὔτε τοῖσι μετ' ἐκείνων ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων (εἶχον γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν μάντιν Ἰππόμαχον Λευκάδιον ἄνδρα), ἐπιρρέοντων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ γινομένων πλεύνων, Τιμηγενίδης ὁ Ἑρπυος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος συνεβούλευσε Μαρδονίῳ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος φυλάξαι, λέγων ὡς ἐπιρρέουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες αἰεὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην καὶ ὡς ἀπολάμψοιτο συγχούς.

39

¹ ἡμέραι δὲ σφι ἀντικατημένοισι ἤδη ἐγεγόνεσαν ὀκτώ, ὅτε ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος συνεβούλευε Μαρδονίῳ. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὴν παραίνεσιν εὖ ἔχουσας, ὡς εὐφρόνη ἐγένετο, πέμπει τὴν ἵππον ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τὰς

Κιθαιρωνίδας αἱ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων φέρουσι, τὰς Βοιωτοὶ μὲν Τρεῖς κεφαλὰς καλέουσι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Δρυὸς κεφαλὰς. πεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ ἱππότες οὐ μάτην ἀπίκοντο· ² ἐσβάλλοντα γὰρ ἐς τὸ πεδίον λαμβάνουσι ὑποζυγία τε πεντακόσια, σιτία ἄγοντα ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οἱ εἶποντο τοῖσι ζεύγεσι. ἐλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἄγρην οἱ Πέρσαι ἀφειδέως ἐφόνευσαν, οὐ φειδόμενοι οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἀνθρώπου. ὥς δὲ ἄδην εἶχον κτείνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν ἥλαυνον περιβαλλόμενοι παρά τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

40

¹ μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἑτέρας δύο ἡμέρας διέτριψαν, οὐδέτεροι βουλόμενοι μάχης ἄρξαι· μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ἐπῆσαν οἱ βάρβαροι πειρώμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διέβαινον δὲ οὐδέτεροι. ἡ μὲντοι ἵππος ἢ Μαρδονίου αἰεὶ προσέκειτό τε καὶ ἐλύπεε τοὺς Ἑλληνας· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι, ἅτε μηδίζοντες μεγάλως, προθύμως ἔφερον τὸν πόλεμον καὶ αἰεὶ κατηγέοντο μέχρι μάχης, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου παραδεκόμενοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι μάλα ἔσκον οἱ ἀπεδείκνυντο ἀρετάς.

41

¹ μέχρι μὲν νυν τῶν δέκα ἡμερέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεῦν ἐγίνετο τούτων· ὥς δὲ ἑνδεκάτῃ ἐγεγόνεε ἡμέρῃ ἀντικατημένοισι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, οἱ τε δὴ Ἑλληνες πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐγεγόνεσαν καὶ Μαρδόνιος περιημέκτεε τῇ ἔδρῃ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς λόγους ἤλθον Μαρδονίος τε ὁ Γοβρύεω καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος, ὃς ἐν ὀλίγοις Περσέων ἦν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος παρά Ξέρῃ. ² βουλευομένων δὲ αἶδε ἦσαν αἱ γνώμαι, ἡ μὲν Ἀρταβάζου ὡς χρεὸν εἴη ἀναζεύξαντας τὴν ταχίστην πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἰέναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Θηβαίων, ἔθα σῖτόν τε σφι ἐσηνεῖσθαι πολλὸν καὶ χόρτον τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοις, κατ' ἡσυχίην τε ἰζομένους διαπρήσσεσθαι ποιεῦντας τάδε· ³ ἔχειν γὰρ χρυσὸν πολλὸν μὲν ἐπίσημον πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄσημον, πολλὸν δὲ ἄργυρόν τε καὶ ἐκπώματα· τούτων φειδομένους μηδενὸς διαπέμπειν ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, Ἑλλήνων δὲ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἐν τῇσι πόλεσι, καὶ ταχέως σφέας παραδώσειν τὴν ἐλευθερίην· μηδὲ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντας. ⁴ τούτου μὲν ἡ αὐτὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ Θηβαίων γνώμη, ὡς προειδότες πλεῦν τι καὶ τούτου, Μαρδονίου δὲ

ἰσχυροτέρῃ τε καὶ ἀγνωμονεστέρῃ καὶ οὐδαμῶς συγγινωσκομένη·
δοκέειν τε γὰρ πολλῶν κρέσσονα εἶναι τὴν σφετέρην στρατιὴν τῆς
Ἑλληνικῆς, συμβάλλειν τε τὴν ταχίστην μηδὲ περιορᾶν
συλληγομένους ἔτι πλεῦνας τῶν συλλελεγμένων, τὰ τε σφάγια τὰ
Ἥγησιστράτου ἔαν μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ τῷ Περσέων
χρεωμένους συμβάλλειν.

42

1 τοῦτου δὲ οὕτω δικαιεῦντος ἀντέλεγε οὐδεὶς, ὥστε ἐκράτεε τῇ
γνώμῃ· τὸ γὰρ κράτος εἶχε τῆς στρατιῆς οὗτος ἐκ βασιλέος, ἀλλ' οὐκ
Ἀρτάβαζος. μεταπεμπνύμενος ὦν τοὺς ταξιάρχους τῶν τελέων καὶ
τῶν μετ' ἐωυτοῦ ἐόντων Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγούς εἰρώτα εἴ τι
εἶδεῖεν λόγιον περὶ Περσέων ὡς διαφθερέονται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. 2
σιγόντων δὲ τῶν ἐπικλήτων, τῶν μὲν οὐκ εἰδόντων τοὺς χρησμούς,
τῶν δὲ εἰδόντων μὲν ἐν ἀδείῃ δὲ οὐ ποιευμένων τὸ λέγειν, αὐτὸς
Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὑμεῖς ἢ ἴστε οὐδὲν ἢ οὐ τολμᾶτε
λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐρέω ὡς εὖ ἐπιστάμενος· 3 ἔστι λόγιον ὡς χρεὸν
ἔστι Πέρσας ἀπικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαρπάσαι τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν
Δελφοῖσι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαρπαγὴν ἀπολέσθαι πάντας. ἡμεῖς τοίνυν
αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενοι οὔτε ἵμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὔτε
ἐπιχειρήσομεν διαρπάζειν, ταύτης τε εἵνεκα τῆς αἰτίας οὐκ
ἀπολεόμεθα. 4 ὥστε ὑμέων ὅσοι τυγχάνουσι εὖνοοι ἐόντες Πέρσῃσι,
ἦδεσθε τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὡς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ἑλλήνων „ ταῦτά σφι
εἵπας δεύτερα ἐσήμαινε παραρτέεσθαι τε πάντα καὶ εὐκρινέα
ποιέεσθαι ὡς ἅμα ἡμέρη τῇ ἐπιούσῃ συμβολῆς ἐσομένης.

43

1 τοῦτον δ' ἔγωγε τὸν χρησμόν, τὸν Μαρδόνιος εἶπε ἐς Πέρσας
ἔχειν, ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τε καὶ τὸν Ἑγγελέων στρατὸν οἶδα πεποιημένον,
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Πέρσας. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδι ἐς ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἐστὶ
πεποιημένα,

2 τὴν δ' ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι καὶ Ἀσωπῷ λεχεποίῃ
Ἑλλήνων σύνοδον καὶ βαρβαρόφωνον ἰνυγὴν,
τῇ πολλοὶ πεσέονται ὑπὲρ λάχεσιν τε μόρον τε
τοξοφόρων Μήδων, ὅταν αἴσιμον ἡμᾶρ ἐπέλθῃ,

ταῦτα μὲν καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἄλλα Μουσαῖω ἔχοντα οἶδα ἐς Πέρσας. ὁ δὲ Θερμῶδων ποταμὸς ῥέει μεταξύ Τανάγρης τε καὶ Γλίσσαντος.

44

1 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ παραίνεσιν τὴν ἐκ Μαρδονίου νύξ τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἐς φυλακὰς ἐτάσσοντο. ὥς δὲ πρόσω τῆς νυκτὸς προελήλατο καὶ ἡσυχίῃ ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι ἐν ὕπνῳ, τηνικαῦτα προσελάσας ἵππων πρὸς τὰς φυλακὰς τὰς Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω, στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων, ἐδίζητο τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν. 2 τῶν δὲ φυλάκων οἱ μὲν πλεῖνες παρέμενον, οἱ δ' ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, ἐλθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον ὥς ἄνθρωπος ἦκοι ἐπ' ἵππου ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Μήδων, ὃς ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν παραγυμνοῖ ἔπος, στρατηγοὺς δὲ ὀνομάζων ἐθέλειν φησὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν.

45

1 οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν, αὐτίκα εἶποντο ἐς τὰς φυλακὰς· ἀπικομένοισι δὲ ἔλεγε Ἀλέξανδρος τάδε. “ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παραθήκην ὑμῖν τὰ ἔπεα τάδε τίθεται, ἀπόρρητα ποιεύμενος πρὸς μηδένα λέγειν ὑμέας ἄλλον ἢ Πausανίην, μή με καὶ διαφθείρητε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔλεγον, εἰ μὴ μεγάλως ἐκηδόμην συναπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. 2 αὐτός τε γὰρ Ἑλλήν γένος εἰμὶ τῶρχαῖον καὶ ἀντ' ἐλευθέρης δεδουλωμένην οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιμι ὁρᾶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. λέγω δὲ ὧν ὅτι Μαρδονίῳ τε καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τὰ σφάγια οὐ δύναται καταθύμια γενέσθαι· πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἐμάχεσθε. νῦν δὲ οἱ δέδοκται τὰ μὲν σφάγια ἔαν χαίρειν, ἅμ' ἡμέρη δὲ διαφωσκούση συμβολὴν ποιέεσθαι· καταρρώδηκε γὰρ μὴ πλεῖνες συλλεχθῆτε, ὥς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω. πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτοιμάζεσθε. ἦν δὲ ἄρα ὑπερβάλλεται τὴν συμβολὴν Μαρδόνιος καὶ μὴ ποιέηται, λιπαρέετε μένοντες· ὀλιγέων γὰρ σφι ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία. 3 ἦν δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος ὃδε κατὰ νόον τελευτήσῃ, μνησθῆναι τινὰ χρή καὶ ἐμεῦ ἐλευθερώσιος πέρι, ὃς Ἑλλήνων εἵνεκα οὕτω ἔργον παράβολον ἔργασμαι ὑπὸ προθυμίας, ἐθέλων ὑμῖν δηλῶσαι τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν Μαρδονίου, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιπέσωσι ὑμῖν ἐξαίφνης οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ προσδεκομένοισί κω. εἰμὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών, ὃ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας ἀπήλυνε ὀπίσω ἐς

τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ τάξιν.

46

¹ οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔλεγον Πausanīḥ τὰ περ ἤκουσαν Ἀλεξάνδρου. ὁ δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ καταρῥώδηςας τοὺς Πέρσας ἔλεγε τάδε. ² “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἐς ἡῶ ἡ συμβολὴ γίνεται, ὑμέας μὲν χρεὸν ἐστὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους στήναι κατὰ τοὺς Πέρσας, ἡμέας δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς κατ’ ὑμέας τεταγμένους Ἑλλήνων, τῶνδε εἵνεκα· ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε τοὺς Μήδους καὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μαχεσάμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄπειροί τε εἰμὲν καὶ ἀδαέες τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν· Σπαρτιητέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς πεπεῖρηται Μήδων· ἡμεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἔμπειροι εἰμὲν. ³ ἀλλ’ ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὄπλα χρεὸν ἐστὶ ἰέναι ὑμέας ἐς τόδε τὸ κέρας, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὸ εὐώνυμον, „ πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τάδε. “καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πάλαι ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, ἐπεῖτε εἶδομεν κατ’ ὑμέας τασσομένους τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν νόῳ ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τὰ περ ὑμεῖς φθάνετε προφέρετε· ἀλλὰ ἀρῥωδέομεν μὴ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἡδέες γένωνται οἱ λόγοι. ἐπεὶ δ’ ὦν αὐτοὶ ἐμνήσθητε, καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασι καὶ ἔτοιμοι εἰμὲν ποιεῖν ταῦτα, „

47

¹ ὥς δ’ ἤρεσκε ἀμφοτέροισι ταῦτα, ἡὼς τε διέφαινε καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξεις. γνόντες δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὸ ποιεύμενον ἐξαγορεύουσι Μαρδόνιῳ. ὁ δ’ ἐπεῖτε ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα μετιστάναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο, παράγων τοὺς Πέρσας κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ὥς δὲ ἔμαθε τοῦτο τοιοῦτο γινόμενον ὁ Πausanīḥς, γνοὺς ὅτι οὐ λανθάνει, ὀπίσω ἤγε τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας· ὥς δὲ οὕτως καὶ ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου.

48

¹ ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐς τὰς ἀρχαίας τάξεις, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἔλεγε τάδε. “ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὑμεῖς δὴ λέγεσθε εἶναι ἄνδρες ἄριστοι ὑπὸ τῶν τῆδε ἀνθρώπων, ἐκπαγλομένων ὥς οὔτε φεύγετε ἐκ πολέμου οὔτε τάξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένοντές τε ἢ ἀπόλλυτε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλλυσθε. ² τῶν δ’ ἄρ’ ἦν οὐδὲν ἀληθές· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ συμμῖξαι ἡμέας ἐς χειρῶν τε νόμον ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας καὶ στάσιν ἐκλείποντας ὑμέας εἶδομεν,

ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι τε τὴν πρόπειραν ποιευμένους αὐτοὺς τε ἀντία δούλων τῶν ἡμετέρων τασσομένους. ³ ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργα, ἀλλὰ πλεῖστον δὴ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐψεύσθημεν. προσδεκόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ κλέος ὥς δὴ πέμπετε ἐς ἡμέας κήρυκα προκαλούμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι μούνουσι Πέρσῃσι μάχεσθαι, ἄρτιοι ἐόντες ποιεῖν ταῦτα οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο λέγοντας ὑμέας εὕρομεν ἀλλὰ πτώσσοντας μᾶλλον. νῦν ὦν ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὑμεῖς ἥρξατε τούτου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρχομεν. ⁴ τί δὴ οὐ πρὸ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑμεῖς, ἐπεῖτε δεδόξωσθε εἶναι ἄριστοι, πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡμεῖς ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους ἀριθμὸν ἐμαχεσάμεθα; καὶ ἦν μὲν δοκέη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μάχεσθαι, οἱ δ' ὦν μετέπειτα μαχέσθων ὕστεροι· εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκέοι ἀλλ' ἡμέας μούνους ἀποχρᾶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ διαμαχεσώμεθα· ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν ἡμέων νικήσωσι, τούτους τῷ ἅπαντι στρατοπέδῳ νικᾶν „.

49

¹ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας τε καὶ ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, ὥς οἱ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὑπεκρίνατο, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω, ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐσήμαινε Μαρδονίῳ τὰ καταλαβόντα. ὁ δὲ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος καὶ ἐπαερθεὶς ψυχρῇ νίκη ἐπῆκε τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας. ² ὥς δὲ ἐπῆλασαν οἱ ἱππῶται, ἐσίνοντο πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐσακοντίζοντές τε καὶ τοξεύοντες ὥστε ἵπποτοξόται τε ἐόντες καὶ προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι· τὴν τε κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην, ἀπ' ἧς ὕδρευετο πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, συνετάραξαν καὶ συνέχωσαν. ³ ἦσαν μὲν ὦν κατὰ τὴν κρήνην Λακεδαιμόνιοι τεταγμένοι μούνοι, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήσι ἢ μὲν κρήνην πρόσω ἐγίνετο, ὥς ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον τεταγμένοι, ὁ δὲ Ἀσωπὸς ἀγχοῦ· ἐρυκόμενοι δὲ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην ἐφοίτων· ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γὰρ σφι οὐκ ἐξῆν ὕδωρ φορέεσθαι ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἱπέων καὶ τοξευμάτων.

50

¹ τούτου δὲ τοιοῦτου γινομένου οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοί, ἅτε τοῦ τε ὕδατος στερηθείσης τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου ταρασσομένης, συνελέχθησαν περὶ αὐτῶν τε τούτων καὶ ἄλλων, ἐλθόντες παρὰ Πausανίην ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας. ἄλλα γὰρ τούτων τοιούτων ἐόντων μᾶλλον σφέας ἐλύπεε· οὔτε γὰρ σιτία εἶχον ἔτι, οἱ τε σφέων ὀπέωνες ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον ὥς

ἐπισιτιεύμενοι ἀπεκεκληῖατο ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου, οὐ δυνάμενοι ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

51

1 βουλευομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἔδοξε, ἣν ὑπερβάλωνται ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέρην οἱ Πέρσαι συμβολὴν ποιεῦμενοι, ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἰέναι. ἡ δὲ ἐστὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης, ἐπ' ἣ ἔστρατοπεδεύοντο τότε, δέκα σταδίους ἀπέχουσα, πρὸ τῆς Πλαταιέων πόλιος. 2 νῆσος δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἐν ἡπείρῳ· σχιζόμενος ὁ ποταμὸς ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ῥέει κάτω ἐς τὸ πεδῖον, διέχων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ῥέεθρα ὅσον περ τρία στάδια, καὶ ἔπειτα συμμίσγει ἐς τώυτό. οὐνομα δέ οἱ Ὠερόη· 3 θυγατέρα δὲ ταύτην λέγουσι εἶναι Ἀσωποῦ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χῶρον ἐβουλεύσαντο μεταναστῆναι, ἵνα καὶ ὕδατι ἔχωσι χρᾶσθαι ἀφθόνῳ καὶ οἱ ἱππῆες σφέας μὴ σινοῖατο ὥσπερ κατιθὺ ἐόντων· μετακινέεσθαι τε ἐδόκεε τότε ἐπεὰν τῆς νυκτὸς ἢ δευτέρῃ φυλακῇ, ὥς ἂν μὴ ἰδοῖατο οἱ Πέρσαι ἐξορμωμένους καὶ σφεας ἐπόμενοι ταράσσοιεν οἱ ἱππῶται. 4 ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον, τὸν δὴ ἡ Ἀσωπὶς Ὠερόη περισχίζεται ῥέουσα ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἐδόκεε τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἀποστέλλειν τοῦ στρατοπέδου πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ὥς ἀναλάβοιεν τοὺς ὁπέωνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ σιτία οἰχομένους· ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἀπολελαμμένοι.

52

1 ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι κείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πᾶσαν προσκειμένης τῆς ἵππου εἶχον πόνον ἄτρυτον· ὥς δὲ ἡ τε ἡμέρη ἔληγε καὶ οἱ ἱππῆες ἐπέπαυντο, νυκτὸς δὴ γινομένης καὶ ἐούσης τῆς ὥρης ἐς τὴν συνέκειτό σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα ἀερθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἐς μὲν τὸν χῶρον ἐς τὸν συνέκειτο οὐκ ἐν νόφ ἔχοντες, οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐκινήθησαν ἔφευγον ἄσμενοι τὴν ἵππον πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν, φεύγοντες δὲ ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ τὸ Ἥραιον· τὸ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐστὶ τῆς Πλαταιέων, εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης ἀπέχον· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἔθεντο πρὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ τὰ ὅπλα.

53

1 καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἥραιον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, Πανσανίης δὲ

ὁρῶν σφεας ἀπαλλασσομένους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρήγγελλε καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἀναλαμβάνοντας τὰ ὄπλα ἰέναι κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς προΐόντας, νομίσας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἰέναι ἐς τὸν συνεθήκαντο. 2 ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄρτιοι ἦσαν τῶν ταξιάρχων πείθεσθαι Πausanīḥ, Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ὁ Πολιάδεω λοχηγέων τοῦ Πιτανητέων λόχου οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς ξείνους φεύξεσθαι οὐδὲ ἐκὼν εἶναι αἰσχυνέειν τὴν Σπάρτην, ἐθώμαζέ τε ὀρέων τὸ ποιεύμενον ἅτε οὐ παραγενόμενος τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ. 3 ὁ δὲ Πausanīḥς τε καὶ ὁ Εὐρύαναξ δεινὸν μὲν ἐποיעῦντο τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι ἐκεῖνον σφίσι, δεινότερον δὲ ἔτι, κείνου ταῦτ' ἀναινομένου, ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν λόχον τὸν Πιτανήτην, μὴ ἦν ἀπολίπωσι ποιεῦντες τὰ συνεθήκαντο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήσι, ἀπόληται ὑπολειφθεὶς αὐτός τε Ἀμομφάρετος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ. 4 ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι ἀτρέμας εἶχον τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Λακωνικόν, καὶ ἐπειρῶντο πείθοντές μιν ὥς οὐ χρεὸν εἶη ταῦτα ποιέειν.

54

1 καὶ οἱ μὲν παρηγόρεον Ἀμομφάρετον μόνον Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Τεγεητέων λελειμμένον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐποίεον τοιάδε· εἶχον ἀτρέμας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἐτάχθισαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα ὥς ἄλλα φρονεόντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων· 2 ὥς δὲ ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔπεμπον σφέων ἱππέα ὀψόμενόν τε εἰ πορεύεσθαι ἐπιχειροῖεν οἱ Σπαρτιῆται, εἴτε καὶ τὸ παράπαν μὴ διανοεῦνται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐπειρέσθαι τε Πausanīḥν τὸ χρεὸν εἶη ποιέειν.

55

1 ὥς δὲ ἀπύκετο ὁ κῆρυξ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥρα τε σφέας κατὰ χώραν τεταγμένους καὶ ἐς νείκεα ἀπιγμένους αὐτῶν τοὺς πρώτους. ὥς γὰρ δὴ παρηγορέοντο τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον ὃ τε Εὐρύαναξ καὶ ὁ Πausanīḥς μὴ κινδυνεύειν μένοντας μούνους Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐ κως ἔπειθον, ἐς ὃ ἐς νεϊκέα τε συμπεσόντες ἀπύκατο καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρίστατό σφι ἀπιγμένος. 2 νεϊκέων δὲ ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος λαμβάνει πέτρον ἀμφοτέρησι τῇσι χερσὶ καὶ τιθεὶς πρὸ ποδῶν τῶν Πausanīḥω ταύτῃ τῇ ψήφῳ ψηφίζεσθαι ἔφη μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ξείνους, λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους. ὁ δὲ μαινόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα καλέων ἐκεῖνον, πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀθηναῖον κήρυκα

ἐπειρωτῶντα τὰ ἐντεταλμένα λέγειν ὁ Πausανίης ἐκέλευε τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα, ἐχρήζέ τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσχωρῆσαί τε πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς καὶ ποιεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀπόδου τά περ ἂν καὶ σφεῖς.

56

¹ καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· τοὺς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀνακρिनομένους πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς ἡὼς κατελάμβανε, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος ὁ Πausανίης, οὐ δοκέων τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον λείψεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστειχόντων, τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο, σημήνας ἀπῆγε διὰ τῶν κολωνῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας· εἵποντο δὲ καὶ Τεγεῆται. ² Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταχθέντες ἦσαν τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὄχθων ἀντείχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος φοβεόμενοι τὴν ἵππον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κάτω τραφέντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον.

57

¹ Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ἀρχὴν γε οὐδαμὰ δοκέων Πausανίην τολμήσειν σφέας ἀπολιπεῖν, περιείχετο αὐτοῦ μένοντας μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν· προτερεόντων δὲ τῶν σὺν Πausανίῃ, καταδόξας αὐτοὺς ἰθέη τέχνη ἀπολείπειν αὐτόν, ἀναλαβόντα τὸν λόχον τὰ ὄπλα ἤγε βάδην πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στίφος· ² τὸ δὲ ἀπελθὼν ὅσον τε δέκα στάδια ἀνέμενε τὸν Ἀμομφάρετου λόχον, περὶ ποταμὸν Μολόεντα ἰδρυμένον Ἀργιόπιόν τε χῶρον καλούμενον, τῇ καὶ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν ἦσται. ἀνέμενε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα ἦν μὴ ἀπολείπη τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο ὁ Ἀμομφάρετός τε καὶ ὁ λόχος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένωσι, βοηθεοὶ ὀπίσω παρ' ἐκείνους. ³ καὶ οἱ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀμομφάρετός παρεγίνοντό σφι καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἡ τῶν βαρβάρων προσέκειτο πᾶσα. οἱ γὰρ ἱππῶται ἐποίεον οἶον καὶ ἐώθεσαν ποιεῖν αἰεὶ, ἰδόντες δὲ τὸν χῶρον κεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο οἱ Ἕλληνες τῇσι προτέρησι ἡμέρησι, ἤλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω καὶ ἅμα καταλαβόντες προσεκέατό σφι.

58

¹ Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὥς ἐπύθετο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀποικομένους ὑπὸ νύκτα εἶδε τε τὸν χῶρον ἔρημον, καλέσας τὸν Ληρισαῖον Θώρηκα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφεοὺς αὐτοῦ Εὐρύπυλον καὶ Θρασυδήιον ἔλεγε ² “ὦ παῖδες Ἀλεύεω, ἔτι τί λέξετε τάδε ὀρῶντες ἔρημα; ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἱ

πλησιόχωροι ἐλέγετε Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φεύγειν ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρας εἶναι τὰ πολέμια πρώτους· τοὺς πρότερόν τε μετισταμένους ἐκ τῆς τάξιος εἶδετε, νῦν τε ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νύκτα καὶ οἱ πάντες ὀρώμεν διαδράντας· διέδεξάν τε, ἐπεὶ σφεας ἔδεε πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνευδέως ἀρίστους ἀνθρώπων μάχη διακριθῆναι, ὅτι οὐδένες ἄρα ἐόντες ἐν οὐδαμοῖσι ἐοῦσι Ἑλλησι ἐναπεδεικνύατο. ³ καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἐοῦσι Περσέων ἀπείροισι πολλὴ ἔκ γε ἐμεῦ ἐγίνετο συγγνώμη, ἐπαινεόντων τούτους τοῖσι τι καὶ συνηδέατε· Ἀρταβάζου δὲ θῶμα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποιεῦμην τὸ καὶ καταρρώδῃσαι Λακεδαιμονίους καταρρώδῃσαντά τε ἀποδέξασθαι γνώμην δειλοτάτην, ὥς χρεὸν εἶη ἀναζευζάντας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἰέναι ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων ἄστρῳ πολιορκησομένους· τὴν ἔτι πρὸς ἐμεῦ βασιλεὺς πεύσεται. ⁴ καὶ τούτων μὲν ἐτέρωθι ἔσται λόγος. νῦν δὲ ἐκείνοισι ταῦτα ποιεῦσι οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέα ἐστί, ἀλλὰ διωκτέοι εἰσὶ ἐς ὃ καταλαμφθέντες δώσουσι ἡμῖν τῶν δὴ ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων δίκας „

59

¹ ταῦτα εἶπας ἦγε τοὺς Πέρσας δρόμῳ διαβάνας τὸν Ἀσωπὸν κατὰ στίβον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὥς δὴ ἀποδιδρησκόντων, ἐπεῖχέ τε ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Τεγεήτας μούνους· Ἀθηναίους γὰρ τραπομένους ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχθων οὐ κατώρα. ² Πέρσας δὲ ὀρώντες ὀρμημένους διώκειν τοὺς Ἑλληνας οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν τελέων ἄρχοντες αὐτίκα πάντες ἤειραν τὰ σημήια, καὶ ἐδίωκον ὥς ποδῶν ἕκαστος εἶχον, οὔτε κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ κοσμηθέντες οὔτε τάξι.

60

¹ καὶ οὗτοι μὲν βοῇ τε καὶ ὁμίλῳ ἐπήισαν ὥς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Ἑλληνας· Πausanῆς δέ, ὥς προσέκειτο ἡ ἵππος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἱπέα λέγει τάδε. “ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀγῶνος μεγίστου προκειμένου ἐλευθέρην εἶναι ἢ δεδουλωμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προδεδόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἡμεῖς τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νύκτα διαδράντων. ² νῦν ὧν δέδοκται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν τὸ ποιητέον ἡμῖν· ἀμυνομένους γὰρ τῇ δυνάμεθα ἄριστα περιστέλλειν ἀλλήλους. εἰ μὲν νυν ἐς ὑμέας ὀρμησε ἀρχὴν ἡ ἵππος, χρῆν δὴ ἡμέας τε καὶ τοὺς μετ’ ἡμέων τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐ προδιδόντας Τεγεήτας βοηθεῖν ὑμῖν· νῦν δέ, ἐς ἡμέας

γὰρ ἅπασα κεχώρηκε, δίκαιοι ἐστὲ ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὴν πιεζομένην μάλιστα τῶν μοιρέων ἀμυνέοντες ἰέναι. ³ εἰ δ' ἄρα αὐτοὺς ὑμέας καταλελάβηκε ἀδύνατόν τι βοηθεῖν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμῖν τοὺς τοξότας ἀποπέμψαντες χάριν θέσθε. συνοίδαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τὸν παρεόντα τόνδε πόλεμον ἐοῦσι πολλὸν προθυμοτάτοισι, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἔσακούειν „

61

¹ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὀρμέατο βοηθεῖν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαμύνειν· καὶ σφι ἤδη στείχουσι ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἀντιταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος γενομένων, ὥστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι βοηθῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ προσκείμενον σφέας ἐλύπεε. ² οὕτω δὴ μουνωθέντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεῆται, ἐόντες σὺν ψιλοῖσι ἀριθμὸν οἱ μὲν πεντακισμῦριοι Τεγεῆται δὲ τρισχίλιοι (οὗτοι γὰρ οὐδαμὰ ἀπεσχίζοντο ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων), ἐσφαγιάζοντο ὡς συμβαλέοντες Μαρδονίῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ παρούσῃ. ³ καὶ οὐ γάρ σφι ἐγένετο τὰ σφάγια χρηστά, ἔπιπτον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐτρωματίζοντο· φράξαντες γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οἱ Πέρσαι ἀπίεσαν τῶν τοξευμάτων πολλὰ ἀφειδέως, οὕτω ὥστε πιεζομένων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων καὶ τῶν σφαγίων οὐ γινομένων ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν Πausανίην πρὸς τὸ Ἑραιοὺς τὸ Πλαταιέων ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεόν, χρηρίζοντα μηδαμῶς σφέας ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος.

62

¹ ταῦτα δ' ἔτι τούτου ἐπικαλεομένου προεξαναστάντες πρότεροι οἱ Τεγεῆται ἐχώρεον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τὴν Πausανίειω ἐγένετο θυομένοισι τὰ σφάγια χρηστά· ὡς δὲ χρόνῳ κοτὲ ἐγένετο, ἐχώρεον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντίοι τὰ τόξα μετέντες. ² ἐγένετο δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τὰ γέρρα μάχη. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεπτώκεε, ἤδη ἐγένετο ἡ μάχη ἰσχυρὴ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκοντο ἐς ὠθισμόν· τὰ γὰρ δόρατα ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων οἱ βάρβαροι. ³ λήματι μὲν νυν καὶ ῥώμῃ οὐκ ἦσσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ἄνοπλοι δὲ ἐόντες καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι σοφίην, προεξαΐσσοντες δὲ κατ' ἓνα καὶ δέκα, καὶ πλεῦνές τε καὶ ἐλάσσονες συστρεφόμενοι, ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας καὶ

διεφθείροντο.

63

¹ τῇ δὲ ἐτύγχανε αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μαρδόνιος, ἀπ' ἵππου τε μαχόμενος λευκοῦ ἔχων τε περὶ ἐωυτὸν λογάδας Περσέων τοὺς ἀρίστους χίλους, ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπίεσαν. ὅσον μὲν νυν χρόνον Μαρδόνιος περιῆν, οἱ δὲ ἀντεῖχον καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι κατέβαλλον πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· ² ὥς δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ περὶ ἐκεῖνον τεταγμένον ἐὼν ἰσχυρότατον ἔπεσε, οὕτω δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐτράποντο καὶ εἷξαν τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. πλεῖστον γὰρ σφέας ἐδηλέετο ἢ ἐσθῆς ἔρημος ἐοῦσα ὅπλων· πρὸς γὰρ ὀπλίτας ἐόντες γυμνῆτες ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο.

64

¹ ἐνθαῦτα ἥ τε δίκη τοῦ Λεωνίδεω κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ἐπετελέετο, καὶ νίκην ἀναιρέεται καλλίστην ἀπασέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Πausανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω· ² τῶν δὲ κατύπερθε οἱ προγόνων τὰ οὐνόματα εἴρηται ἐς Λεωνίδην· οὗτοί γάρ σφι τυγχάνουσι ἐόντες. ἀποθνήσκει δὲ Μαρδόνιος ὑπὸ Ἀειμνήστου ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ λογίμου, ὃς χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἔχων ἄνδρας τριηκοσίους συνέβαλε ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ πολέμου ἐόντος Μεσσηνίοισι πᾶσι, καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ τριηκόσιοι.

65

¹ ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇσι οἱ Πέρσαι ὥς ἐτράποντο ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔφευγον οὐδένα κόσμον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἐωυτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ξύλινον τὸ ἐποιήσαντο ἐν μοίρῃ τῇ Θηβαίδι. ² θῶμα δέ μοι ὅκως παρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ ἄλσος μαχομένων οὐδὲ εἰς ἐφάνη τῶν Περσέων οὔτε ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὔτε ἐναποθανῶν, περὶ τε τὸ ἱρὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐν τῷ βεβήλῳ ἔπεσον. δοκέω δέ, εἴ τι περὶ τῶν θείων πρηγμάτων δοκέειν δεῖ, ἡ θεὸς αὐτὴ σφεας οὐκ ἐδέκετο ἐμπρήσαντας τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἀνάκτορον.

66

¹ αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος αὐτίκα τε οὐκ ἠρέσκετο κατ' ἀρχὰς λειπομένου Μαρδονίου ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ τότε πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύων οὐδὲν ἤνυε,

συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἔων· ἐποίησέ τε αὐτὸς τοιάδε ὡς οὐκ ἄρεσκόμενος τοῖσι πρήγμασι τοῖσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ποιευμένοισι. ² τῶν ἐστρατήγεε ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος (εἶχε δὲ δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τέσσερας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων περὶ ἑωυτόν), τούτους, ὅκως ἢ συμβολὴ ἐγίνετο, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος τὰ ἔμελλε ἀποβήσεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἦγε κατηρτημένως, παραγγείλας κατὰ τὸν τρόπον ἵεναι πάντας τῇ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐξηγέται, ὅκως ἂν αὐτὸν ὁρῶσι σπουδῆς ἔχοντα. ³ ταῦτα παραγγείλας ὡς ἐς μάχην ἦγε δῆθεν τὸν στρατόν. προτερέων δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὦρα καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας τοὺς Πέρσας· οὕτω δὲ οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον κατηγέετο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταχίστην ἐτροχάζε φεύγων οὔτε ἐς τὸ ξύλινον οὔτε ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων τεῖχος ἀλλ' ἐς Φωκέας, ἐθέλων ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπικέσθαι.

67

¹ καὶ δὴ οὗτοι μὲν ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος ἐθελοκακεόντων Βοιωτοὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐμαχέσαντο χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνόν. οἱ γὰρ μηδίζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων, οὗτοι εἶχον προθυμίην οὐκ ὀλίγην μαχόμενοί τε καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακέοντες, οὕτω ὥστε τριηκόσιοι αὐτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνθαῦτα ἔπεσον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων. ὡς δὲ ἐτράποντο καὶ οὗτοι, ἔφευγον ἐς τὰς Θήβας, οὐ τῇ περ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὁ πᾶς ὁμίλος, οὔτε διαμαχεσάμενος οὐδενὶ οὔτε τι ἀποδεξάμενος, ἔφευγον.

68

¹ δηλοῖ τέ μοι ὅτι πάντα τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἥρτητο ἐκ Περσέων, εἰ καὶ τότε οὗτοι πρὶν ἢ καὶ συμμῖζαι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι ἔφευγον, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὤρων. οὕτω τε πάντες ἔφευγον πλὴν τῆς ἵππου τῆς τε ἄλλης καὶ τῆς Βοιωτῆς· αὕτη δὲ τοσαῦτα προσωφέλεε τοὺς φεύγοντας, αἰεὶ τε πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἄγχιστα ἐοῦσα ἀπέργουςά τε τοὺς φίλους φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

69

¹ οἱ μὲν δὴ νικῶντες εἶποντο τοὺς Ξέρξεω διώκοντές τε καὶ φονεύοντες. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γινομένῳ φόβῳ ἀγγέλλεται τοῖσι ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσι τοῖσι τεταγμένοις περὶ τὸ Ἥραιον καὶ ἀπογενομένοις τῆς μάχης, ὅτι μάχη τε γέγονε καὶ νικῶεν οἱ μετὰ Πausανίῳ· οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, οὐδένα κόσμον ταχθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ

Κορινθίους ἐτράποντο διὰ τῆς ὑπώρεης καὶ τῶν κολωνῶν τὴν φέρουσιν ἄνω ἰθὺ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Δήμητρος, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μεγαρέας τε καὶ Φλειασίους διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τὴν λειοτάτην τῶν ὁδῶν. 2 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγίνοντο οἱ Μεγαρέες καὶ Φλειάσιοι, ἀπιδόντες σφέας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππῶται ἐπειγομένους οὐδένα κόσμον ἥλαυνον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἵππους, τῶν ἱπάρχεε Ἀσωπόδωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρου, ἐσπεσόντες δὲ κατεστόρεσαν αὐτῶν ἑξακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς κατήραξαν διώκοντες ἐς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα.

70

1 οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλοντο· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὄμιλος, ὡς κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος, ἔφθισαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες πρὶν ἢ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπικέσθαι, ἀναβάντες δὲ ἐφράζαντο ὡς ἡδυνέατο ἄριστα τὸ τεῖχος· προσελθόντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεστήκεέ σφι τειχομαχίη ἐρρώμενεστέρα. 2 ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἀπῆσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἱ δ' ἡμύνοντο καὶ πολλῷ πλέον εἶχον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὥστε οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχεῖν· ὡς δὲ σφι Ἀθηναῖοι προσῆλθον, οὕτω δὴ ἰσχυρὴ ἐγίνετο τειχομαχίη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. τέλος δὲ ἀρετῇ τε καὶ λιπαρίῃ ἐπέβησαν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ τεύχεος καὶ ἥριπον· τῇ δὴ ἐσεχέοντο οἱ Ἕλληγες. 3 πρῶτοι δὲ ἐσῆλθον Τεγεῆται ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Μαρδονίου οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ διαρπάσαντες, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν φάτνην τῶν ἵππων ἐοῦσαν χαλκῆν πᾶσαν καὶ θέης ἀξίην. τὴν μὲν νυν φάτνην ταύτην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης Τεγεῆται, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τώυτό, ὅσα περ ἔλαβον, ἐσήνεικαν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. 4 οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἔτι στίφος ἐποιήσαντο πεσόντος τοῦ τεύχεος, οὐδέ τις αὐτῶν ἀλκῆς ἐμέμνητο, ἀλύκταζόν τε οἷα ἐν ὀλίγῳ χώρῳ πεφοβημένοι τε καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες κατελιγμέναι ἀνθρώπων· 5 παρὴν τε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι φονεύειν οὕτω ὥστε τριήκοντα μυριάδων στρατοῦ, καταδεουσέων τεσσέρων τὰς ἔχων Ἀρτάβαζος ἔφευγε, τῶν λοιπέων μηδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περιγενέσθαι. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπέθανον οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ εἰς καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, Τεγεγετέων δὲ ἐκκαίδεκα, Ἀθηναίων δὲ δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα.

71

1 ἡρίστευσε δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων πεζὸς μὲν ὁ Περσέων, ἵππος δὲ ἡ

Σακέων, ἀνὴρ δὲ λέγεται Μαρδόνιος· Ἑλλήνων δέ, ἀγαθῶν γενομένων καὶ Τεγεστέων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπερεβάλλοντο ἀρετῇ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ² ἄλλω μὲν οὐδενὶ ἔχω ἀποσημήνασθαι (ἅπαντες γὰρ οὗτοι τοὺς κατ' ἐωυτοὺς ἐνίκων), ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότερον προσηνεύθησαν καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. καὶ ἄριστος ἐγένετο μακρῷ Ἀριστόδημος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας, ὃς ἐκ Θερμοπυλέων μόνος τῶν τριηκοσίων σωθεὶς εἶχε ὄνειδος καὶ ἀτιμίην. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἡρίστευσαν Ποσειδώνιός τε καὶ Φιλοκύων καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ὁ Σπαρτιήτης. ³ καίτοι γενομένης λésχης ὃς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος, ἔγνωσαν οἱ παραγενόμενοι Σπαρτιητέων Ἀριστόδημον μὲν βουλόμενον φανερῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ τῆς παρεούσης οἱ αἰτίας, λυσσῶντά τε καὶ ἐκλείποντα τὴν τάξιν ἔργα ἀποδέξασθαι μεγάλα, Ποσειδώνιον δὲ οὐ βουλόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν· τοσοῦτῳ τοῦτον εἶναι ἀμείνω. ⁴ ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ φθόνῳ ἂν εἴποιεν· οὗτοι δὲ τοὺς κατέλεξα πάντες, πλὴν Ἀριστοδήμου, τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ τίμιοι ἐγένοντο· Ἀριστόδημος δὲ βουλόμενος ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίην οὐκ ἐτιμήθη.

72

¹ οὗτοι μὲν τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ὀνομαστότατοι ἐγένοντο. Καλλικράτης γὰρ ἔξω τῆς μάχης ἀπέθανε, ἐλθὼν ἀνὴρ κάλλιστος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων, οὐ μόνον αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· ὃς, ἐπειδὴ ἐσφαγιάζετο Πausανίης, κατήμενος ἐν τῇ τάξιν ἐτρωματίσθη τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά. ² καὶ δὴ οἱ μὲν ἐμάχοντο, ὃ δ' ἐξενηνιγμένος ἐδυσθανάτεε τε καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ἀρίμνηστον ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα οὐ μέλειν οἱ ὅτι πρὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθνήσκει, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τῇ χειρὶ καὶ ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστὶ οἱ ἀποδεδεγμένον ἔργον ἐωυτοῦ ἄξιον προθυμευμένου ἀποδέξασθαι.

73

¹ Ἀθηναίων δὲ λέγεται εὐδοκιμῆσαι Σωφάνης ὁ Εὐτυχίδεω, ἐκ δήμου Δεκελεῆθεν, Δεκελέων δὲ τῶν κοτὲ ἐργασαμένων ἔργον χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ὥς αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι. ² ὥς γὰρ δὴ τὸ πάλαι κατὰ Ἑλένης κομιδὴν Τυνδαρίδα ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν σὺν στρατοῦ πλήθει καὶ ἀνίστασαν τοὺς δήμους, οὐκ εἰδότες ἵνα ὑπεξέκειτο ἡ Ἑλένη, τότε λέγουσι τοὺς Δεκελέας, οἱ δὲ

αὐτὸν Δέκελον ἀχθόμενόν τε τῇ Θησέος ὕβρι καὶ δειμαίνοντα περὶ
πάσῃ τῇ Ἀθηναίων χώρῃ, ἐξηγησάμενόν σφι τὸ πᾶν πρῆγμα
κατηγήσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας, τὰς δὴ Τιτακὸς ἐὼν αὐτόχθων
καταπροδίδοι Τυνδαρίδῃσι. ³ τοῖσι δὲ Δεκελεῦσι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ
τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἀτελεῖν τε καὶ προεδρίῃ διατελέει ἐς τότε αἰεὶ ἔτι
ἐοῦσα, οὕτω ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὕστερον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι
τούτων γενόμενον Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοισι, σινομένων
τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, Δεκελέης ἀπέχεσθαι.

74

¹ τούτου τοῦ δήμου ἐὼν ὁ Σωφάνης καὶ ἀριστεύσας τότε
Ἀθηναίων διξοὺς λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει, τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ
ζωστήρος τοῦ θώρηκος ἐφόρει χαλκὴν ἀλύσι δεδεμένην ἄγκυραν
σιδηρὴν, τὴν ὅκως πελάσειε ἀπικνεόμενος τοῖσι πολεμίοισι
βαλλέσκετο, ἵνα δὴ μιν οἱ πολέμοι ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξιος
μετακινήσῃ μὴ δυναίαιτο· γινομένης δὲ φυγῆς τῶν ἐναντίων δέδοκτο
τὴν ἄγκυραν ἀναλαβόντα οὕτω διώκειν. ² οὗτος μὲν οὕτω λέγεται, ὁ
δ' ἕτερος τῶν λόγων τῷ πρότερον λεχθέντι ἀμφισβατέων λέγεται, ὡς
ἐπ' ἀσπίδος αἰεὶ περιθεούσης καὶ οὐδαμὰ ἀτρεμιζούσης ἐφόρει
ἄγκυραν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ θώρηκος δεδεμένην σιδηρὴν.

75

¹ ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον Σωφάνει λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἐξεργασμένον, ὅτι
περικατημένων Ἀθηναίων Αἰγιναν Εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἄνδρα
πεντάεθλον ἐκ προκλήσιος ἐφόνευσε. αὐτὸν δὲ Σωφάνεα χρόνῳ
ὕστερον τούτων κατέλαβε ἄνδρα γενόμενον ἀγαθόν, Ἀθηναίων
στρατηγέοντα ἅμα Λεάγρῳ τῷ Γλαύκωνος, ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἑδωνῶν
ἐν Δάτῳ περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τῶν χρυσέων μαχόμενον.

76

¹ ὡς δὲ τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι κατέστρωντο οἱ βάρβαροι,
ἐνθαῦτά σφι ἐπῆλθε γυνὴ αὐτόμολος· ἥ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθε ἀπολωλότας
τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ νικῶντας τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ἐοῦσα παλλακὴ
Φαρανδάτεος τοῦ Τεάσπιος ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω, κοσμησαμένη χρυσῷ
πολλῷ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἀμφίπολοι καὶ ἐσθῆτι τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν
παρουσέων, καταβάσα ἐκ τῆς ἄρμαμάξης ἐχώρει ἐς τοὺς
Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτι ἐν τῇσι φονῇσι ἐόντας, ὁρῶσα δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνα

διέποντα Πausανίην, πρότερόν τε τὸ οὔνομα ἐξεπισταμένη καὶ τὴν
πάτρην ὥστε πολλάκις ἀκούσασα, ἔγνω τε τὸν Πausανίην καὶ
λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων ἔλεγε τάδε. ² “ὦ βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης, ῥῦσαί με
τὴν ἰκέτιν αἰχμαλώτου δουλосύνῃς. σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τόδε ὦνῃσας,
τούσδε ἀπολέσας τοὺς οὔτε δαιμόνων οὔτε θεῶν ὅπιν ἔχοντας. εἰμὶ
δὲ γένος μὲν Κῶν, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἥγητορίδεω τοῦ Ἀνταγόρεω· βίη δὲ
με λαβὼν ἐν Κῶ εἶχε ὁ Πέρσης „ ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται τοῖσιδε. ³ “γύναι,
θάρσσε καὶ ὡς ἰκέτις καὶ εἰ δὴ πρὸς τούτῳ τυγχάνεις ἀληθέα λέγουσα
καὶ εἷς θυγάτηρ Ἥγητορίδεω τοῦ Κῶου, ὃς ἐμοὶ ξείνος μάλιστα
τυγχάνει ἐὼν τῶν περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς χώρους οἰκημένων „ ταῦτα δὲ
εἶπας τότε μὲν ἐπέτρεψε τῶν ἐφόρων τοῖσι παρεοῦσι, ὕστερον δὲ
ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Αἴγιναν, ἐς τὴν αὐτὴ ἤθελε ἀπικέσθαι.

77

¹ μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν τῆς γυναικός, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπίκοντο
Μαντινέες ἐπ’ ἐξεργασμένοισι· μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι ὕστεροι ἦκουσι τῆς
συμβολῆς, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην, ἄξιοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι
σφέας ζημιῶσαι. ² πυνθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μήδους τοὺς μετὰ
Ἀρταβάζου φεύγοντας, τούτους ἐδίωκον μέχρι Θεσσαλίας·
Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔων φεύγοντας διώκειν. οἱ δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντες
ἐς τὴν ἐσωτῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιῆς ἐδίωξαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. ³
μετὰ δὲ Μαντινέας ἦκον Ἥλεῖοι, καὶ ὡσαύτως οἱ Ἥλεῖοι τοῖσι
Μαντινεῦσι συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο· ἀπελθόντες δὲ
καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐδίωξαν. τὰ κατὰ Μαντινέας μὲν καὶ
Ἥλείους τοσαῦτα.

78

¹ ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇσι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Αἰγινήτεων ἦν Λάμπων
Πυθέω, Αἰγινήτεων ἐὼν τὰ πρῶτα· ὃς ἀνοσιώτατον ἔχων λόγον ἴετο
πρὸς Πausανίην, ἀπικόμενος δὲ σπουδῇ ἔλεγε τάδε. ² “ὦ παῖ
Κλεομβρότου, ἔργον ἔργασταί τοι ὑπερφυῆς μέγαθός τε καὶ κάλλος,
καὶ τοι θεὸς παρέδωκε ῥυσάμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα κλέος καταθέσθαι
μέγιστον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. σὺ δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπὶ
τούτοις ποιήσον, ὅπως λόγος τε σὲ ἔχη ἔτι μέζων καὶ τις ὕστερον
φυλάσσηται τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἔργα ἀτάσθαλα ποιέων ἐς
τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ³ Λεωνίδεω γὰρ ἀποθανόντος ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι
Μαρδόνιός τε καὶ Ξέρξης ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνεσταύρωσαν·

τῷ σὺ τὴν ὁμοίην ἀποδιδούς ἔπαινον ἔξεις πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιητέων, αὗτις δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· Μαρδόνιον γὰρ ἀνασκολοπίσας τετιμωρήσεται ἐς πατρων τὸν σὸν Λεωνίδην „,

79

¹ ὁ μὲν δοκέων χαρίζεσθαι ἔλεγε τάδε, ὁ δ' ἀνταμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “ὦ ξεῖνε Αἰγινήτα, τὸ μὲν εὐνοεῖν τε καὶ προορᾶν ἄγαμαί σευ, γνώμης μέντοι ἡμάρτηκας χρηστῆς· ἐξαείρας γάρ με ὑψοῦ καὶ τὴν πάτρην καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἐς τὸ μηδὲν κατέβαλες παραινέων νεκρῷ λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἦν ταῦτα ποιέω, φὰς ἄμεινόν με ἀκούσεσθαι· τὰ πρέπει μᾶλλον βαρβάροισι ποιέειν ἢ περ Ἑλλήσι· ² καὶ ἐκείνοισι δὲ ἐπιφθονέομεν. ἐγὼ δ' ὦν τούτου εἵνεκα μήτε Αἰγινήτησι ἄδοιμι μήτε τοῖσι ταῦτα ἀρέσκειται, ἀποχρᾶ δέ μοι Σπαρτιήτησι ἀρεσκόμενον ὅσια μὲν ποιέειν, ὅσια δὲ καὶ λέγειν. Λεωνίδη δέ, τῷ με κελεύεις τιμωρῆσαι, φημί μεγάλως τετιμωρῆσθαι, ψυχῇσί τε τῇσι τῶνδε ἀναριθμήτοισι τετίμηται αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τελευτήσαντες. σὺ μέντοι ἔτι ἔχων λόγον τοιόνδε μήτε προσέλθῃς ἔμοιγε μήτε συμβουλεύσης, χάριν τε ἴσθι ἐὼν ἀπαθής „,

80

¹ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἀπαλλάσσετο. Πανσανίης δὲ κήρυγμα ποιησάμενος μηδένα ἄπτεσθαι τῆς ληΐης, συγκομίζειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἴλωτας τὰ χρήματα. οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον σκιδνάμενοι εὕρισκον σκηνὰς κατεσκευασμένας χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους, κρητῆράς τε χρυσέους καὶ φιάλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἐκπώματα· ² σάκκους τε ἐπ' ἀμαξέων εὕρισκον, ἐν τοῖσι λέβητες ἐφαίνοντο ἐνέοντες χρύσειοι τε καὶ ἀργύρειοι· ἀπὸ τε τῶν κειμένων νεκρῶν ἐσκύλευον ψέλιά τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀκινάκας ἐόντας χρυσέους, ἐπεὶ ἐσθῆτός γε ποικίλης λόγος ἐγίνετο οὐδεὶς. ³ ἐνθαῦτα πολλὰ μὲν κλέπτοντες ἐπώλεον πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας οἱ εἴλωτες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὅσα αὐτῶν οὐκ οἶα τε ἦν κρύψαι· ὥστε Αἰγινήτησι οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι ἀρχὴν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένοντο, οἱ τὸν χρυσὸν ἄτε ἐόντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν παρὰ τῶν εἰλώτων ὠνέοντο.

81

¹ συμφορήσαντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες τῷ ἐν

Δελφοῖσι θεῶ, ἀπ' ἧς ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος ἀνετέθη ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρῆνου ὄφις τοῦ χαλκεύου ἐπεστεῶς ἄγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ θεῶ ἐξελόντες, ἀπ' ἧς δεκάπηχυν χάλκεον Δία ἀνέθηκαν, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ θεῶ, ἀπ' ἧς ἐπτάπηχυσ χάλκεος Ποσειδέων ἐξεγένετο, ταῦτα ἐξελόντες τὰ λοιπὰ διαίρεοντο, καὶ ἔλαβον ἕκαστοι τῶν ἄξιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τῶν Περσέων καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα τε καὶ ὑποζύγια. 2 ὅσα μὲν νυν ἐξαίρετα τοῖσι ἀριστεύεσσι αὐτῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐδόθη, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν, δοκέω δ' ἔγωγε καὶ τούτοισι δοθῆναι· Πausanίη· δὲ πάντα δέκα ἐξαιρέθη τε καὶ ἐδόθη, γυναῖκες ἵπποι τάλαντα κάμηλοι, ὥς δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ τᾶλλα χρήματα.

82

1 λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε γενέσθαι, ὥς Ξέρξης φεύγων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μαρδονίῳ τὴν κατασκευὴν καταλίποι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· Πausanίην ὣν ὀρῶντα τὴν Μαρδονίου κατασκευὴν χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ παραπετάσμασι ποικίλοις κατεσκευασμένην, κελεῦσαι τοὺς τε ἄρτοκόπους καὶ τοὺς ὀψοποιοὺς κατὰ ταῦτά καθὼς Μαρδονίῳ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζειν. 2 ὥς δὲ κελευόμενοι οὗτοι ἐποίησαν ταῦτα, ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Πausanίην ἰδόντα κλίνας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας εὖ ἐστρωμένας καὶ τραπέζας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας καὶ παρασκευὴν μεγαλοπρεπέα τοῦ δείπνου, ἐκπλαγέντα τὰ προκείμενα ἀγαθὰ κελεῦσαι ἐπὶ γέλωτι τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ διηκόνους παρασκευάσαι Λακωνικὸν δεῖπνον. 3 ὥς δὲ τῆς θοίνης ποιηθείσης ἦν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον, τὸν Πausanίην γελάσαντα μεταπέμψασθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγούς, συνελθόντων δὲ τούτων εἰπεῖν τὸν Πausanίην, δεικνύντα ἐς ἑκατέρην τοῦ δείπνου παρασκευήν, “ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἐγὼ ὑμέας συνήγαγον, βουλόμενος ὑμῖν τοῦδε τοῦ Μήδων ἡγεμόνος τὴν ἀφροσύνην δέξαι, ὃς τοιήνδε δίαιταν ἔχων ἦλθε ἐς ἡμέας οὕτω ὀϊζυρὴν ἔχοντας ἀπαιρησόμενος ... ταῦτα μὲν Πausanίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

83

1 ὑστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Πλαταιέων εὖρον συχνοὶ θήκας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων. 2 ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ τότε ὕστερον τούτων ἐπὶ τῶν νεκρῶν περιψιλωθέντων τὰς σάρκας· συνεφόρεον γὰρ τὰ ὅστέα οἱ Πλαταιέες ἐς ἓνα χῶρον·

εὐρέθη κεφαλὴ οὐκ ἔχουσα ῥαφὴν οὐδεμίαν ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐοῦσα ὀστέου, ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ γνάθος κατὰ τὸ ἄνω τῆς γνάθου ἔχουσα ὀδόντας μονοφυέας ἐξ ἑνὸς ὀστέου πάντας τοὺς τε προσθίους καὶ γομφίους, καὶ πενταπύχχεος ἀνδρὸς ὅστέα ἐφάνη.

84

1 ἐπεῖτε δὲ Μαρδονίου δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ὁ νεκρὸς ἠφάνιστο, ὑπὸ ὅτεν μὲν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἀτρεκέες οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ τινὰς ἤδη καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἤκουσα θάψαι Μαρδόνιον, καὶ δῶρα μεγάλα οἶδα λαβόντας πολλοὺς παρὰ Ἀρτόντεω τοῦ Μαρδονίου παιδὸς διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον· 2 ὅστις μέντοι ἦν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπελόμενός τε καὶ θάψας τὸν νεκρὸν τὸν Μαρδονίου, οὐ δύναμαι ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι, ἔχει δὲ τινὰ φάτιν καὶ Διονυσοφάνης ἀνὴρ Ἐφέσιος θάψαι Μαρδόνιον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐτάφη.

85

1 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὥς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν ληϊὴν διείλοντο, ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἐωυτῶν χωρὶς ἕκαστοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τριζὰς ἐποιήσαντο θήκας· ἔνθα μὲν τοὺς ἱρένας ἔθαψαν, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκύων τε καὶ Καλλικράτης. 2 ἐν μὲν δὴ ἐνὶ τῶν τάφων ἦσαν οἱ ἱρένες, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτιῆται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ οἱ εἴλωτες. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἔθαπτον, Τεγεῆται δὲ χωρὶς πάντας ἀλέας, καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐωυτῶν ὁμοῦ, καὶ Μεγαρέες τε καὶ Φλειάσιοι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου διαφθαρέντας. 3 τούτων μὲν δὴ πάντων πλήρεις ἐγένοντο οἱ τάφοι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσοι καὶ φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐόντες τάφοι, τούτους δέ, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπαισχυνομένους τῇ ἀπεστοῖ τῆς μάχης ἐκάστους χώματα χῶσαι κεινὰ τῶν ἐπιγिनομένων εἵνεκεν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπεὶ καὶ Αἰγινητέων ἐστὶ αὐτόθι καλεόμενος τάφος, τὸν ἐγὼ ἀκούω καὶ δέκα ἔτεσι ὕστερον μετὰ ταῦτα δεηθέντων τῶν Αἰγινητέων χῶσαι Κλεάδην τὸν Αὐτοδίκου ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα, πρόξεινον ἐόντα αὐτῶν.

86

1 ὥς δ' ἄρα ἔθαψαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι οἱ Ἕλληνες, αὐτίκα βουλευομένοισί σφι ἐδόκεε στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας καὶ ἐξαίτεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας, ἐν πρώτοισι δὲ αὐτῶν Τιμηγενίδην καὶ Ἀτταγῖνον, οἱ ἀρχηγέται ἀνὰ πρώτους ἦσαν· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἐκδιδῶσι,

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ἰ Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος φεύγων ἐκ Πλαταιέων καὶ δὴ πρόσω ἐγένετο. ἀπικόμενον δὲ μιν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ παρὰ σφέας ἐπὶ τε ξείνια ἐκάλεον καὶ ἀνειρώτων περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἄλλης, οὐδὲν ἐπιστάμενοι τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι γενομένων. 2 ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάβαζος γνούς ὅτι εἰ ἐθέλει σφι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀληθείην τῶν ἀγώνων εἰπεῖν, αὐτός τε κινδυνεύσει ἀπολέσθαι καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατός· ἐπιθήσεται γάρ οἱ πάντα τινὰ οἶετο πυνθανόμενον τὰ γεγονότα. ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμενος

οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας ἐξηγόρευε οὐδὲν πρὸς τε τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε. ³ “ἐγὼ μὲν ὧ ἄνδρες Θεσσαλοί, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, ἐπείγομαί τε κατὰ τάχος ἐλῶν ἐς Θρηίκην καὶ σπουδὴν ἔχω, πεμφθεὶς κατὰ τι πρῆγμα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τῶνδε· αὐτὸς δὲ ὑμῖν Μαρδόνιος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, οὗτος κατὰ πόδας ἐμεῦ ἐλαύνων προσδόκιμος ἐστί. τοῦτον καὶ ξεινίζετε καὶ εὖ ποιεῦντες φαίνεσθε· οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐς χρόνον ταῦτα ποιεῦσι μεταμελήσει „ ⁴ ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας ἀπήλαυσε σπουδῇ τὴν στρατιὴν διὰ Θεσσαλίας τε καὶ Μακεδονίης ἰθὺ τῆς Θρηίκης, ὡς ἀληθέως ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ. καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Βυζάντιον, καταλιπὼν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἐωυτοῦ συχνούς ὑπὸ Θρηίκων κατακοπέντας κατ’ ὁδὸν καὶ λιμῶ συστάντας καὶ καμάτῳ· ἐκ Βυζαντίου δὲ διέβη πλοίοισι. οὗτος μὲν οὕτω ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

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¹ τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρης τῆς περ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὸ τρῶμα ἐγένετο, συνεκύρησε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ τῆς Ἰωνίης. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ κατέατο οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ ἅμα Λευτυχίδῃ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἦλθόν σφι ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ Σάμου Λάμπων τε Θρασυκλέος καὶ Ἀθηναγόρης Ἀρχεστρατίδew καὶ Ἥγησίστρατος Ἀρισταγόρεω, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Σαμίων λάθρη τῶν τε Περσέων καὶ τοῦ τυράννου Θεομήστορος τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος, τὸν κατέστησαν Σάμου τύραννον οἱ Πέρσαι. ² ἐπελθόντων δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς ἔλεγε Ἥγησίστρατος πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα, ὡς ἦν μούνον ἴδωνται αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἴωνες ἀποστήσονται ἀπὸ Περσέων, καὶ ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι οὐκ ὑπομενέουσι· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄρα ὑπομείνωσι, οὐκ ἐτέρην ἄγρην τοιαύτην εὔρεϊν ἂν αὐτούς· θεοὺς τε κοινούς ἀνακαλέων προέτραπε αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι ἄνδρας Ἕλληνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης καὶ ἀπαμῦναι τὸν βάρβαρον· ³ εὐπετές τε αὐτοῖσι ἔφη ταῦτα γίνεσθαι· τὰς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς πλέειν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιομάχους κείνοισι εἶναι. αὐτοὶ τε, εἴ τι ὑποπτεύουσι μὴ δόλῳ αὐτοὺς προάγοιεν, ἔτοιμοι εἶναι ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ τῇσι ἐκείνων ἀγόμενοι ὄμηροι εἶναι.

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¹ ὡς δὲ πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος ὁ ξεῖνος ὁ Σάμιος, εἶρετο Λευτυχίδης, εἴτε κληδόνος εἵνεκεν θέλων πυθέσθαι εἴτε καὶ κατὰ συντυχίην θεοῦ ποιεῦντος, “ὧ ξεῖνε Σάμιε, τί τοι τὸ οὔνομα; „ ὁ δὲ

εἶπε “Ἡγησίστρατος „, 2 ὁ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον, εἶ τινα ὄρμητο λέγειν ὁ Ἡγησίστρατος, εἶπε “δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνὸν τὸν Ἡγησιστράτου, ὃ ξεῖνε Σάμιε. σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν ποιεε ὅκως αὐτός τε δοὺς πίστιν ἀποπλεύσειαι καὶ οἱ σὺν σοὶ ἐόντες οἶδε, ἥ μὲν Σαμίους ἡμῖν προθύμους ἔσσεσθαι συμμαχοὺς „.

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1 ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἠγόρευε καὶ τὸ ἔργον προσῆγε. αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Σάμιοι πίστιν τε καὶ ὅρκια ἐποιεῦντο συμμαχίης πέρι πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας. 2 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλεον· μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε πλέειν τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον, οἰωνὸν τὸ οὖνομα ποιεύμενος.

93

1 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπισχόντες ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐκαλλιερέοντο, μαντευομένου σφι Δηιφόνου τοῦ Εὐηνίου ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνιῆω, Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ. τούτου τὸν πατέρα Εὐήνιον κατέλαβε πρῆγμα τοιόνδε. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ ταύτῃ ἰρὰ ἡλίου πρόβατα, τὰ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας βόσκεται παρὰ Χῶνα ποταμόν, ὃς ἐκ Λάκμονος ὄρεος ῥέει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης χώρας ἐς θάλασσαν παρ’ Ὀρικον λιμένα, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀραιρημένοι ἄνδρες οἱ πλούτῳ τε καὶ γένεϊ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἀστῶν, οὗτοι φυλάσσουσι ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστος· περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦνται Ἀπολλωνιῆται τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα ἐκ θεοπροπίου τινός· ἐν δὲ ἄντρῳ αὐλίζονται ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐκάς. 2 ἔνθα δὴ τότε ὁ Εὐήνιος οὗτος ἀραιρημένος ἐφύλασσε. καὶ κοτὲ αὐτοῦ κατακοιμήσαντος φυλακὴν παρελθόντες λύκοι ἐς τὸ ἄντρον διέφθειραν τῶν προβάτων ὥς ἐξήκοντα. ὁ δὲ ὥς ἐπήισε, εἶχε σιγῇ καὶ ἔφραζε οὐδενί, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων ἀντικαταστήσειν ἄλλα πριάμενος. 3 καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθε τοὺς Ἀπολλωνιῆτας ταῦτα γενόμενα, ἀλλ’ ὥς ἐπύθοντο, ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον κατέκριναν, ὥς τὴν φυλακὴν κατακοιμήσαντα, τῆς ὄψιος στερηθῆναι. ἐπεῖτε δὲ τὸν Εὐήνιον ἐξετύφλωσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε πρόβατά σφι ἔτικτε οὔτε γῇ ἔφερε ὁμοίως καρπόν. 4 πρόφαντα δὲ σφι ἔν τε Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐγίνετο, ἐπεῖτε ἐπειρώτων τοὺς προφήτας τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔφραζον ὅτι ἀδίκως τὸν φύλακον τῶν ἰρῶν προβάτων Εὐήνιον τῆς ὄψιος ἐστέρησαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐπορμῆσαι τοὺς λύκους, οὐ πρότερόν τε παύσεσθαι τιμωρέοντες ἐκεῖνῳ πρὶν ἢ δίκας δῶσι τῶν ἐποίησαν ταύτας τὰς ἄν αὐτὸς ἔλῃται καὶ δικαιοῖ·

τούτων δὲ τελεομένων αὐτοὶ δώσειν Εὐηνίῳ δόσιν τοιαύτην τὴν πολλοὺς μιν μακαριεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντα.

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¹ τὰ μὲν χρηστήρια ταῦτά σφι ἐχρήσθη, οἱ δὲ Ἀπολλωνιῆται ἀπόρρητα ποιησάμενοι προέθεσαν τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνδράσι διαπρῆξαι. οἱ δὲ σφι διέπρηναν ὧδε· κατημένου Εὐηνίου ἐν θώκῳ ἐλθόντες οἱ παρίζοντο καὶ λόγους ἄλλους ἐποιεῦντο, ἐς ὃ κατέβαινον συλλυπεύμενοι τῷ πάθει· ταύτη δὲ ὑπάγοντες εἰρώτων τίνα δίκην ἂν ἔλοιτο, εἰ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀπολλωνιῆται δίκας ὑποστῆναι δώσειν τῶν ἐποίησαν. ² ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀκηκοὺς τὸ θεοπρόπιον εἵλετο εἶπας εἴ τις οἱ δοίῃ ἀγρούς, τῶν ἀστῶν ὀνομάσας τοῖσι ἡπίστατο εἶναι καλλίστους δύο κλήρους τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ, καὶ οἴκησιν πρὸς τούτοις τὴν ἥδεε καλλίστην ἐοῦσαν τῶν ἐν πόλει· τούτων δὲ ἔφη ἐπὶ βολος γενόμενος τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀμήνιτος εἶναι, καὶ δίκην οἱ ταύτην ἀποχρᾶν γενομένην. ³ καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, οἱ δὲ πάρεδροι εἶπαν ὑπολαβόντες “Εὐήνιε, ταύτην δίκην Ἀπολλωνιῆται τῆς ἐκτυφλώσιος ἐκτίνουσί τοι κατὰ θεοπρόπια τὰ γενόμενα „. ὁ μὲν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα δεινὰ ἐποίησε, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν πυθόμενος τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὥς ἐξαπατηθεὶς· οἱ δὲ πριάμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐκτημένων διδοῦσί οἱ τὰ εἵλετο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα ἔμφυτον μαντικὴν εἶχε, ὥστε καὶ ὀνομαστὸς γενέσθαι.

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¹ τούτου δὲ ὁ Δηίφονος ἐὼν παῖς τοῦ Εὐηνίου ἀγόντων Κορινθίων ἐμαντεύετο τῇ στρατιῇ. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τότε ἤκουσα, ὥς ὁ Δηίφονος ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Εὐηνίου οὐνόματος ἐξελάμβανε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔργα, οὐκ ἐὼν Εὐηνίου παῖς.

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¹ τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησι ὥς ἐκαλλιέρησε, ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἐκ τῆς Δήλου πρὸς τὴν Σάμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο τῆς Σαμῖος πρὸς Καλαμίσοις, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὀρμισάμενοι κατὰ τὸ Ἑρραῖον τὸ ταύτη παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς ναυμαχίην, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι σφέας προσπλέειν ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον τὰς νέας τὰς ἄλλας, τὰς δὲ Φοινίκων ἀπῆκαν ἀποπλέειν. βουλευομένοις γάρ σφι ἐδόκεε ναυμαχίην μὴ ποιέεσθαι· ² οὐ γὰρ ὧν ἐδόκεον ὅμοιοι εἶναι. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἡπειρον ἀπέπλεον, ὅκως

ἔωσι ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν τὸν σφέτερον ἐόντα ἐν τῇ Μυκάλῃ, ὃς κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω καταλελειμμένος τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ Ἰωνίην ἐφύλασσε· τοῦ πληθοῦς μὲν ἦν ἑξ μυριάδες, ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτοῦ Τιγράνης κάλλει καὶ μεγάθει ὑπερφέρων Περσέων. ³ ὑπὸ τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν στρατὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο καταφυγόντες οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοὶ ἀνeirύσαι τὰς νέας καὶ περιβαλέσθαι ἕρκος ἔρυμά τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν κρησφύγετον.

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¹ ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀνήγοντο. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῶν Ποτινίων ἱρὸν τῆς Μυκάλῃς ἐς Γαίσωνα τε καὶ Σκολοπόεντα, τῇ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν, τὸ Φίλιστος ὁ Πασικλέος ἰδρύσατο Νεῖλεω τῷ Κόδρου ἐπισπόμενος ἐπὶ Μιλήτου κτιστύν, ἐνθαῦτα τὰς τε νέας ἀνείρυσαν καὶ περιεβάλοντο ἕρκος καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, δένδρεα ἐκκόψαντες ἡμερα, καὶ σκόλοπας περὶ τὸ ἕρκος κατέπηξαν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ ὡς νικήσοντες, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ἐπιλεγόμενοι γὰρ παρεσκευάζοντο,

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¹ οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς ἐπύθοντο οἰχωκότας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον, ἤχθοντο ὡς ἐκπεφυγόντων ἀπορίῃ τε εἶχοντο ὃ τι ποιέωσι, εἴτε ἀπαλλάσσονται ὀπίσω εἴτε καταπλέωσι ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου. τέλος δὲ ἔδοξε τούτων μὲν μηδέτερα ποιέειν, ἐπιπλέειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡπειρον. ² παρασκευασάμενοι ὧν ἐς ναυμαχίην καὶ ἀποβάθρας καὶ ἄλλα ὅσων ἔδεε, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τῆς Μυκάλῃς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε ἐγίνοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετό σφι ἐπαναγόμενος, ἀλλ' ὥρων νέας ἀνελκυσμένας ἔσω τοῦ τείχεος, πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκριμένον παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν, ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ νηὶ παραπλέων, ἐγγρίμψας τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τὰ μάλιστα, Λευτυχίδης ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγόρευε τοῖσι Ἴωσι λέγων ³ “ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οἱ ὑμέων τυγχάνουσι ἐπακούοντες, μάθετε τὰ λέγω· πάντως γὰρ οὐδὲν συνήσουσι Πέρσαι τῶν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐντέλλομαι. ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, μεμνησθαι τινὰ χρή ἐλευθερίας μὲν πάντων πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ συνθήματος Ἡβης. καὶ τάδε ἴστω καὶ ὁ μὴ ἀκούσας ὑμέων πρὸς τοῦ ἀκούσαντος „, ⁴ οὗτος δὲ οὗτος ἐὼν τυγχάνει νόος τοῦ πρήγματος καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέος ὁ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ· ἥ γὰρ δὴ λαθόντα τὰ ῥήματα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔμελλε τοὺς Ἴωνας πείσειν, ἥ ἔπειτα ἀνενειχθέντα ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους

ποιήσιν ἀπίστους τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι.

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¹ Λευτυχίδεω δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθεμένου δεύτερα δὴ τάδε ἐποίουν οἱ Ἑλληνες· προσσχόντες τὰς νέας ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐτάσσοντο, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὥς εἶδον τοὺς Ἑλλήνας παρασκευαζομένους ἐς μάχην καὶ τοῖσι Ἰωσι παραινέσαντας, τοῦτο μὲν ὑπονοήσαντες τοὺς Σαμίους τὰ Ἑλλήνων φρονέειν ἀπαιρέονται τὰ ὄπλα. ² οἱ γὰρ ὧν Σάμιοι ἀπικομένων Ἀθηναίων αἰχμαλώτων ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, τοὺς ἔλαβον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν λελειμμένους οἱ Ξέρξεω, τούτους λυσάμενοι πάντας ἀποπέμπουσι ἐποδιάσαντες ἐς Ἀθήνας· τῶν εἵνεκεν οὐκ ἦκιστα ὑποψίην εἶχον, πεντακοσίας κεφαλὰς τῶν Ξέρξεω πολεμίων λυσάμενοι. ³ τοῦτο δὲ τὰς διόδους τὰς ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης φερούσας προστάσσουσι τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι φυλάσσειν ὥς ἐπισταμένοισι δῆθεν μάλιστα τὴν χώραν. ἐποίουν δὲ τοῦτο τοῦδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα ἐκτὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔωσι. τούτους μὲν Ἰώνων, τοῖσι καὶ κατεδόκεον νεοχμὸν ἄν τι ποιέειν δυνάμιος ἐπιλαβομένοισι, τρόποισι τοιοῦτοισι προεφυλάσσοντο οἱ Πέρσαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνεφόρησαν τὰ γέρρα ἕρκος εἶναι σφίσι.

100

¹ ὥς δὲ ἄρα παρεσκευάδατο τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι, προσήισαν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἰοῦσι δὲ σφι φήμη τε ἐσέπτατο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πᾶν καὶ κηρυκήιον ἐφάνη ἐπὶ τῆς κυματωγῆς κείμενον· ἡ δὲ φήμη διηλθέ σφι ὧδε, ὥς οἱ Ἑλληνες τὴν Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν νικῶεν ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι μαχόμενοι. ² δῆλα δὴ πολλοῖσι τεκμηρίοις ἐστὶ τὰ θεῖα τῶν πρηγμάτων, εἰ καὶ τότε, τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συμπιπτούσης τοῦ τε ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Μυκάλῃ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι τρώματος, φήμη τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι τοῖσι ταύτῃ ἐσαπύκετο, ὥστε θαρσῆσαι τε τὴν στρατιὴν πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐθέλειν προθυμότερον κινδυνεύειν.

101

¹ καὶ τότε ἕτερον συνέπεσε γενόμενον, Δήμητρος τεμένεα Ἐλευσινίης παρὰ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς συμβολὰς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον ἐγίνετο, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ ἔμελλε ὡσαύτως ἔσεσθαι. ²

γεγονέναι δὲ νίκην τῶν μετὰ Πausανίῳ Ἑλλήνων ὀρθῶς σφι ἡ φήμη συνέβαινε ἐλθοῦσα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι πρῶτὶ ἔτι τῆς ἡμέρης ἐγίνετο, τὸ δὲ ἐν Μυκάλῃ περὶ δεῖλιν· ὅτι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι μὴνός τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ, χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ σφι ὕστερον δῆλα ἀναμνησθάνουσι ἐγίνετο. ³ ἦν δὲ ἀρρωδίῃ σφι, πρὶν τὴν φήμην ἐσαπικέσθαι, οὔτι περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οὕτω ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ περὶ Μαρδονίῳ πταῖσις ἡ Ἑλλάς. ὥς μέντοι ἡ κληδὼν αὕτη σφι ἐσέπτато, μᾶλλον, τι καὶ ταχύτερον τὴν πρόσδοδον ἐποιεῦντο. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐσπευδον ἐς τὴν μάχην, ὥς σφι καὶ αἱ νῆσοι καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἄεθλα προέκειτο.

102

¹ τοῖσι μὲν νυν Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ τοῖσι προσεχέσι τούτοις τεταγμένοις, μέχρι κου τῶν ἡμισέων, ἡ ὁδὸς ἐγίνετο κατ' αἰγιαλὸν τε καὶ ἄπεδον χώρον, τοῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐπεξῆς τούτοις τεταγμένοις κατὰ τε χαράδραν καὶ ὄρεα. ἐν ᾧ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περιήισαν, οὗτοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐτέρῳ κέρει ἔτι καὶ δὴ ἐμάχοντο. ² ἔως μὲν νυν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ὀρθὰ ἦν τὰ γέρρα, ἡμύνοντό τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλασσαν εἶχον τῇ μάχῃ· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων ὁ στρατός, ὅκως ἐωυτῶν γένηται τὸ ἔργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, παρακελευσάμενοι ἔργου εἶχοντο προθυμότερον, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα. ³ διωσάμενοι γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οὗτοι φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσαν ἀλέες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ χρόνον συγχὸν ἀμυνόμενοι τέλος ἔφευγον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Τροιζῆνιοι (οὕτω γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπεξῆς τεταγμένοι) συνεπισπόμενοι συνεσέπιπτον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ὥς δὲ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀραίρητο, οὗτ' ἔτι πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς φυγὴν τε ὀρμέατο οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Περσέων· ⁴ οὗτοι δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους γινόμενοι ἐμάχοντο τοῖσι αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐσπίπτουσι Ἑλλήνων. καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν Περσικῶν δύο μὲν ἀποφεύγουσι, δύο δὲ τελευτῶσι· Ἀρταῦντης μὲν καὶ Ἰθαμίτρης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγέοντες ἀποφεύγουσι, Μαρδόντης δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατηγὸς Τιγράνης μαχόμενοι τελευτῶσι.

103

¹ ἔτι δὲ μαχομένων τῶν Περσέων ἀπίκοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνδιεχίριζον. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν

Ἑλλήνων συχνοὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ στρατηγὸς Περίεως· 2 τῶν τε Σαμίων οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἔοντες τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ Μηδικῷ καὶ ἀπαραιρημένοι τὰ ὄπλα, ὥς εἶδον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς γινομένην ἑτεραλκέα τὴν μάχην, ἔρδον ὅσον ἐδυνάετο προσωφελέειν ἐθέλοντες τοῖσι Ἑλλησι. Σαμίους δὲ ἰδόντες οἱ ἄλλοι Ἴωνες ἄρξαντας οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Περσέων ἐπέθεντο τοῖσι βαρβάροισι.

104

1 Μιλησίοισι δὲ προσετέτακτο μὲν ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὰς διόδους τηρέειν σωτηρίης εἵνεκά σφι, ὥς ἦν ἄρα σφέας καταλαμβάνη οἷά περ κατέλαβε, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας σώζονται ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης. ἐτάχθησαν μὲν νυν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα οἱ Μιλήσιοι τούτου τε εἵνεκεν καὶ ἵνα μὴ παρεόντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τι νεοχμὸν ποιέοιεν· οἱ δὲ πᾶν τοῦναντίον τοῦ προστεταγμένου ἐποίεον, ἄλλας τε κατηγεόμενοι σφι ὁδοὺς φεύγουσι, αἱ δὴ ἔφερον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τέλος αὐτοὶ σφι ἐγίνοντο κτείνοντες πολεμιώτατοι. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεῦτερον Ἴωνίη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπέστη.

105

1 ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ἑλλήνων ἠρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναίων Ἑρμόλυκος ὁ Εὐθοίνου, ἀνὴρ παγκράτιον ἐπασκήσας. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἑρμόλυκον κατέλαβε ὕστερον τούτων, πολέμου ἔοντος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι, ἐν Κύρνῳ τῆς Καρυστής χώρας ἀποθανόντα ἐν μάχῃ κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ Γεραιστῷ. μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίους Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι ἠρίστευσαν.

106

1 ἐπεῖτε δὲ κατεργάσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τοὺς πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν μαχομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας τῶν βαρβάρων, τὰς νέας ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἅπαν, τὴν ληϊὴν προεξαγαγόντες ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν, καὶ θησαυροὺς τινὰς χρημάτων εὗρον· ἐμπρήσαντες δὲ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον. 2 ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Σάμον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀναστάσιος τῆς Ἰωνίης, καὶ ὅκη χρεὸν εἶη τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατοικίσαι τῆς αὐτοὶ ἐγκρατέες ἦσαν, τὴν δὲ Ἰωνίην ἀπεῖναι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐφαίνεται σφι εἶναι ἐωυτούς τε Ἰόνων προκατῆσθαι φρουρέοντας τὸν πάντα χρόνον, καὶ ἐωυτῶν

μη προκατημένων Ἰωνας οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα εἶχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν. ³ πρὸς ταῦτα Πελοποννησίων μὲν τοῖσι ἐν τέλει ἐοῦσι ἐδόκεε τῶν μηδισάντων ἐθνέων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὰ ἐμπολαῖα ἐξαναστήσαντας δοῦναι τὴν χώραν Ἰωσι ἐνοικῆσαι, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκεε ἀρχὴν Ἰωνὴν γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον οὐδὲ Πελοποννησίοισι περὶ τῶν σφετερέων ἀποικιέων βουλευεῖν· ἀντιτεινόντων δὲ τούτων προθύμως, εἶξαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι. ⁴ καὶ οὕτω δὴ Σαμίους τε καὶ Χίους καὶ Λεσβίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας, οἳ ἔτυχον συστρατευόμενοι τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι, ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐποιήσαντο, πίστι τε καταλαβόντες καὶ ὀρκίοισι ἐμμενέειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσασθαι. τούτους δὲ καταλαβόντες ὀρκίοισι ἔπλεον τὰς γεφύρας λύσοντες· ἔτι γὰρ ἐδόκεον ἐντεταμένως εὐρήσειν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου ἔπλεον.

107

¹ τῶν δὲ ἀποφυγόντων βαρβάρων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Μυκάλης κατειληθέντων, ἐόντων οὐ πολλῶν, ἐγένετο κομιδὴ ἐς Σάρδεις. πορευομένων δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου παρατυχὼν τῷ πάθει τῷ γεγονότι τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀρταῦντην ἔλεγε πολλὰ τε καὶ κακά, ἄλλα τε καὶ γυναικὸς κακίῳ φᾶς αὐτὸν εἶναι τοιαῦτα στρατηγήσαντα, καὶ ἄξιον εἶναι παντὸς κακοῦ τὸν βασιλέος οἶκον κακώσαντα. παρὰ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι γυναικὸς κακίῳ ἀκοῦσαι δέννος μέγιστος ἐστὶ. ² ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ πολλὰ ἤκουσε, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος σπᾶται ἐπὶ τὸν Μασίστην τὸν ἀκινάκην, ἀποκτεῖναι θέλων. καὶ μιν ἐπιθέοντα φρασθεὶς Ξειναγόρης ὁ Πρηξίλεω ἀνὴρ Ἀλικαρνησσεὺς ὅπισθε ἐστεῶς αὐτοῦ Ἀρταῦντεω ἀρπάζει μέσον καὶ ἐξαείρας παίει ἐς τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ δορυφόροι οἱ Μασίστεω προέστησαν. ³ ὁ δὲ Ξειναγόρης ταῦτα ἐργάσατο χάριτα αὐτῷ τε Μασίστῃ τιθέμενος καὶ Ξέρξῃ. ἐκσώζων τὸν ἀδελφεὸν τὸν ἐκείνου· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Ξειναγόρης Κιλικίης πάσης ἤρξε δόντος βασιλέος. τῶν δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν πορευομένων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεον τούτων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις.

108

¹ ἐν δὲ τῇσι Σάρδισι ἐτύγχανε ἐὼν βασιλεὺς ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου, ἐπεῖτε ἐξ Ἀθηνέων προσπταίσας τῇ ναυμαχίῃ φυγὼν ἀπίκετο. τότε δὴ ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι ἐὼν ἄρα ἦρα τῆς Μασίστεω

γυναικός, ἐούσης καὶ ταύτης ἐνθαῦτα. ὥς δέ οἱ προσπέμποντι οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατεργασθῆναι, οὐδὲ βίην προσεφέρετο προμηθεόμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Μασίστην· τῷτὸ δὲ τοῦτο εἶχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα· εὖ γὰρ ἐπίστατο βίης οὐ τευζομένη· ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ξέρξης ἐργόμενος τῶν ἄλλων πρήσσει τὸν γάμον τοῦτον τῷ παιδί τῷ ἐωυτοῦ Δαρεῖω, θυγατέρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης καὶ Μασίστεω, δοκέων αὐτὴν μᾶλλον λάμψεσθαι ἢν ταῦτα ποιήσῃ. 2 ἀρμόσας δὲ καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσας ἀπήλανε ἐς Σοῦσα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ τε ἀπίκετο καὶ ἡγάγετο ἐς ἐωυτοῦ Δαρεῖω τὴν γυναῖκα, οὕτω δὴ τῆς Μασίστεω μὲν γυναικὸς ἐπέπαυτο, ὁ δὲ διαμειψάμενος ἦρα τε καὶ ἐτύγγανε τῆς Δαρείου μὲν γυναικὸς Μασίστεω δὲ θυγατρὸς· οὐνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτῃ ἦν Ἀρταῦντη.

109

1 χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἀνάπυστα γίνεται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐξυφύνασα Ἄμηστρις ἢ Ξέρξεω γυνὴ φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ ποικίλον καὶ θέης ἄξιον διδοῖ Ξέρξῃ. ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς περιβάλλεται τε καὶ ἔρχεται παρὰ τὴν Ἀρταῦντην· 2 ἡσθεὶς δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ ἐκέλευσε αὐτὴν αἰτῆσαι ὅ τι βούλεται οἱ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπουργημένων· πάντα γὰρ τεύξεσθαι αἰτήσασαν. τῇ δὲ κακῶς γὰρ ἔδεε πανοικίῃ γενέσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε Ξέρξῃ “δώσεις μοι τὸ ἄν σε αἰτήσω; „ ὁ δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων κείνην αἰτῆσαι ὑπισχνέτο καὶ ὤμοσε. ἡ δὲ ὡς ὤμοσε ἀδεῶς αἰτέει τὸ φᾶρος. 3 Ξέρξης δὲ παντοῖος ἐγίνετο οὐ βουλόμενος δοῦναι, κατ’ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, φοβεόμενος δὲ Ἄμηστριν, μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζούσῃ τὰ γινόμενα οὕτω ἐπευρεθῇ πρήσσω· ἀλλὰ πόλις τε ἐδίδου καὶ χρυσὸν ἄπλετον καὶ στρατόν, τοῦ ἔμελλε οὐδεὶς ἄρξῃν ἄλλ’ ἢ ἐκείνη. Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατὸς δῶρον. ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε, διδοῖ τὸ φᾶρος. ἡ δὲ περιχαρὴς ἐοῦσα τῷ δώρῳ ἐφόρεέ τε καὶ ἀγάλλετο.

110

1 καὶ ἡ Ἄμηστρις πυνθάνεται μιν ἔχουσαν· μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιούμενον τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ ταύτῃ οὐκ εἶχε ἔγκοτον, ἡ δὲ ἐλπίζουσα τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς εἶναι αἰτίην καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνην πρήσσειν, τῇ Μασίστεω γυναικὶ ἐβούλευε ὀλεθρον. 2 φυλάξασα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἐωυτῆς Ξέρξην βασιλῆιον δεῖπνον προτιθέμενον· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζεται ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο

βασιλεύς. οὖνομα δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ τούτῳ Περσιστὶ μὲν τυκτά, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν τέλειον· τότε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σμᾶται μούνον βασιλεὺς καὶ Πέρσας δωρέεται· ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡμέρην φυλάξασα ἡ Ἀμηστρις χρηρίζει τοῦ Ξέρξεω δοθῆναι οἱ τὴν Μασίστεω γυναῖκα. ³ ὁ δὲ δεινὸν τε καὶ ἀνάρσιον ἐποιέετο τοῦτο μὲν ἀδελφεοῦ γυναῖκα παραδοῦναι, τοῦτο δὲ ἀναιτήν ἐοῦσαν τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου· συνῆκε γὰρ τοῦ εἶνεκεν ἐδέετο.

111

¹ τέλος μέντοι ἐκείνης τε λιπαρευούσης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος, ὅτι ἀτυχῆσαι τὸν χρηρίζοντα οὐ σφι δυνατόν ἐστι βασιλίου δείπνου προκειμένου, κάρτα δὴ ἀέκων κατανεύει, καὶ παραδοὺς ποιεῖαι ὧδε· τὴν μὲν κελεύει ποιεῖν τὰ βούλεται, ὁ δὲ μεταπεμπάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν λέγει τάδε. ² “Μασίστα, σὺ εἰς Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφεός, πρὸς δ’ ἔτι τούτοισι καὶ εἰς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· γυναικὶ δὴ ταύτῃ τῇ νῦν συνοικέεις μὴ συνοίκεε, ἀλλὰ τοι ἀντ’ αὐτῆς ἐγὼ δίδωμι θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμήν. ταύτῃ συνοίκεε· τὴν δὲ νῦν ἔχεις, οὐ γὰρ δοκέει ἐμοί, μὴ ἔχε γυναῖκα ,,³ ὁ δὲ Μασίστης ἀποθωμάσας τὰ λεγόμενα λέγει τάδε. “ὦ δέσποτα, τίνα μοι λόγον λέγεις ἄχρηστον, κελεύων με γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς μοι παῖδές τε νεηνῖαι εἰσὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, τῶν καὶ σὺ μίαν τῷ παιδί τῷ σεωυτοῦ ἡγάγεο γυναῖκα, αὐτὴ τέ μοι κατὰ νόον τυγχάνει κάρτα ἐοῦσα· ταύτην με κελεύεις μετέντα θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμαι; ⁴ ἐγὼ δὲ βασιλεὺς μέγα μὲν ποιεῦμαι ἀξιεύμενος θυγατρὸς τῆς σῆς, ποιήσω μέντοι τούτων οὐδέτερα. σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιώ πρήγματος τοιοῦδε δεόμενος· ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σῇ θυγατρὶ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος φανήσεται ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν ἥσσων, ἐμέ τε ἔα γυναικὶ τῇ ἐμῇ συνοικέειν ,,⁵ ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιούτοις ἀμείβεται, Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς λέγει τάδε. “οὕτω τοι, Μασίστα, πέπρηκται· οὔτε γὰρ ἂν τοι δοίην θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμήν γῆμαι, οὔτε ἐκείνη πλεῦνα χρόνον συνοικήσεις, ὥς μάθης τὰ διδόμενα δέκεσθαι ,,. ὁ δὲ ὥς ταῦτα ἤκουσε, εἶπας τοσόνδε ἐχώρεε ἔξω “δέσποτα, οὐ δὴ κώ με ἀπώλεσας
”

112

¹ ἐν δὲ τούτῳ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Ξέρξης τῷ ἀδελφεῷ διελέγετο, ἡ Ἀμηστρις μεταπεμψαμένη τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῦ Ξέρξεω διαλυμαίνεται τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ Μασίστεω· τοὺς τε μαζοὺς

ἀποταμοῦσα κυσὶ προέβαλε καὶ ῥίνα καὶ ὦτα καὶ χεῖλεα καὶ
γλῶσσαν ἐκταμοῦσα ἐς οἶκόν μιν ἀποπέμπει διαλελυμασμένην.

113

1 ὁ δὲ Μασίστης οὐδέν κω ἀκηκοῶς τούτων, ἐλπόμενος δέ τί οἱ
κακὸν εἶναι, ἐσπίπτει δρόμῳ ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ἰδὼν δὲ διεφθαρμένην τὴν
γυναῖκα, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα συμβουλευσάμενος τοῖσι παισὶ
ἐπορεύετο ἐς Βάκτρα σύν τε τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ υἱοῖσι καὶ δὴ κου τισὶ καὶ
ἄλλοισι ὡς ἀποστήσων νομὸν τὸν Βάκτριον καὶ ποιήσων τὰ μέγιστα
κακῶν βασιλέα· 2 τὰ περ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, εἴ περ ἔφθη
ἀναβάς ἐς τοὺς Βακτρίους καὶ τοὺς Σάκας· καὶ γὰρ ἔστεργόν μιν καὶ
ἦν ὕπαρχος τῶν Βακτρίων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ξέρξης πυθόμενος ταῦτα
ἐκεῖνον πρήσσοντα, πέμψας ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατιὴν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ
κατέκτεινε αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν
τὴν ἐκείνου. κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν Ξέρξεω καὶ τὸν Μασίστεω
θάνατον τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο.

114

1 οἱ δὲ ἐκ Μυκάλης ὀρμηθέντες Ἕλληνες ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου
πρῶτον μὲν περὶ Λεκτὸν ὄρμεον, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἀπολαμφθέντες,
ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ἄβυδον καὶ τὰς γεφύρας εὗρον
διαλελυμένας, τὰς ἐδόκεον εὐρήσειν ἔτι ἐντεταμένας, καὶ τούτων
οὐκ ἦκιστα εἶνεκεν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπίκοντο. 2 τοῖσι μὲν νυν
ἀμφὶ Λευτυχίδην Πελοποννησίοις ἔδοξε ἀποπλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ καὶ Ξανθίππῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ αὐτοῦ ὑπομείναντας
πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Χερσονήσου. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπέπλεον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς
Ἀβύδου διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκεον.

115

1 ἐς δὲ τὴν Σηστὸν ταύτην, ὡς ἐόντος ἰσχυροτάτου τείχεος τῶν
ταύτῃ, συνῆλθον, ὡς ἤκουσαν παρεῖναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐς τὸν
Ἑλλήσποντον, ἔκ τε τῶν ἀλλέων τῶν περιοικίδων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ
Καρδίας πόλιος Οἰόβαζος ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, ὃς τὰ ἐκ τῶν γεφυρέων
ὅπλα ἐνθαῦτα ἦν κεκομικῶς. εἶχον δὲ ταύτην ἐπιχώριοι Αἰολέες,
συνῆσαν δὲ Πέρσαι τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων συχνὸς ὄμιλος.

116

1 ἐτυράννευε δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ξέρξεω ὕπαρχος Ἀρταύκτης,

άνηρ μὲν Πέρσης, δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, ὃς καὶ βασιλέα ἐλαύνοντα ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐξηπάτησε, τὰ Πρωτεσίλεω τοῦ Ἰφίκλου χρήματα ἐξ Ἑλαιοῦντος ὑπελόμενος. ² ἐν γὰρ Ἑλαιοῦντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλεω τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτόν, ἔνθα ἦν χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιάλαι χρύσειαι καὶ ἀργύραι καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθῆς καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, τὰ Ἀρταύκτης ἐσύλησε βασιλέος δόντος. λέγων δὲ τοιάδε Ξέρξην διεβάλετο. ³ “δέσποτα, ἔστι οἶκος ἀνδρὸς Ἑλλήνος ἐνθαῦτα, ὃς ἐπὶ γῆν σὴν στρατευσάμενος δίκης κυρήσας ἀπέθανε· τοῦτου μοι δὸς τὸν οἶκον, ἵνα καὶ τις μάθῃ ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν μὴ στρατεύεσθαι „ ταῦτα λέγων εὐπετέως ἔμελλε ἀναπείσειν Ξέρξην δοῦναι ἀνδρὸς οἶκον, οὐδὲν ὑποτοπηθέντα τῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐφρόνεε. ἐπὶ γῆν δὲ τὴν βασιλέος στρατεύεσθαι Πρωτεσίλεων ἔλεγε νοέων τοιάδε· τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν νομίζουσι ἐωυτῶν εἶναι Πέρσαι καὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόθη, τὰ χρήματα ἐξ Ἑλαιοῦντος ἐς Σηστὸν ἐξεφόρησε, καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἔσπειρε καὶ ἐνέμετο, αὐτὸς τε ὅκως ἀπικοίτο ἐς Ἑλαιοῦντα ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ γυναιξὶ ἐμίσγετο. τότε δὲ ἐπολιορκέτο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων οὔτε παρεσκευασμένος ἐς πολιορκίην οὔτε προσδεκόμενος τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ἀφύκτως δέ κως αὐτῷ ἐπέπεσον.

117

¹ ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιορκεομένοισί σφι φθινόπωρον ἐπεγίνετο, καὶ ἥσχαλλον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἐωυτῶν ἀποδημέοντες καὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐξελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος, ἐδέοντό τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅκως ἀπάγοιεν σφέας ὀπίσω, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλωσι ἢ τὸ Ἀθηναίων κοινόν σφεας μεταπέμνηται· οὕτω δὲ ἔστεργον τὰ παρεόντα.

118

¹ οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τείχεϊ ἐς πᾶν ἤδη κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι ἦσαν, οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς τόνους ἔψοντες τῶν κλινέων ἐσιτέοντο. ἐπεῖτε δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἔτι εἶχον, οὕτω δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα οἰχόντο ἀποδράντες οἱ τε Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ Ἀρταύκτης καὶ ὁ Οἰόβαζος, ὅπισθε τοῦ τείχεος καταβάντες, τῇ ἦν ἐρημότατον τῶν πολεμίων. ² ὥς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, οἱ Χερσονησίται ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐσήμνησαν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοιξαν. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῖνες ἐδίωκον, οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἶχον.

1 Ὀϊόβαζον μὲν νυν ἐκφεύγοντα ἐς τὴν Θρηϊκὴν Θρήικες Ἀψίνθιοι λαβόντες ἔθυσαν Πλεισιτῶρῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ, τοὺς δὲ μετ' ἐκείνου ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἐφόνευσαν. 2 οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταῦκτην ὕστεροι ὀρμηθέντες φεύγειν, καὶ ὡς κατελαμβάνοντο ὀλίγον ἔοντες ὑπὲρ Αἰγὸς ποταμῶν, ἀλεξόμενοι χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνὸν οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον οἱ δὲ ζῶντες ἐλάμφθησαν. καὶ συνδήσαντες σφέας οἱ Ἕλληνες ἦγον ἐς Σηστόν, μετ' αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀρταῦκτην δεδεμένον αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ.

1 καὶ τεφ τῶν φυλασσόντων λέγεται ὑπὸ Χερσονησιτέων ταρίχους ὀπτῶντι τέρας γενέσθαι τοιόνδε· οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ κείμενοι ἐπάλλοντό τε καὶ ἥσπαιρον ὅκως περ ἰχθύες νεοάλωτοι. 2 καὶ οἱ μὲν περιχυθέντες ἐθώμαζον, ὁ δὲ Ἀρταῦκτης ὡς εἶδε τὸ τέρας, καλέσας τὸν ὀπτῶντα τοὺς ταρίχους ἔφη “ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, μηδὲν φοβέο τὸ τέρας τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ σοὶ ἐφηνε, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὁ ἐν Ἐλαιούντι Πρωτεσίλεως ὅτι καὶ τεθνεῶς καὶ τάριχος ἐὼν δύναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικέοντα τίνεσθαι. 3 νῦν ὧν ἄποινά μοι τάδε ἐθέλω ἐπιθεῖναι, ἀντὶ μὲν χρημάτων τῶν ἔλαβον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα καταθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ, ἀντὶ δ' ἐμεωυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποδώσω τάλαντα διηκόσια Ἀθηναίοισι περιγεγόμενος „. 4 ταῦτα ὑπισχόμενος τὸν στρατηγὸν Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἔπειθε· οἱ γὰρ Ἐλαιούσιοι τῷ Πρωτεσίλεφ τιμωρέοντες ἐδέοντό μιν καταχρησθῆναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτη νόος ἔφερε. ἀπαγαγόντες δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ξέρξης ἔξευξε τὸν πόρον, οἱ δὲ λέγουσι ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ Μαδύτου πόλιος, πρὸς σανίδας προσπασσαλεύσαντες ἀνεκρέμασαν· τὸν δὲ παῖδα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι τοῦ Ἀρταῦκτεω κατέλευσαν.

1 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τά τε ἄλλα χρήματα ἄγοντες καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν γεφυρέων ὡς ἀναθήσοντες ἐς τὰ ἱρά. καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο.

1 τούτου δὲ Ἀρταῦκτεω τοῦ ἀνακρεμασθέντος προπάτωρ

Ἀρτεμβάρης ἐστὶ ὁ Πέρσης ἐξηγησάμενος λόγον τὸν ἐκεῖνοι ὑπολαβόντες Κύρῳ προσήνεικαν λέγοντα τάδε. ² “ἐπεὶ Ζεὺς Πέρσης ἡγεμονίην διδοῖ, ἀνδρῶν δὲ σοὶ Κῦρε, κατελὼν Ἀστυάγην, φέρε, γῆν γὰρ ἐκτήμεθα ὀλίγην καὶ ταύτην τρηχέαν, μεταναστάντες ἐκ ταύτης ἄλλην σχῶμεν ἀμείνω. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀστυγεῖτονες πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκαστέρω, τῶν μίαν σχόντες πλέοσι ἐσόμεθα θωμαστότεροι. οἶκός δὲ ἄνδρας ἄρχοντας τοιαῦτα ποιέειν· κότε γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρέξει κάλλιον ἢ ὅτε γε ἀνθρώπων τε πολλῶν ἄρχομεν πάσης τε τῆς Ἀσίης; „ ³ Κῦρος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ οὐ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον ἐκέλευε ποιέειν ταῦτα, οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖσι παραίνεε κελεύων παρασκευάζεσθαι ὥς οὐκέτι ἄρξοντας ἀλλ’ ἀρξομένους· φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς γίνεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ τι τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς εἶναι καρπὸν τε θωμαστὸν φύειν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. ⁴ ὥστε συγγνόντες Πέρσαι οἷχοντο ἀποστάντες, ἐσσωθέντες τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς Κύρου, ἄρχειν τε εἵλοντο λυπρὴν οἰκέοντες μᾶλλον ἢ πεδιάδα σπεύροντες ἄλλοισι δουλεύειν.

Dual Text



Marathon, Greece, the site of one of the famous battles narrated by Herodotus

DUAL GREEK AND ENGLISH TEXT



Translated by A. D. Godley

In this section, readers can view a paragraph by paragraph text, alternating between Herodotus' Greek and Godley's English translation.

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Βιβλίο Α – Κλειώ. Book I.

1 Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησσεὸς ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἦδε, ὥς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωमाστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι. Περσέων μὲν νυν οἱ λόγιοι Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασί γενέσθαι τῆς διαφορῆς. τούτους γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ οἰκήσαντας τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον τὸν καὶ νῦν οἰκεῖουσιν, αὐτίκα ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι ἐπιθέσθαι, ἀπαγινέοντας δὲ φορτία Αἰγύπτια τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ἐσαπικνέεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἄργος. 2 τὸ δὲ Ἄργος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον προεῖχε ἅπασιν τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι καλεομένη χωρῇ. ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος τοῦτο διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον. 3 πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἕκτη ἡμέρη ἀπ' ἧς ἀπίκοντο, ἐξεμπολημένων σφι σχεδὸν πάντων, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν γυναῖκας ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα· τὸ δὲ οἱ οὐνομα εἶναι, κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, Ἰοῦν τὴν Ἰνάχου· 4 ταύτας στάσας κατὰ πρύμνην τῆς νεὸς ὠνέεσθαι τῶν φορτίων τῶν σφι ἦν θυμὸς μάλιστα· καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας διακελευσαμένους ὀρμῆσαι ἐπ' αὐτάς. τὰς μὲν δὴ πλεῦνας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγεῖν, τὴν δὲ Ἰοῦν σὺν ἄλλῃσι ἀρπασθῆναι. ἐσβαλομένους δὲ ἐς τὴν νέα οἴχεσθαι ἀποπλέοντας ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου.

1. This is the display of the inquiry of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, so that things done by man not be forgotten in time, and that great and marvelous deeds, some displayed by the Hellenes, some by the barbarians, not lose their glory, including among others what was the cause of their waging war on each other. The Persian learned men say that the Phoenicians were the cause of the dispute. These (they say) came to our seas from the sea which is called Red, and having settled in the country which they still occupy, at once began to make long voyages. Among other places to which they carried Egyptian and Assyrian merchandise, they came to Argos, which was at that time preeminent in every way among the people of what is now called Hellas. The Phoenicians came to Argos, and set out their cargo. On the fifth or sixth day after their arrival, when their wares

were almost all sold, many women came to the shore and among them especially the daughter of the king, whose name was Io (according to Persians and Greeks alike), the daughter of Inachus. As these stood about the stern of the ship bargaining for the wares they liked, the Phoenicians incited one another to set upon them. Most of the women escaped: Io and others were seized and thrown into the ship, which then sailed away for Egypt.

2 1 Οὕτω μὲν Ἴουν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι Πέρσαι, οὐκ ὥς Ἑλλήνες, καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων πρῶτον τοῦτο ἄρξαι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἑλλήνων τινάς (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τοῦνομα ἀπηγήσασθαι) φασὶ τῆς Φοινίκης ἐς Τύρον προσσχόντας ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα Εὐρώπην. εἶησαν δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτες. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα σφι γενέσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἑλληνας αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρης ἀδικίης γενέσθαι· 2 καταπλώσαντας γὰρ μακρῇ νηὶ ἐς Αἶαν τε τὴν Κολχίδα καὶ ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμόν, ἐνθεῦτεν, διαπρηξαμένους καὶ τᾶλλα τῶν εἵνεκεν ἀπίκατο, ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα Μηδεῖν. 3 πέμπαντά δὲ τὸν Κόλχων βασιλέα ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυκα αἰτέειν τε δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀπαιτέειν τὴν θυγατέρα. τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὥς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι Ἴοὺς τῆς Ἀργεῖης ἔδοσαν σφι δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς· οὐδὲ ὧν αὐτοὶ δώσειν ἐκείνοισι.

2. In this way, the Persians say (and not as the Greeks), was how Io came to Egypt, and this, according to them, was the first wrong that was done. Next, according to their story, some Greeks (they cannot say who) landed at Tyre in Phoenicia and carried off the king's daughter Europa. These Greeks must, I suppose, have been Cretans. So far, then, the account between them was balanced. But after this (they say), it was the Greeks who were guilty of the second wrong. They sailed in a long ship to Aea, a city of the Colchians, and to the river Phasis: and when they had done the business for which they came, they carried off the king's daughter Medea. When the Colchian king sent a herald to demand reparation for the robbery and restitution of his daughter, the Greeks replied that, as they had been refused reparation for the abduction of the Argive Io, they would not make any to the Colchians.

3 1 Δευτέρη δὲ λέγουσι γενεῇ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πριάμου, ἀκηκοότα ταῦτα, ἐθελῆσαι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος δι' ἀρπαγῆς

γενέσθαι γυναῖκα, ἐπιστάμενον πάντως ὅτι οὐ δώσει δίκας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνους δίδοναι. 2 οὕτω δὴ ἀρπάσαντος αὐτοῦ Ἑλένην, τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι δόξα πρῶτον πέμψαντας ἀγγέλους ἀπαιτέειν τε Ἑλένην καὶ δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς αἰτέειν. τοὺς δὲ προῖσχομένων ταῦτα, προφέρειν σφι Μηδείης τὴν ἀρπαγὴν, ὥς οὐ δόντες αὐτοὶ δίκας οὐδὲ ἐκδόντες ἀπαιτεόντων βουλοιάτῳ σφι παρ' ἄλλων δίκας γίνεσθαι.

3. Then (they say), in the second generation after this, Alexandrus, son of Priam, who had heard this tale, decided to get himself a wife from Hellas by capture; for he was confident that he would not suffer punishment. So he carried off Helen. The Greeks first resolved to send messengers demanding that Helen be restored and atonement made for the seizure; but when this proposal was made, the Trojans pleaded the seizure of Medea, and reminded the Greeks that they asked reparation from others, yet made none themselves, nor gave up the booty when asked.

4 1 Μέχρι μὲν ὧν τούτου ἀρπαγὰς μούνας εἶναι παρ' ἀλλήλων, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου Ἑλληνας δὴ μεγάλως αἰτίους γενέσθαι· προτέρους γὰρ ἄρξαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἢ σφέας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. 2 τὸ μὲν νυν ἀρπάζειν γυναῖκας ἀνδρῶν ἀδίκων νομίζειν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀρπασθισέων σπουδὴν ποιήσασθαι τιμωρέειν ἀνοήτων, τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὥρην ἔχειν ἀρπασθισέων σωφρόνων· δηλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβούλοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἠρπάζοντο. 3 σφέας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀρπαζομενέων τῶν γυναικῶν λόγον οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι, Ἑλληνας δὲ Λακεδαιμονίης εἵνεκεν γυναικὸς στόλον μέγαν συναγεῖραι καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τὴν Πριάμου δύναμιν κατελεῖν. 4 ἀπὸ τούτου αἰεὶ ἠγῆσασθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι πολέμιον. τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ ἐνοικέοντα ἔθνεα βάρβαρα οἰκηιδύντα οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Εὐρώπην καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν ἡγνεται κεχωρίσθαι.

4. So far it was a matter of mere seizure on both sides. But after this (the Persians say), the Greeks were very much to blame; for they invaded Asia before the Persians attacked Europe. "We think," they say, "that it is unjust to carry women off. But to be anxious to avenge rape is foolish: wise men take no notice of such things. For plainly the women would never have been carried away, had they not wanted it themselves. We of Asia did not deign to notice the seizure of our

women; but the Greeks, for the sake of a Lacedaemonian woman, recruited a great armada, came to Asia, and destroyed the power of Priam. Ever since then we have regarded Greeks as our enemies.” For the Persians claim Asia for their own, and the foreign peoples that inhabit it; Europe and the Greek people they consider to be separate from them.

5 1 Οὕτω μὲν Πέρσαι λέγουσι γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν εὐρίσκουσι σφίσι ἐοῦσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἔχθρης τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας. 2 περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰοῦς οὐκ ὁμολογέουσι Πέρσῃσι οὕτω Φοίνικες· οὐ γὰρ ἀρπαγῇ σφέας χρησαμένους λέγουσι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ’ ὥς ἐν τῷ Ἀργεὶ ἐμίσητο τῷ ναυκλήρῳ τῆς νέος· ἐπεὶ δ’ ἔμαθε ἔγκυος ἐοῦσα, αἰδεομένη τοὺς τοκέας οὕτω δὴ ἐθελοντὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Φοίνιξι συνεκπλῶσαι, ὥς ἂν μὴ κατάδηλος γένηται. 3 ταῦτα μὲν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὥς οὕτω ἢ ἄλλως κως ταῦτα ἐγένετο, τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, τοῦτον σημήνας προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ λόγου, ὁμοίως σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἄστεα ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξιών. 4 τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλα ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ σμικρὰ αὐτῶν γέγονε· τὰ δὲ ἐπ’ ἐμεῦ ἦν μεγάλα, πρότερον ἦν σμικρά. τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ὧν ἐπιστάμενος εὐδαιμονίην οὐδαμὰ ἐν τούτῳ μένουσαν, ἐπιμνήσομαι ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως.

5. Such is the Persian account; in their opinion, it was the taking of Troy which began their hatred of the Greeks. But the Phoenicians do not tell the same story about Io as the Persians. They say that they did not carry her off to Egypt by force. She had intercourse in Argos with the captain of the ship. Then, finding herself pregnant, she was ashamed to have her parents know it, and so, lest they discover her condition, she sailed away with the Phoenicians of her own accord. These are the stories of the Persians and the Phoenicians. For my part, I shall not say that this or that story is true, but I shall identify the one who I myself know did the Greeks unjust deeds, and thus proceed with my history, and speak of small and great cities of men alike. For many states that were once great have now become small; and those that were great in my time were small before. Knowing therefore that human prosperity never continues in the same place, I

shall mention both alike.

6 1 Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττεω, τύραννος δὲ ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλως ποταμοῦ, ὃς ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσαμβρίας μεταξὺ Συρίων τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων ἐξιεῖ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλεόμενον πόντον. 2 οὗτος ὁ Κροῖσος βαρβάρων πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν τοὺς μὲν κατεστρέψατο Ἑλλήνων ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους προσεποιήσατο. κατεστρέψατο μὲν Ἴωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ Δωριέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, φίλους δὲ προσεποιήσατο Λακεδαιμονίους. 3 πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροίσου ἀρχῆς πάντες Ἑλληνες ἦσαν ἐλεύθεροι· τὸ γὰρ Κιμμερίων στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἴωνίην ἀπικόμενον, Κροίσου ἐὼν πρεσβύτερον, οὐ καταστροφὴ ἐγένετο τῶν πολιῶν ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγῇ.

6. Croesus was a Lydian by birth, son of Alyattes, and sovereign of all the nations west of the river Halys, which flows from the south between Syria and Paphlagonia and empties into the sea called Euxine. This Croesus was the first foreigner whom we know who subjugated some Greeks and took tribute from them, and won the friendship of others: the former being the Ionians, the Aeolians, and the Dorians of Asia, and the latter the Lacedaemonians. Before the reign of Croesus, all Greeks were free: for the Cimmerian host which invaded Ionia before his time did not subjugate the cities, but raided and robbed them.

7 1 Ἡ δὲ ἡγεμονία οὕτω περιῆλθε, ἐοῦσα Ἡρακλειδέων, ἐς τὸ γένος τὸ Κροίσου, καλεομένους δὲ Μερμνάδας. 2 ἦν Κανδαύλης, τὸν οἱ Ἑλληνες Μυρσίλον ὀνομάζουσι, τύραννος Σαρδίων, ἀπόγονος δὲ Ἀλκαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. Ἄγρων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Νίνου τοῦ Βήλου τοῦ Ἀλκαίου πρῶτος Ἡρακλειδέων βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο Σαρδίων, Κανδαύλης δὲ ὁ Μύρσου ὕστατος. 3 οἱ δὲ πρότερον Ἄγρωνος βασιλεύσαντες ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἦσαν ἀπόγονοὶ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄττος, ἀπ' ὅτεν ὁ δῆμος Λύδιος ἐκλήθη ὁ πᾶς οὗτος, πρότερον Μηίων καλεόμενος. 4 παρὰ τούτων Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπιτραφέντες ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ θεοπροπίου, ἐκ δούλης τε τῆς Ἰαρδάνου γεγονότες καὶ Ἡρακλέος, ἄρξαντες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι γενεᾶς ἀνδρῶν ἕτα πέντε τε καὶ πεντακόσια, παῖς παρὰ πατὴρ ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν, μέχρι Κανδαύλεω τοῦ Μύρσου.

7. Now the sovereign power that belonged to the descendants of

Heracles fell to the family of Croesus, called the Mermnadae, in the following way. Candaules, whom the Greeks call Myrsilus, was the ruler of Sardis; he was descended from Alcaeus, son of Heracles; Agron son of Ninus, son of Belus, son of Alcaeus, was the first Heraclid king of Sardis and Candaules son of Myrsus was the last. The kings of this country before Agron were descendants of Lydus, son of Atys, from whom this whole Lydian district got its name; before that it was called the land of the Meii. The Heraclidae, descendants of Heracles and a female slave of Iardanus, received the sovereignty from these and held it, because of an oracle; and they ruled for twenty-two generations, or five hundred and five years, son succeeding father, down to Candaules son of Myrsus.

8 1 οὗτος δὴ ὢν ὁ Κανδαύλης ἡράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικός, ἐρασθεὶς δὲ ἐνόμιζε οἱ εἶναι γυναῖκα πολλὸν πασέων καλλίστην. ὥστε δὲ ταῦτα νομίζων, ἦν γὰρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα, τούτῳ τῷ Γύγῃ καὶ τὰ σπουδαιότερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ὑπερετίθετο ὁ Κανδαύλης καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς γυναικός ὑπερεπαινέων. 2 χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος (χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς) ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Γύγην τοιάδε. “Γύγη, οὐ γὰρ σε δοκέω πείθεσθαι μοι λέγοντι περὶ τοῦ εἶδους τῆς γυναικός (ὧτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν), ποίει ὅπως ἐκείνην θεήσεται γυμνήν.” 3 ὁ δ’ ἀμβώσας εἶπε “δέσποτα, τίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγίᾳ, κελεύων με δέσποιναν τὴν ἐμὴν θεήσασθαι γυμνήν ; ἅμα δὲ κιθῶν ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή. 4 πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξεύρηται, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνειν δεῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἐν τόδε ἐστί, σκοπέειν τινὰ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων γυναικῶν καλλίστην, καὶ σέο δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι ἀνόμων.”

8. This Candaules, then, fell in love with his own wife, so much so that he believed her to be by far the most beautiful woman in the world; and believing this, he praised her beauty beyond measure to Gyges son of Dascylus, who was his favorite among his bodyguard; for it was to Gyges that he entrusted all his most important secrets. After a little while, Candaules, doomed to misfortune, spoke to Gyges thus: “Gyges, I do not think that you believe what I say about the beauty of my wife; men trust their ears less than their eyes: so

you must see her naked.” Gyges protested loudly at this. “Master,” he said, “what an unsound suggestion, that I should see my mistress naked! When a woman’s clothes come off, she dispenses with her modesty, too. Men have long ago made wise rules from which one ought to learn; one of these is that one should mind one’s own business. As for me, I believe that your queen is the most beautiful of all women, and I ask you not to ask of me what is lawless.”

9 1 Ὁ μὲν δὴ λέγων τοιαῦτα ἀπεμάχετο, ἀρρώδεων μὴ τί οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν γένηται κακόν, ὃ δ’ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “θάρσее, Γύγη, καὶ μὴ φοβεῦ μήτε ἐμέ, ὡς σέο πειρώμενος λέγω λόγον τόνδε, μήτε γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμήν, μὴ τί τοι ἐξ αὐτῆς γένηται βλάβος. ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ μηχανήσομαι οὕτω ὥστε μηδὲ μαθεῖν μιν ὀφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ σεῦ. 2 ἐγὼ γάρ σε ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἐν τῷ κοιμώμεθα ὀπισθε τῆς ἀνοιγομένης θύρης στήσω. μετὰ δ’ ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἢ ἐμὴ ἐς κοῖτον. κεῖται δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῆς ἐσόδου θρόνος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἱματίων κατὰ ἕν ἕκαστον ἐκδύνουσα θήσει, καὶ κατ’ ἡσυχίην πολλὴν παρέξει τοι θεήσασθαι. 3 ἐπεὰν δέ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου στείχῃ ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνὴν κατὰ νότου τε αὐτῆς γένῃ, σοὶ μελέτω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ὅπως μὴ σε ὄψεται ἰόντα διὰ θυρέων.”

9. Speaking thus, Gyges resisted: for he was afraid that some evil would come of it for him. But this was Candaules’ answer: “Courage, Gyges! Do not be afraid of me, that I say this to test you, or of my wife, that you will have any harm from her. I will arrange it so that she shall never know that you have seen her. I will bring you into the chamber where she and I lie and conceal you behind the open door; and after I have entered, my wife too will come to bed. There is a chair standing near the entrance of the room: on this she will lay each article of her clothing as she takes it off, and you will be able to look upon her at your leisure. Then, when she moves from the chair to the bed, turning her back on you, be careful she does not see you going out through the doorway.”

10 1 Ὁ μὲν δὴ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο διαφυγεῖν, ἦν ἔτοιμος· ὁ δὲ Κανδαύλης, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκεε ὥρῃ τῆς κοίτης εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύγεα ἐς τὸ οἶκημα. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα παρῆν καὶ ἡ γυνή. ἐσελθοῦσαν δὲ καὶ τιθεῖσαν τὰ εἴματα ἐθηεῖτο ὁ Γύγης. 2 ὡς δὲ κατὰ νότου ἐγένετο ἰούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκδὺς ἐχώρεε ἔξω, καὶ ἡ γυνή

ἐπορᾷ μιν ἐξιόντα. μαθοῦσά δὲ τὸ ποιηθέν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὔτε ἀνέβωσε αἰσχυνθεῖσα οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθεῖν, ἐν νοῶ ἔχουσα τίσεσθαι τὸν Κανδαύλεα. 3 παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροις καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθῆναι γυμνὸν ἐς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει.

10. As Gyges could not escape, he consented. Candaules, when he judged it to be time for bed, brought Gyges into the chamber; his wife followed presently, and when she had come in and was laying aside her garments, Gyges saw her; when she turned her back upon him to go to bed, he slipped from the room. The woman glimpsed him as he went out, and perceived what her husband had done. But though shamed, she did not cry out or let it be seen that she had perceived anything, for she meant to punish Candaules; since among the Lydians and most of the foreign peoples it is felt as a great shame that even a man be seen naked.

11 1 τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω οὐδὲν δηλώσασα ἡσυχίην εἶχε. ὥς δὲ ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνεε, τῶν οἰκετέων τοὺς μάλιστα ὥρα πιστοὺς ἐόντας ἐωυτῇ, ἐτοίμους ποιησαμένη ἐκάλεε τὸν Γύγεα. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν δοκέων αὐτὴν τῶν πρηχθέντων ἐπίστασθαι ἦλθε καλεόμενος· ἐώθεε γὰρ καὶ πρόσθε, ὅκως ἢ βασιλεία καλέοι, φοιτᾶν. 2 ὥς δὲ ὁ Γύγης ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. “νῦν τοί δυὼν ὁδῶν παρεουσέων Γύγη δίδωμί αἶρεσιν, ὁκοτέρην βούλει τραπέσθαι. ἡ γὰρ Κανδαύλεα ἀποκτείνας ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν βασιλὴν ἔχε τὴν Λυδῶν, ἡ αὐτὸν σε αὐτίκα οὕτω ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ, ὥς ἂν μὴ πάντα πειθόμενος Κανδαύλῃ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἴδῃς τὰ μὴ σε δεῖ. 3 ἀλλ’ ἤτοι κεῖνόν γε τὸν ταῦτα βουλευσάντα δεῖ ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἡ σε τὸν ἐμὲ γυμνὴν θεησάμενον καὶ ποιήσαντα οὐ νομιζόμενα.” ὁ δὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν ἀπεθώμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα, μετὰ δὲ ἰκέτευε μὴ μιν ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδέειν διακρῖναι τοιαύτην αἶρεσιν. 4 οὐκὼν δὴ ἔπειθε, ἀλλ’ ὥρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθέως προκειμένην ἢ τὸν δεσπότεα ἀπολλύναι ἢ αὐτὸν ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι· αἰρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι. ἐπειρώτα δὴ λέγων τάδε. “ἐπεὶ με ἀναγκάζεις δεσπότεα τὸν ἐμὸν κτείνειν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα, φέρε ἀκούσω τέφ καὶ τρόπῳ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτῷ.” 5 ἡ δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα ἔφη “ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χωρίου ἡ ὁρμή ἔσται ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ ἐπεδέξατο γυμνὴν, ὑπνωμένῳ δὲ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἔσται.”

11. For the present she made no sign and kept quiet. But as soon

as it was day, she prepared those of her household whom she saw were most faithful to her, and called Gyges. He, supposing that she knew nothing of what had been done, answered the summons; for he was used to attending the queen whenever she summoned him. When Gyges came, the lady addressed him thus: "Now, Gyges, you have two ways before you; decide which you will follow. You must either kill Candaules and take me and the throne of Lydia for your own, or be killed yourself now without more ado; that will prevent you from obeying all Candaules' commands in the future and seeing what you should not see. One of you must die: either he, the contriver of this plot, or you, who have outraged all custom by looking on me uncovered." Gyges stood awhile astonished at this; presently, he begged her not to compel him to such a choice. But when he could not deter her, and saw that dire necessity was truly upon him either to kill his master or himself be killed by others, he chose his own life. Then he asked: "Since you force me against my will to kill my master, I would like to know how we are to lay our hands on him." She replied, "You shall come at him from the same place where he made you view me naked: attack him in his sleep."

12 1 ὥς δὲ ἤρτυσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, νυκτὸς γενομένης (οὐ γὰρ ἐμετίετο ὁ Γύγης, οὐδὲ οἱ ἦν ἀπαλλαγὴ οὐδεμία, ἀλλ' ἔδεε ἢ αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι ἢ Κανδαύλεα) εἶπετο ἐς τὸν θάλαμον τῇ γυναικί, καί μιν ἐκείνη, ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα, κατακρύπτει ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην. 2 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναπαυομένου Κανδαύλεω ὑπεκδύς τε καὶ ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν ἔσχε καὶ τὴν γυναιῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιληίην Γύγης τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενος ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ ἐπεμνήσθη.

12. When they had prepared this plot, and night had fallen, Gyges followed the woman into the chamber (for Gyges was not released, nor was there any means of deliverance, but either he or Candaules must die). She gave him a dagger and hid him behind the same door; and presently he stole out and killed Candaules as he slept. Thus he made himself master of the king's wife and sovereignty. He is mentioned in the iambic verses of Archilochus of Parus who lived about the same time.

13 1 ἔσχε δὲ τὴν βασιληίην καὶ ἐκρατύνθη ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι

χρηστηρίου. ὥς γὰρ δὴ οἱ Λυδοὶ δεινὸν ἐποιεῦντο τὸ Κανδαύλεω πάθος καὶ ἐν ὅπλοισι ἦσαν, συνέβησαν ἐς τὸντο οἷ τε τοῦ Γύγεω στασιῶται καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λυδοί, ἦν μὲν τὸ χρηστήριον ἀνέλη μιν βασιλέα εἶναι Λυδῶν, τὸν δὲ βασιλεῦειν, ἦν δὲ μὴ, ἀποδοῦναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἡρακλείδας τὴν ἀρχήν. 2 ἀνεῖλέ τε δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ ἐβασίλευσε οὕτω Γύγης. τοσόνδε μέντοι εἶπε ἡ Πυθίη, ὥς Ἡρακλείδῃσι τίσις ἥξει ἐς τὸν πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγεω. τούτου τοῦ ἔπεος Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιεῦντο, πρὶν δὴ ἐπετελέσθῃ.

13. So he took possession of the sovereign power and was confirmed in it by the Delphic oracle. For when the Lydians took exception to what was done to Candaules, and took up arms, the faction of Gyges came to an agreement with the rest of the people that if the oracle should ordain him king of the Lydians, then he would reign; but if not, then he would return the kingship to the Heraclidae. The oracle did so ordain, and Gyges thus became king. However, the Pythian priestess declared that the Heraclidae would have vengeance on Gyges' posterity in the fifth generation; an utterance to which the Lydians and their kings paid no regard until it was fulfilled.

14 1 τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα οὕτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαι τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἀπελόμενοι, Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου ἀναθήματα, ἔστι οἱ πλεῖστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι, παρέξ δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἀνέθηκε ἄλλον τε καὶ τοῦ μάλιστα μνήμην ἄξιον ἔχειν ἐστί, κρητῆρες οἱ ἀριθμὸν ἕξ χρύσειοι ἀνακέαται. 2 ἐστᾶσι δὲ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τριήκοντα τάλαντα· ἀληθεὶ δὲ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ οὐ Κορινθίων τοῦ δημοσίου ἐστὶ ὁ θησαυρός, ἀλλὰ Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἡετίωνος. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδίῳ Φρυγίης βασιλέα. 3 ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον· κεῖται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος ἐνθα περ οἱ τοῦ Γύγεω κρητῆρες. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὗτος καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος τὸν ὁ Γύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλέεται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην.

14. Thus the Mermnadae robbed the Heraclidae of the sovereignty

and took it for themselves. Having gotten it, Gyges sent many offerings to Delphi: there are very many silver offerings of his there; and besides the silver, he dedicated a hoard of gold, among which six golden bowls are the offerings especially worthy of mention. These weigh thirty talents and stand in the treasury of the Corinthians; although in truth it is not the treasury of the Corinthian people but of Cypselus son of Eetion. This Gyges then was the first foreigner whom we know who placed offerings at Delphi after the king of Phrygia, Midas son of Gordias. For Midas too made an offering: namely, the royal seat on which he sat to give judgment, and a marvellous seat it is. It is set in the same place as the bowls of Gyges. This gold and the silver offered by Gyges is called by the Delphians “Gygian” after its dedicator.

15 1 ἐσέβαλε μὲν νυν στρατιὴν καὶ οὗτος ἐπέιτε ἦρξε ἐξ τε Μίλητον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην, καὶ Κολοφῶνος τὸ ἄστρ εἶλε· ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν γὰρ μέγα ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ἔργον ἐγένετο βασιλεύσαντος δυῶν δέοντα τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα, τοῦτον μὲν παρήσομεν τοσαῦτα ἐπιμνησθέντες, Ἄρδυος δὲ τοῦ Γύγεω μετὰ Γύγην βασιλεύσαντος μνήμην ποιήσομαι. οὗτος δὲ Πριηνέας τε εἶλε ἐς Μίλητόν τε ἐσέβαλε, ἐπὶ τούτου τε τυραννεύοντος Σαρδίῳν Κιμμέριοι ἐξ ἠθέων ὑπὸ Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων ἐξαναστάντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ Σάρδις πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος εἶλον.

15. As soon as Gyges came to the throne, he too, like others, led an army into the lands of Miletus and Smyrna; and he took the city of Colophon. But as he did nothing else great in his reign of thirty-eight years, I shall say no more of him, and shall speak instead of Ardys son of Gyges, who succeeded him. He took Priene and invaded the country of Miletus; and it was while he was monarch of Sardis that the Cimmerians, driven from their homes by the nomad Scythians, came into Asia, and took Sardis, all but the acropolis.

16 1 Ἄρδυος δὲ βασιλεύσαντος ἐνὸς δέοντα πεντήκοντα ἔτεα ἐξεδέξατο Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδυος, καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ἔτεα δώδεκα, Σαδυάττειω δὲ Ἀλυάττης. 2 οὗτος δὲ Κυαξάρη τε τῷ Δηίοκεω ἀπογόνῳ ἐπολέμησε καὶ Μήδοισι, Κιμμερίους τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐξήλασε, Σμύρνην τε τὴν ἀπὸ Κολοφῶνος κτισθεῖσαν εἶλε, ἐς Κλαζομενάς τε ἐσέβαλε. ἀπὸ μὲν νυν τούτων οὐκ ὥς ἤθελε

ἀπήλλαξε, ἀλλὰ προσπταίσας μεγάλως· ἄλλα δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο ἐὼν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀξιαπηγητότατα τάδε.

16. Ardys reigned for forty-nine years and was succeeded by his son Sadyattes, who reigned for twelve years; and after Sadyattes came Alyattes, who waged war against Deioces' descendant Cyaxares and the Medes, drove the Cimmerians out of Asia, took Smyrna (which was a colony from Colophon), and invaded the lands of Clazomenae. But he did not return from these as he wished, but with great disaster. Of other deeds done by him in his reign, these were the most notable:

17 1 ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίοισι, παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. ἐπελαύνων γὰρ ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Μίλητον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ὅκως μὲν εἶη ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸς ἀδρός, τηνικαῦτα ἐσέβαλλε τὴν στρατιήν· ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ πηκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικίου τε καὶ ἀνδρηίου. 2 ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην ἀπίκοιτο, οἰκήματα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οὔτε κατέβαλλε οὔτε ἐνεπίμπρη οὔτε θύρας ἀπέσπα, ἔα δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἐστάναι· ὁ δὲ τὰ τε δένδρεα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὅκως διαφθείρειε, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω. 3 τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐπεκράτεον, ὥστε ἐπέδρης μὴ εἶναι ἔργον τῇ στρατιῇ. τὰς δὲ οἰκίας οὐ κατέβαλλε ὁ Λυδὸς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅκως ἔχοιεν ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμώμενοι τὴν γῆν σπεῖρειν τε καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οἱ Μιλήσιοι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκείνων ἐργαζομένων ἔχοι τι καὶ σίνεσθαι ἐσβάλλων.

17. He continued the war against the Milesians which his father had begun. This was how he attacked and beseiged Miletus: he sent his army, marching to the sound of pipes and harps and bass and treble flutes, to invade when the crops in the land were ripe; and whenever he came to the Milesian territory, he neither demolished nor burnt nor tore the doors off the country dwellings, but let them stand unharmed; but he destroyed the trees and the crops of the land, and so returned to where he came from; for as the Milesians had command of the sea, it was of no use for his army to besiege their city. The reason that the Lydian did not destroy the houses was this: that the Milesians might have homes from which to plant and cultivate their land, and that there might be the fruit of their toil for his invading army to lay waste.

18 1 ταῦτα ποιέων ἐπολέμεε ἕτα ἑνδεκα, ἐν τοῖσι τρώματα μεγάλα διφάσια Μιλησίων ἐγένετο, ἔν τε Λιμενιῷ χώρῃ τῆς σφετέρῃς μαχεσαμένων καὶ ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ. 2 τὰ μὲν νυν ἐξ ἕτα τῶν ἑνδεκα Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδυος ἔτι Λυδῶν ἦρχε, ὁ καὶ ἐσβάλλων τηνικαῦτα ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην τὴν στρατιήν· Σαδυάττης οὗτος γάρ καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἦν συνάψας· τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἐτέων τὰ ἐπόμενα τοῖσι ἐξ Ἀλυάττης ὁ Σαδυάττεω ἐπολέμεε, ὃς παραδεξάμενος, ὥς καὶ πρότερον μοι δεδήλωται, παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν πόλεμον προσεῖχε ἐντεταμένως. 3 τοῖσι δὲ Μιλησίοισι οὐδαμοὶ Ἰώνων τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον συνεπελάφρυνον ὅτι μὴ Χίοι μόνοι. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ ὅμοιον ἀνταποδιδόντες ἐτιμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον οἱ Μιλήσιοι τοῖσι Χίοισι τὸν πρὸς Ἐρυθραίους πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν.

18. He waged war in this way for eleven years, and in these years two great disasters overtook the Milesians, one at the battle of Limeneion in their own territory, and the other in the valley of the Maeander. For six of these eleven years Sadyattes son of Ardys was still ruler of Lydia, and it was he who invaded the lands of Miletus, for it was he who had begun the war; for the following five the war was waged by Sadyattes' son Alyattes, who, as I have indicated before, inherited the war from his father and carried it on vigorously. None of the Ionians helped to lighten this war for the Milesians, except the Chians: these lent their aid in return for a similar service done for them; for the Milesians had previously helped the Chians in their war against the Erythraeans.

19 1 τῷ δὲ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει ληίου ἐμπιπραμένου ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς συνηνείχθη τι τοιόνδε γενέσθαι πρῆγμα· ὥς ἄφθῃ τάχιστα τὸ λήιον, ἀνέμῳ βιώμενον ἄψατο νηοῦ Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ἀσσησίης, ἀφθεῖς δὲ ὁ νηὸς κατεκαύθη. 2 καὶ τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐγένετο, μετὰ δὲ τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπικομένης ἐς Σάρδεις ἐνόσησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης. μακροτέρῃς δὲ οἱ γινομένης τῆς νόσου πέμπει ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους, εἴτε δὴ συμβουλευσάντός τευ, εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἔδοξε πέμψαντα τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρέσθαι περὶ τῆς νόσου. 3 τοῖσι δὲ ἡ Πυθίη ἀπικομένοισι ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ἔφη χρῆσιν πρὶν ἢ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἀνορθώσωσι, τὸν ἐνέπρησαν χώρῃς τῆς Μιλησίης ἐν Ἀσσησῶ.

19. In the twelfth year, when the Lydian army was burning the crops, the fire set in the crops, blown by a strong wind, caught the temple of Athena called Athena of Assesos, and the temple burned to the ground. For the present no notice was taken of this. But after the army had returned to Sardis, Alyattes fell ill; and, as his sickness lasted longer than it should, he sent to Delphi to inquire of the oracle, either at someone's urging or by his own wish to question the god about his sickness. But when the messengers came to Delphi, the Pythian priestess would not answer them before they restored the temple of Athena at Assesos in the Milesian territory, which they had burnt.

20 1 Δελφῶν οἶδα ἐγὼ οὕτω ἀκούσας γενέσθαι· Μιλήσιοι δὲ τάδε προστιθεῖσι τούτοισι, Περίανδρον τὸν Κυψέλου ἔοντα Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ τότε Μίλητου τυραννεύοντι ξεῖνον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, πυθόμενον τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τῷ Ἀλυάττῃ γενόμενον, πέμψαντα ἄγγελον κατεπειν, ὅκως ἂν τι προειδὼς πρὸς τὸ παρεὸν βουλευῇται.

20. I know this much to be so because the Delphians told me. The Milesians add that Periander son of Cypselus, a close friend of the Thrasybulus who then was sovereign of Miletus, learned what reply the oracle had given to Alyattes, and sent a messenger to tell Thrasybulus so that his friend, forewarned, could make his plans accordingly.

21 1 Μιλήσιοι μὲν νυν οὕτω λέγουσι γενέσθαι. Ἀλυάττης δέ, ὥς οἱ ταῦτα ἐξαγγέλθη, αὐτίκα ἔπεμπε κήρυκα ἐς Μίλητον βουλόμενος σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι Θρασυβούλῳ τε καὶ Μιλησίοισι χρόνον ὅσον ἂν τὸν νηὸν οἰκοδομήῃ. ὃ μὲν δὴ ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν, Θρασύβουλος δὲ σαφέως προπεπυσμένος πάντα λόγον, καὶ εἰδὼς τὰ Ἀλυάττης μέλλοι ποιήσιν, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε· 2 ὅσος ἦν ἐν τῷ ἅστει σῖτος καὶ ἑωυτοῦ καὶ ἰδιωτικός, τοῦτον πάντα συγκομίσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν προεῖπε Μιλησίοισι, ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς σημήνῃ, τότε πίνειν τε πάντας καὶ κόμῳ χρᾶσθαι ἐς ἀλλήλους.

21. The Milesians say it happened so. Then, when the Delphic reply was brought to Alyattes, he promptly sent a herald to Miletus, offering to make a truce with Thrasybulus and the Milesians during his rebuilding of the temple. So the envoy went to Miletus. But Thrasybulus, forewarned of the whole matter, and knowing what

Alyattes meant to do, devised the following plan: he brought together into the marketplace all the food in the city, from private stores and his own, and told the men of Miletus all to drink and celebrate together when he gave the word.

22 1 ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίεε τε καὶ προηγόρευε Θρασύβουλος τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως ἂν δὴ ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Σαρδηνὸς ἰδὼν τε σωρὸν μέγαν σίτου κεχυμένον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι ἐόντας ἀγγεῖλη Ἀλυάττῃ· 2 τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἰδὼν τε ἐκεῖνα ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ εἴπας πρὸς Θρασύβουλον τοῦ Λυδοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐγένετο ἢ διαλλαγή. 3 ἐλπίζων γὰρ ὁ Ἀλυάττης σιτοδείην τε εἶναι ἰσχυρὴν ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ καὶ τὸν λεῶν τετρῶσθαι ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ, ἤκουε τοῦ κήρυκος νοστήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τοὺς ἐναντίους λόγους ἢ ὥς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε. 4 μετὰ δὲ ἢ τε διαλλαγή σφι ἐγένετο ἐπ' ᾧ τε ξείνους ἀλλήλοισι εἶναι καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ δύο τε ἀντὶ ἑνὸς νηοὺς τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ οἰκοδόμησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐν τῇ Ἀσσησῶ, αὐτὸς τε ἐκ τῆς νούσου ἀνέστη. κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον πόλεμον Ἀλυάττῃ ὧδε ἔσχε.

22. Thrasybulus did this so that when the herald from Sardis saw a great heap of food piled up, and the citizens celebrating, he would bring word of it to Alyattes: and so it happened. The herald saw all this, gave Thrasybulus the message he had been instructed by the Lydian to deliver, and returned to Sardis; and this, as I learn, was the sole reason for the reconciliation. For Alyattes had supposed that there was great scarcity in Miletus and that the people were reduced to the last extremity of misery; but now on his herald's return from the town he heard an account contrary to his expectations; so presently the Lydians and Milesians ended the war and agreed to be friends and allies, and Alyattes built not one but two temples of Athena at Assesos, and recovered from his illness. That is the story of Alyattes' war against Thrasybulus and the Milesians.

23 1 Περίανδρος δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς οὗτος ὁ τῷ Θρασυβούλῳ τὸ χρηστήριον μηνύσας· ἐτυράννευε δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος Κορίνθου· τῷ δὴ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι (ὁμολογεῖν δέ σφι Λέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βίῳ θῶμα μέγιστον παραστῆναι, Ἀρίονα τὸν Μηθυμαῖον ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἐξενειχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταίναρον, ἐόντα κιθαρωδὸν τῶν τότε ἐόντων

οὐδενὸς δεύτερον, καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

23. Periander, who disclosed the oracle's answer to Thrasybulus, was the son of Cypselus, and sovereign of Corinth. The Corinthians say (and the Lesbians agree) that the most marvellous thing that happened to him in his life was the landing on Taenarus of Arion of Methymna, brought there by a dolphin. This Arion was a lyre-player second to none in that age; he was the first man whom we know to compose and name the dithyramb which he afterwards taught at Corinth.

24 1 τοῦτον τὸν Ἀρίονα λέγουσι, τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου διατρίβοντα παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ ἐπιθυμῆσαι πλῶσαι ἐς Ἰταλίην τε καὶ Σικελίην, ἐργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα θελῆσαι ὀπίσω ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι. 2 ὀρμᾶσθαι μὲν νυν ἐκ Τάραντος, πιστεύοντα δὲ οὐδαμοῖσι μᾶλλον ἢ Κορινθίοισι μισθώσασθαι πλοῖον ἀνδρῶν Κορινθίων. τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγῃ ἐπιβουλεύειν τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐκβαλόντας ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα. τὸν δὲ συνέντα τοῦτο λίσσεσθαι, χρήματα μὲν σφι προΐέντα, ψυχὴν δὲ παραιτούμενον. 3 οὐκὼν δὴ πείθειν αὐτὸν τούτοισι, ἀλλὰ κελεύειν τοὺς πορθμέας ἢ αὐτὸν διαχρᾶσθαι μιν, ὥς ἂν ταφῆς ἐν γῇ τύχη, ἢ ἐκπηδᾷ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ταχίστην. 4 ἀπειληθέντα δὴ τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐς ἀπορίην παραιτήσασθαι, ἐπειδὴ σφι οὕτω δοκέοι, περιιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοισι ἀεῖσαι· ἀείσας δὲ ὑπεδέκετο ἑωυτὸν κατεργάσασθαι. 5 καὶ τοῖσι ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ ἡδονὴν εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀκούσεσθαι τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνθρώπων ἀοιδοῦ, ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης ἐς μέσσην νέα. τὸν δὲ ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν καὶ λαβόντα τὴν κιθάρην, στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοισι διεξελθεῖν νόμον τὸν ὀρθιον, τελευτῶντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου ῥῖψαί μιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἑωυτὸν ὥς εἶχε σὺν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ. 6 καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποπλέειν ἐς Κόρινθον, τὸν δὲ δελφῖνα λέγουσι ὑπολαβόντα ἐξενεῖκαι ἐπὶ Ταίναρον. ἀποβάντα δὲ αὐτὸν χωρέειν ἐς Κόρινθον σὺν τῇ σκευῇ, καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἀπηγέεσθαι πᾶν τὸ γεγονός. 7 Περιάνδρον δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας Ἀρίονα μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν οὐδαμῇ μετιέντα, ἀνακῶς δὲ ἔχειν τῶν πορθμέων. ὥς δὲ ἄρα παρεῖναι αὐτούς, κληθέντας ἱστορέεσθαι εἴ τι λέγοιεν περὶ Ἀρίονος. φαμένων δὲ ἐκείνων ὥς εἶη τε σῶς περὶ Ἰταλίην καὶ μιν εὖ πρήσσοντα λίποιεν ἐν Τάραντι,

ἐπιφανῆναί σφι τὸν Ἀρίονα ὥσπερ ἔχων ἐξεπήδησε· καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλαγέντας οὐκ ἔχειν ἔτι ἐλεγχομένους ἀρνέεσθαι. 8 ταῦτα μὲν νυν Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Λέσβιοι λέγουσι, καὶ Ἀρίονος ἐστὶ ἀνάθημα χάλκεον οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ, ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἐπέων ἄνθρωπος.

24. They say that this Arion, who spent most of his time with Periander, wished to sail to Italy and Sicily, and that after he had made a lot of money there he wanted to come back to Corinth. Trusting none more than the Corinthians, he hired a Corinthian vessel to carry him from Tarentum. But when they were out at sea, the crew plotted to take Arion's money and cast him overboard. Discovering this, he earnestly entreated them, asking for his life and offering them his money. But the crew would not listen to him, and told him either to kill himself and so receive burial on land or else to jump into the sea at once. Abandoned to this extremity, Arion asked that, since they had made up their minds, they would let him stand on the half-deck in all his regalia and sing; and he promised that after he had sung he would do himself in. The men, pleased at the thought of hearing the best singer in the world, drew away toward the waist of the vessel from the stern. Arion, putting on all his regalia and taking his lyre, stood up on the half-deck and sang the "Stirring Song," and when the song was finished he threw himself into the sea, as he was with all his regalia. So the crew sailed away to Corinth; but a dolphin (so the story goes) took Arion on his back and bore him to Taenarus. Landing there, he went to Corinth in his regalia, and when he arrived, he related all that had happened. Periander, skeptical, kept him in confinement, letting him go nowhere, and waited for the sailors. When they arrived, they were summoned and asked what news they brought of Arion. While they were saying that he was safe in Italy and that they had left him flourishing at Tarentum, Arion appeared before them, just as he was when he jumped from the ship; astonished, they could no longer deny what was proved against them. This is what the Corinthians and Lesbians say, and there is a little bronze memorial of Arion on Taenarus, the figure of a man riding upon a dolphin.

25 1 Ἀλυάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους πόλεμον διενείκας μετέπειτα τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας ἔτεα ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα. 2 ἀνέθηκε

δὲ ἐκφυγὼν τὴν νοῦσον δεύτερος οὗτος τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης ἐς Δελφοὺς κρητῆρά τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδήρεον κολλητόν, θέης ἄξιον διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀναθημάτων, Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου ποίημα, ὃς μόνος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων σιδήρου κόλλησιν ἐξεῦρε.

25. Alyattes the Lydian, his war with the Milesians finished, died after a reign of fifty-seven years. He was the second of his family to make an offering to Delphi (after recovering from his illness) of a great silver bowl on a stand of welded iron. Among all the offerings at Delphi, this is the most worth seeing, and is the work of Glaucus the Chian, the only one of all men who discovered how to weld iron.

26 1 τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλυάττεω ἐξεδέξατο τὴν βασιληίην Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω, ἐτέων ἐὼν ἡλικίην πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα· ὃς δὴ Ἑλλήνων πρώτοις ἐπεθήκατο Ἑφεσίοις. 2 ἔνθα δὲ οἱ Ἑφέσιοι πολιορκέομενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνέθεσαν τὴν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἐξάψαντες ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ σχοινίον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ἔστι δὲ μετὰ τῆς τε παλαιῆς πόλιος, ἥ τότε ἐπολιορκέτο, καὶ τοῦ νηοῦ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι. 3 πρώτοις μὲν δὴ τούτοις ἐπεχείρησε ὁ Κροῖσος, μετὰ δὲ ἐν μέρει ἐκάστοις Ἰώνων τε καὶ Αἰολέων, ἄλλοις ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων, τῶν μὲν ἐδύνατο μέζονας παρευρίσκειν, μέζονα ἐπαιτιώμενος, τοῖς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φαῦλα ἐπιφέρων.

26. After the death of Alyattes, his son Croesus, then thirty-five years of age, came to the throne . The first Greeks whom he attacked were the Ephesians. These, besieged by him, dedicated their city to Artemis; they did this by attaching a rope to the city wall from the temple of the goddess, which stood seven stades away from the ancient city which was then besieged. These were the first whom Croesus attacked; afterwards he made war on the Ionian and Aeolian cities in turn, upon different pretexts: he found graver charges where he could, but sometimes alleged very petty grounds of offense.

27 1 ὥς δὲ ἄρα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἕλληνες κατεστράφατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπενόεε νέας ποιησάμενος ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς νησιώτησι. 2 ἐόντων δὲ οἱ πάντων ἐτοίμων ἐς τὴν ναυπηγίην, οἳ μὲν Βίαντα λέγουσι τὸν Πριηνέα ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σάρδις, οἳ δὲ Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναῖον, εἰρομένου Κροίσου εἴ τι εἴη νεώτερον περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰπόντα τάδε καταπαῦσαι τὴν ναυπηγίην· 3 “ὦ βασιλεῦ,

νησιῶται ἵππον συνωνέονται μυρίην, ἐς Σάρδεις τε καὶ ἐπὶ σὲ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες στρατεύεσθαι.” Κροῖσον δὲ ἐλπίσαντα λέγειν ἐκεῖνον ἀληθεῖα εἰπεῖν “αἱ γὰρ τοῦτο θεοὶ ποιήσειαν ἐπὶ νόον νησιώτησι, ἔλθειν ἐπὶ Λυδῶν παιῖδας σὺν ἵπποισι. 4 τὸν δὲ ὑπολαβόντα φάναι “ὦ βασιλεῦ, προθύμως μοι φαίνειαι εὐξασθαι νησιώτας ἵππευομένους λαβεῖν ἐν ἡπείρῳ, οἰκότα ἐλπίζων. νησιώτας δὲ τί δοκέεις εὐχεσθαι ἄλλο ἢ, ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντό σε μέλλοντα ἐπὶ σφίσι ναυπηγέεσθαι νέας, λαβεῖν ἀρώμενοι Λυδοὺς ἐν θαλάσῃ, ἵνα ὑπερ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ οἰκημένων Ἑλλήνων τίσωνταί σε, τοὺς σὺ δουλώσας ἔχεις;” 5 κάρτα τε ἡσθῆναι Κροῖσον τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ καὶ οἱ, προσφυέως γὰρ δόξα λέγειν, πειθόμενον παύσασθαι τῆς ναυπηγίης. καὶ οὕτω τοῖσι τὰς νήσους οἰκημένοισι Ἴωσι ξεινίην συνεθήκατο.

27. Then, when he had subjugated all the Asiatic Greeks of the mainland and made them tributary to him, he planned to build ships and attack the islanders; but when his preparations for shipbuilding were underway, either Bias of Priene or Pittacus of Mytilene (the story is told of both) came to Sardis and, asked by Croesus for news about Hellas, put an end to the shipbuilding by giving the following answer: “O King, the islanders are buying ten thousand horse, intending to march to Sardis against you.” Croesus, thinking that he spoke the truth, said: “Would that the gods would put this in the heads of the islanders, to come on horseback against the sons of the Lydians!” Then the other answered and said: “O King, you appear to me earnestly to wish to catch the islanders riding horses on the mainland, a natural wish. And what else do you suppose the islanders wished, as soon as they heard that you were building ships to attack them, than to catch Lydians on the seas, so as to be revenged on you for the Greeks who dwell on the mainland, whom you enslaved?” Croesus was quite pleased with this conclusion, for he thought the man spoke reasonably and, heeding him, stopped building ships. Thus he made friends with the Ionians inhabiting the islands.

28 1 χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγινομένου καὶ κατεστραμμένων σχεδὸν πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλφειο ποταμοῦ οἰκημένων· πλὴν γὰρ Κιλικίων καὶ Λυκίων τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὑπ’ ἐωυτῷ εἶχε καταστρεψάμενος ὁ Κροῖσος. εἰσὶ δὲ οἶδε, Λυδοί, Φρύγες, Μυσοί, Μαριανδυνοί, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, Θρήκες οἱ Θυνοί τε καὶ Βιθυνοί, Κᾶρες,

Ἵωνες, Δωριέες, Αἰολέες, Πάμφυλοι κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων καὶ προσεπικτωμένου Κροΐσου Λυδοῖσι,

28. As time went on, Croesus subjugated almost all the nations west of the Halys; for except the Cilicians and Lycians, all the rest Croesus held subject under him. These were the Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandynians, Chalybes, Paphlagonians, the Thracian Thynians and Bithynians, Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Aeolians, and Pamphylians;

29 1 ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ ἄλλοι τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταί, οἱ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτύγγανον ἔόντες, ὡς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀπικνέοιτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ Σόλων ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύσασι ποιήσας ἀπεδήμησε ἕτεα δέκα κατὰ θεωρίας πρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας, ἵνα δὴ μὴ τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῇ, λῦσαι τῶν ἔθετο. 2 αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἷοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναῖοι· ὀρκίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι κατεῖχοντο δέκα ἕτεα χρήσεσθαι νόμοισι τοὺς ἄν σφι Σόλων θῇται.

29. and after these were subdued and subject to Croesus in addition to the Lydians, all the sages from Hellas who were living at that time, coming in different ways, came to Sardis, which was at the height of its property; and among them came Solon the Athenian, who, after making laws for the Athenians at their request, went abroad for ten years, sailing forth to see the world, he said. This he did so as not to be compelled to repeal any of the laws he had made, since the Athenians themselves could not do that, for they were bound by solemn oaths to abide for ten years by whatever laws Solon should make.

30 1 αὐτῶν δὴ ὧν τούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίας ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων εἶνεκεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπύκετο παρὰ Ἰαμασιν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ Κροΐσον. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐξεινίζετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιληίοισι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κροΐσου· μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρη τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ κελεύσαντος Κροΐσου τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες περιῆγον κατὰ τοὺς θησαυρούς, καὶ ἐπεδείκνυσαν πάντα ἔοντα μεγάλα τε καὶ ὄλβια. 2 θεησάμενον δὲ μιν τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεψάμενον ὡς οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν, εἶρετο ὁ Κροῖσος τάδε. “ἔεινε Ἀθηναῖε, παρ’ ἡμέας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγος ἀπῖκται πολλὸς καὶ σοφίης εἶνεκεν τῆς σῆς καὶ πλάνης, ὡς φιλοσοφῶν γῆν πολλὴν θεωρίης εἶνεκεν ἐπελήλυθας· νῦν ὧν ἐπειρέσθαι με ἵμερος ἐπῆλθέ σε

εἴ τινα ἤδη πάντων εἶδες ὀλβιώτατον.” 3 ὁ μὲν ἐλπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλβιώτατος ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα· Σόλων δὲ οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐόντι χρησάμενος λέγει “ὦ βασιλεῦ, Τέλλον Ἀθηναῖον.” 4 ἀποθωμάσας δὲ Κροῖσος τὸ λεχθὲν εἶρετο ἐπιστρεφάως· “κοίη δὴ κρίνεις Τέλλον εἶναι ὀλβιώτατον ;” ὁ δὲ εἶπε “Τέλλῳ τοῦτο μὲν τῆς πόλιος εὖ ἡκούσης παῖδες ἦσαν καλοὶ τε κάγαθοί, καὶ σφι εἶδε ἅπασι τέκνα ἐκγενόμενα καὶ πάντα παραμεΐναντα· τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ βίου εὖ ἦκοντι, ὥς τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν, τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτη ἐπεγένετο· 5 γενομένης γὰρ Ἀθηναίοισι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι, βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα, καὶ μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίῃ τε ἔθαψαν αὐτοῦ τῇ περ ἔπεσε καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως.”

30. So for that reason, and to see the world, Solon went to visit Amasis in Egypt and then to Croesus in Sardis. When he got there, Croesus entertained him in the palace, and on the third or fourth day Croesus told his attendants to show Solon around his treasures, and they pointed out all those things that were great and blest. After Solon had seen everything and had thought about it, Croesus found the opportunity to say, “My Athenian guest, we have heard a lot about you because of your wisdom and of your wanderings, how as one who loves learning you have traveled much of the world for the sake of seeing it, so now I desire to ask you who is the most fortunate man you have seen.” Croesus asked this question believing that he was the most fortunate of men, but Solon, offering no flattery but keeping to the truth, said, “O King, it is Tellus the Athenian.” Croesus was amazed at what he had said and replied sharply, “In what way do you judge Tellus to be the most fortunate?” Solon said, “Tellus was from a prosperous city, and his children were good and noble. He saw children born to them all, and all of these survived. His life was prosperous by our standards, and his death was most glorious: when the Athenians were fighting their neighbors in Eleusis, he came to help, routed the enemy, and died very finely. The Athenians buried him at public expense on the spot where he fell and gave him much honor.”

31 1 ὥς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον προετρέψατο ὁ Σόλων τὸν

Κροῖσον εἶπας πολλά τε καὶ ὀλβία, ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτερον μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἴδοι, δοκέων πάγχυ δευτερεῖα γῶν οἴσεσθαι. ὁ δ' εἶπε “Κλέοβιν τε καὶ Βίτωνα. 2 τούτοισι γὰρ ἐοῦσι γένος Ἀργεῖοισι βίος τε ἀρκέων ὑπῆν, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ ῥώμη σώματος τοιήδε· ἀεθλοφόροι τε ἀμφότεροι ὁμοίως ἦσαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος. ἐούσης ὀρτῆς τῇ Ἥρῃ τοῖσι Ἀργεῖοισι ἔδεε πάντως τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν ζεύγεϊ κομισθῆναι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν, οἱ δέ σφι βόες ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ οὐ παρεγίνοντο ἐν ὥρῃ· ἐκκλησιόμενοι δὲ τῇ ὥρῃ οἱ νεηνῖαι ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ζεύγλην εἵλκον τὴν ἄμαξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης δέ σφι ὠχέετο ἡ μήτηρ· σταδίους δὲ πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα διακομίσαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἱρόν. 3 ταῦτα δέ σφι ποιήσασι καὶ ὀφθεῖσι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου ἀρίστη ἐπεγένετο, διέδεξέ τε ἐν τούτοισι ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἄμεινον εἶη ἀνθρώπῳ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν γὰρ περιστάντες ἐμακάριζον τῶν νεηνιέων τὴν ῥώμην, αἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖαι τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν, οἷων τέκνων ἐκύρησε· 4 ἡ δὲ μήτηρ περιχαρὴς ἐοῦσα τῷ τε ἔργῳ καὶ τῇ φήμῃ, στᾶσα ἀντίον τοῦ ἀγάλματος εὐχετο Κλεόβι τε καὶ Βίτῳ τοῖσι ἐωυτῆς τέκνοισι, οἳ μιν ἐτίμησαν μέγας, τὴν θεὸν δοῦναι τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ τυχεῖν ἄριστον ἐστί. 5 μετὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ὡς ἔθυσάν τε καὶ εὐωχήθησαν, κατακοιμηθέντες ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱρῷ οἱ νεηνῖαι οὐκέτι ἀνέστησαν ἄλλ' ἐν τέλει τούτῳ ἔσχοντο. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ σφέων εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὡς ἀριστῶν γενομένων.”

31. When Solon had provoked him by saying that the affairs of Tellus were so fortunate, Croesus asked who he thought was next, fully expecting to win second prize. Solon answered, “Cleobis and Biton. They were of Argive stock, had enough to live on, and on top of this had great bodily strength. Both had won prizes in the athletic contests, and this story is told about them: there was a festival of Hera in Argos, and their mother absolutely had to be conveyed to the temple by a team of oxen. But their oxen had not come back from the fields in time, so the youths took the yoke upon their own shoulders under constraint of time. They drew the wagon, with their mother riding atop it, traveling five miles until they arrived at the temple. When they had done this and had been seen by the entire gathering, their lives came to an excellent end, and in their case the god made clear that for human beings it is a better thing to die than to live. The

Argive men stood around the youths and congratulated them on their strength; the Argive women congratulated their mother for having borne such children. She was overjoyed at the feat and at the praise, so she stood before the image and prayed that the goddess might grant the best thing for man to her children Cleobis and Biton, who had given great honor to the goddess. After this prayer they sacrificed and feasted. The youths then lay down in the temple and went to sleep and never rose again; death held them there. The Argives made and dedicated at Delphi statues of them as being the best of men.”

32 1 Σόλων μὲν δὴ εὐδαιμονίης δευτερεῖα ἔνεμε τούτοισι, Κροῖσος δὲ σπερχθεὶς εἶπε “ὦ ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ἡ δ’ ἡμετέρῃ εὐδαιμονίῃ οὕτω τοι ἀπερρίπται ἐς τὸ μηδὲν ὥστε οὐδὲ ἰδιωτέων ἀνδρῶν ἀξίους ἡμέας ἐποίησας;”, ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὼν φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχῶδες ἐπειρωτᾶς ἀνθρωπῶν πρηγμάτων πέρι. 2 ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μὲν ἐστὶ ἰδεῖν τὰ μὴ τις ἐθέλει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθεῖν. ἐς γὰρ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτα οὖρον τῆς ζῆς ἀνθρώπῳ προτίθημι. 3 οὗτοι ἐόντες ἐνιαυτοὶ ἑβδομήκοντα παρέχονται ἡμέρας διηκοσίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας καὶ δισμυρίας, ἐμβολίμου μηνὸς μὴ γινομένου· εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐθελήσῃ τοῦτερον τῶν ἐτέων μηνὶ μακρότερον γίνεσθαι, ἵνα δὴ αἱ ὥραι συμβαίνωσι παραγινόμεναι ἐς τὸ δέον, μῆνες μὲν παρὰ τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτα οἱ ἐμβόλιμοι γίνονται τριήκοντα πέντε, ἡμέραι δὲ ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν τούτων χίλια πεντήκοντα. 4 τουτέων τῶν ἀπασέων ἡμερέων τῶν ἐς τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτα, ἐουσέων πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκοσιέων καὶ ἐξακισχιλιέων καὶ δισμυριέων, ἡ ἑτέρα αὐτέων τῇ ἑτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὅμοιον προσάγει πρῆγμα. οὕτω ὢν Κροῖσε πᾶν ἐστὶ ἄνθρωπος συμφορῇ. 5 ἐμοὶ δὲ σὺ καὶ πλουτέειν μέγα φαίνειαι καὶ βασιλεὺς πολλῶν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων· ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ εἶρεό με, οὐκω σε ἐγὼ λέγω, πρὶν τελευτήσαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα πύθωμαι. οὐ γάρ τι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ’ ἡμέρην ἔχοντος ὀλβιώτερος ἐστὶ, εἰ μὴ οἱ τύχῃ ἐπίσποιτο πάντα καλὰ ἔχοντα εὖ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ζάπλουτοι ἀνθρώπων ἀνόλβιοι εἰσὶ, πολλοὶ δὲ μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου εὐτυχέες. 6 ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγα πλούσιος ἀνόλβιος δὲ δυοῖσι προέχει τοῦ εὐτυχέος μοῦνον, οὗτος δὲ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ἀνόλβου πολλοῖσι· ὁ μὲν ἐπιθυμὴν ἐκτελέσαι καὶ

ἄτην μεγάλην προσπεσοῦσαν ἐνεῖκαι δυνατώτερος, ὁ δὲ τοῖσιδε προέχει ἐκείνου· ἄτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμίην οὐκ ὁμοίως δυνατὸς ἐκείνῳ ἐνεῖκαι, ταῦτα δὲ ἢ εὐτυχίῃ οἱ ἀπερύκει, ἄπηρος δὲ ἐστὶ, ἄνουσος, ἀπαθὴς κακῶν, εὖπαις, εὐειδής. 7 εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοισι ἔτι τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον εὖ, οὗτος ἐκεῖνος τὸν σὺ ζητέεις, ὁ ὄλβιος κεκληῖσθαι ἄξιος ἐστὶ· πρὶν δ' ἂν τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχεῖν, μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὄλβιον ἀλλ' εὐτυχέα. 8 τὰ πάντα μὲν νυν ταῦτα συλλαβεῖν ἄνθρωπον ἐόντα ἀδύνατον ἐστὶ, ὥσπερ χωρὶ οὐδεμία καταρκέει πάντα ἐωυτῇ παρέχουσα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλο μὲν ἔχει ἐτέρου δὲ ἐπιδέεται· ἡ δὲ ἂν τὰ πλεῖστα ἔχῃ, αὕτη ἀρίστη. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα ἐν οὐδὲν αὐταρκες ἐστὶ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει, ἄλλου δὲ ἐνδεές ἐστι· 9 ὅς δ' ἂν αὐτῶν πλεῖστα ἔχων διατελέῃ καὶ ἔπειτα τελευτήσῃ εὐχαρίστως τὸν βίον, οὗτος παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ οὖνομα τοῦτο ὧ βασιλεῦ δίκαιος ἐστὶ φέρεσθαι. σκοπέειν δὲ χρὴ παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν, κῆ ἀποβήσεται· πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὄλβον ὁ θεὸς προρρίζους ἀνέτρεψε.”

32. Thus Solon granted second place in happiness to these men. Croesus was vexed and said, “My Athenian guest, do you so much despise our happiness that you do not even make us worth as much as common men?” Solon replied, “Croesus, you ask me about human affairs, and I know that the divine is entirely grudging and troublesome to us. In a long span of time it is possible to see many things that you do not want to, and to suffer them, too. I set the limit of a man’s life at seventy years; these seventy years have twenty-five thousand, two hundred days, leaving out the intercalary month. But if you make every other year longer by one month, so that the seasons agree opportunely, then there are thirty-five intercalary months during the seventy years, and from these months there are one thousand fifty days. Out of all these days in the seventy years, all twenty-six thousand, two hundred and fifty of them, not one brings anything at all like another. So, Croesus, man is entirely chance. To me you seem to be very rich and to be king of many people, but I cannot answer your question before I learn that you ended your life well. The very rich man is not more fortunate than the man who has only his daily needs, unless he chances to end his life with all well. Many very rich men are unfortunate, many of moderate means are

lucky. The man who is very rich but unfortunate surpasses the lucky man in only two ways, while the lucky surpasses the rich but unfortunate in many. The rich man is more capable of fulfilling his appetites and of bearing a great disaster that falls upon him, and it is in these ways that he surpasses the other. The lucky man is not so able to support disaster or appetite as is the rich man, but his luck keeps these things away from him, and he is free from deformity and disease, has no experience of evils, and has fine children and good looks. If besides all this he ends his life well, then he is the one whom you seek, the one worthy to be called fortunate. But refrain from calling him fortunate before he dies; call him lucky. It is impossible for one who is only human to obtain all these things at the same time, just as no land is self-sufficient in what it produces. Each country has one thing but lacks another; whichever has the most is the best. Just so no human being is self-sufficient; each person has one thing but lacks another. Whoever passes through life with the most and then dies agreeably is the one who, in my opinion, O King, deserves to bear this name. It is necessary to see how the end of every affair turns out, for the god promises fortune to many people and then utterly ruins them.”

33 1 ταῦτα λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ οὐ πως οὔτε ἐχαρίζετο, οὔτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενὸς ἀποπέμπεται, κάρτα δόξας ἀμαθέα εἶναι, ὃς τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ μετεῖς τὴν τελευτὴν παντὸς χρήματος ὁρᾷν ἐκέλευε.

33. By saying this, Solon did not at all please Croesus, who sent him away without regard for him, but thinking him a great fool, because he ignored the present good and told him to look to the end of every affair.

34 1 μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον ἔλαβέ ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη Κροῖσον, ὥς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἔωντὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ὀλβιώτατον. αὐτίκα δὲ οἱ εὐδοντι ἐπέστη ὄνειρος, ὃς οἱ τὴν ἀληθείην ἔφαινε τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι κακῶν κατὰ τὸν παῖδα. 2 ἦσαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσῳ δύο παῖδες, τῶν οὔτερος μὲν διέφθαρτο, ἦν γὰρ δὴ κωφός, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος τῶν ἡλίκων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα πρῶτος· οὖνομα δὲ οἱ ἦν Ἄτys. τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἄτυν σημαίνει τῷ Κροίσῳ ὁ ὄνειρος, ὥς ἀπολέει μιν αἰχμῇ σιδηρῇ βληθέντα. 3 ὁ δ' ἐπεῖτε ἐξηγέρθη καὶ

ἔωυτῷ λόγον ἔδωκε, καταρρώδηςας τὸν ὄνειρον ἄγεται μὲν τῷ παιδί γυναικα, ἐωθότα δὲ στρατηγέειν μιν τῶν Λυδῶν οὐδαμῇ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρῆγμα ἐξέπεμπε· ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δοράτια καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα τοῖσι χρέωνται ἐς πόλεμον ἄνθρωποι, ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρεώνων ἐκκομίσας ἐς τοὺς θαλάμους συνένησε, μή τί οἱ κρεμάμενον τῷ παιδί ἐμπέσῃ.

34. But after Solon's departure divine retribution fell heavily on Croesus; as I guess, because he supposed himself to be blessed beyond all other men. Directly, as he slept, he had a dream, which showed him the truth of the evil things which were going to happen concerning his son. He had two sons, one of whom was ruined, for he was mute, but the other, whose name was Atys, was by far the best in every way of all of his peers. The dream showed this Atys to Croesus, how he would lose him struck and killed by a spear of iron. So Croesus, after he awoke and considered, being frightened by the dream, brought in a wife for his son, and although Atys was accustomed to command the Lydian armies, Croesus now would not send him out on any such enterprise, while he took the javelins and spears and all such things that men use for war from the men's apartments and piled them in his store room, lest one should fall on his son from where it hung.

35 1 ἔχοντι δέ οἱ ἐν χερσὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν γάμον, ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ἀνὴρ συμφορῇ ἐχόμενος καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χειρᾶς, ἐὼν Φρυγῆ μὲν γενεῇ, γένεος δὲ τοῦ βασιλίου. παρελθὼν δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὰ Κροΐσου οἰκία κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθαρσίου ἐδέετο κυρῆσαι, Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἐκάθηρε. 2 ἔστι δὲ παραπλησίη ἡ κάθαρσις τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι. ἐπεῖτε δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν τε καὶ τίς εἴη, λέγων τάδε· 3 “ὦνθρωπε, τίς τε ἐὼν καὶ κόθεν τῆς Φρυγίης ἦκων ἐπίστιός μοι ἐγένεο ; τίνα τε ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν ἐφόνευσας ;” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο “ὦ βασιλεῦ, Γορδίῳ μὲν τοῦ Μίδεω εἰμὶ παῖς, ὀνομάζομαι δὲ Ἄδρηστος, φονεύσας δὲ ἀδελφεὸν ἐμεωυτοῦ ἀέκων πάρεμι ἐξεληλαμένος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐστερημένος πάντων.” 4 Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε· “ἀνδρῶν τε φίλων τυγχάνεις ἔκγονος ἐὼν καὶ ἐλήλυθας ἐς φίλους, ἔνθα ἀμηχανήσεις χρήματος οὐδενὸς μένων ἐν ἡμετέρου, συμφορὴν τε ταύτην ὥς κουφότατα φέρων κερδανέεις

πλεῖστον.”

35. Now while Croesus was occupied with the marriage of his son, a Phrygian of the royal house came to Sardis, in great distress and with unclean hands. This man came to Croesus' house, and asked to be purified according to the custom of the country; so Croesus purified him (the Lydians have the same manner of purification as the Greeks), and when he had done everything customary, he asked the Phrygian where he came from and who he was: “Friend,” he said, “who are you, and from what place in Phrygia do you come as my suppliant? And what man or woman have you killed?” “O King,” the man answered, “I am the son of Gordias the son of Midas, and my name is Adrastus; I killed my brother accidentally, and I come here banished by my father and deprived of all.” Croesus answered, “All of your family are my friends, and you have come to friends, where you shall lack nothing, staying in my house. As for your misfortune, bear it as lightly as possible and you will gain most.”

36 1 ὁ μὲν δὴ δίαιταν εἶχε ἐν Κροίσου. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Ὀλύμπῳ υἱὸς χρῆμα γίνεται μέγα· ὁρμώμενος δὲ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ ὄρεος τούτου τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα διαφθείρεσκε. πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Μυσοὶ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐξελθόντες ποιέεσκον μὲν κακὸν οὐδέν, ἔπασχον δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. 2 τέλος δὲ ἀπικόμενοι παρὰ τὸν Κροῖσον τῶν Μυσῶν ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον τάδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, υἱὸς χρῆμα μέγιστον ἀνεφάνη ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὃς τὰ ἔργα διαφθείρει. τοῦτον προθυμεόμενοι ἐλεῖν οὐ δυνάμεθα. νῦν ὧν προσδεόμεθά σευ τὸν παῖδα καὶ λογάδας νεηνίας καὶ κύνας συμπέμψαι ἡμῖν, ὥς ἂν μιν ἐξέλωμεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας.” 3 οἱ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐδέοντο, Κροῖσος δὲ μνημονεύων τοῦ ὀνείρου τὰ ἔπεα ἔλεγε σφι τάδε. “παιδὸς μὲν περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ μὴ μνησθῆτε ἔτι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν συμπέμψαιμι· νεόγαμός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτά οἱ νῦν μέλει. Λυδῶν μέντοι λογάδας καὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον πᾶν συμπέμψω, καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοῖσι ἰοῦσι εἶναι ὡς προθυμοτάτοισι συνεξελεῖν ὑμῖν τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χώρας.”

36. So Adrastus lived in Croesus' house. About this same time a great monster of a boar appeared on the Mysian Olympus, who would come off that mountain and ravage the fields of the Mysians. The Mysians had gone up against him often; but they never did him

any harm but were hurt by him themselves. At last they sent messengers to Croesus, with this message: "O King, a great monster of a boar has appeared in the land, who is destroying our fields; for all our attempts, we cannot kill him; so now we ask you to send your son and chosen young men and dogs with us, so that we may drive him out of the country." Such was their request, but Croesus remembered the prophecy of his dream and answered them thus: "Do not mention my son again: I will not send him with you. He is newly married, and that is his present concern. But I will send chosen Lydians, and all the huntsmen, and I will tell those who go to be as eager as possible to help you to drive the beast out of the country."

37 1 ταῦτα ἀμείψατο· ἀποχρεωμένων δὲ τούτοισι τῶν Μυσῶν, ἐπεσέρχεται ὁ τοῦ Κροΐσου παῖς ἀκηκοὺς τῶν ἐδέοντο οἱ Μυσοί. οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κροΐσου τόν γε παῖδά σφι συμπέμψειν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νεηνίης τάδε. 2 "ὦ πάτερ, τὰ κάλλιστα πρότερον κοτὲ καὶ γενναιότατα ἡμῖν ἦν ἔς τε πολέμους καὶ ἐς ἄγρας φοιτέοντας εὐδοκίμειν· νῦν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων με τούτων ἀποκληίσας ἔχεις, οὔτε τινὰ δειλίην μοι παριδὼν οὔτε ἀθυμίην νῦν τε τέοισί με χρὴ ὀμμασι ἔς τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα φαίνεσθαι ; 3 κοῖος μὲν τις τοῖσι πολίτησι δόξω εἶναι, κοῖος δὲ τις τῇ νεογάμῳ γυναικί ; κοῖω δὲ ἐκείνῃ δόξει ἀνδρὶ συνοικεῖν ; ἐμὲ ὦν σὺ ἢ μέτεες ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήρην, ἢ λόγῳ ἀνάπεισον ὅπως μοι ἀμείνω ἐστὶ ταῦτα οὕτω ποιεόμενα."

37. This was his answer, and the Mysians were satisfied with it. But the son of Croesus now entered, having heard what the Mysians had asked for; and when Croesus refused to send his son with them, the young man said, "Father, it was once thought very fine and noble for us to go to war and the chase and win renown; but now you have barred me from both of these, although you have seen neither cowardice nor lack of spirit in me. With what face can I now show myself whenever I go to and from the market-place? What will the men of the city think of me, and what my newly wedded wife? With what kind of man will she think that she lives? So either let me go to the hunt, or show me by reasoning that what you are doing is best for me."

38 1 ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος τοῖσιδε. "ὦ παῖ, οὔτε δειλίην οὔτε ἄλλο

οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παριδών, τοι ποιέω ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ μοι ὄψις ὀνείρου ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐπιστᾶσα ἔφη σε ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἔσεσθαι· ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης ἀπολέεσθαι. 2 πρὸς ὧν τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην τόν τε γάμον τοι τοῦτον ἔσπευσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα οὐκ ἀποπέμπω, φυλακὴν ἔχων, εἴ κως δυναίμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σε ζῆς διακλέναι. εἷς γὰρ μοι μούνος τυγχάνεις ἐὼν παῖς· τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοὴν οὐκ εἶναι μοι λογίζομαι.”

38. “My son,” answered Croesus, “I do this not because I have seen cowardice or anything unseemly in you, but the vision of a dream stood over me in my sleep, and told me that you would be short-lived, for you would be killed by a spear of iron. It is because of that vision that I hurried your marriage and do not send you on any enterprise that I have in hand, but keep guard over you, so that perhaps I may rob death of you during my lifetime. You are my only son: for that other, since he is ruined, he doesn’t exist for me.”

39 1 ἀμείβεται ὁ νεηνὴς τοῖσιδε. “συγγνώμη μὲν ὧ πάτερ τοι, ἰδόντι γε ὄψιν τοιαύτην, περὶ ἐμὲ φυλακὴν ἔχειν· τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις ἀλλὰ λέληθέ σε τὸ ὄνειρον, ἐμέ τοί δίκαιον ἐστὶ φράζειν. 2 φῆς τοι τὸ ὄνειρον ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης φάναι ἐμὲ τελευτήσειν. ὕδς δὲ κοῖται μὲν εἰσὶ χεῖρες, κοίη δὲ αἰχμὴ σιδηρὴ τὴν σὺ φοβέαι; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀδόντος τοι εἶπε τελευτήσειν με, ἢ ἄλλου τευ ὅ τι τούτῳ ἔοικε, χρῆν δὴ σε ποιέειν τὰ ποιέεις· νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς. ἐπεῖτε ὧν οὐ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἡμῖν γίνεται ἡ μάχη, μέτετε με.”

39. “Father,” the youth replied, “no one can blame you for keeping guard over me, when you have seen such a vision; but it is my right to show you what you do not perceive, and why you mistake the meaning of the dream. You say that the dream told you that I should be killed by a spear of iron? But has a boar hands? Has it that iron spear which you dread? Had the dream said I should be killed by a tusk or some other thing proper to a boar, you would be right in acting as you act; but no, it was to be by a spear. Therefore, since it is not against men that we are to fight, let me go.”

40 1 ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος “ὦ παῖ, ἔστι τῇ με νικᾷς γνώμην ἀποφαίνων περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου. ὥς ὧν νενικημένος ὑπὸ σέο μεταγινώσκω, μετήμί τε σὲ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγρην.”

40. Croesus answered, “My son, your judgment concerning the

dream has somewhat reassured me; and being reassured by you, I change my thinking and permit you to go to the chase.”

41 ἡ εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος μεταπέμπεται τὸν Φρύγα Ἄδρηστον, ἀπικομένῳ δέ οἱ λέγει τάδε. “Ἄδρηστε, ἐγὼ σε συμφορῇ, πεπληγμένον ἀχάρι, τὴν τοι οὐκ ὀνειδίζω, ἐκάθηρα καὶ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος ἔχω, παρέχων πᾶσαν δαπάνην. 2 νῦν ὦν (ὀφείλεις γὰρ ἐμοῦ προποιήσαντος χρηστὰ ἐς σὲ χρηστοῖσί με ἀμείβεσθαι) φύλακα παιδός σε τοῦ ἐμοῦ χρηρίζω γενέσθαι ἐς ἄγρην ὀρμωμένου, μή τινες κατ’ ὁδὸν κλῶπες κακοῦργοι ἐπὶ δηλήσι φανέωσι ὑμῖν. 3 πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ σέ τοι χρεόν ἐστὶ ἰέναι ἔνθα ἀπολαμπρυνέαι τοῖσι χρεόν πατρῷόν τε γάρ τοι ἐστὶ καὶ προσέτι ῥώμη ὑπάρχει.”

41. Having said this, Croesus sent for Adrastus the Phrygian and when he came addressed him thus: “Adrastus, when you were struck by ugly misfortune, for which I do not blame you, it was I who cleansed you, and received and still keep you in my house, defraying all your keep. Now then, as you owe me a return of good service for the good which I have done you, I ask that you watch over my son as he goes out to the chase. See that no thieving criminals meet you on the way, to do you harm. Besides, it is only right that you too should go where you can win renown by your deeds. That is fitting for your father’s son; and you are strong enough besides.”

42 ἡ ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἄδρηστος “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἄλλως μὲν ἔγωγε ἂν οὐκ ἦμα ἐς ἄθλον τοιονδέ· οὔτε γὰρ συμφορῇ τοιῇδε κεχρημένον οἶκός ἐστι ἐς ὁμήλικας εὖ πρήσσοντας ἰέναι, οὔτε τὸ βούλεσθαι πάρα, πολλὰχὴ τε ἂν ἴσχον ἐμεωυτόν. 2 νῦν δέ, ἐπεῖτε σὺ σπεύδεις καὶ δεῖ τοί χαρίζεσθαι (ὀφείλω γὰρ σε ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῖσι), ποιέειν εἰμὶ ἔτοιμος ταῦτα, παῖδα τε σόν, τὸν διακελεύεαι φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα τοῦ φυλάσσαντος εἵνεκεν προσδόκα τοι ἀπονοστήσειν.”

42. “O King,” Adrastus answered, “I would not otherwise have gone into such an arena. One so unfortunate as I should not associate with the prosperous among his peers; nor have I the wish so to do, and for many reasons I would have held back. But now, since you urge it and I must please you (since I owe you a return of good service), I am ready to do this; and as for your son, in so far as I can protect him, look for him to come back unharmed.”

43 ἡ τοιούτοισι ἐπεῖτε οὗτος ἀμείψατο Κροῖσον, ἦσαν μετὰ

ταῦτα ἐξηρτυμένοι λογάσι τε νηηνίησι καὶ κυσί. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὀλυμπον τὸ ὄρος ἐζήτεον τὸ θηρίον, εὐρόντες δὲ καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ ἐσηκόντιζον. 2 ἔνθα δὴ ὁ ξεῖνος, οὗτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεὶς τὸν φόνον, καλεόμενος δὲ Ἄδρηστος, ἀκοντίζων τὸν ὕν τοῦ μὲν ἀμαρτάνει, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου παιδός. 3 ὁ μὲν δὴ βληθεὶς τῇ αἰχμῇ ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ὀνείρου τὴν φήμην, ἔθεε δέ τις ἀγγελέων τῷ Κροίσῳ τὸ γεγονός, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις τὴν τε μάχην καὶ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς μόρον ἐσήμηνέ οἱ.

43. So when Adrastus had answered Croesus thus, they went out provided with chosen young men and dogs. When they came to Mount Olympus, they hunted for the beast and, finding him, formed a circle and threw their spears at him: then the guest called Adrastus, the man who had been cleansed of the deed of blood, missed the boar with his spear and hit the son of Croesus. So Atys was struck by the spear and fulfilled the prophecy of the dream. One ran to tell Croesus what had happened, and coming to Sardis told the king of the fight and the fate of his son.

44 1 ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ παιδὸς συντεταραγμένος μᾶλλον τι ἐδεινολογέετο ὅτι μιν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αὐτὸς φόνου ἐκάθηρε· 2 περιημεκτέων δὲ τῇ συμφορῇ δεινῶς ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία καθάρσιον μαρτυρόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου πεπονθῶς εἶη ἐκάλεε δὲ ἐπίστιόν τε καὶ ἐταιρήιον, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζων θεόν, τὸν μὲν ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι δὴ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξεῖνον φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε βόσκων, τὸν δὲ ἐταιρήιον, ὡς φύλακα συμπέμψας αὐτὸν εὐρήκοι πολεμιώτατον.

44. Distraught by the death of his son, Croesus cried out the more vehemently because the killer was one whom he himself had cleansed of blood, and in his great and terrible grief at this mischance he called on Zeus by three names — Zeus the Purifier, Zeus of the Hearth, Zeus of Comrades: the first, because he wanted the god to know what evil his guest had done him; the second, because he had received the guest into his house and thus unwittingly entertained the murderer of his son; and the third, because he had found his worst enemy in the man whom he had sent as a protector.

45 1 παρῆσαν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Λυδοὶ φέροντες τὸν νεκρόν, ὅπισθε δὲ εἶπετό οἱ ὁ φονεύς. στὰς δὲ οὗτος πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ

παρεδίδου ἑωυτὸν Κροῖσῳ προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπικατασφάζει μιν κελεύων τῷ νεκρῷ, λέγων τήν τε προτέρην ἑωυτοῦ συμφορὴν, καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκὼς εἶη, οὐδέ οἱ εἶη βιώσιμον. 2 Κροῖσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας τὸν τε Ἄδρηστον κατοικτεῖρει, καίπερ ἑὼν ἐν κακῷ οἰκίῳ τοσοῦτῳ καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν “ἔχω ὦ ξεῖνε παρὰ σεῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην, ἐπειδὴ σεωυτοῦ καταδικάζεις θάνατον. εἷς δὲ οὐ σύ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴτιος, εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἀέκων ἐξεργάσαιο, ἀλλὰ θεῶν κού τις, ὅς μοι καὶ πάλαι προσήμεινε τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσσεσθαι.” 3 Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ἔθαψε ὡς οἶκός ἦν τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα· Ἄδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδίῳ τοῦ Μίδεω, οὗτος δὴ ὁ φονεὺς μὲν τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ γενόμενος φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος, ἐπεῖτε ἡσυχίῃ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ σῆμα, συγγινωσκόμενος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τῶν αὐτὸς ἤδεε βαρυσυμφορώτατος, ἐπικατασφάζει τῷ τύμβῳ ἑωυτόν.

45. Soon the Lydians came, bearing the corpse, with the murderer following after. He then came and stood before the body and gave himself up to Croesus, holding out his hands and telling him to kill him over the corpse, mentioning his former misfortune, and that on top of that he had destroyed the one who purified him, and that he was not fit to live. On hearing this, Croesus took pity on Adrastus, though his own sorrow was so great, and said to him, “Friend, I have from you the entire penalty, since you sentence yourself to death. But it is not you that I hold the cause of this evil, except in so far as you were the unwilling doer of it, but one of the gods, the same one who told me long ago what was to be.” So Croesus buried his own son in such manner as was fitting. But Adrastus, son of Gordias who was son of Midas, this Adrastus, the destroyer of his own brother and of the man who purified him, when the tomb was undisturbed by the presence of men, killed himself there by the sepulcher, seeing clearly now that he was the most heavily afflicted of all whom he knew.

46 1 Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτεα ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ κατῆστο τοῦ παιδὸς ἐστερημένος. μετὰ δὲ ἡ Ἀστυάγειος τοῦ Κυαζάρεω ἡγεμονίῃ καταπρεθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσέων πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα πένθεος μὲν Κροῖσον ἀπέπαυσε, ἐνέβησε δὲ ἐς φροντίδα, εἴ κως δύναιτο, πρὶν μεγάλους γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν. 2 μετὰ ὧν τὴν διάνοιαν

ταύτην αὐτίκα ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῶν μαντείων τῶν τε ἐν Ἑλληνσι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ, διαπέμψας ἄλλους ἄλλῃ, τοὺς μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἰέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Ἄβας τὰς Φωκέων, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Δωδώνην· οἱ δὲ τινὲς ἐπέμποντο παρὰ τε Ἀμφιάρεων καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον, οἱ δὲ τῆς Μιλησίης ἐς Βραγχίδας. 3 ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μαντήια ἐς τὰ ἀπέπεμψε μαντευσόμενος Κροῖσος· Λιβύης δὲ παρὰ Ἄμμωνα ἀπέστελλε ἄλλους χρησομένους. διέπεμπε δὲ πειρώμενος τῶν μαντηῶν ὅ τι φρονόειεν, ὥς εἰ φρονέοντα τὴν ἀληθείην εὔρεθείη, ἐπείρηται σφέα δεύτερα πέμπων εἰ ἐπιχειρέοι ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύεσθαι.

46. After the loss of his son, Croesus remained in deep sorrow for two years. After this time, the destruction by Cyrus son of Cambyses of the sovereignty of Astyages son of Cyaxares, and the growth of the power of the Persians, distracted Croesus from his mourning; and he determined, if he could, to forestall the increase of the Persian power before they became great. Having thus determined, he at once made inquiries of the Greek and Libyan oracles, sending messengers separately to Delphi, to Abae in Phocia, and to Dodona, while others were despatched to Amphiaraus and Trophonius, and others to Branchidae in the Milesian country. These are the Greek oracles to which Croesus sent for divination: and he told others to go inquire of Ammon in Libya. His intent in sending was to test the knowledge of the oracles, so that, if they were found to know the truth, he might send again and ask if he should undertake an expedition against the Persians.

47 1 ἐντειλόμενος δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι τάδε ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν διάπειραν τῶν χρηστηρίων, ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης ὀρμηθῶσι ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμερολογέοντας τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἑκατοστῇ ἡμέρῃ χρᾶσθαι τοῖσι χρηστηρίοις, ἐπειρωτῶντας ὅ τι ποιέων τυγχάνοι ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω· ἅσσα δ' ἂν ἕκαστα τῶν χρηστηρίων θεσπίσῃ, συγγραψαμένους ἀναφέρειν παρ' ἑωυτόν. 2 ὅ τι μὲν νυν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐθέσπισε, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν· ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖσι ὥς ἐσῆλθον τάχιστα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον οἱ Λυδοὶ χρησόμενοι τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐπειρώτων τὸ ἐντεταλμένον, ἡ Πυθίη ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ λέγει τάδε. 3 οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμου τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης, καὶ κωφοῦ συνήμι, καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντος ἀκούω. ὁδμή μ' ἐς φρένας ἦλθε κραταιρίνοιο χελώνης

ἐπομένης ἐν χαλκῷ ἅμ' ἀρνείοισι κρέεσσιν, ἧ χαλκὸς μὲν
ὑπέστρωται, χαλκὸν δ' ἐπιέσται.

47. And when he sent to test these shrines he gave the Lydians these instructions: they were to keep track of the time from the day they left Sardis, and on the hundredth day inquire of the oracles what Croesus, king of Lydia, son of Alyattes, was doing then; then they were to write down whatever the oracles answered and bring the reports back to him. Now none relate what answer was given by the rest of the oracles. But at Delphi, no sooner had the Lydians entered the hall to inquire of the god and asked the question with which they were entrusted, than the Pythian priestess uttered the following hexameter verses: ““I know the number of the grains of sand and the extent of the sea, And understand the mute and hear the voiceless. The smell has come to my senses of a strong-shelled tortoise Boiling in a cauldron together with a lamb’s flesh, Under which is bronze and over which is bronze.” “

48 1 ταῦτα οἱ Λυδοὶ θεσπισάσης τῆς Πυθίης συγγραψάμενοι οἷχοντο ἀπὸντες ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις. ὥς δὲ καὶ ὄλλοι οἱ περιπεμφθέντες παρῆσαν φέροντες τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος ἕκαστα ἀναπτύσσων ἐπώρα τῶν συγγραμμάτων, τῶν μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν προσίετό μιν· ὁ δὲ ὥς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα προσεύχετό τε καὶ προσεδέξατο, νομίσας μῦνον εἶναι μαντήιον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ὅτι οἱ ἐξευρήκεε τὰ αὐτὸς ἐποίησε. 2 ἐπεῖτε γὰρ δὴ διέπεμψε παρὰ τὰ χρηστήρια τοὺς θεοπρόπους, φυλάξας τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερέων ἐμηχανᾶτο τοιάδε· ἐπινοήσας τὰ ἦν ἀμήχανον ἐξευρεῖν τε καὶ ἐπιφράσασθαι, χελώνην καὶ ἄρνα κατακόψας ὁμοῦ ἤψε αὐτὸς ἐν λέβητι χαλκῷ, χάλκεον ἐπιθήμα ἐπιθείς.

48. Having written down this inspired utterance of the Pythian priestess, the Lydians went back to Sardis. When the others as well who had been sent to various places came bringing their oracles, Croesus then unfolded and examined all the writings. Some of them in no way satisfied him. But when he read the Delphian message, he acknowledged it with worship and welcome, considering Delphi as the only true place of divination, because it had discovered what he himself had done. For after sending his envoys to the oracles, he had thought up something which no conjecture could discover, and

carried it out on the appointed day: namely, he had cut up a tortoise and a lamb, and then boiled them in a cauldron of bronze covered with a lid of the same.

49 1 τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὕτω τῷ, Κροίσῳ ἐχρήσθη· κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμφιάρεω τοῦ μαντηίου ὑπόκρισιν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὃ τι τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἔχρησε ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα (οὐ γὰρ ὧν οὐδὲ τοῦτο λέγεται), ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο ἐνόμισε μαντήιον ἀνευδὲς ἐκτῆσθαι.

49. Such, then, was the answer from Delphi delivered to Croesus. As to the reply which the Lydians received from the oracle of Amphiaraus when they had followed the due custom of the temple, I cannot say what it was, for nothing is recorded of it, except that Croesus believed that from this oracle too he had obtained a true answer.

50 1 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεὸν ἱλάσκετο· κτήνέα τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια ἔθυσσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας καὶ εἴματα πορφύρεα καὶ κιθῶνας, νήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, κατέκαιε, ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλον τι τούτοισι ἀνακτήσεσθαι· Λυδοῖσι τε πᾶσι προεῖπε θύειν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τούτῳ ὃ τι ἔχοι ἕκαστος. 2 ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἅπλετον ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλυνε, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιέων ἐξαπάλαιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα τριπάλαιστα, ὕψος δὲ παλαιστιαῖα. ἀριθμὸν δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τούτων ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ τέσσερα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον ἕκαστον ἔλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. 3 ἐποιέετο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου ἔλκουσιν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα. οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπεῖτε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι νηὸς, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοισι ἱδρυτο), καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν ἑβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον· ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον.

50. After this, he tried to win the favor of the Delphian god with great sacrifices. He offered up three thousand beasts from all the kinds fit for sacrifice, and on a great pyre burnt couches covered with gold and silver, golden goblets, and purple cloaks and tunics; by these means he hoped the better to win the aid of the god, to whom

he also commanded that every Lydian sacrifice what he could. When the sacrifice was over, he melted down a vast store of gold and made ingots of it, the longer sides of which were of six and the shorter of three palms' length, and the height was one palm. There were a hundred and seventeen of these. Four of them were of refined gold, each weighing two talents and a half; the rest were of gold with silver alloy, each of two talents' weight. He also had a figure of a lion made of refined gold, weighing ten talents. When the temple of Delphi was burnt, this lion fell from the ingots which were the base on which it stood; and now it is in the treasury of the Corinthians, but weighs only six talents and a half, for the fire melted away three and a half talents.

51 1 ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφούς, καὶ τὰδε ἄλλα ἅμα τοῖσι, κρητῆρας δύο μεγάθει μεγάλους, χρύσειον καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσειος ἔκειτο ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ ἐσιόντι ἐς τὸν νηόν, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ' ἀριστερά. 2 μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τὸν νηὸν κατακαέντα καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσειος κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν εἵνατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἔτι δυνάδεκα μνέας, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνήιου τῆς γωνίης, χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἑξακοσίους· ἐπικίρνεται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Θεοφανίοισι. 3 φασὶ δὲ μιν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω· οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ πίθους τε ἀργυρέους τέσσερας ἀπέπεμψε, οἱ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ ἐστᾶσι, καὶ περιῤῥαντήρια δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεόν τε καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Λακεδαιμονίων φαμένων εἶναι ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες· 4 ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροίσου, ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὔνομα οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς, δι' οὗ τῆς χειρὸς ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστί, οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιῤῥαντηρίων οὐδέτερον. 5 ἄλλα τε ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἅμα τούτοις ὁ Κροῖσος, καὶ χεύματα ἀργύρεα κυκλοτερέα, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἰδῶλον χρύσειον τρίπηχυν, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ τὰς ζώνας.

51. When these offerings were ready, Croesus sent them to

Delphi, with other gifts besides: namely, two very large bowls, one of gold and one of silver. The golden bowl stood to the right, the silver to the left of the temple entrance. These too were removed about the time of the temple's burning, and now the golden bowl, which weighs eight and a half talents and twelve minae, is in the treasury of the Clazomenians, and the silver bowl at the corner of the forecourt of the temple. This bowl holds six hundred nine-gallon measures: for the Delphians use it for a mixing-bowl at the feast of the Divine Appearance. It is said by the Delphians to be the work of Theodorus of Samos, and I agree with them, for it seems to me to be of no common workmanship. Moreover, Croesus sent four silver casks, which stand in the treasury of the Corinthians, and dedicated two sprinkling-vessels, one of gold, one of silver. The golden vessel bears the inscription "Given by the Lacedaemonians," who claim it as their offering. But they are wrong, for this, too, is Croesus' gift. The inscription was made by a certain Delphian, whose name I know but do not mention, out of his desire to please the Lacedaemonians. The figure of a boy, through whose hand the water runs, is indeed a Lacedaemonian gift; but they did not give either of the sprinkling-vessels. Along with these Croesus sent, besides many other offerings of no great distinction, certain round basins of silver, and a female figure five feet high, which the Delphians assert to be the statue of the woman who was Croesus' baker. Moreover, he dedicated his own wife's necklaces and girdles.

52 1 ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφοῦς ἀπέπεμψε, τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεω, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσειον πᾶν ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν πᾶσαν χρυσέην, τὸ ξυστὸν τῇσι λόγχῃσι ἐὼν ὁμοίως χρύσειον· τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφότερα ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβῃσι καὶ Θηβέων ἐν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

52. Such were the gifts which he sent to Delphi. To Amphiaras, of whose courage and fate he had heard, he dedicated a shield made entirely of gold and a spear all of solid gold, point and shaft alike. Both of these were until my time at Thebes, in the Theban temple of Ismenian Apollo.

53 1 τοῖσι δὲ ἄγειν μέλλουσι τῶν Λυδῶν ταῦτα τὰ δῶρα ἐς τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπειρωτᾶν τὰ χρηστήρια εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ

Πέρσας Κροῖσος καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο φίλον, 2 ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὰ ἀπεπέμφθησαν, οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι λέγοντες “Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεύς, νομίσας τάδε μαντήια εἶναι μούνα ἐν ἀνθρώποισι, ὑμῖν τε ἄξια δῶρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων, καὶ νῦν ὑμέας ἐπειρωτᾷ εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο σύμμαχον.” 3 οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτων, τῶν δὲ μαντήιων ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὸν αὐτὸ αἱ γινῶμαι συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαι Κροίσῳ, ἣν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μιν καταλύσειν· τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους συνεβούλευόν οἱ ἐξευρόντα φίλους προσθέσθαι.

53. The Lydians who were to bring these gifts to the temples were instructed by Croesus to inquire of the oracles whether he was to send an army against the Persians and whether he was to add an army of allies. When the Lydians came to the places where they were sent, they presented the offerings, and inquired of the oracles, in these words: “Croesus, king of Lydia and other nations, believing that here are the only true places of divination among men, endows you with such gifts as your wisdom deserves. And now he asks you whether he is to send an army against the Persians, and whether he is to add an army of allies.” Such was their inquiry; and the judgment given to Croesus by each of the two oracles was the same: namely, that if he should send an army against the Persians he would destroy a great empire. And they advised him to discover the mightiest of the Greeks and make them his friends.

54 1 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀνενειχθέντα τὰ θεοπρόπια ἐπύθετο ὁ Κροῖσος, ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι, πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιληίην, πέμπας αὐτῖς ἐς Πυθῶ Δελφοὺς δωρέεται, πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, κατ’ ἀνδρα δύο στατήρσι ἕκαστον χρυσοῦ. 2 Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδοσαν Κροίσῳ καὶ Λυδοῖσι προμαντήιην καὶ ἀτελείην καὶ προεδρίην, καὶ ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον.

54. When the divine answers had been brought back and Croesus learned of them, he was very pleased with the oracles. So, altogether expecting that he would destroy the kingdom of Cyrus, he sent once again to Pytho and endowed the Delphians, whose number he had

learned, with two gold staters apiece. The Delphians, in return, gave Croesus and all Lydians the right of first consulting the oracle, exemption from all charges, the chief seats at festivals, and perpetual right of Delphian citizenship to whoever should wish it.

55 1 δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφοὺς ὁ Κροῖσος ἐχρηστηριάζετο τὸ τρίτον· ἐπεῖτε γὰρ δὴ παρέλαβε τοῦ μαντείου ἀληθεῖν, ἐνεφορέετο αὐτοῦ. ἐπειρώτα δὲ τάδε χρηστηριαζόμενος, εἰ οἱ πολυχρόνιος ἔσται ἡ μουναρχίη. 2 ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ τάδε. ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοισι γένηται, καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρέ, πολυψήφida παρ' Ἑρμον φεύγειν μηδὲ μένειν μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακός εἶναι.

55. After his gifts to the Delphians, Croesus made a third inquiry of the oracle, for he wanted to use it to the full, having received true answers from it; and the question which he asked was whether his sovereignty would be of long duration. To this the Pythian priestess answered as follows: ““When the Medes have a mule as king, Just then, tender-footed Lydian, by the stone-strewn Hermus Flee and do not stay, and do not be ashamed to be a coward.” “

56 1 τοῦτοισι ἐλθοῦσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ὁ Κροῖσος πολλόν τι μάλιστα πάντων ἦσθη, ἐλπίζων ἡμίονον οὐδαμὰ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύσειν Μήδων, οὐδ' ὧν αὐτὸς οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ παύσεσθαι κοτὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων τοὺς ἂν Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους ἐόντας προσκτῆσαιτο φίλους, 2 ἱστορέων δὲ εὗρισκε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους προέχοντας τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα, ἐόντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῇ κω ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. 3 ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλείος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλληνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον χώραν, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰστιαιώτιν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμεῖων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδνὸν καλεόμενον· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὶς ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτω ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὼν Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη.

56. When he heard these verses, Croesus was pleased with them above all, for he thought that a mule would never be king of the Medes instead of a man, and therefore that he and his posterity would

never lose his empire. Then he sought very carefully to discover who the mightiest of the Greeks were, whom he should make his friends. He found by inquiry that the chief peoples were the Lacedaemonians among those of Doric, and the Athenians among those of Ionic stock. These races, Ionian and Dorian, were the foremost in ancient time, the first a Pelasgian and the second a Hellenic people. The Pelasgian race has never yet left its home; the Hellenic has wandered often and far. For in the days of king Deucalion it inhabited the land of Phthia, then the country called Histiaeian, under Ossa and Olympus, in the time of Dorus son of Hellen; driven from this Histiaeian country by the Cadmeans, it settled about Pindus in the territory called Macedonian; from there again it migrated to Dryopia, and at last came from Dryopia into the Peloponnese, where it took the name of Dorian.

57 1 ἦντινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἴσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν. εἰ δὲ χρεόν ἐστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρησιτῶνα πόλιν οἰκεόντων, οἱ ὅμουροι κοτὲ ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι (οἴκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην), 2 καὶ τῶν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκησάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἱ σύννοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἐόντα πολίσματα τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλε· εἰ τούτοισι τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοί βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἰέντες. 3 εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος ἐδὼν Πελασγικὸν ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρησιτωνιῆται οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν νῦν σφέας περιοικεόντων εἰσι ὁμόγλωσσοι οὔτε οἱ Πλακιηνοί, σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι· δηλοῦσίν τε ὅτι τὸν ἠνεύκοντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ.

57. What language the Pelasgians spoke I cannot say definitely. But if one may judge by those that still remain of the Pelasgians who live above the Tyrrheni in the city of Creston — who were once neighbors of the people now called Dorians, and at that time inhabited the country which now is called Thessalian — and of the Pelasgians who inhabited Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, who came to live among the Athenians, and by other towns too which

were once Pelasgian and afterwards took a different name: if, as I said, one may judge by these, the Pelasgians spoke a language which was not Greek. If, then, all the Pelasgian stock spoke so, then the Attic nation, being of Pelasgian blood, must have changed its language too at the time when it became part of the Hellenes. For the people of Creston and Placia have a language of their own in common, which is not the language of their neighbors; and it is plain that they still preserve the manner of speech which they brought with them in their migration into the places where they live.

58 1 τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν γλῶσση μὲν ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο αἰεὶ κοτε τῇ αὐτῇ διαχρᾶται, ὥς ἐμοὶ καταφαίνεται εἶναι· ἀποσχισθὲν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ ἐὼν ἀσθενές, ἀπὸ σμικροῦ τεο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁρμώμενον αὖξεται ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνέων, Πελασγῶν μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βαρβάρων συχνῶν. πρόσθε δὲ ὧν ἔμοιγε δοκέει οὐδὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὼν βάρβαρον, οὐδαμὰ μεγάλως αὖξηθῆναι.

58. But the Hellenic stock, it seems clear to me, has always had the same language since its beginning; yet being, when separated from the Pelasgians, few in number, they have grown from a small beginning to comprise a multitude of nations, chiefly because the Pelasgians and many other foreign peoples united themselves with them. Before that, I think, the Pelasgic stock nowhere increased much in number while it was of foreign speech.

59 1 τούτων δὴ ὧν τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενόν τε καὶ διεσπασμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ Ἱπποκράτεος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυραννεύοντος Ἀθηναίων. Ἱπποκράτει γὰρ ἐόντι ἰδιώτῃ καὶ θεωρέοντι τὰ Ὀλύμπια τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα· θύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱρὰ οἱ λέβητες ἐπεστεῶτες καὶ κρεῶν τε ἐόντες ἔμπλεοι καὶ ὕδατος ἄνευ πυρὸς ἔξεσαν καὶ ὑπερέβαλον. 2 Χίλων δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος παρατυχὼν καὶ θεησάμενος τὸ τέρας συνεβούλευε Ἱπποκράτει πρῶτα μὲν γυναῖκα μὴ ἄγεσθαι τεκνοποιὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκία, εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων, δευτέρα τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ εἴ τις οἱ τυγχάνει ἐὼν παῖς, τοῦτον ἀπεΐπασθαι. 3 οὐκὼν ταῦτα παραινέσαντος Χίλωνος πείθεσθαι θέλιν τὸν Ἱπποκράτεα· γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισίστρατον τοῦτον, ὃς στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου

Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν μὲν προεστεῶτος Μεγακλῆος τοῦ Ἀλκμέωνος, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Λυκούργου Ἀριστολαΐδew, καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα ἤγειρε τρίτην στάσιν· συλλέξας δὲ στασιώτας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστάς μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. 4 τρωματίσας ἑωυτόν τε καὶ ἡμιόνους ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν τὸ ζεῦγος ὥς ἐκπεφευγὼς τοὺς ἐχθρούς, οἳ μιν ἐλαύνοντα ἐς ἀγρὸν ἠθέλησαν ἀπολέσαι δῆθεν, ἐδέετό τε τοῦ δήμου φυλακῆς τινος πρὸς αὐτοῦ κυρῆσαι, πρότερον εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας γενομένη στρατηγίῃ, Νίσαιάν τε ἐλὼν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποδεξάμενος μεγάλα ἔργα. 5 ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαπατηθεὶς ἔδωκε οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέξας ἄνδρας τούτους οἱ δορυφόροι μὲν οὐκ ἐγένοντο Πεισιστράτου, κορυνηφόροι δέ· ξύλων γὰρ κορύνας ἔχοντες εἶποντό οἱ ὀπισθε. 6 συνεπαναστάντες δὲ οὗτοι ἅμα Πεισιστράτῳ ἔσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἦρχε Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε τιμὰς τὰς ἐούσας συνταράξας οὔτε θέσμια μεταλλάξας, ἐπὶ τε τοῖσι κατεστεῶσι ἔνεμε τὴν πόλιν κοσμέων καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ.

59. Now of these two peoples, Croesus learned that the Attic was held in subjection and divided into factions by Pisistratus, son of Hippocrates, who at that time was sovereign over the Athenians. This Hippocrates was still a private man when a great marvel happened to him when he was at Olympia to see the games: when he had offered the sacrifice, the vessels, standing there full of meat and water, boiled without fire until they boiled over. Chilon the Lacedaemonian, who happened to be there and who saw this marvel, advised Hippocrates not to take to his house a wife who could bear children, but if he had one already, then to send her away, and if he had a son, to disown him. Hippocrates refused to follow the advice of Chilon; and afterward there was born to him this Pisistratus, who, when there was a feud between the Athenians of the coast under Megacles son of Alcmeon and the Athenians of the plain under Lycurgus son of Aristolaides, raised up a third faction, as he coveted the sovereign power. He collected partisans and pretended to champion the uplanders, and the following was his plan. Wounding himself and his mules, he drove his wagon into the marketplace, with a story that he had escaped from his enemies, who would have killed him (so he said) as he was driving into the country. So he implored the people to

give him a guard: and indeed he had won a reputation in his command of the army against the Megarians, when he had taken Nisaea and performed other great exploits. Taken in, the Athenian people gave him a guard of chosen citizens, whom Pisistratus made clubmen instead of spearmen: for the retinue that followed him carried wooden clubs. These rose with Pisistratus and took the Acropolis; and Pisistratus ruled the Athenians, disturbing in no way the order of offices nor changing the laws, but governing the city according to its established constitution and arranging all things fairly and well.

60 1 μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τὸν αὐτὸν φρονήσαντες οἱ τε τοῦ Μεγακλέους στασιῶται καὶ οἱ τοῦ Λυκούργου ἐξελαύνουσί μιν. οὕτω μὲν Πεισίστρατος ἔσχε τὸ πρῶτον Ἀθήνας, καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα οὕκω κάρτα ἐρριζωμένην ἔχων ἀπέβαλε. οἱ δὲ ἐξέλασαντες Πεισίστρατον αὐτίς ἐκ νῆς ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐστασίασαν. 2 περιελαυνόμενος δὲ τῇ στάσι ὁ Μεγακλῆς ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισιστράτῳ, εἰ βούλοιτό οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι. 3 ἐνδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος ἐπὶ τούτοις Πεισιστράτου, μηχανῶνται δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ πρῆγμα εὐηθέστατον, ὥς ἐγὼ εὐρίσκω, μακρῶ, ἐπεὶ γε ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνεος τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὼν καὶ δεξιότερον καὶ εὐηθείης ἡλιθίου ἀπηλλαγμένον μᾶλλον, εἰ καὶ τότε γε οὗτοι ἐν Ἀθηναίοις τοῖσι πρώτοις λεγόμενοις εἶναι Ἑλλήνων σοφίην μηχανῶνται τοιάδε. 4 ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Παιανίῳ ἦν γυνὴ τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Φύη, μέγαθος ἀπὸ τεσσέρων πηχέων ἀπολείπουσα τρεῖς δακτύλους καὶ ἄλλως εὐειδής· ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα σκευάσαντες πανοπλίῃ, ἐς ἄρμα ἐσβιβάσαντες καὶ προδέξαντες σχῆμα οἷόν τι ἔμελλε εὐπρεπέστατον φανέεσθαι ἔχουσα, ἤλαυνον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, προδρόμους κήρυκας προπέμψαντες· οἱ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἠγόρευον ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, λέγοντες τοιάδε· 5 “ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, δέκεσθε ἀγαθῷ νόμῳ Πεισίστρατον, τὸν αὐτὴ ἡ Ἀθηναίη τιμήσασα ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα κατάγει ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῆς ἀκρόπολιν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διαφοιτέοντες ἔλεγον· αὐτίκα δὲ ἐξ τε τοὺς δήμους φάτις ἀπῆκετο ὡς Ἀθηναίη Πεισίστρατον κατάγει, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ πειθόμενοι τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι αὐτὴν τὴν θεὸν προσεύχοντό τε τὴν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐδέκοντο Πεισίστρατον.

60. But after a short time the partisans of Megacles and of

Lycurgus made common cause and drove him out. In this way Pisistratus first got Athens and, as he had a sovereignty that was not yet firmly rooted, lost it. Presently his enemies who together had driven him out began to feud once more. Then Megacles, harassed by factional strife, sent a message to Pisistratus offering him his daughter to marry and the sovereign power besides. When this offer was accepted by Pisistratus, who agreed on these terms with Megacles, they devised a plan to bring Pisistratus back which, to my mind, was so exceptionally foolish that it is strange (since from old times the Hellenic stock has always been distinguished from foreign by its greater cleverness and its freedom from silly foolishness) that these men should devise such a plan to deceive Athenians, said to be the subtlest of the Greeks. There was in the Paeanian deme a woman called Phya, three fingers short of six feet, four inches in height, and otherwise, too, well-formed. This woman they equipped in full armor and put in a chariot, giving her all the paraphernalia to make the most impressive spectacle, and so drove into the city; heralds ran before them, and when they came into town proclaimed as they were instructed: "Athenians, give a hearty welcome to Pisistratus, whom Athena herself honors above all men and is bringing back to her own acropolis." So the heralds went about proclaiming this; and immediately the report spread in the demes that Athena was bringing Pisistratus back, and the townsfolk, believing that the woman was the goddess herself, worshipped this human creature and welcomed Pisistratus.

61 1 ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίην τὴν πρὸς Μεγακλέα γενομένην γαμέει τοῦ Μεγακλέος τὴν θυγατέρα. οἷα δὲ παίδων τέ οἱ ὑπαρχόντων νεηνιέων καὶ λεγομένων ἐναγέων εἶναι τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδέων, οὐ βουλόμενός οἱ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς νεογάμου γυναικὸς τέκνα ἐμίσγετό οἱ οὐ κατὰ νόμον. 2 τὰ μὲν νυν πρῶτα ἔκρυπτε ταῦτα ἢ γυνή, μετὰ δὲ εἴτε ἱστορεῦσθαι εἴτε καὶ οὐ φράζει τῇ ἐωυτῆς μητρί, ἢ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρί. ὀργῇ δὲ ὡς εἶχε καταλλάσσετο τὴν ἔχθρην τοῖσι στασιώτησι. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Πεισίστρατος τὰ ποιούμενα ἐπ' ἐωυτῷ ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας τὸ παράπαν, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἑρέτριαν ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα τοῖσι παισὶ. 3 Ἰππίεω δὲ γνώμῃ

νικήσαντος ἀνακτᾶσθαι ὀπίσω τὴν τυραννίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ἤγειρον δωτίνας ἐκ τῶν πολίων αἰτινὲς σφι προαιδέοντό κού τι. πολλῶν δὲ μεγάλα παρασχόντων χρήματα, Θηβαῖοι ὑπερεβάλλοντο τῇ δόσι τῶν χρημάτων. 4 μετὰ δέ, οὐ πολλῶ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, χρόνος διέφυ και πάντα σφι ἐξήρτυτο ἐς τὴν κάτοδον· και γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μισθωτοὶ ἀπίκοντο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, και Νάξιος σφι ἀνὴρ ἀπιγμένος ἐθελοντής, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Λύγδαμης, προθυμίην πλείστην παρείχετο, κομίσας και χρήματα και ἄνδρας.

61. Having got back his sovereignty in the manner which I have described, Pisistratus married Megacles' daughter according to his agreement with Megacles. But as he already had young sons, and as the Alcmeonid family were said to be under a curse, he had no wish that his newly-wedded wife bear him children, and therefore had unusual intercourse with her. At first the woman hid the fact: presently she told her mother (whether interrogated or not, I do not know) and the mother told her husband. Megacles was very angry to be dishonored by Pisistratus; and in his anger he patched up his quarrel with the other faction. Pisistratus, learning what was going on, went alone away from the country altogether, and came to Eretria where he deliberated with his sons. The opinion of Hippias prevailing, that they should recover the sovereignty, they set out collecting contributions from all the cities that owed them anything. Many of these gave great amounts, the Thebans more than any, and in course of time, not to make a long story, everything was ready for their return: for they brought Argive mercenaries from the Peloponnese, and there joined them on his own initiative a man of Naxos called Lygdamis, who was most keen in their cause and brought them money and men.

62 1 ἐξ Ἑρετρίας δὲ ὀρμηθέντες διὰ ἐνδεκάτου ἔτους ἀπίκοντο ὀπίσω, και πρῶτον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἴσχουσι Μαραθῶνα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ σφι στρατοπεδευόμενοι οἱ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος στασιῶται ἀπίκοντο ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν δήμων προσέρρεον, τοῖσι ἡ τυραννὶς πρὸ ἐλευθερίας ἦν ἀσπαστότερον. 2 οὗτοι μὲν δὴ συνηλίζοντο, Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, ἕως μὲν Πεισίστρατος τὰ χρήματα ἤγειρε, και μεταῦτις ὥς ἔσχε Μαραθῶνα, λόγον οὐδένα εἶχον· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τοῦ Μαραθῶνος αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, οὕτω

δὴ βοηθέουσι ἐπ' αὐτόν. 3 καὶ οὗτοί τε πανστρατιῇ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατιόντας καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον, ὡς ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Μαραθῶνος ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, ἐς τὸν αὐτὸ συνιόντες ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἱρόν, καὶ ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα. 4 ἐνθαῦτα θεῖη πομπὴ χρεώμενος παρίσταται Πεισιστράτῳ Ἀμφίλυτος ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν χρησμολόγος ἀνὴρ, ὃς οἱ προσιῶν χρᾶ ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε λέγων· “ἔρριπται δ' ὁ βόλος, τὸ δὲ δίκτυον ἐκπεπέτασται, θύννοι δ' οἰμήσουσι σεληναίης διὰ νυκτός.”

62. So after ten years they set out from Eretria and returned home. The first place in Attica which they took and held was Marathon: and while encamped there they were joined by their partisans from the city, and by others who flocked to them from the country — demesmen who loved the rule of one more than freedom. These, then, assembled; but the Athenians in the city, who while Pisistratus was collecting money and afterwards when he had taken Marathon took no notice of it, did now, and when they learned that he was marching from Marathon against Athens, they set out to attack him. They came out with all their force to meet the returning exiles. Pisistratus' men encountered the enemy when they had reached the temple of Pallenian Athena in their march from Marathon towards the city, and encamped face to face with them. There (by the providence of heaven) Pisistratus met Amphilytus the Acarnanian, a diviner, who came to him and prophesied as follows in hexameter verses: ““The cast is made, the net spread, The tunny-fish shall flash in the moonlit night.” “

63 1 ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐνθεάζων χρᾶ τάδε, Πεισίστρατος δὲ συλλαβὼν τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ φὰς δέκεσθαι τὸ χρησθὲν ἐπῆγε τὴν στρατιήν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος πρὸς ἄριστον τετραμμένοι ἦσαν δὴ τηνικαῦτα, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν πρὸς κύβους οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὕπνον. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον ἐσπεσόντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τρέπουσι. 2 φευγόντων δὲ τούτων βουλὴν ἐνθαῦτα σοφωτάτην Πεισίστρατος ἐπιτεχνᾶται, ὅπως μῆτε ἀλισθεῖεν ἔτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διεσκεδασμένοι τε εἶεν· ἀναβιβάσας τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ ἵππους προέπεμπε, οἱ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς φεύγοντας ἔλεγον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου, θαρσέειν τε κελεύοντες καὶ ἀπιέναι ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ.

63. So Amphilytus spoke, being inspired; Pisistratus understood him and, saying that he accepted the prophecy, led his army against the enemy. The Athenians of the city had by this time had breakfast, and after breakfast some were dicing and some were sleeping: they were attacked by Pisistratus' men and put to flight. So they fled, and Pisistratus devised a very subtle plan to keep them scattered and prevent them assembling again: he had his sons mount and ride forward: they overtook the fugitives and spoke to them as they were instructed by Pisistratus, telling them to take heart and each to depart to his home.

64 1 πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὕτω δὴ Πεισίστρατος τὸ τρίτον σχὼν Ἀθήνας ἐρρίζωσε τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπικουροῖσι τε πολλοῖσι καὶ χρημάτων συνόδοισι, τῶν μὲν αὐτόθεν τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ συνιόντων, ὁμήρους τε τῶν παραμεινάντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ μὴ αὐτίκα φυγόντων παῖδας λαβὼν καὶ καταστήσας ἐς Νάξον 2 (καὶ γὰρ ταύτην ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατεστρέψατο πολέμῳ καὶ ἐπέτρεψε Λυγδάμῳ) πρὸς τε ἔτι τούτοισι τὴν νῆσον Δῆλον καθήρας ἐκ τῶν λογίων καθήρας δὲ ὧδε· ἐπ' ὅσον ἔποψις τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἶχε, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου παντὸς ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς μετεφόρεε ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον τῆς Δήλου. 3 καὶ Πεισίστρατος μὲν ἐτυράννευε Ἀθηνέων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν μετ' Ἀλκμεωνιδέων ἔφευγον ἐκ τῆς οἰκῆις.

64. The Athenians did, and by this means Pisistratus gained Athens for the third time, rooting his sovereignty in a strong guard and revenue collected both from Athens and from the district of the river Strymon, and he took hostage the sons of the Athenians who remained and did not leave the city at once, and placed these in Naxos. (He had conquered Naxos too and put Lygdamis in charge.) And besides this, he purified the island of Delos as a result of oracles, and this is how he did it: he removed all the dead that were buried in ground within sight of the temple and conveyed them to another part of Delos. So Pisistratus was sovereign of Athens: and as for the Athenians, some had fallen in the battle, and some, with the Alcmeonids, were exiles from their native land.

65 1 τοὺς μὲν νυν Ἀθηναίους τοιαῦτα τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος κατέχοντα, τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ κακῶν

τε μεγάλων πεφευγότας καὶ ἐόντας ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ κατυπερτέρους Τεγεατέων. ἐπὶ γὰρ Λέοντος βασιλεύοντος καὶ Ἥγησικλέος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὐτυχεόντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Τεγεήτας μούνους προσέπταιον. 2 τὸ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τούτων καὶ κακονομώτατοι ἦσαν σχεδὸν πάντων Ἑλλήνων κατὰ τε σφέας αὐτοὺς καὶ ξεῖνοισι ἀπρόσμικτοι· μετέβαλον δὲ ὧδε ἐς εὐνομίην. Λυκούργου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων δοκίμου ἀνδρὸς ἐλθόντος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὡς ἐσήιε ἐς τὸ μέγαρον, εὐθὺς ἡ Πυθίη λέγει τάδε. 3 “ἦκεις ὦ Λυκούργε ἐμὸν ποτὶ πίονα νηὸν Ζηνὶ φίλος καὶ πᾶσιν Ὀλύμπια δώματ’ ἔχουσι. δίζω ἢ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι ἢ ἄνθρωπον. ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεὸν ἔλπομαι, ὦ Λυκούργε.” 4 οἱ μὲν δὴ τινες πρὸς τούτοις λέγουσι καὶ φράσαι αὐτῷ τὴν Πυθίην τὸν νῦν κατεστεῶτα κόσμον Σπαρτιήτησι. ὡς δ’ αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λυκούργον ἐπιτροπεύσαντα Λεωβώτῳ, ἀδελφιδέῳ μὲν ἑωυτοῦ βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτιητέων, ἐκ Κρήτης ἀγαγέσθαι ταῦτα. 5 ὡς γὰρ ἐπετρόπευσε τάχιστα, μετέστησε τὰ νόμιμα πάντα, καὶ ἐφύλαξε ταῦτα μὴ παραβαίνειν· μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐνωμοτίας καὶ τριηκάδας καὶ συσσίτια, πρὸς τε τούτοις τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας ἔστησε Λυκούργος.

65. So Croesus learned that at that time such problems were oppressing the Athenians, but that the Lacedaemonians had escaped from the great evils and had mastered the Tegeans in war. In the kingship of Leon and Hegesicles at Sparta, the Lacedaemonians were successful in all their other wars but met disaster only against the Tegeans. Before this they had been the worst-governed of nearly all the Hellenes and had had no dealings with strangers, but they changed to good government in this way: Lycurgus, a man of reputation among the Spartans, went to the oracle at Delphi. As soon as he entered the hall, the priestess said in hexameter: “You have come to my rich temple, Lycurgus, A man dear to Zeus and to all who have Olympian homes. I am in doubt whether to pronounce you man or god, But I think rather you are a god, Lycurgus. “ Some say that the Pythia also declared to him the constitution that now exists at Sparta, but the Lacedaemonians themselves say that Lycurgus brought it from Crete when he was guardian of his nephew Leobetēs, the Spartan king. Once he became guardian, he changed all the laws

and took care that no one transgressed the new ones. Lycurgus afterwards established their affairs of war: the sworn divisions, the bands of thirty, the common meals; also the ephors and the council of elders.

66 1 οὕτω μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν, τῷ δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἱρὸν εἰσάμενοι σέβονται μεγάλως. οἷα δὲ ἐν τε χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ καὶ πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθηνήθησαν, καὶ δὴ σφι οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χωρῇ. 2 ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι χρᾶ τάδε. “Ἀρκαδίην μ’ αἰτεῖς· μέγα μ’ αἰτεῖς· οὐ τοι δώσω . πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν , οἳ σ’ ἀποκωλύσουσιν . ἐγὼ δὲ τοι οὔτι μεγαίρω· δώσω τοί Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι.” 3 ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀρκάδων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείχοντο, οἳ δὲ πέδας φερόμενοι ἐπὶ Τεγεήτας ἐστρατεύοντο, χρησμῷ κιβδήλω πίσυνοι, ὡς δὴ ἐξανδραποδιούμενοι τοὺς Τεγεήτας. 4 ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐζωγρήθησαν, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέροντο αὐτοὶ καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδίον τὸ Τεγετέων ἐργάζοντο. αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὗται ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέεατο ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σόαι ἐν Τεγέῃ περὶ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης κρεμάμεναι.

66. Thus they changed their bad laws to good ones, and when Lycurgus died they built him a temple and now worship him greatly. Since they had good land and many men, they immediately flourished and prospered. They were not content to live in peace, but, confident that they were stronger than the Arcadians, asked the oracle at Delphi about gaining all the Arcadian land. She replied in hexameter: “You ask me for Arcadia? You ask too much; I grant it not. There are many men in Arcadia, eaters of acorns, Who will hinder you. But I grudge you not. I will give you Tegea to beat with your feet in dancing, And its fair plain to measure with a rope. “ When the Lacedaemonians heard the oracle reported, they left the other Arcadians alone and marched on Tegea carrying chains, relying on the deceptive oracle. They were confident they would enslave the Tegeans, but they were defeated in battle. Those taken alive were bound in the very chains they had brought with them, and they

measured the Tegean plain with a rope by working the fields. The chains in which they were bound were still preserved in my day, hanging up at the temple of Athena Alea.

67 1 κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον συνεχῶς αἰεὶ κακῶς ἀέθλεον πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροῖσον χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἀναξανδρίδεω τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιληίῃν ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι ἤδη οἱ Σπαρτιῆται κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγεγόνεσαν, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε γενόμενοι. 2 ἐπειδὴ αἰεὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐσσοῦντο ὑπὸ Τεγεητέων, πέμψαντες θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τίνα ἂν θεῶν ἱλασάμενοι κατύπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγεητέων γενοίαιτο. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε τὰ Ὅρέστεω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὅστέα ἐπαγαγομένους. 3 ὥς δὲ ἀνευρεῖν οὐκ οἶοι τε ἐγίνοντο τὴν θήκην τοῦ Ὅρέστεω ἐπεμπον αὐτίς τὴν ἐς θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ κέοιτο Ὅρέστης. εἰρωτῶσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι λέγει ἡ Πυθίη τάδε. 4 “ἔστι τις Ἀρκαδίης Τεγέῃ λευρῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ, ἔνθ’ ἄνεμοι πνεῖουσιν δύο κρατερῆς ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης, καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ’ ἐπὶ πῆματι κεῖται. ἔνθ’ Ἀγαμεμνονίδην κατέχει φυσίζοος αἴα, τὸν σὺ κομισσάμενος Τεγέης ἐπιτάρροθος ἔσση.” 5 ὥς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀπεῖχον τῆς ἐξευρέσιος οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, πάντα διζήμενοι, ἐς οὗ δὴ Λίχης τῶν ἀγαθοεργῶν καλομένων Σπαρτιητέων ἀνεῦρε, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοεργοὶ εἰσὶ τῶν ἀστῶν, ἐξιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων αἰεὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, πέντε ἔτεος ἐκάστου· τοὺς δεῖ τοῦτ’ ὅν τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, τὸν ἂν ἐξιώσι ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων, Σπαρτιητέων τῷ κοινῷ διαπεμπομένους μὴ ἐλινύειν ἄλλους ἄλλῃ.

67. In the previous war the Lacedaemonians continually fought unsuccessfully against the Tegeans, but in the time of Croesus and the kingship of Anaxandrides and Ariston in Lacedaemon the Spartans had gained the upper hand. This is how: when they kept being defeated by the Tegeans, they sent ambassadors to Delphi to ask which god they should propitiate to prevail against the Tegeans in war. The Pythia responded that they should bring back the bones of Orestes, son of Agamemnon. When they were unable to discover Orestes' tomb, they sent once more to the god to ask where he was buried. The Pythia responded in hexameter to the messengers: "There is a place Tegea in the smooth plain of Arcadia, Where two winds blow under strong compulsion. Blow lies upon blow, woe

upon woe. There the life-giving earth covers the son of Agamemnon. Bring him back, and you shall be lord of Tegea. “ When the Lacedaemonians heard this, they were no closer to discovery, though they looked everywhere. Finally it was found by Lichas, who was one of the Spartans who are called “doers of good deeds.”. These men are those citizens who retire from the knights, the five oldest each year. They have to spend the year in which they retire from the knights being sent here and there by the Spartan state, never resting in their efforts.

68 1 τούτων ὧν τῶν ἀνδρῶν Λίχης ἀνεῦρε ἐν Τεγέῃ καὶ συντυχίῃ χρησάμενος καὶ σοφίῃ. ἐούσης γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιμιξίης πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, ἐλθὼν ἐς χαλκήιον ἐθηεῖτο σίδηρον ἐξελαυνόμενον, καὶ ἐν θώματι ἦν ὀρέων τὸ ποιούμενον. 2 μαθὼν, δέ μιν ὁ χαλκεὺς ἀποθωμάζοντα εἶπε παυσάμενος τοῦ ἔργου “ἦ κου ἄν, ὦ ξεῖνε Λάκων εἴ περ εἶδες τό περ ἐγώ, κάρτα ἂν ἐθώμαζες, ὅκου νῦν οὕτω τυγχάνεις θῶμα ποιούμενος τὴν ἐργασίην τοῦ σιδήρου. 3 ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῇδε θέλων τῇ αὐτῇ φρέαρ ποιήσασθαι, ὀρύσσων ἐπέτυχον σορῶ ἑπταπῆχεϊ· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπιστίας μὴ μὲν γενέσθαι μηδαμὰ μέζονας ἀνθρώπους τῶν νῦν ἄνοιξα αὐτὴν καὶ εἶδον τὸν νεκρὸν μήκει ἴσον ἐόντα τῇ σορῶ· μετρήσας δὲ συνέχωσα ὀπίσω.” ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἔλεγε τά περ ὁπώπεε, ὁ δὲ ἐννώσας τὰ λεγόμενα συνεβάλλετο τὸν Ὀρέστεα κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τοῦτον εἶναι, τῇδε συμβαλλόμενος· 4 τοῦ χαλκέος δύο ὀρέων φύσας τοὺς ἀνέμους εὗρισκε ἐόντας, τὸν δὲ ἄκμονα καὶ τὴν σφῦραν τὸν τε τύπον καὶ τὸν ἀντίτυπον, τὸν δὲ ἐξελαυνόμενον σίδηρον τὸ πῆμα ἐπὶ πῆματι κείμενον, κατὰ τοιόνδε τι εἰκάζων, ὥς ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνεύρηται. 5 συμβαλόμενος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐς Σπάρτην ἔφραζε Λακεδαιμονίοισι πᾶν τὸ πρῆγμα. οἱ δὲ ἐκ λόγου πλαστοῦ ἐπενείκαντες οἱ αἰτίην ἐδίωξαν. ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Τεγέην καὶ φράζων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συμφορὴν πρὸς τὸν χαλκέα ἐμισθοῦτο παρ’ οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος τὴν αὐλήν· 6 χρόνῳ δὲ ὥς ἀνέγνωσε, ἐνοικίσθη, ἀνορύξας δὲ τὸν τάφον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα συλλέξας οἷχετο φέρων ἐς Σπάρτην. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου, ὅκως πειρώατο ἀλλήλων, πολλῶ κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἤδη δέ σφι καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦν κατεστραμμένη.

68. It was Lichas, one of these men, who found the tomb in Tegea by a combination of luck and skill. At that time there was free access to Tegea, so he went into a blacksmith's shop and watched iron being forged, standing there in amazement at what he saw done. The smith perceived that he was amazed, so he stopped what he was doing and said, "My Laconian guest, if you had seen what I saw, then you would really be amazed, since you marvel so at ironworking. I wanted to dig a well in the courtyard here, and in my digging I hit upon a coffin twelve feet long. I could not believe that there had ever been men taller than now, so I opened it and saw that the corpse was

just as long as the coffin. I measured it and then reburied it.” So the smith told what he had seen, and Lichas thought about what was said and reckoned that this was Orestes, according to the oracle. In the smith’s two bellows he found the winds, hammer and anvil were blow upon blow, and the forging of iron was woe upon woe, since he figured that iron was discovered as an evil for the human race. After reasoning this out, he went back to Sparta and told the Lacedaemonians everything. They made a pretence of bringing a charge against him and banishing him. Coming to Tegea, he explained his misfortune to the smith and tried to rent the courtyard, but the smith did not want to lease it. Finally he persuaded him and set up residence there. He dug up the grave and collected the bones, then hurried off to Sparta with them. Ever since then the Spartans were far superior to the Tegeans whenever they met each other in battle. By the time of Croesus’ inquiry, the Spartans had subdued most of the Peloponnese.

69 1 ταῦτα δὴ ὧν πάντα πυνθανόμενος ὁ Κροῖσος ἔπεμπε ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους δῶρά τε φέροντας καὶ δεησομένους συμμαχίης, ἐντειλάμενός τε τὰ λέγειν χρῆν. οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον 2 “ἔπεμνε ἡμέας Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεὺς, λέγων τάδε. ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ἑλληνα φίλον προσθέσθαι, ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὑμέας ὧν κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον προσκαλέομαι φίλος τε θέλων γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης.” 3 Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα δι’ ἀγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀκηκοότες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τὸ Κροίσῳ γενόμενον ἤσθησάν τε τῇ ἀπίξιν τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἐποιήσαντο ὅρκια ξεινίης πέρι καὶ συμμαχίης· καὶ γὰρ τινὲς αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίαι εἶχον ἐκ Κροίσου πρότερον ἔτι γεγонуῖαι. 4 πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς Σάρδεις χρυσὸν ὠνέοντο, ἐς ἄγαλμα βουλόμενοι χρήσασθαι τοῦτο τὸ νῦν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρνακι ἱδρυται Ἀπόλλωνος· Κροῖσος δὲ σφι ὠνεομένοισι ἔδωκε δωτίνην.

69. Croesus, then, aware of all this, sent messengers to Sparta with gifts to ask for an alliance, having instructed them what to say. They came and said: “Croesus, King of Lydia and other nations, has sent us with this message: ‘Lacedaemonians, the god has declared

that I should make the Greek my friend; now, therefore, since I learn that you are the leaders of Hellas, I invite you, as the oracle bids; I would like to be your friend and ally, without deceit or guile.”” Croesus proposed this through his messengers; and the Lacedaemonians, who had already heard of the oracle given to Croesus, welcomed the coming of the Lydians and swore to be his friends and allies; and indeed they were obliged by certain benefits which they had received before from the king. For the Lacedaemonians had sent to Sardis to buy gold, intending to use it for the statue of Apollo which now stands on Thornax in Laconia; and Croesus, when they offered to buy it, made them a free gift of it.

70 1 τούτων τε ὧν εἵνεκεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν συμμαχίην ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ πάντων σφέας προκρίνας Ἑλλήνων αἰρέετο φίλους. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι ἐπαγγεῖλαντι, τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάμενοι κρητῆρα χάλκεον ζωδίων τε ἔξωθεν πλήσαντες περὶ τὸ χεῖλος καὶ μεγάλῃ τριηκοσίους ἀμφορέας χωρέοντα ἦγον, δῶρον βουλόμενοι ἀντιδοῦναι Κροΐσῳ. 2 οὗτος ὁ κρητῆρ οὐκ ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάρδεις δι’ αἰτίας διφασίας λεγομένας τάσδε· οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι ὡς ἐπεῖτε ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ὁ κρητῆρ ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὴν Σαμῖν, πυθόμενοι Σάμιοι ἀπελοίατο αὐτὸν νηυσὶ μακρῇσι ἐπιπλώσαντες· 3 αὐτοὶ δὲ Σάμιοι λέγουσι ὡς ἐπεῖτε ὑστέρησαν οἱ ἄγοντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸν κρητῆρα, ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ Σάρδεις τε καὶ Κροῖσον ἠλωκέναι, ἀπέδοντο τὸν κρητῆρα ἐν Σάμῳ, ιδιώτας δὲ ἄνδρας πριαμένους ἀναθεῖναι μιν ἐς τὸ Ἥραιον. τάχα δὲ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Σπάρτην ὡς ἀπαιρεθείησαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων. κατὰ μὲν νυν τὸν κρητῆρα οὕτω ἔσχε.

70. For this reason, and because he had chosen them as his friends before all the other Greeks, the Lacedaemonians accepted the alliance. So they declared themselves ready to serve him when he should require, and moreover they made a bowl of bronze, engraved around the rim outside with figures, and large enough to hold twenty-seven hundred gallons, and brought it with the intention of making a gift in return to Croesus. This bowl never reached Sardis, for which two reasons are given: the Lacedaemonians say that when the bowl was near Samos on its way to Sardis, the Samians descended upon them in warships and carried it off; but the Samians themselves say

that the Lacedaemonians who were bringing the bowl, coming too late, and learning that Sardis and Croesus were taken, sold it in Samos to certain private men, who set it up in the temple of Hera. And it may be that the sellers of the bowl, when they returned to Sparta, said that they had been robbed of it by the Samians. Such are the tales about the bowl.

71 1 Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐποιέετο στρατηγὴν ἐς Καππαδοκίην, ἐλπίσας καταιρήσειν Κῦρόν τε καὶ τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν. 2 παρασκευαζομένου δὲ Κροίσου στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, τῶν τις Λυδῶν νομιζόμενος καὶ πρόσθε εἶναι σοφός, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ κάρτα οὐνομα ἐν Λυδοῖσι ἔχων, συνεβούλευσε Κροίσῳ τάδε· οὐνομά οἱ ἦν Σάνδανις. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπ’ ἄνδρας τοιούτους στρατεύεσθαι παρασκευάζει, οἱ σκυτῖνας μὲν ἀναξυρίδας σκυτίνην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἐσθῆτα φορέουσι, σιτέονται δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἐθέλουσι ἀλλ’ ὅσα ἔχουσι, χώραν ἔχοντες τρηχέαν. 3 πρὸς δὲ οὐκ οἶνω διαχρέωνται ἀλλὰ ὕδροποτέουσι, οὐ σῦκα δὲ ἔχουσι τρώγειν, οὐκ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν. τοῦτο μὲν δή, εἰ νικήσεις, τί σφέας ἀπαιρήσεται, τοῖσί γε μὴ ἔστι μηδέν ; τοῦτο δέ, ἦν νικηθῆς, μάθε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἀποβαλέεις· γευσάμενοι γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν περιέζονται οὐδὲ ἀπωστοὶ ἔσονται. 4 ἐγὼ μὲν νυν θεοῖσι ἔχω χάριν, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον ποιέουσι Πέρσῃσι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Λυδοῦς.” ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Κροῖσον. Πέρσῃσι γάρ, πρὶν Λυδοῦς καταστρέψασθαι, ἦν οὔτε ἄβρὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν.

71. Croesus, mistaking the meaning of the oracle, invaded Cappadocia, expecting to destroy Cyrus and the Persian power. But while he was preparing to march against the Persians, a certain Lydian, who was already held to be a wise man, and who, from the advice which he now gave, won a great name among the Lydians, advised him as follows (his name was Sandanis): “O King, you are getting ready to march against men who wear trousers of leather and whose complete wardrobe is of leather, and who eat not what they like but what they have; for their land is stony. Further, they do not use wine, but drink water, have no figs to eat, or anything else that is good. Now if you conquer them, of what will you deprive them, since they have nothing? But if on the other hand you are conquered, then look how many good things you will lose; for once they have

tasted of our blessings they will cling so tightly to them that nothing will pry them away. For myself, then, I thank the gods that they do not put it in the heads of the Persians to march against the Lydians.” Sandanis spoke thus but he did not persuade Croesus. Indeed, before they conquered the Lydians, the Persians had no luxury and no comforts.

72 1 οἱ δὲ Καππαδόκαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σύριοι ὀνομάζονται· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Σύριοι οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἢ Πέρσας ἄρξαι Μήδων κατήκοι, τότε δὲ Κύρου. 2 ὁ γὰρ οὗρος ἦν τῆς τε Μηδικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς Λυδικῆς ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμός, ὃς ῥέει ἐξ Ἀρμενίου ὄρεος διὰ Κιλικίων, μετὰ δὲ Ματινηοὺς μὲν ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχει ῥέων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου Φρύγας· παραμειβόμενος δὲ τούτους καὶ ῥέων ἄνω πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἔνθεν μὲν Συρίους Καππαδόκας ἀπέργει, ἐξ εὐνύμου δὲ Παφλαγόνας. 3 οὕτω ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμός ἀποτάμνει σχεδὸν πάντα τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἀντίον Κύπρου ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον. ἔστι δὲ αὐχὴν οὗτος τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπάσης· μῆκος ὁδοῦ εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ πέντε ἡμέραι ἀναισιμοῦνται.

72. Now the Cappadocians are called by the Greeks Syrians, and these Syrians before the Persian rule were subjects of the Medes, and, at this time, of Cyrus. For the boundary of the Median and Lydian empires was the river Halys, which flows from the Armenian mountains first through Cilicia and afterwards between the Matieni on the right and the Phrygians on the other hand; then, passing these and still flowing north, it separates the Cappadocian Syrians on the right from the Paphlagonians on the left. Thus the Halys river cuts off nearly the whole of the lower part of Asia from the Cyprian to the Euxine sea. Here is the narrowest neck of all this land; the length of the journey across for a man traveling unencumbered is five days.

73 1 ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίην τῶνδε εἵνεκα, καὶ γῆς ἱμέρῳ προσκτήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ μοῖραν βουλόμενος, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πίσυνος ἐὼν καὶ τίσασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ Ἀστυάγεος Κῦρον. 2 Ἀστυάγεα γὰρ τὸν Κυαξάρῳ, ἐόντα Κροῖσου μὲν γαμβρὸν Μήδων δὲ βασιλέα, Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω καταστρεψάμενος εἶχε, γενόμενον γαμβρὸν Κροῖσῳ ᾧδε. 3 Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων εἴλη ἀνδρῶν στασιάσασα ὑπεξῆλθε ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν· ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Μήδων Κυαξάρης ὁ

Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηϊόκεω, ὃς τοὺς Σκύθας τούτους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περιεῖπε εὖ ὥς ἐόντας ἰκέτας· ὥστε δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιόμενος αὐτούς, παῖδάς σφι παρέδωκε τὴν γλῶσσάν τε ἐκμαθεῖν καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων. 4 χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, καὶ αἰεὶ φοιτεόντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπ' ἄγρην καὶ αἰεὶ τι φερόντων, καὶ κοτε συνήνεικε ἐλεῖν σφεας μηδέν· νοστήσαντας δὲ αὐτοὺς κεινῇσι χερσὶ ὁ Κυαζάρης (ἦν γάρ, ὥς διέδεξε, ὀργὴν ἄκρος) τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε ἀεικείῃ. 5 οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Κυαζάρεω παθόντες, ὥστε ἀνάξια σφέων αὐτῶν πεπονθότες, ἐβούλευσαν τῶν παρὰ σφίσι διδασκομένων παίδων ἓνα κατακόψαι, σκευάσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἐώθεσαν καὶ τὰ θηρία σκευάζειν, Κυαζάρῃ δοῦναι φέροντες ὥς ἄγρην δῆθεν, δόντες δὲ τὴν ταχίστην κομίζεσθαι παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα τὸν Σαδυάττεω ἐς Σάρδις. 6 ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ Κυαζάρης καὶ οἱ παρεόντες δαιτυμόνες τῶν κρεῶν τούτων ἐπάσαντο, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ταῦτα ποιήσαντες Ἀλυάττεω ἰκέται ἐγένοντο.

73. The reasons for Croesus' expedition against Cappadocia were these: he desired to gain territory in addition to his own, and (these were the chief causes) he trusted the oracle and wished to avenge Astyages on Cyrus; for Cyrus, son of Cambyses, had conquered Astyages and held him in subjection. Now Astyages, son of Cyaxares and the king of Media, was Croesus' brother-in-law: and this is how he came to be so. A tribe of wandering Scythians separated itself from the rest, and escaped into Median territory. This was then ruled by Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, son of Deioces. Cyaxares at first treated the Scythians kindly, as suppliants for his mercy; and, as he had a high regard for them, he entrusted boys to their tutelage to be taught their language and the skill of archery. As time went on, it happened that the Scythians, who were accustomed to go hunting and always to bring something back, once had taken nothing, and when they returned empty-handed, Cyaxares treated them very roughly and contemptuously (being, as appears from this, prone to anger). The Scythians, feeling themselves wronged by the treatment they had from Cyaxares, planned to take one of the boys who were their pupils and cut him in pieces; then, dressing the flesh as they were accustomed to dress the animals which they killed, to bring and give it to Cyaxares as if it were the spoils of the hunt; and after that, to

make their way with all speed to Alyattes son of Sadyattes at Sardis. All this they did. Cyaxares and the guests who ate with him dined on the boy's flesh, and the Scythians, having done as they planned, fled to Alyattes for protection.

74 1 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐξεδίδου τοὺς Σκύθας ἐξαίτεοντι Κυαζάρη, πόλεμος τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἐγεγόνεε ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε, ἐν τοῖσι πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Μῆδοι τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐνίκησαν, πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ τοὺς Μῆδους, ἐν δὲ καὶ νυκτομαχίην τινὰ ἐποίησαντο· 2 διαφέρουσι δέ σφι ἐπὶ ἴσης τὸν πόλεμον τῷ ἔκτῳ ἔτει συμβολῆς γενομένης συνήνεικε ὥστε τῆς μάχης συνεστεώσης τὴν ἡμέρην ἐξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύτην τῇ ἡμέρῃ Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖσι Ἴωσι προηγόρευσε ἔσεσθαι, οὗρον προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον ἐν τῷ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολή. 3 οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι ἐπεῖτε εἶδον νύκτα ἀντὶ ἡμέρῃς γενομένην, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπαύσαντο καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἔσπευσαν καὶ ἀμφοτέροι εἰρήνην ἐωυτοῖσι γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ συμβιβάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἦσαν οἶδε, Σύνεννεσίς τε ὁ Κίλιξ καὶ Λαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος. 4 οὗτοί σφι καὶ τὸ ὄρκιον οἱ σπεύσαντες γενέσθαι ἦσαν καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγὴν ἐποίησαν· Ἀλυάττεα γὰρ ἔγνωσαν δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀρύνην Ἀστυάγει τῷ Κυαζάρει παιδί· ἄνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαίης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσεις ἰσχυραὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συμμένειν. 5 ὄρκια δὲ ποιέεται ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα τὰ πέρ τε Ἕλληνες, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ἐπεὰν τοὺς βραχίονας ἐπιτάμωνται ἐς τὴν ὁμοχροίην, τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων.

74. After this, since Alyattes would not give up the Scythians to Cyaxares at his demand, there was war between the Lydians and the Medes for five years; each won many victories over the other, and once they fought a battle by night. They were still warring with equal success, when it happened, at an encounter which occurred in the sixth year, that during the battle the day was suddenly turned to night. Thales of Miletus had foretold this loss of daylight to the Ionians, fixing it within the year in which the change did indeed happen. So when the Lydians and Medes saw the day turned to night, they stopped fighting, and both were the more eager to make peace. Those who reconciled them were Syennesis the Cilician and Labynetus the Babylonian; they brought it about that there should be

a sworn agreement and a compact of marriage between them: they judged that Alyattes should give his daughter Aryenis to Astyages, son of Cyaxares; for without strong constraint agreements will not keep their force. These nations make sworn compacts as do the Greeks; and besides, when they cut the skin of their arms, they lick each other's blood.

75 1 τοῦτον δὴ ὢν τὸν Ἀστυάγεα Κῦρος ἔοντα ἐωυτοῦ μητροπάτορα καταστρεψάμενος ἔσχε δι' αἰτίην τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπίσω λόγοισι σημανέω· 2 τὰ Κροῖσος ἐπιμεμφόμενος τῷ Κύρῳ ἔς τε τὰ χρηστήρια ἔπεμπε εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπικομένου χρησμοῦ κιβδήλου, ἐλπίσας πρὸς ἐωυτοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι, ἐστρατεύετο ἐς τὴν Περσέων μοῖραν. 3 ὥς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω, κατὰ τὰς ἐούσας γεφύρας διεβίβασε τὸν στρατὸν, ὥς δὲ ὁ πολλὸς λόγος Ἑλλήνων, Θαλῆς οἱ ὁ Μιλήσιος διεβίβασε. 4 ἀπορέοντος γὰρ Κροίσου ὅπως οἱ διαβήσεται τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ στρατός (οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἶναι κω τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰς γεφύρας ταύτας) λέγεται παρ' ἑόντα τὸν Θαλῆν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ῥέοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥεῖν, ποιῆσαι δὲ ὧδε· 5 ἄνωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀρξάμενον διώρυχα βαθέαν ὀρύσσειν, ἄγοντα μηνοειδέα, ὅπως ἂν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἰδρυμένον κατὰ νότου λάβοι, ταύτη κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα ἐκτραπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥέεθρων, καὶ αὗτις παραμειβόμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐσβάλλοι· ὥστε ἐπεῖτε καὶ ἐσχίσθη τάχιστα ὁ ποταμός, ἀμφοτέρῃ διαβατὸς ἐγένετο, 6 οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ παράπαν λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηρανθῆναι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσίεμαι· κῶς γὰρ ὀπίσω πορευόμενοι διέβησαν αὐτόν ;

75. Cyrus had subjugated this Astyages, then, Cyrus' own mother's father, for the reason which I shall presently disclose. Having this reason to quarrel with Cyrus, Croesus sent to ask the oracles if he should march against the Persians; and when a deceptive answer came he thought it to be favorable to him, and so led his army into the Persian territory. When he came to the river Halys, he transported his army across it — by the bridges which were there then, as I maintain; but the general belief of the Greeks is that Thales of Miletus got the army across. The story is that, as Croesus did not

know how his army could pass the river (as the aforesaid bridges did not yet exist then), Thales, who was in the encampment, made the river, which flowed on the left of the army, also flow on the right, in the following way. Starting from a point on the river upstream from the camp, he dug a deep semi-circular trench, so that the stream, turned from its ancient course, would flow in the trench to the rear of the camp and, passing it, would issue into its former bed, with the result that as soon as the river was thus divided into two, both channels could be forded. Some even say that the ancient channel dried up altogether. But I do not believe this; for in that case, how did they pass the river when they were returning?

76 1 Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπεῖτε διαβὰς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀπῖκετο τῆς Καππαδοκίης ἐς τὴν Πτερίην καλεομένην (ἡ δὲ Πτερίη ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης τὸ ἰσχυρότατον, κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν τὴν ἐν Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ μάλιστά κη κειμένη), ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύετο φθειρῶν τῶν Συρίων τοὺς κλήρους· 2 καὶ εἴλε μὲν τῶν Πτερίων τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἡνδραποδίσατο, εἴλε δὲ τὰς περιοικίδας αὐτῆς πάσας, Συρίους τε οὐδὲν ἐόντας αἰτίους ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε. Κῦρος δὲ ἀγείρας τὸν ἐωντοῦ στρατὸν καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς μεταξὺ οἰκέοντας πάντας ἡγνιούτο Κροίσῳ. 3 πρὶν δὲ ἐξελαύνειν ὀρμῆσαι τὸν στρατόν, πέμψας κήρυκας ἐς τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐπειρᾶτο σφέας ἀπὸ Κροίσου ἀπιστάναι. Ἴωνες μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο. Κῦρος δὲ ὥς ἀπῖκετο καὶ ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο Κροίσῳ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ χωρῇ ἐπειρῶντο κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἀλλήλων. 4 μάχης δὲ καρτερῆς γενομένης καὶ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, τέλος οὐδέτεροι νικήσαντες διέστησαν νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατόπεδα ἀμφοτέρα οὕτω ἡγωνίσατο.

76. Passing over with his army, Croesus then came to the part of Cappadocia called Pteria (it is the strongest part of this country and lies on the line of the city of Sinope on the Euxine sea), where he encamped and devastated the farms of the Syrians; and he took and enslaved the city of the Pterians, and took all the places around it also, and drove the Syrians from their homes, though they had done him no harm. Cyrus, mustering his army, advanced to oppose Croesus, gathering to him all those who lived along the way. But before beginning his march, he sent heralds to the Ionians to try to

draw them away from Croesus. The Ionians would not be prevailed on; but when Cyrus arrived and encamped face to face with Croesus, there in the Pterian country the armies had a trial of strength. The fighting was fierce, many on both sides fell, and at nightfall they disengaged with neither side victorious. The two sides contended thus.

77 1 Κροῖσος δὲ μεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἑωυτοῦ στράτευμα (ἦν γάρ οἱ ὁ συμβαλὼν στρατὸς πολλὸν ἐλάσσων ἢ ὁ Κῦρου), τοῦτο μεμφθεὶς, ὡς τῇ ὑστεραίῃ οὐκ ἐπειρᾶτο ἐπιὼν ὁ Κῦρος, ἀπήλανε ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ἐν νόφῃ ἔχων παρακαλέσας μὲν Αἰγυπτίους κατὰ τὸ ὄρκιον 2 (ἐποίησατο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Ἄμασιν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου συμμαχίην πρότερον ἢ περ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους), μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους (καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τούτους αὐτῷ ἐπεποίητο συμμαχίη, ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῶν Βαβυλωνίων Λαβύνητος), 3 ἐπαγγείλας δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι παρεῖναι ἐς χρόνον ῥητὸν ἀλίσας τε δὴ τούτους καὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ συλλέξας στρατιὴν ἐνένωτο τὸν χειμῶνα παρείς, ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. 4 καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα φρονέων, ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ἔπεμπε κήρυκας κατὰ τὰς συμμαχίας προερέοντας ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδεις· τὸν δὲ παρεόντα καὶ μαχεσάμενον στρατὸν Πέρσησι, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ ξεινικός, πάντα ἀπείς διεσκέδασε οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίσας μὴ κοτε ἄρα ἀγωνισάμενος οὕτω παραπλησίως Κῦρος ἐλάσῃ ἐπὶ Σάρδεις.

77. Croesus was not content with the size of his force, for his army that had engaged was far smaller than that of Cyrus; therefore, when on the day after the battle Cyrus did not try attacking again, he marched away to Sardis, intending to summon the Egyptians in accordance with their treaty (for before making an alliance with the Lacedaemonians he had made one also with Amasis king of Egypt), and to send for the Babylonians also (for with these too he had made an alliance, Labynetus at this time being their sovereign), and to summon the Lacedaemonians to join him at a fixed time. He had in mind to muster all these forces and assemble his own army, then to wait until the winter was over and march against the Persians at the beginning of spring. With such an intention, as soon as he returned to Sardis, he sent heralds to all his allies, summoning them to assemble

at Sardis in five months' time; and as for the soldiers whom he had with him, who had fought with the Persians, all of them who were mercenaries he discharged, never thinking that after a contest so equal Cyrus would march against Sardis.

78 1 ταῦτα ἐπιλεγομένῳ Κροίσῳ τὸ προάστειον πᾶν ὀφίων ἐνεπλήσθη· φανέντων δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ ἵπποι μετιέντες τὰς νομάς νέμεσθαι φοιτέοντες κατήσθιον. ἰδόντι δὲ τοῦτο Κροίσῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν ἔδοξε τέρας εἶναι· 2 αὐτίκα δὲ ἔπεμπε θεοπρόπους ἐς τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι καὶ μαθοῦσι πρὸς Τελμησσέων τὸ θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἐξεγένετο Κροίσῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ ὀπίσω σφέας ἀναπλῶσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἦλω ὁ Κροῖσος. 3 Τελμησσέες μέντοι τάδε ἔγνωσαν, στρατὸν ἀλλόθροον προσδόκιμον εἶναι Κροίσῳ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, ἀπικόμενον δὲ τοῦτον καταστρέψεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, λέγοντες ὄφιν εἶναι γῆς παῖδα, ἵππον δὲ πολέμιόν τε καὶ ἐπήλυδα. Τελμησσέες μὲν νυν ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο Κροίσῳ ἤδη ἡλωκότι, οὐδὲν κω εἰδότες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδις τε καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον.

78. This was how Croesus reasoned. Meanwhile, snakes began to swarm in the outer part of the city; and when they appeared the horses, leaving their accustomed pasture, devoured them. When Croesus saw this he thought it a portent, and so it was. He at once sent to the homes of the Telmessian interpreters, to inquire concerning it; but though his messengers came and learned from the Telmessians what the portent meant, they could not bring back word to Croesus, for he was a prisoner before they could make their voyage back to Sardis. Nonetheless, this was the judgment of the Telmessians: that Croesus must expect a foreign army to attack his country, and that when it came, it would subjugate the inhabitants of the land: for the snake, they said, was the offspring of the land, but the horse was an enemy and a foreigner. This was the answer which the Telmessians gave Croesus, knowing as yet nothing of the fate of Sardis and of the king himself; but when they gave it, Croesus was already taken.

79 1 Κῦρος δὲ αὐτίκα ἀπελαύνοντος Κροίσου μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ, μαθὼν ὡς ἀπελάσας μέλλοι Κροῖσος διασκεδᾶν τὸν στρατὸν, βουλευόμενος εὗρισκε πρῆγμά οἱ εἶναι

ελαύνειν ὥς δύναιτο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις, πρὶν ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ἀλισθῆναι τῶν Λυδῶν τὴν δύναμιν. 2 ὥς δέ οἱ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίηε κατὰ τάχος· ἐλάσας γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Λυδίην αὐτὸς ἄγγελος Κροῖσφ ἐληλύθεε. ἐνθαῦτα Κροῖσος ἐς ἀπορίην πολλὴν ἀπιγμένος, ὥς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν ἔσχε τὰ πρήγματα ἢ ὥς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε, ὅμως τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐξῆγε ἐς μάχην. 3 ἦν δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ οὔτε ἀνδριώτερον οὔτε ἀλκιμώτερον τοῦ Λυδίου. ἡ δὲ μάχη σφέων ἦν ἀπ' ἵππων, δόρατά τε ἐφόρεον μεγάλα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἱππεύεσθαι ἀγαθοί.

79. When Croesus marched away after the battle in the Pterian country, Cyrus, learning that Croesus had gone intending to disband his army, deliberated and perceived that it would be opportune for him to march quickly against Sardis, before the power of the Lydians could be assembled again. This he decided, and this he did immediately; he marched his army into Lydia and so came himself to bring the news of it to Croesus. All had turned out contrary to Croesus' expectation, and he was in a great quandary; nevertheless, he led out the Lydians to battle. Now at this time there was no nation in Asia more valiant or warlike than the Lydian. It was their custom to fight on horseback, carrying long spears, and they were skillful at managing horses.

80 1 ἐς τὸ πεδίον δὲ συνελθόντων τοῦτο τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἐστὶ τοῦ Σαρδινοῦ, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ψιλὸν (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποταμοὶ ῥέοντες καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Ὑλλος συρρήγνῃσι ἐς τὸν μέγιστον, καλούμενον δὲ Ἑρμον, ὃς ἐξ ὄρεος ἱροῦ μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φωκαίην πόλιν), 2 ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ὥς εἶδε τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐς μάχην τασσομένους, καταρβώδησας τὴν ἵππον ἐποίησε Ἀρπάγου ὑποθεμένου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου τοιόνδε· ὅσαι τῷ στρατῷ τῷ ἐωυτοῦ εἶποντο σιτοφόροι τε καὶ σκευοφόροι κάμηλοι, ταύτας πάσας ἀλίσας καὶ ἀπελὼν τὰ ἄχθεια ἄνδρας ἐπ' αὐτάς ἀνέβησε ἱππᾶδα στολὴν ἐνεσταλμένους, σκευάσας δὲ αὐτοὺς προσέταξε τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς προΐεναι πρὸς τὴν Κροῖσου ἵππον, τῇ δὲ καμήλῳ ἐπεσθαι τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλευσε, ὅπισθε δὲ τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐπέταξε τὴν πᾶσαν ἵππον. 3 ὥς δέ οἱ πάντες διετετάχατο, παραίνεσε τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Λυδῶν μὴ φειδομένους κτείνειν πάντα τὸν ἐμποδῶν γινόμενον, Κροῖσον δὲ αὐτὸν μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἦν συλλαμβανόμενος ἀμύνηται.

4 ταῦτα μὲν παραίνεσε, τὰς δὲ καμήλους ἔταξε ἀντία τῆς ἵππου τῶνδε εἵνεκεν· κάμηλον ἵππος φοβέεται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὔτε τὴν ἰδέην αὐτοῦ ὀρέων οὔτε τὴν ὁδμὴν ὀσφραϊνόμενος. αὐτοῦ δὴ ὧν τούτου εἵνεκεν ἔσεσόφιστο, ἵνα τῷ Κροίσῳ ἄχρηστον ᾖ τὸ ἱππικόν, τῷ δὴ τι καὶ ἐπέιχε ἐλλάμψεσθαι ὁ Λυδός. 5 ὥς δὲ καὶ συνήισαν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ἐνθαῦτα ὥς ὠσφροντο τάχιστα τῶν καμήλων οἱ ἵπποι καὶ εἶδον αὐτάς, ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον, διέφθαρτό τε τῷ Κροίσῳ ἡ ἐλπίς. 6 οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Λυδοὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δειλοὶ ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον, ἀποθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων πεζοὶ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συνέβαλλον. χρόνῳ δὲ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν ἐτράποντο οἱ Λυδοί, κατελιθθέντες δὲ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπολιορκέοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων.

80. So the armies met in the plain, wide and bare, that is before the city of Sardis: the Hyllus and other rivers flow across it and run violently together into the greatest of them, which is called Hermus (this flows from the mountain sacred to the Mother Dindymene and empties into the sea near the city of Phocaea). When Cyrus saw the Lydians maneuvering their battle-lines here, he was afraid of their cavalry, and therefore at the urging of one Harpagus, a Mede, he did as I shall describe. Assembling all the camels that followed his army bearing food and baggage, he took off their burdens and mounted men upon them equipped like cavalymen; having equipped them, he ordered them to advance before his army against Croesus' cavalry; he directed the infantry to follow the camels, and placed all his cavalry behind the infantry. When they were all in order, he commanded them to kill all the other Lydians who came in their way, and spare none, but not to kill Croesus himself, even if he should defend himself against capture. Such was his command. The reason for his posting the camels to face the cavalry was this: horses fear camels and can endure neither the sight nor the smell of them; this then was the intention of his maneuver, that Croesus' cavalry, on which the Lydian relied to distinguish himself, might be of no use. So when battle was joined, as soon as the horses smelled and saw the camels they turned to flight, and all Croesus' hope was lost. Nevertheless the Lydians were no cowards; when they saw what was happening, they leaped from their horses and fought the Persians on

foot. Many of both armies fell; at length the Lydians were routed and driven within their city wall, where they were besieged by the Persians.

81 1 τοῖσι μὲν δὴ κατεστήκεε πολιορκίῃ. Κροῖσος δὲ δοκέων οἱ χρόνον ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἔσσεσθαι τὴν πολιορκίην ἔπεμπε ἐκ τοῦ τείχεος ἄλλους ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς συμμαχίας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρότεροι διεπέμποντο ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα προερέοντες συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδις, τούτους δὲ ἐξέπεμπε τὴν ταχίστην δέεσθαι βοηθέειν ὥς πολιορκεομένου Κροίσου.

81. So then they were besieged. But Croesus, supposing that the siege would last a long time, again sent messengers from the city to his allies; whereas the former envoys had been sent to summon them to muster at Sardis in five months' time, these were to announce that Croesus was besieged and to plead for help as quickly as possible.

82 1 ἔς τε δὴ ὧν τὰς ἄλλας ἔπεμπε συμμαχίας καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. τοῖσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον συνεπεπτώκεε ἕρις ἐοῦσα πρὸς Ἀργεῖους περὶ χώρου καλεομένου Θυρέης· 2 τὰς γὰρ Θυρέας ταύτας ἐοῦσα τῆς Ἀργολίδος μοίρης ἀποταμόμενοι ἔσχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ μέχρι Μαλέων ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέρην Ἀργείων, ἥ τε ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ χώρῃ καὶ ἡ Κυθηρὴ νῆσος καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν νήσων. 3 βοηθησάντων δὲ Ἀργείων τῇ σφετέρῃ ἀποταμνομένη, ἐνθαῦτα συνέβησαν ἐς λόγους συνελθόντες ὥστε τριηκοσίους ἑκατέρων μαχέσασθαι, ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν περιγένωνται, τούτων εἶναι τὸν χώρον· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἑκάτερον ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μηδὲ παραμένειν ἀγωνιζομένων, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν ἵνα μὴ παρεόντων τῶν στρατοπέδων ὀρῶντες οἱ ἕτεροι ἐσσομένους τοὺς σφετέρους ἀπαμύνειν. 4 συνθέμενοι ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο, λογάδες δὲ ἑκατέρων ὑπολειφθέντες συνέβαλον. μαχομένων δὲ σφέων καὶ γινομένων ἰσοπαλέων ὑπελείποντο ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων τρεῖς, Ἀργείων μὲν Ἀλκίηωρ τε καὶ Χρομῖος, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ Ὀθρυάδης· ὑπελείφθησαν δὲ οὗτοι νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. 5 οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν Ἀργείων ὥς νενικηκότες ἔθρον ἐς τὸ Ἄργος, ὁ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ὀθρυάδης σκυλεύσας τοὺς Ἀργείων νεκροὺς καὶ προσφορήσας τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τὸ ἑωυτοῦ στρατόπεδον ἐν τῇ τάξί εἶχε ἑωυτόν. ἡμέρη δὲ δευτέρῃ παρῆσαν πυνθανόμενοι ἀμφοτέρω. 6 τέως

μὲν δὴ αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔφασαν νικᾶν, λέγοντες οἱ μὲν ὥς ἑωυτῶν πλεῦνες περιγεγόνασι, οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀποφαίνοντες πεφευγότας, τὸν δὲ σφέτερον παραμείναντα καὶ σκυλεύσαντα τοὺς ἐκείνων νεκρούς· 7 τέλος δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔριδος συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, πεσόντων δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν νυν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου κατακεῖράμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς, πρότερον ἐπάναγκες κομῶντες, ἐποίησαντο νόμον τε καὶ κατάρην μὴ πρότερον θρέψειν κόμην Ἀργείων μηδένα, μηδὲ τὰς γυναῖκάς σφι χρυσοφορήσειν, πρὶν Θυρέας ἀνασώσωνται. 8 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἔθεντο νόμον· οὐ γὰρ κομῶντες πρὸ τούτου ἀπὸ τούτου κομᾶν. τὸν δὲ ἓνα λέγουσι τὸν περιλειφθέντα τῶν τριηκοσίων Ὀθρυάδην, αἰσχυνόμενον ἀπονοστέειν ἐς Σπάρτην τῶν οἱ συλλοχιτέων διεφθαρμένων, αὐτοῦ μιν ἐν τῇσι Θυρέῃσι καταχρήσασθαι ἑωυτόν.

82. So he sent to the Lacedaemonians as well as to the rest of the allies. Now at this very time the Spartans themselves were feuding with the Argives over the country called Thyrea; for this was a part of the Argive territory which the Lacedaemonians had cut off and occupied. (All the land towards the west, as far as Malea, belonged then to the Argives, and not only the mainland, but the island of Cythera and the other islands.) The Argives came out to save their territory from being cut off, then after debate the two armies agreed that three hundred of each side should fight, and whichever party won would possess the land. The rest of each army was to go away to its own country and not be present at the battle, since, if the armies remained on the field, the men of either party might render assistance to their comrades if they saw them losing. Having agreed, the armies drew off, and picked men of each side remained and fought. Neither could gain advantage in the battle; at last, only three out of the six hundred were left, Alcenor and Chromios of the Argives, Othryades of the Lacedaemonians: these three were left alive at nightfall. Then the two Argives, believing themselves victors, ran to Argos; but Othryades the Lacedaemonian, after stripping the Argive dead and taking the arms to his camp, waited at his position. On the second day both armies came to learn the issue. For a while both claimed the victory, the Argives arguing that more of their men had survived, the

Lacedaemonians showing that the Argives had fled, while their man had stood his ground and stripped the enemy dead. At last from arguing they fell to fighting; many of both sides fell, but the Lacedaemonians gained the victory. The Argives, who before had worn their hair long by fixed custom, shaved their heads ever after and made a law, with a curse added to it, that no Argive grow his hair, and no Argive woman wear gold, until they recovered Thyrae; and the Lacedaemonians made a contrary law, that they wear their hair long ever after; for until now they had not worn it so. Othryades, the lone survivor of the three hundred, was ashamed, it is said, to return to Sparta after all the men of his company had been killed, and killed himself on the spot at Thyrae.

83 1 τοιούτων δὲ τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι ἐνεστεώτων πρηγμάτων ἦκε ὁ Σαρδηνὸς κήρυξ δεόμενος Κροίσῳ βοηθέειν πολιορκεομένῳ. οἱ δὲ ὁμῶς, ἐπεῖτε ἐπύθοντο τοῦ κήρυκος, ὀρμέατο βοηθέειν. καὶ σφι ἤδη παρεσκευασμένοισι καὶ νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐτοίμων ἦλθε ἄλλη ἀγγελίη, ὥς ἡλώκοι τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἔχοιτο Κροῖσος ζωγρηθείς. οὕτω δὴ οὗτοι μὲν συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι μεγάλην ἐπέπαυντο.

83. The Sardinian herald came after this had happened to the Spartans to ask for their help for Croesus, now besieged; nonetheless, when they heard the herald, they prepared to send help; but when they were already equipped and their ships ready, a second message came that the fortification of the Lydians was taken and Croesus a prisoner. Then, though very sorry indeed, they ceased their efforts.

84 1 Σάρδιες δὲ ἤλωσαν ὧδε. ἐπειδὴ τεσσερεσκαιδεκάτη ἐγένετο ἡμέρη πολιορκεομένῳ Κροίσῳ, Κῦρος τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ διαπέμψας ἱππέας προεῖπε τῷ πρώτῳ ἐπιβάντι τοῦ τεύχεος δῶρα δώσειν. 2 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πειρησαμένης τῆς στρατιῆς ὥς οὐ προεχώρει, ἐνθαῦτα τῶν ἄλλων πεπαυμένων ἀνὴρ Μάρδος ἐπειρᾶτο προσβαίνων, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ὑροιάδης, κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τῇ οὐδεὶς ἐτέτακτο φύλακος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δεινὸν κατὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἁλῶ κοτέ. 3 ἀπότομός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ \ ταύτῃ ἡ ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἅμαχος· τῇ οὐδὲ Μήλης ὁ πρότερον βασιλεὺς Σαρδίων μούνη οὐ περιήνεικε τὸν λέοντα τὸν οἱ ἡ παλλακὴ ἔτεκε, Τελμησσέων δικασάντων ὥς περιενειχθέντος τοῦ λέοντος τὸ τεῖχος ἔσονται Σάρδιες ἀνάλωτοι. ὁ δὲ Μήλης κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τεῖχος περιενείκας, τῇ ἦν ἐπίμαχον τὸ χωρίον

τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, κατηλόγησε τοῦτο ὡς ἐὼν ἄμαχόν τε καὶ ἀπότομον· ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου τετραμμένον τῆς πόλιος. 4 ὁ ὢν δὴ Ὑροιάδης οὗτος ὁ Μάρδος ἰδὼν τῇ προτεραίῃ τῶν τινα Λυδῶν κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καταβάντα ἐπὶ κυνέην ἄνωθεν κατακυλισθεῖσαν καὶ ἀνελόμενον, ἐφράσθη καὶ ἐς θυμὸν ἐβάλετο· 5 τότε δὲ δὴ αὐτός τε ἀναβεβήκεε καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Περσέων ἀνέβαινον· προσβάντων δὲ συχνῶν οὕτω δὴ Σάρδιές τε ἠλώκεσαν καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄστὺ ἐπορθέετο.

84. This is how Sardis was taken. When Croesus had been besieged for fourteen days, Cyrus sent horsemen around in his army to promise to reward whoever first mounted the wall. After this the army made an assault, but with no success. Then, when all the others were stopped, a certain Mardian called Hyroeades attempted to mount by a part of the acropolis where no guard had been set, since no one feared that it could be taken by an attack made here. For here the height on which the acropolis stood is sheer and unlikely to be assaulted; this was the only place where Meles the former king of Sardis had not carried the lion which his concubine had borne him, the Telmessians having declared that if this lion were carried around the walls, Sardis could never be taken. Meles then carried the lion around the rest of the wall of the acropolis where it could be assaulted, but neglected this place, because the height was sheer and defied attack. It is on the side of the city which faces towards Tmolus. The day before, then, Hyroeades, this Mardian, had seen one of the Lydians come down by this part of the acropolis after a helmet that had fallen down, and fetch it; he took note of this and considered it. And now he climbed up himself, and other Persians after him. Many ascended, and thus Sardis was taken and all the city sacked.

85 1 κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ Κροῖσον τάδε ἐγίνετο. ἦν οἱ παῖς, τοῦ καὶ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικῆς, ἄφωνος δέ. ἐν τῇ ὢν παρελθούσῃ εὖεστοι ὁ Κροῖσος τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεποιήκεε, ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεπόμφεε χρησομένους. 2 ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ εἶπε τάδε. Λυδὲ γένος, πολλῶν βασιλεῦ, μέγα νήπιε Κροῖσε, μὴ βούλου πολύευκτον ἰὴν ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκούειν παιδὸς φθεγγομένου. τὸ δέ σοι πολὺ λώιον ἀμφὶς ἔμμεναι· αὐδήσει γὰρ ἐν ἡματι πρῶτον ἀνόλβῳ. 3 ἀλίσκομένου δὴ τοῦ

τείχεος, ἦι γὰρ τῶν τις Περσέων ἀλλογνώσας Κροῖσον ὡς ἀποκτενέων, Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ὁρέων ἐπιόντα ὑπὸ τῆς παρεούσης συμφορῆς παρημελήκει, οὐδὲ τί οἱ διέφερε πληγέντι ἀποθανεῖν· 4 ὁ δὲ παῖς οὗτος ὁ ἄφωνος ὡς εἶδε ἐπιόντα τὸν Πέρσῃν, ὑπὸ δέους τε καὶ κακοῦ ἔρρηξε φωνήν, εἶπε δὲ “ὠνθρώπε, μὴ κτεῖνε Κροῖσον.” οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐφθέγγατο, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη ἐφώνεε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζῆς.

85. I will now relate what happened to Croesus himself. He had a son, whom I have already mentioned, fine in other respects, but mute. Now in his days of prosperity past Croesus had done all that he could for his son; and besides resorting to other devices he had sent to Delphi to inquire of the oracle concerning him. The Pythian priestess answered him thus: ““Lydian, king of many, greatly foolish Croesus, Wish not to hear in the palace the voice often prayed for Of your son speaking. It were better for you that he remain mute as before; For on an unlucky day shall he first speak.” “ So at the taking of the fortification a certain Persian, not knowing who Croesus was, came at him meaning to kill him. Croesus saw him coming, but because of the imminent disaster he was past caring, and it made no difference to him whether he were struck and killed. But this mute son, when he saw the Persian coming on, in fear and distress broke into speech and cried, “Man, do not kill Croesus!” This was the first word he uttered, and after that for all the rest of his life he had power of speech.

86 1 οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τάς τε δὴ Σάρδις ἔσχον καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον ἐζώγρησαν, ἄρξαντα ἔτεα τεσσερεσκαίδεκα καὶ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα ἡμέρας πολιορκηθέντα, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν τε καταπαύσαντα τὴν ἐωντοῦ μεγάλην ἀρχήν. λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Πέρσαι ἤγαγον παρὰ Κῦρον. 2 ὁ δὲ συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην ἀνεβίβασε ἐπ’ αὐτὴν τὸν Κροῖσόν τε ἐν πέδησι δεδεμένον καὶ δις ἐπτὰ Λυδῶν παρ’ αὐτὸν παῖδας, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων εἴτε δὴ ἀκροθίνια ταῦτα καταγιεῖν θεῶν ὅτεω δὴ, εἴτε καὶ εὐχὴν ἐπιτελέσαι θέλων, εἴτε καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν Κροῖσον εἶναι θεοσεβέα τοῦδε εἵνεκεν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι εἴ τίς μιν δαιμόνων ρύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζῶντα κατακαυθῆναι. 3 τὸν μὲν δὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα· τῷ δὲ Κροίσῳ ἐστεῶτι ἐπὶ τῆς πυρῆς ἐσελθεῖν, καίπερ ἐν κακῷ ἐόντι τοσοῦτω, τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὡς οἱ εἶη

σὺν θεῷ εἰρημένον, τὸ μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ζώντων ὀλβιον. ὥς δὲ ἄρα μιν προσσῆναι τοῦτο, ἀνενεικάμενόν τε καὶ ἀναστενάξαντα ἐκ πολλῆς ἡσυχίης ἐς τρις ὀνομάσαι “Σόλων.” 4 καὶ τὸν Κροῖον ἀκούσαντα κελεῦσαι τοὺς ἐρμηνέας ἐπειρῆσθαι τὸν Κροῖον τίνα τοῦτον ἐπικαλέοιτο, καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας ἐπειρωτᾶν· Κροῖον δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴν ἔχειν εἰρωτώμενον, μετὰ δὲ ὥς ἠναγκάζετο, εἰπεῖν “τὸν ἂν ἐγὼ πᾶσι τυράννοισι προετίμησα μεγάλων χρημάτων ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν.” ὥς δὲ σφι ἄσημα ἔφραζε, πάλιν ἐπειρώτων τὰ λεγόμενα. 5 λιπαρέοντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὄχλον παρεχόντων, ἔλεγε δὴ ὥς ἦλθε ἀρχὴν ὁ Σόλων ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ θεσάμενος πάντα τὸν ἐωυτοῦ ὀλβον ἀποφλαυρίσειε οἷα δὴ εἶπας, ὥς τε αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποβεβήκοι τῇ περ ἐκεῖνος εἶπε, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐς ἐωυτὸν λέγων ἢ οὐκ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ὀλβίους δοκέοντας εἶναι. τὸν μὲν Κροῖον ταῦτα ἀπηγέεσθαι, τῆς δὲ πυρῆς ἤδη ἀμμένης καίεσθαι τὰ περιέσχατα. 6 καὶ τὸν Κροῖον ἀκούσαντα τῶν ἐρμηνέων τὰ Κροῖος εἶπε, μεταγνόντα τε καὶ ἐννόσαντα ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον, γενόμενον ἐωυτοῦ εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐλάσσω, ζῶντα πυρὶ διδοίῃ, πρὸς τε τούτοισι δείσαντα τὴν τίσιν καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενον ὥς οὐδέν εἴη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ἀσφαλέως ἔχον, κελεύειν σβεννύναι τὴν ταχίστην τὸ καίόμενον πῦρ καὶ καταβιβάζειν Κροῖόν τε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Κροῖου. καὶ τοὺς πειρωμένους οὐ δύνασθαι ἔτι τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπικρατῆσαι.

86. The Persians gained Sardis and took Croesus prisoner. Croesus had ruled fourteen years and been besieged fourteen days. Fulfilling the oracle, he had destroyed his own great empire. The Persians took him and brought him to Cyrus, who erected a pyre and mounted Croesus atop it, bound in chains, with twice seven sons of the Lydians beside him. Cyrus may have intended to sacrifice him as a victory-offering to some god, or he may have wished to fulfill a vow, or perhaps he had heard that Croesus was pious and put him atop the pyre to find out if some divinity would deliver him from being burned alive. So Cyrus did this. As Croesus stood on the pyre, even though he was in such a wretched position it occurred to him that Solon had spoken with god's help when he had said that no one among the living is fortunate. When this occurred to him, he heaved a deep sigh and groaned aloud after long silence, calling out three

times the name “Solon.” Cyrus heard and ordered the interpreters to ask Croesus who he was invoking. They approached and asked, but Croesus kept quiet at their questioning, until finally they forced him and he said, “I would prefer to great wealth his coming into discourse with all despots.” Since what he said was unintelligible, they again asked what he had said, persistently harassing him. He explained that first Solon the Athenian had come and seen all his fortune and spoken as if he despised it. Now everything had turned out for him as Solon had said, speaking no more of him than of every human being, especially those who think themselves fortunate. While Croesus was relating all this, the pyre had been lit and the edges were on fire. When Cyrus heard from the interpreters what Croesus said, he relented and considered that he, a human being, was burning alive another human being, one his equal in good fortune. In addition, he feared retribution, reflecting how there is nothing stable in human affairs. He ordered that the blazing fire be extinguished as quickly as possible, and that Croesus and those with him be taken down, but despite their efforts they could not master the fire.

87 1 ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν Κροῖσον μαθόντα τὴν Κύρου μετάνγνωσιν, ὥς ὥρα πάντα μὲν ἄνδρα σβεννύντα τὸ πῦρ, δυναμένους δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν, ἐπιβώσασθαι τὸν Απόλλωνα ἐπικαλεόμενον, εἴ τί οἱ κεχαρισμένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήθη, παραστήναι καὶ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ. 2 τὸν μὲν δακρύνοντα ἐπικαλέεσθαι τὸν θεόν, ἐκ δὲ αἰθρίας τε καὶ νηνεμῆς συνδραμεῖν ἐξαπίνης νέφεα καὶ χειμῶνά τε καταρράγῃναι καὶ ὕσαι ὕδατι λαβροτάτῳ, κατασβεσθῆναι τε τὴν πυρὴν. οὕτω δὲ μαθόντα τὸν Κῦρον ὥς εἶη ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ θεοφιλὴς καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, καταβιβάσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πυρῆς εἰρέσθαι τάδε. 3 “Κροῖσε, τίς σε ἀνθρώπων ἀνέγνωσε ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν ἐμὴν στρατευσάμενον πολέμιον ἀντὶ φίλου ἐμοὶ καταστήναι; ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἔπραξα τῇ σῇ μὲν εὐδαιμονίῃ, τῇ ἐμεωυτοῦ δὲ κακοδαιμονίῃ, αἴτιος δὲ τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Ἑλλήνων θεὸς ἐπαείρας ἐμὲ στρατεῦσθαι. 4 οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω ἀνόητος ἐστὶ ὅστις πόλεμον πρὸ εἰρήνης αἰρέεται· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ οἱ παῖδες τοὺς πατέρας θάπτουσι, ἐν δὲ τῇ οἱ πατέρες τοὺς παῖδας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δαίμοσί μου φίλον ἦν οὕτω γενέσθαι.”

87. Then the Lydians say that Croesus understood Cyrus' change

of heart, and when he saw everyone trying to extinguish the fire but unable to check it, he invoked Apollo, crying out that if Apollo had ever been given any pleasing gift by him, let him offer help and deliver him from the present evil. Thus he in tears invoked the god, and suddenly out of a clear and windless sky clouds gathered, a storm broke, and it rained violently, extinguishing the pyre. Thus Cyrus perceived that Croesus was dear to god and a good man. He had him brought down from the pyre and asked, “Croesus, what man persuaded you to wage war against my land and become my enemy instead of my friend?” He replied, “O King, I acted thus for your good fortune, but for my own ill fortune. The god of the Hellenes is responsible for these things, inciting me to wage war. No one is so foolish as to choose war over peace. In peace sons bury their fathers, in war fathers bury their sons. But I suppose it was dear to the divinity that this be so.”

88 1 ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Κῦρος δὲ αὐτὸν λύσας κατεῖσέ τε ἐγγὺς ἑωυτοῦ καὶ κάρτα ἐν πολλῇ προμηθίῃ εἶχε, ἀπεθώμαζε τε ὀρέων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἔοντες πάντες. ὁ δὲ συννοίῃ ἐχόμενος ἥσυχος ἦν· 2 μετὰ δὲ ἐπιστραφεῖς τε καὶ ιδόμενος τοὺς Πέρσας τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἄστρῳ κερααῖζοντας εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, κότερον λέγειν πρὸς σὲ τὰ νοέων τυγχάνω ἢ σιγᾶν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι χρή;” Κῦρος δέ μιν θαρσέοντα ἐκέλευε λέγειν ὃ τι βούλοιοτο. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰρώτα λέγων 3 “οὗτος ὁ πολλὸς ὄμιλος τί ταῦτα πολλῇ σπουδῇ ἐργάζεται;” ὁ δὲ εἶπε “πόλιν τε τὴν σὴν διαρπάζει καὶ χρήματα τὰ σὰ διαφορέει.” Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμείβετο “οὔτε πόλιν τὴν ἐμὴν οὔτε χρήματα τὰ ἐμὰ διαρπάζει· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἔτι τούτων μέτα· ἀλλὰ φέρουσί τε καὶ ἄγουσι τὰ σά.”

88. Croesus said this, and Cyrus freed him and made him sit near and was very considerate to him, and both he and all that were with him were astonished when they looked at Croesus. He for his part was silent, deep in thought. Presently he turned and said (for he saw the Persians sacking the city of the Lydians), “O King, am I to say to you what is in my mind now, or keep silent?” When Cyrus urged him to speak up boldly, Croesus asked, “The multitude there, what is it at which they are so busily engaged?” “They are plundering your city,” said Cyrus, “and carrying off your possessions.” “No,” Croesus

answered, “not my city, and not my possessions; for I no longer have any share of all this; it is your wealth that they are pillaging.”

89 1 Κύρω δὲ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε· μεταστησάμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, εἶρετο Κροῖσον ὃ τι οἱ ἐνορῶν ἐν τοῖσι ποιευμένοισι. ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ἐπεῖτε με θεοὶ ἔδωκαν δοῦλον σοί, δικαίῳ, εἴ τι ἐνορέω πλεόν, σημαίνειν σοί. 2 Πέρσαι φύσιν ἐόντες ὕβρισται εἰσὶ ἀχρήματοι. ἦν ὧν σὺ τούτους περιύδης διαρπάσαντας καὶ κατασχόντας χρήματα μεγάλα, τάδε τοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίδοξα γενέσθαι. ὃς ἂν αὐτῶν πλεῖστα κατάσχη, τοῦτον προσδέκεσθαι τοὶ ἐπαναστησόμενον. νῦν ὧν ποιήσων ὧδε, εἴ τοι ἀρέσκει τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω· 3 κάτισον τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπὶ πάσῃσι τῇσι πύλῃσι φυλάκουσ, οἱ λεγόντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐκφέροντας τὰ χρήματα ἀπαιρεόμενοι ὥς σφέα ἀναγκαίως ἔχει δεκατευθῆναι τῷ Δίι. καὶ σὺ τέ σφι οὐκ ἀπεχθήσῃ βίῃ ἀπαιρεόμενος τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι συγγνόντες ποιέειν σε δίκαια ἐκόντες προσήσουσι.”

89. Cyrus thought about what Croesus had said and, telling the rest to withdraw, asked Croesus what fault he saw in what was being done. “Since the gods have made me your slave,” replied the Lydian, “it is right that if I have any further insight I should point it out to you. The Persians being by nature violent men are poor; so if you let them seize and hold great possessions, you may expect that he who has got most will revolt against you. Therefore do this, if you like what I say. Have men of your guard watch all the gates; let them take the spoil from those who are carrying it out, and say that it must be paid as a tithe to Zeus. Thus you shall not be hated by them for taking their wealth by force, and they, recognizing that you act justly, will give up the spoil willingly.”

90 1 ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Κῦρος υπερήδετο, ὥς οἱ ἐδόκεε εὖ ὑποτίθεσθαι· αἰνέσας δὲ πολλά, καὶ ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι δορυφόροις τὰ Κροῖσος ὑπεθήκατο ἐπιτελέειν, εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε. “Κροῖσε, ἀναρτημένου σεῦ ἀνδρὸς βασιλέος χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ποιέειν, αἰτέο δόσιν ἥντινα βούλεαί τοι γενέσθαι παραντίκα.” 2 ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ δέσποτα, ἔασας με χαριεῖ μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὸν ἐγὼ ἐτίμησα θεῶν μάλιστα, ἐπειρέσθαι πέμπσαντα τάσδε τὰς πέδας, εἰ ἐξαπατᾶν τοὺς εὖ ποιεῦντας νόμος ἐστί οἱ.” Κῦρος δὲ εἶρετο ὃ τι οἱ τοῦτο ἐπηγορέων παραιτέοιτο. 3 Κροῖσος δὲ οἱ ἐπαλλλόγησε πᾶσαν

τὴν ἐωυτοῦ διάνοιαν καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων τὰς ὑποκρίσιας καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἀναθήματα, καὶ ὥς ἐπαερθεὶς τῷ μαντήϊῳ ἐστρατεύσατο ἐπὶ Πέρσας· λέγων δὲ ταῦτα κατέβαινε αὐτὶς παραιτούμενος ἐπεῖναι οἱ τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο ὀνειδίσαι. Κῦρος δὲ γελάσας εἶπε “καὶ τούτου τεύξεαι παρ’ ἐμεῦ, Κροῖσε, καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς τοῦ ἂν ἐκάστοτε δέῃ.” 4 ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε ὁ Κροῖσος, πέμπων τῶν Λυδῶν ἐς Δελφούς ἐνετέλλετο τιθέντας τὰς πέδας ἐπὶ τοῦ νηοῦ τὸν οὐδὸν εἰρωτᾶν εἰ οὐ τι ἐπαισχύνεται τοῖσι μαντήϊοισι ἐπαείρας Κροῖσον στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας ὥς καταπαύσοντα τὴν Κύρου δύναμιν, ἀπ’ ἧς οἱ ἀκροθίνια τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι, δεικνύντας τὰς πέδας· ταῦτά τε ἐπειρωτᾶν, καὶ εἰ ἀχαρίστοις νόμος εἶναι τοῖσι Ἑλληνικοῖσι θεοῖσι.

90. When Cyrus heard this, he was exceedingly pleased, for he believed the advice good; and praising him greatly, and telling his guard to act as Croesus had advised, he said: “Croesus, now that you, a king, are determined to act and to speak with integrity, ask me directly for whatever favor you like.” “Master,” said Croesus, “you will most gratify me if you will let me send these chains of mine to that god of the Greeks whom I especially honored and to ask him if it is his way to deceive those who serve him well.” When Cyrus asked him what grudge against the god led him to make this request, Croesus repeated to him the story of all his own aspirations, and the answers of the oracles, and more particularly his offerings, and how the oracle had encouraged him to attack the Persians; and so saying he once more insistently pled that he be allowed to reproach the god for this. At this Cyrus smiled, and replied, “This I will grant you, Croesus, and whatever other favor you may ever ask me.” When Croesus heard this, he sent Lydians to Delphi, telling them to lay his chains on the doorstep of the temple, and to ask the god if he were not ashamed to have persuaded Croesus to attack the Persians, telling him that he would destroy Cyrus’ power; of which power (they were to say, showing the chains) these were the first-fruits. They should ask this; and further, if it were the way of the Greek gods to be ungrateful.

91 1 ἀπικομένοις δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ λέγουσι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τὴν Πυθίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν τάδε. “τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατα ἐστὶ ἀποφυγεῖν καὶ θεῷ· Κροῖσος δὲ πέμπτου γονέος ἀμαρτὰδα

ἐξέπλησε, ὃς ἐὼν δορυφόρος Ἡρακλειδέων, δόλῳ γυναικίῳ ἐπισπόμενος ἐφόνευσε τὸν δεσπότεα καὶ ἔσχε τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν οὐδέν οἱ προσήκουσαν. 2 προθυμομένου δὲ Λοξίῳ ὅπως ἂν κατὰ τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ Κροΐσου γένοιτο τὸ Σαρδίων πάθος καὶ μὴ κατ' αὐτὸν Κροΐσον, οὐκ οἶόν τε ἐγίνετο παραγαγεῖν μοίρας. 3 ὅσον δὲ ἐνέδωκαν αὐται, ἥνυσέ τε καὶ ἐχαρίσατό οἱ· τρία γὰρ ἔτεα ἐπανεβάλετο τὴν Σαρδίων ἄλωσιν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιστάσθω Κροΐσος ὥς ὕστερον τοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτοισι ἄλους τῆς πεπρωμένης. δευτέρα δὲ τούτων καιομένη αὐτῷ ἐπήρκεσε. 4 κατὰ δὲ τὸ μαντήιον τὸ γεγόμενον οὐκ ὀρθῶς Κροΐσος μέμφεται. προηγόρευε γὰρ οἱ Λοξίης, ἣν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν καταλύσειν. τὸν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα χρῆν εὖ μέλλοντα βουλευέσθαι ἐπειρέσθαι πέμψαντα κότερα τὴν ἐωυτοῦ ἢ τὴν Κύρου λέγοι ἀρχὴν. οὐ συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ῥηθὲν οὐδ' ἐπανειρόμενος ἐωυτὸν αἴτιον ἀποφαινέτω· 5 τῷ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον χρηστηριαζομένῳ εἶπε Λοξίης περὶ ἡμίονου, οὐδὲ τοῦτο συνέλαβε. ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κύρος οὗτος ἡμίονος· ἐκ γὰρ δυῶν οὐκ ὁμοεθνέων ἐγεγόνεε, μητρὸς ἀμείνονος, πατρὸς δὲ ὑποδεεστέρου· 6 ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἦν Μηδὶς καὶ Ἀστυάγεος θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μήδων βασιλέως, ὃ δὲ Πέρσης τε ἦν καὶ ἀρχόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνοισι καὶ ἔνερθε ἐὼν τοῖσι ἅπασι δεσποίνῃ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ συνοίκεε.” ταῦτα μὲν ἡ Πυθίη ὑπεκρίνατο τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, οἱ δὲ ἀνῆνικαν ἐς Σάρδεις καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν Κροΐσῳ. ὃ δὲ ἀκούσας συνέγνω ἐωυτοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα καὶ οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν Κροΐσου τε ἀρχὴν καὶ Ἰωνίης τὴν πρώτην καταστροφὴν ἔσχε οὕτω.

91. When the Lydians came, and spoke as they had been instructed, the priestess (it is said) made the following reply. “No one may escape his lot, not even a god. Croesus has paid for the sin of his ancestor of the fifth generation before, who was led by the guile of a woman to kill his master, though he was one of the guard of the Heraclidae, and who took to himself the royal state of that master, to which he had no right. And it was the wish of Loxias that the evil lot of Sardis fall in the lifetime of Croesus’ sons, not in his own; but he could not deflect the Fates. Yet as far as they gave in, he did accomplish his wish and favor Croesus: for he delayed the taking of Sardis for three years. And let Croesus know this: that although he is now taken, it is by so many years later than the destined hour. And

further, Loxias saved Croesus from burning. But as to the oracle that was given to him, Croesus is wrong to complain concerning it. For Loxias declared to him that if he led an army against the Persians, he would destroy a great empire. Therefore he ought, if he had wanted to plan well, to have sent and asked whether the god spoke of Croesus' or of Cyrus' empire. But he did not understand what was spoken, or make further inquiry: for which now let him blame himself. When he asked that last question of the oracle and Loxias gave him that answer concerning the mule, even that Croesus did not understand. For that mule was in fact Cyrus, who was the son of two parents not of the same people, of whom the mother was better and the father inferior: for she was a Mede and the daughter of Astyages king of the Medes; but he was a Persian and a subject of the Medes and although in all respects her inferior he married this lady of his." This was the answer of the priestess to the Lydians. They carried it to Sardis and told Croesus, and when he heard it, he confessed that the sin was not the god's, but his. And this is the story of Croesus' rule, and of the first overthrow of Ionia.

92 1 Κροίσῳ δὲ ἐστὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πολλὰ καὶ οὐ τὰ εἰρημένα μούνα. ἐν μὲν γὰρ Θήβῃσι τῆσι Βοιωτῶν τρίπους χρύσεος, τὸν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ, ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ αἱ τε βόες αἱ χρύσειαι καὶ τῶν κιόνων αἱ πολλαί, ἐν δὲ Προνήϊς τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀσπίς χρυσέη μεγάλη. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν περιέοντα, τὰ δ' ἐξ ἀπόλλωλε τῶν ἀναθημάτων· 2 τὰ δ' ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι τῆσι Μιλησίων ἀναθήματα Κροίσῳ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἴσα τε σταθμὸν καὶ ὅμοια τοῖσι ἐν Δελφοῖσι.... τὰ μὲν νυν ἐς τε Δελφοὺς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω ἀνέθηκε οἰκίᾳ τε ἐόντα καὶ τῶν πατρῴων χρημάτων ἀπαρχήν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἐγένετο οὐσίης ἐχθροῦ, ὅς οἱ πρὶν ἢ βασιλεῦσαι ἀντιστασιώτης κατεστήκεε, συσπεύδων Πανταλέοντι γενέσθαι τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχήν. 3 ὁ δὲ Πανταλέων ἦν Ἀλυάττεω μὲν παῖς, Κροίσου δὲ ἀδελφεὸς οὐκ ὁμομήτριος· Κροῖσος μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Καείρης ἦν γυναικὸς Ἀλυάττη, Πανταλέων δὲ ἐξ Ἰάδος. 4 ἐπεῖτε δὲ δόντος τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἀντιπρήσσοντα ἐπὶ κνάφου ἔλκων διέφθειρε, τὴν δὲ οὐσίην αὐτοῦ ἔτι πρότερον κατιρώσας τότε τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὰ εἴρηται. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων

τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

92. There are many offerings of Croesus' in Hellas, and not only those of which I have spoken. There is a golden tripod at Thebes in Boeotia, which he dedicated to Apollo of Ismenus; at Ephesus there are the oxen of gold and the greater part of the pillars; and in the temple of Proneia at Delphi, a golden shield. All these survived to my lifetime; but other of the offerings were destroyed. And the offerings of Croesus at Branchidae of the Milesians, as I learn by inquiry, are equal in weight and like those at Delphi. Those which he dedicated at Delphi and the shrine of Amphiaraus were his own, the first-fruits of the wealth inherited from his father; the rest came from the estate of an enemy who had headed a faction against Croesus before he became king, and conspired to win the throne of Lydia for Pantaleon. This Pantaleon was a son of Alyattes, and half-brother of Croesus: Croesus was Alyattes' son by a Carian and Pantaleon by an Ionian mother. So when Croesus gained the sovereignty by his father's gift, he put the man who had conspired against him to death by drawing him across a carding-comb, and first confiscated his estate, then dedicated it as and where I have said. This is all that I shall say of Croesus' offerings.

93 1 θώματα δὲ γῆ (ἡ) Λυδία ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἷά τε καὶ ἄλλη χώρα, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου καταφερομένου ψήγματος. 2 ἐν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον παρέχεται χωρὶς τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων· ἔστι αὐτόθι Ἀλυάττεω τοῦ Κροίσου πατρὸς σῆμα, τοῦ ἡ κρηπὶς μὲν ἐστὶ λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χῶμα γῆς. ἐξεργάσαντο δὲ μιν οἱ ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ χειρώνακτες καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι. 3 οὔροι δὲ πέντε ἐόντες ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω, καὶ σφί γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο τὰ ἕκαστοι ἐξεργάσαντο, καὶ ἐφαίνετο μετρεόμενον τὸ τῶν παιδισκῶν ἔργον ἐὼν μέγιστον. 4 τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πᾶσαι, συλλέγουσαι σφίσι φερνάς, ἐς ὃ ἂν συνοικήσωσι τοῦτο ποιέουσιν· ἐκδιδούσι δὲ αὐταὶ ἐωυτάς. 5 ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος τοῦ σήματος εἰσὶ στάδιοι ἕξ καὶ δύο πλεθρα, τὸ δὲ εὖρος ἐστὶ πλεθρα τρία καὶ δέκα. λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος μεγάλη, τὴν λέγουσι Λυδοὶ ἀείναον εἶναι· καλέεται δὲ αὕτη Γυγαίη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο ἐστί.

93. There are not many marvellous things in Lydia to record, in comparison with other countries, except the gold dust that comes down from Tmolus. But there is one building to be seen there which is much the greatest of all, except those of Egypt and Babylon. In Lydia is the tomb of Alyattes, the father of Croesus, the base of which is made of great stones and the rest of it of mounded earth. It was built by the men of the market and the craftsmen and the prostitutes. There survived until my time five corner-stones set on the top of the tomb, and in these was cut the record of the work done by each group: and measurement showed that the prostitutes' share of the work was the greatest. All the daughters of the common people of Lydia ply the trade of prostitutes, to collect dowries, until they can get themselves husbands; and they themselves offer themselves in marriage. Now this tomb has a circumference of thirteen hundred and ninety yards, and its breadth is above four hundred and forty yards; and there is a great lake hard by the tomb, which, the Lydians say, is fed by ever-flowing springs; it is called the Gygaean lake. Such then is this tomb.

94 1 Λυδοὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν παραπλησίοισι χρέωνται καὶ Ἕλληνές, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι τὰ θήλεα τέκνα καταπορνεύουσι, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοινάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο. 2 φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ τὰς παιγνίας τὰς νῦν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἕλλησι κατεστεώσας ἐωυτῶν ἐξεύρημα γενέσθαι· ἅμα δὲ ταύτας τε ἐξευρεθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσι καὶ Τυρσηνὴν ἀποικίσαι, ὧδε περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντες. 3 ἐπὶ Ἄττος τοῦ Μάνεω βασιλέος σιτοδείην ἰσχυρὴν ἀνὰ τὴν Λυδίην πᾶσαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς τέως μὲν διάγειν λιπαρέοντας, μετὰ δὲ ὡς οὐ παύεσθαι, ἅκεα δίξησθαι, ἄλλον δὲ ἄλλο ἐπιμηχανᾶσθαι αὐτῶν. ἐξευρεθῆναι δὴ ὧν τότε καὶ τῶν κύβων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων καὶ τῆς σφαίρης καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων πασέων παιγνιέων τὰ εἶδεα, πλὴν πεσσῶν τούτων γὰρ ὧν τὴν ἐξεύρεσιν οὐκ οἰκιοῦνται Λυδοί. 4 ποιεῖν δὲ ὧδε πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν ἐξευρόντας, τὴν μὲν ἐτέρην τῶν ἡμερέων παίζειν πᾶσαν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ζητέοιεν σιτία, τὴν δὲ ἐτέρην σιτέεσθαι παυομένους τῶν παιγνιέων. τοιοῦτω τρόπῳ διάγειν ἐπ' ἔτεα δυὼν δέοντα εἴκοσι. 5 ἐπεῖτε δὲ οὐκ ἀνιέναι τὸ κακὸν ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐπὶ μᾶλλον βιάζεσθαι οὕτω δὴ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν

δύο μοίρας διελόντα Λυδῶν πάντων κληρῶσαι τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ μόνη τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ μένειν αὐτοῦ λαγχανούση τῶν μοιρέων ἑωυτὸν τὸν βασιλέα προστάσσειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἀπαλλασσομένη τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα, τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Τυρσηνόν. 6 λαχόντας δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας καταβῆναι ἐς Σμύρνην καὶ μηχανήσασθαι πλοῖα, ἐς τὰ ἐσθεμένους τὰ πάντα ὅσα σφι ἦν χρηστὰ ἐπίπλοα, ἀποπλέειν κατὰ βίου τε καὶ γῆς ζήτησιν, ἐς ὃ ἔθνεα πολλὰ παραμειψαμένους ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ὀμβρικούς, ἔνθα σφέας ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιας καὶ οἰκέειν τὸ μέχρι τοῦδε. 7 ἀντὶ δὲ Λυδῶν μετονομασθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ παιδός, ὃς σφεας ἀνήγαγε, ἐπὶ τούτου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιευμένους ὀνομασθῆναι Τυρσηνοὺς. Λυδοὶ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι ἐδεδούλωντο.

94. The customs of the Lydians are like those of the Greeks, except that they make prostitutes of their female children. They were the first men whom we know who coined and used gold and silver currency; and they were the first to sell by retail. And, according to what they themselves say, the games now in use among them and the Greeks were invented by the Lydians: these, they say, were invented among them at the time when they colonized Tyrrenia. This is their story: In the reign of Atys son of Manes there was great scarcity of food in all Lydia. For a while the Lydians bore this with what patience they could; presently, when the famine did not abate, they looked for remedies, and different plans were devised by different men. Then it was that they invented the games of dice and knuckle-bones and ball and all other forms of game except dice, which the Lydians do not claim to have discovered. Then, using their discovery to lighten the famine, every other day they would play for the whole day, so that they would not have to look for food, and the next day they quit their play and ate. This was their way of life for eighteen years. But the famine did not cease to trouble them, and instead afflicted them even more. At last their king divided the people into two groups, and made them draw lots, so that the one group should remain and the other leave the country; he himself was to be the head of those who drew the lot to remain there, and his son, whose name was Tyrrenus, of those who departed. Then the one group, having drawn the lot, left the country and came down to Smyrna and built

ships, in which they loaded all their goods that could be transported aboard ship, and sailed away to seek a livelihood and a country; until at last, after sojourning with one people after another, they came to the Ombrici, where they founded cities and have lived ever since. They no longer called themselves Lydians, but Tyrrhenians, after the name of the king's son who had led them there. The Lydians, then, were enslaved by the Persians.

95 1 ἐπιδίξεται δὲ δὴ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τὸν τε Κῦρον ὅστις ἐὼν τὴν Κροίσου ἀρχὴν κατεῖλε, καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὅτεω τρόπῳ ἡγήσαντο τῆς Ἀσίας. ὥς ὢν Περσέων μετεξέτεροι λέγουσι, οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ περὶ Κῦρον ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐόντα λέγειν λόγον, κατὰ ταῦτα γράψω, ἐπιστάμενος περὶ Κύρου καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας λόγων ὁδοὺς φῆναι. 2 Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχόντων τῆς ἄνω Ἀσίας ἐπ' ἔτεα εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακόσια, πρῶτοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν Μῆδοι ἥρξαντο ἀπίστασθαι, καὶ κως οὗτοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας μαχεσάμενοι τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, καὶ ἀπωσάμενοι τὴν δουλοσύνην ἐλευθερώθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνεα ἐποίηε τῷτὸ τοῖσι Μήδοισι.

95. But the next business of my history is to inquire who this Cyrus was who took down the power of Croesus, and how the Persians came to be the rulers of Asia. I mean then to be guided in what I write by some of the Persians who desire not to magnify the story of Cyrus but to tell the truth, though there are no less than three other accounts of Cyrus which I could give. After the Assyrians had ruled Upper Asia for five hundred and twenty years, the Medes were the first who began to revolt from them. These, it would seem, proved their bravery in fighting for freedom against the Assyrians; they cast off their slavery and won freedom. Afterwards, the other subject nations, too, did the same as the Medes.

96 1 ἐόντων δὲ αὐτονόμων πάντων ἀνὰ τὴν ἡπειρον, ὧδε αὖτις ἐς τυραννίδα περιῆλθον. ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἐγένετο σοφὸς τῷ οὐνόμα ἦν Δηϊόκης, παῖς δ' ἦν Φραόρτεω. 2 οὗτος ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐρασθεὶς τυραννίδος ἐποίηε τοιάδε. κατοικημένων τῶν Μήδων κατὰ κώμας, ἐν τῇ ἐωυτοῦ ἐὼν καὶ πρότερον δόκιμος καὶ μᾶλλον τι καὶ προθυμότερον δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἤσκει· καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι ἐούσης ἀνομίης πολλῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐποίηε, ἐπιστάμενος

ὅτι τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ ἄδικον πολέμιον ἐστί. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης Μῆδοι ὀρῶντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους δικαστὴν μιν ἐωυτῶν αἰρέοντο. ὁ δὲ δῆ, οἷα μνώμενος ἀρχήν, ἰθύς τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν, 3 ποιέων τε ταῦτα ἔπαινον εἶχε οὐκ ὀλίγον πρὸς τῶν πολιητέων, οὕτω ὥστε πυνθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλησι κόμησι ὡς Δηϊόκης εἶη ἀνὴρ μοῦνος κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν δικάζων, πρότερον περιπίπτοντες ἀδίκοισι γνώμησι, τότε ἐπεῖτε ἤκουσαν ἄσμενοι, ἐφοίτων παρὰ τὸν Δηϊόκεα καὶ αὐτοὶ δικασόμενοι, τέλος δὲ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐπετράποντο.

96. All of those on the mainland were now free men; but they came to be ruled by monarchs again, as I will now relate. There was among the Medes a clever man called Deioces: he was the son of Phraortes. Deioces was infatuated with sovereignty, and so he set about gaining it. Already a notable man in his own town (one of the many towns into which Media was divided), he began to profess and practice justice more constantly and zealously than ever, and he did this even though there was much lawlessness throughout the land of Media, and though he knew that injustice is always the enemy of justice. Then the Medes of the same town, seeing his behavior, chose him to be their judge, and he (for he coveted sovereign power) was honest and just. By acting so, he won no small praise from his fellow townsmen, to such an extent that when the men of the other towns learned that Deioces alone gave fair judgments (having before suffered from unjust decisions), they came often and gladly to plead before Deioces; and at last they would submit to no arbitration but his.

97 1 πλεῦνος δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένου τοῦ ἐπιφοιτέοντος, οἷα πυνθανομένων τὰς δίκας ἀποβαίνειν κατὰ τὸ ἐόν, γνοὺς ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐς ἐωυτὸν πᾶν ἀνακείμενον οὔτε κατίζειν ἔτι ἤθελε ἔνθα περ πρότερον προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, οὐτ' ἔφη δίκαν ἔτι· οὐ γὰρ οἱ λυσιτελείει τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἐξημεληκότα τοῖσι πέλας δι' ἡμέρης δικάζειν. 2 ἐούσης ὦν ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀνομίας ἔτι πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀνὰ τὰς κόμας ἢ πρότερον ἦν, συνελέχθησαν οἱ Μῆδοι ἐς τῶντ' οὗ καὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφίσι λόγον, λέγοντες περὶ τῶν κατηκόντων. ὡς δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω, μάλιστα ἔλεγον οἱ τοῦ Δηϊόκεω φίλοι 3 “οὐ γὰρ δὴ τρόπῳ τῷ παρεόντι χρεώμενοι δυνατοὶ εἰμὲν οἰκέειν τὴν χώραν, φέρε στήσωμεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα· καὶ οὕτω ἢ τε χωρῇ εὐνομήσεται καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἔργα

τρεψόμεθα, οὐδὲ ὑπ' ἀνομίης ἀνάστατοι ἐσόμεθα.” ταῦτά κη λέγοντες πείθουσι ἑωυτοὺς βασιλεύεσθαι.

97. The number of those who came grew ever greater, for they heard that each case turned out in accord with the truth. Then Deioces, seeing that everything now depended on him, would not sit in his former seat of judgment, and said he would give no more decisions; for it was of no advantage to him (he said) to leave his own business and spend all day judging the cases of his neighbors. This caused robbery and lawlessness to increase greatly in the towns; and, gathering together, the Medes conferred about their present affairs, and said (here, as I suppose, the main speakers were Deioces' friends), “Since we cannot go on living in the present way in the land, come, let us set up a king over us; in this way the land will be well governed, and we ourselves shall attend to our business and not be routed by lawlessness.” With such words they persuaded themselves to be ruled by a king.

98 1 αὐτίκα δὲ προβαλλομένων ὄντινα στήσονται βασιλέα, ὁ Δηϊόκης ἦν πολλὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ προβαλλόμενος καὶ αἰνεόμενος, ἐς ὃ τοῦτον καταινέουσι βασιλέα σφίσι εἶναι. 2 ὁ δ' ἐκέλευε αὐτοὺς οἰκία τε ἑωυτῶ ἄξια τῆς βασιληΐης οἰκοδομῆσαι καὶ κρατῦναι αὐτὸν δορυφόροις· ποιέουσι δὴ ταῦτα οἱ Μῆδοι. οἰκοδομέουσί τε γὰρ αὐτῶ οἰκία μεγάλα τε καὶ ἰσχυρά, ἵνα αὐτὸς ἔφρασε τῆς χώρας, καὶ δορυφόρους αὐτῶ ἐπιτρέπουσι ἐκ πάντων Μήδων καταλέξασθαι. 3 ὁ δὲ ὥς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, τοὺς Μήδους ἠνάγκασε ἐν πόλισμα ποιήσασθαι καὶ τοῦτο περιστέλλοντας τῶν ἄλλων ἦσσαν ἐπιμέλεσθαι. πειθομένων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Μήδων οἰκοδομῇ τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ καρτερὰ ταῦτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβάτανα κέκληται, ἕτερον ἐτέρῳ κύκλῳ ἐνεστεῶτα. 4 μεμηγάνηται δὲ οὕτω τοῦτο τὸ τεῖχος ὥστε ὁ ἕτερος τοῦ ἐτέρου κύκλος τοῖσι προμαχεῶσι μούνοισι ἐστὶ ὑψηλότερος. τὸ μὲν κού τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον συμμαχέει κολωνὸς ἐὼν ὥστε τοιοῦτο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἐπετηδεύθη. 5 κύκλων δ' ἐόντων τῶν συναπάντων ἐπτά, ἐν δὴ τῷ τελευταίῳ τὰ βασιλῆα ἐνεστι καὶ οἱ θησαυροί. τὸ δ' αὐτῶν μέγιστον ἐστὶ τεῖχος κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηνέων κύκλον μάλιστα κη τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ πρώτου κύκλου οἱ προμαχεῶνες εἰσὶ λευκοί, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου μέλανες, τρίτου δὲ κύκλου φοινίκεοι, τετάρτου δὲ κυάνεοι, πέμπτου

δὲ σανδαράκινοι. 6 οὕτω τῶν πέντε κύκλων οἱ προμαχεῶνες ἠγθισμένοι εἰσὶ φαρμάκοισι· δύο δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι εἰσὶ ὃ μὲν καταργυρωμένους ὁ δὲ κατακεχρυσωμένους ἔχων τοὺς προμαχεῶνας.

98. The question was at once propounded: Whom should they make king? Then every man was loud in putting Deioces forward and praising Deioces, until they agreed that he should be their king. He ordered them to build him houses worthy of his royal power, and strengthen him with a bodyguard. The Medes did so. They built him a big and strong house wherever in the land he indicated to them, and let him choose a bodyguard out of all the Medes. And having obtained power, he forced the Medes to build him one city and to fortify and care for this more strongly than all the rest. The Medes did this for him, too. So he built the big and strong walls, one standing inside the next in circles, which are now called Ecbatana. This fortress is so designed that each circle of walls is higher than the next outer circle by no more than the height of its battlements; to which plan the site itself, on a hill in the plain, contributes somewhat, but chiefly it was accomplished by skill. There are seven circles in all; within the innermost circle are the palace and the treasures; and the longest wall is about the length of the wall that surrounds the city of Athens. The battlements of the first circle are white, of the second black, of the third circle purple, of the fourth blue, and of the fifth orange: thus the battlements of five circles are painted with colors; and the battlements of the last two circles are coated, the one with silver and the other with gold.

99 1 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐωυτῷ τε ἐτείχεε καὶ περὶ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον δῆμον πέριξ ἐκέλευε τὸ τεῖχος οἰκέειν. οἰκοδομηθέντων δὲ πάντων κόσμον τόνδε Δηϊόκης πρῶτος ἐστὶ ὁ καταστησάμενος, μήτε ἐσιέναι παρὰ βασιλέα μηδένα, δι' ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χρᾶσθαι, ὀρᾶσθαι τε βασιλέα ὑπὸ μηδενός, πρὸς τε τούτοις ἔτι γελᾶν τε καὶ ἀντίον πτύειν καὶ ἅπασι εἶναι τοῦτό γε αἰσχρόν. 2 ταῦτα δὲ περὶ ἐωυτὸν ἐσέμνυνε τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ὀρῶντες οἱ ὀμήλικες, ἐόντες σύντροφοί τε ἐκείνῳ καὶ οἰκίῃς οὐ φλαυροτέρης οὐδὲ ἐς ἀνδραγαθίην λειπόμενοι, λυπεοῖατο καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοιεν, ἀλλ' ἑτεροῖός σφι δοκέοι εἶναι μὴ ὀρῶσι.

99. Deioces built these walls for himself and around his own quarters, and he ordered the people to dwell outside the wall. And when it was all built, Deioces was first to establish the rule that no one should come into the presence of the king, but everything should be done by means of messengers; that the king should be seen by no one; and moreover that it should be a disgrace for anyone to laugh or to spit in his presence. He was careful to hedge himself with all this so that the men of his own age (who had been brought up with him and were as nobly born as he and his equals in courage), instead of seeing him and being upset and perhaps moved to plot against him, might by reason of not seeing him believe him to be different.

100 1 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε καὶ ἐκράτυνε ἑωυτὸν τῇ τυραννίδι, ἣν τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσων χαλεπός· καὶ τὰς τε δίκας γράφοντες ἔσω παρ' ἐκεῖνον ἐσπέμπεσκον, καὶ ἐκεῖνος διακρίνων τὰς ἐσφερομένας ἐκπέμπεσκε. 2 ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὰς δίκας ἐποίεε, τὰδε δὲ ἄλλα ἐκεκοσμέατο οἱ· εἴ τινα πυνθάνοιτο ὑβρίζοντα, τοῦτον ὅκως μεταπέμψαιτο κατ' ἀξίην ἐκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίει, καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποι τε καὶ κατήκοοι ἦσαν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν τῆς ἡρχε.

100. When he had made these arrangements and strengthened himself with sovereign power, he was a hard man in the protection of justice. They would write down their pleas and send them in to him; then he would pass judgment on what was brought to him and send his decisions out. This was his manner of deciding cases at law, and he had other arrangements too; for when he heard that a man was doing violence he would send for him and punish him as each offense deserved: and he had spies and eavesdroppers everywhere in his domain.

101 1 Δηϊόκης μὲν νυν τὸ Μηδικὸν ἔθνος συνέστρεψε μούνον καὶ τοῦτον ἡρξε· ἔστι δὲ Μήδων τοςάδε γένεα, Βοῦσαι Παρητακηνοὶ Στρούχατες Ἀριζαντοὶ Βούδιοι Μάγοι. γένεα μὲν δὴ Μήδων ἐστὶ τοςάδε.

101. Deioces, then, united the Median nation by itself and ruled it. The Median tribes are these: the Busae, the Paretaceni, the Struchates, the Arizanti, the Budii, the Magi. Their tribes are this many.

102 1 Δηϊόκεω δὲ παῖς γίνεται Φραόρτης, ὃς τελευτήσαντος

Δηϊόκεω, βασιλεύσαντος τρία καὶ πενήκοντα ἔτεα, παρεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχὴν, παραδεξάμενος δὲ οὐκ ἀπεχρᾶτο μούνων Μήδων ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας πρώτοισι τε τούτοις ἐπεθήκατο καὶ πρώτους Μήδων ὑπηκόους ἐποίησε. 2 μετὰ δὲ ἔχων δύο ταῦτα ἔθνεα καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ἰσχυρά, κατεστρέφετο τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπ' ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλο ἰὼν ἔθνος, ἐς ὃ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, τούτους οἱ Νίνον εἶχον καὶ ἦρχον πρότερον πάντων, τότε δὲ ἦσαν μεμουνωμένοι μὲν συμμάχων ἅτε ἀπεστεώτων, ἄλλως μέντοι ἑωυτῶν εὖ ἦκοντες, ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατευσάμενος ὁ Φραόρτης αὐτὸς τε διεφθάρη, ἄρξας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός.

102. Deioces had a son, Phraortes, who inherited the throne when Deioces died after a reign of fifty-three years. Having inherited it, he was not content to rule the Medes alone: marching against the Persians, he attacked them first, and they were the first whom he made subject to the Medes. Then, with these two strong nations at his back, he subjugated one nation of Asia after another, until he marched against the Assyrians; that is, against those of the Assyrians who held Ninus. These had formerly been rulers of all; but now their allies had deserted them and they were left alone, though well-off themselves. Marching against these Assyrians, then, Phraortes and most of his army perished, after he had reigned twenty-two years.

103 1 Φραόρτεω δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέξατο Κυαζάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηϊόκεω παῖς. οὗτος λέγεται πολλὸν ἔτι γενέσθαι ἀλκιμώτερος τῶν προγόνων, καὶ πρῶτός τε ἐλόχισε κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν τῇ, Ἀσίῃ καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρὶς ἐκάστους εἶναι, τοὺς τε αἰχμοφόρους καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας· πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμῖξ ἦν πάντα ὁμοίως ἀναπεφυρμένα. 2 οὗτος ὁ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἐστὶ μαχεσάμενος ὅτε νύξ ἡ ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετό σφι μαχομένοις, καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἄλυος ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίην πᾶσαν συστήσας ἑωυτῷ. συλλέξας δὲ τοὺς ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ἀρχομένους πάντας ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Νίνον, τιμωρέων τε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην θέλων ἐξελεῖν. 3 καὶ οἱ, ὥς συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, περικατημένῳ τὴν Νίνον ἐπῆλθε Σκυθέων στρατὸς μέγας, ἥγε δὲ αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων Μαδύης Προτοθύεω παῖς· οἱ ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Κιμμερίους ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, τούτοις δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι φεύγουσι οὕτω

ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώραν ἀπίκοντο.

103. At his death he was succeeded by his son Cyaxares. He is said to have been a much greater soldier than his ancestors: it was he who first organized the men of Asia in companies and posted each arm apart, the spearmen and archers and cavalry: before this they were all mingled together in confusion. This was the king who fought against the Lydians when the day was turned to night in the battle, and who united under his dominion all of Asia that is beyond the river Halys. Collecting all his subjects, he marched against Ninus, wanting to avenge his father and to destroy the city. He defeated the Assyrians in battle; but while he was besieging their city, a great army of Scythians came down upon him, led by their king Madyes son of Protothyes. They had invaded Asia after they had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe: pursuing them in their flight, the Scythians came to the Median country.

104 1 ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαίτιδος ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους τριήκοντα ἡμερῶν εὐζώνῳ ὁδός, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλὸν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἐστι, Σάσπειρες, τοῦτο δὲ παραμειβομένοισι εἶναι ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ. 2 οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Σκύθαι ταύτῃ ἐσέβαλον, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατύπερθε ὁδὸν πολλῶ μακροτέραν ἐκτραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν Μῆδοι συμβαλόντες τοῖσι Σκύθησι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελύθησαν. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον.

104. It is a thirty days' journey for an unencumbered man from the Maeetian lake to the river Phasis and the land of the Colchi; from the Colchi it is an easy matter to cross into Media: there is only one nation between, the Saspire; to pass these is to be in Media. Nevertheless, it was not by this way that the Scythians entered; they turned aside and came by the upper and much longer way, keeping the Caucasian mountains on their right. There, the Medes met the Scythians, who defeated them in battle, deprived them of their rule, and made themselves masters of all Asia.

105 1 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἦσαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. καὶ ἐπεῖτε ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ, Ψαμμήτιχος σφέας Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιάσας δῶροισί τε καὶ λιτῇσι ἀποτράπει τὸ προσωτέρω μὴ πορεύεσθαι. 2 οἱ

δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἀναχωρέοντες ὀπίσω ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίας ἐν Ἀσκάλῳ πόλῃ, τῶν πλεόνων Σκυθέων παρεξελθόντων ἀσινέων, ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς οὐρανίης Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱρόν. 3 ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρόν, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, πάντων ἀρχαιότατον ἱρῶν ὅσα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱρόν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθήροισι Φοίνικὲς εἰσὶ οἱ ἰδρυσάμενοι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίας ἔόντες. 4 τοῖσι δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων συλήσασι τὸ ἱρόν τὸ ἐν Ἀσκάλῳ καὶ τοῖσι τούτων αἰεὶ ἐκγόνοισι ἐνέσκηψε ὁ θεὸς θήλεαν νοῦσον· ὥστε ἅμα λέγουσιν τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτο σφέας νοσέειν, καὶ ὁρᾶν παρ' ἐωυτοῖσι τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν χώραν ὡς διακέαται τοὺς καλέουσι Ἐνάρεας οἱ Σκύθαι.

105. From there they marched against Egypt: and when they were in the part of Syria called Palestine, Psammetichus king of Egypt met them and persuaded them with gifts and prayers to come no further. So they turned back, and when they came on their way to the city of Ascalon in Syria, most of the Scythians passed by and did no harm, but a few remained behind and plundered the temple of Heavenly Aphrodite. This temple, I discover from making inquiry, is the oldest of all the temples of the goddess, for the temple in Cyprus was founded from it, as the Cyprians themselves say; and the temple on Cythera was founded by Phoenicians from this same land of Syria. But the Scythians who pillaged the temple, and all their descendants after them, were afflicted by the goddess with the “female” sickness: and so the Scythians say that they are afflicted as a consequence of this and also that those who visit Scythian territory see among them the condition of those whom the Scythians call “Hermaphrodites”.

106 1 ἐπὶ μὲν νυν ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα ἦρχον τῆς Ἀσίας οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ τὰ πάντα σφι ὑπὸ τε ὕβριος καὶ ὀλιγωρίας ἀνάστατα ἦν· χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ φόρον ἔπρησσαν παρ' ἐκάστων τὸν ἐκάστοισι ἐπέβαλλον, χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ φόρου ἥρπαζον περιελαύνοντες τοῦτο ὃ τι ἔχοιεν ἕκαστοι. 2 καὶ τούτων μὲν τοὺς πλεῦνας Κυαξάρης τε καὶ Μῆδοι ξεινίσαντες καὶ καταμεθύσαντες κατεφόνευσαν, καὶ οὕτω ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μῆδοι καὶ ἐπεκράτεον τῶν περ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τὴν τε Νίνον εἶλον (ὡς δὲ εἶλον ἐν ἑτέροισι λόγοισι δηλώσω) καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσαντο πλὴν τῆς

Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κυαζάρης μὲν, βασιλεύσας τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα σὺν τοῖσι Σκύθαι ἦρξαν, τελευτᾷ.

106. The Scythians, then, ruled Asia for twenty-eight years: and the whole land was ruined because of their violence and their pride, for, besides exacting from each the tribute which was assessed, they rode about the land carrying off everyone's possessions. Most of them were entertained and made drunk and then slain by Cyaxares and the Medes: so thus the Medes took back their empire and all that they had formerly possessed; and they took Ninus (how, I will describe in a later part of my history), and brought all Assyria except the province of Babylon under their rule.

107 1 ἐκδέκεται δὲ Ἀστυάγης Κυαζάρῳ παῖς τὴν βασιληίην. καὶ οἱ ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ τῇ οὐνομα ἔθετο Μανδάνην· τὴν ἐδόκεε Ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ οὐρῆσαι τοσοῦτον ὥστε πληῖσαι μὲν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ πόλιν, ἐπικατακλύσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ὑπερθέμενος δὲ τῶν Μάγων τοῖσι ὄνειροπόλοισι τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ἐφοβήθη παρ' αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ἕκαστα μαθών. 2 μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μανδάνην ταύτην ἐοῦσαν ἤδη ἀνδρὸς ὠραίην Μήδων μὲν τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἀξίων οὐδενὶ διδοῖ γυναῖκα, δεδοικῶς τὴν ὄψιν· ὁ δὲ Πέρση διδοῖ τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Καμβύσης, τὸν εὔρισκε οἰκίης μὲν ἐόντα ἀγαθῆς τρόπου δὲ ἡσυχίου, πολλῶ ἔνερθε ἄγων αὐτὸν μέσου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου.

107. Afterwards, Cyaxares died after a reign of forty years (among which I count the years of the Scythian domination) and his son Astyages inherited the sovereignty. Astyages had a daughter, whom he called Mandane: he dreamed that she urinated so much that she filled his city and flooded all of Asia. He communicated this vision to those of the Magi who interpreted dreams, and when he heard what they told him he was terrified; and presently, when Mandane was of marriageable age, he feared the vision too much to give her to any Mede worthy to marry into his family, but married her to a Persian called Cambyses, a man whom he knew to be wellborn and of a quiet temper: for Astyages held Cambyses to be much lower than a Mede of middle rank.

108 1 συνοικεούσης δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ τῆς Μανδάνης, ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει εἶδε ἄλλην ὄψιν, ἐδόκεε δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς θυγατρὸς ταύτης φῦναι ἄμπελον, τὴν δὲ ἄμπελον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν Ἀσίην

παῖσαν. 2 ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπερθέμενος τοῖσι ὀνειροπόλοισι, μετεπέμψατο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπίτεκα ἐοῦσαν, ἀπικομένην δὲ ἐφύλασσε βουλόμενος τὸ γενόμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς διαφθεῖραι· ἐκ γάρ οἱ τῆς ὄψιος οἱ τῶν Μάγων ὀνειροπόλοι ἐσήμαινον ὅτι μέλλοι ὁ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεύσειν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου. 3 ταῦτα δὴ ὢν φυλασσόμενος ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ὡς ἐγένετο ὁ Κῦρος, καλέσας Ἄρπαγον ἄνδρα οἰκίῃον καὶ πιστότατόν τε Μῆδων καὶ πάντων ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἐωυτοῦ, ἔλεγε οἱ τοιάδε. 4 “Ἄρπαγε, πρῆγμα τὸ ἂν τοι προσθέω, μηδαμῶς παραχρήση, μηδὲ ἐμέ τε παραβάλῃ καὶ ἄλλους ἐλόμενος ἐξ ὑστέρης σοὶ αὐτῷ περιπέσης· λάβε τὸν Μανδάνη ἔτεκε παῖδα, φέρων δὲ ἐς σεωυτοῦ ἀπόκτεινον, μετὰ δὲ θάψον τρόπῳ ὅτεφ αὐτὸς βούλει.” 5 ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε ἄλλοτε κω παρεῖδες ἀνδρὶ τῷδε ἄχαρι οὐδέν, φυλασσόμεθα δὲ ἐς σὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτεῖν. ἀλλ’ εἰ τοι φίλον τοῦτο οὕτω γίνεσθαι, χρὴ δὴ τό γε ἐμὸν ὑπηρετέεσθαι ἐπιτηδέως.”

108. But during the first year that Mandane was married to Cambyzes, Astyages saw a second vision. He dreamed that a vine grew out of the genitals of this daughter, and that the vine covered the whole of Asia. Having seen this vision, and communicated it to the interpreters of dreams, he sent to the Persians for his daughter, who was about to give birth, and when she arrived kept her guarded, meaning to kill whatever child she bore: for the interpreters declared that the meaning of his dream was that his daughter's offspring would rule in his place. Anxious to prevent this, Astyages, when Cyrus was born, summoned Harpagus, a man of his household who was his most faithful servant among the Medes and was administrator of all that was his, and he said: "Harpagus, whatever business I turn over to you, do not mishandle it, and do not leave me out of account and, giving others preference, trip over your own feet afterwards. Take the child that Mandane bore, and carry him to your house, and kill him; and then bury him however you like." "O King," Harpagus answered, "never yet have you noticed anything displeasing in your man; and I shall be careful in the future, too, not to err in what concerns you. If it is your will that this be done, then my concern ought to be to attend to it scrupulously."

109 1 τούτοισι ἀμειψάμενος ὁ Ἄρπαγος, ὥς οἱ παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίον κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἦε κλαίων ἐς τὰ οἰκία· παρελθὼν δὲ ἔφραζε τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὶ τὸν πάντα Ἀστυάγεος ῥηθέντα λόγον. 2 ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει “νῦν ὧν τί σοὶ ἐν νόφ' ἐστὶ ποιεῖν;” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται “οὐ τῇ ἐνετέλλετο Ἀστυάγης, οὐδ' εἰ παραφρονήσῃ τε καὶ μανέεται κάκιον ἢ νῦν μαίνεται, οὐ οἱ ἔγωγε προσθήσομαι τῇ γνώμῃ οὐδὲ ἐς φόνον τοιοῦτον ὑπηρετήσω. 3 πολλῶν δὲ εἵνεκα οὐ φονεύσω μιν, καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μοι συγγενὴς ἐστὶ ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὅτι Ἀστυάγης μὲν ἐστὶ γέρον καὶ ἅπαις ἔρσηνος γόνου· 4 εἰ δ' ἐθελήσει τούτου τελευτήσαντος ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ἢ τυραννίς, τῆς νῦν τὸν υἱὸν κτείνει δι' ἐμεῦ, ἄλλο τι ἢ λείπεται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ κινδύνων ὁ μέγιστος; ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἀσφαλέος εἵνεκα ἐμοὶ δεῖ τοῦτον τελευτᾶν τὸν παῖδα, δεῖ μέντοι τῶν τινα Ἀστυάγεος αὐτοῦ φονέα γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν.”

109. Harpagus answered thus. The child was then given to him, consigned to its death, and he went to his house weeping. When he came in, he told his wife the entire speech uttered by Astyages. “Now, then,” she said to him, “what do you propose to do?” “Not to obey Astyages’ instructions,” he answered, “not even if he should lose his mind and be more frantic than he is now: I will not lend myself to his plan or be an accessory to such a murder. There are many reasons why I will not kill him: because the child is related to me, and because Astyages is old and has no male children. Now if the sovereignty passes to this daughter of his after his death, whose son he is now killing by means of me, what is left for me but the gravest of all dangers? For the sake of my safety this child has to die; but one of Astyages’ own people has to be the murderer and not one of mine.”

110 1 ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ αὐτίκα ἄγγελον ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ τῶν βουκόλων τῶν Ἀστυάγεος τὸν ἡπίστατο νομᾶς τε ἐπιτηδεοτάτας νέμοντα καὶ ὄρεα θηριωδέστατα· τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Μιτραδάτης, συνοίκεε δὲ ἑωυτοῦ συνδούλῃ, οὖνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ἦν τῇ συνοίκεε Κυνώ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μηδικὴν Σπακώ· τὴν γὰρ κύνα καλέουσι σπάκα Μῆδοι. 2 αἱ δὲ ὑπώρεαί εἰσι τῶν ὀρέων, ἔνθα τὰς νομᾶς τῶν βοῶν εἶχε οὗτος δὴ ὁ βουκόλος, πρὸς βορέῳ τε ἀνέμου τῶν Ἀγβατάνων καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου· ταύτῃ μὲν γὰρ ἡ

Μηδική χωρῇ πρὸς Σασπεύρων ὀρεινὴ ἐστὶ κάρτα καὶ ὑψηλὴ τε καὶ ἴδησι συνηρεφής, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη Μηδικὴ χωρῇ ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἄπεδος. 3 ἐπεὶ ὦν ὁ βουκόλος σπουδῇ πολλῇ καλεόμενος ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἄρπαγος τάδε. “κελεύει σε Ἀστυάγης τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο λαβόντα θεῖναι ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν ὀρέων, ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα διαφθαρεῖ· καὶ τάδε τοι ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν, ἣν μὴ ἀποκτείνης αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ τεῷ τρόπῳ περιποιήσης, ὀλέθρῳ τῷ κακίστῳ σε διαχρήσεσθαι. ἐπορᾶν δὲ ἐκκείμενον τέταγμαί ἐγώ.”

110. So saying, he sent a messenger at once to one of Astyages' cowherds, who he knew pastured his herds in the likeliest spots and where the mountains were most infested with wild beasts. The man's name was Mitrdates, and his wife was a slave like him; her name was in the Greek language Cyno, in the Median Spako: for “spax” is the Median word for dog. The foothills of the mountains where this cowherd pastured his cattle are north of Ecbatana, towards the Euxine sea; for the rest of Media is everywhere a level plain, but here, on the side of the Saspies, the land is very high and mountainous and covered with woods. So when the cowherd came in haste at the summons, Harpagus said: “Astyages wants you to take this child and leave it in the most desolate part of the mountains so that it will perish as quickly as possible. And he wants me to tell you that if you do not kill it, but preserve it somehow, you will undergo the most harrowing death; and I am ordered to see it exposed.”

111 1 ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον ἦε τὴν αὐτὴν ὀπίσω ὁδὸν καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὴν ἔπαυλιν. τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή, ἐπίτεξ ἐοῦσα πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, τότε κως κατὰ δαίμονα τίκτει οἰχομένου τοῦ βουκόλου ἐς πόλιν. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν φροντίδι ἀμφοτέρω ἀλλήλων πέρι, ὃ μὲν τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρρώδεων, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ὃ τι οὐκ ἐθῶς ὁ Ἄρπαγος μεταπέμψαιτο αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα. 2 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀπονοστήσας ἐπέστη, οἷα ἐξ ἀέλπτου ἰδοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ εἶρετο προτέρη ὃ τι μιν οὕτω προθύμως Ἄρπαγος μετεπέμψατο. ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ γύναι, εἰδὼν τε ἐς πόλιν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἤκουσα τὸ μήτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον μήτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι ἐς δεσπότης τοὺς ἡμετέρους. οἶκος μὲν πᾶς Ἀρπάγου κλαυθμῷ κατείχεται, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἦα ἔσω. 3 ὥς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσῆλθον, ὀρέω παιδίον προκείμενον ἀσπαῖρόν τε καὶ κραυγανόμενον, κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ.

Ἄρπαγος δὲ ὡς εἶδε με, ἐκέλευε τὴν ταχίστην ἀναλαβόντα τὸ παιδίον οἷχσθαι φέροντα καὶ θεῖναι ἔνθα θηριωδέστατον εἴη τῶν ὀρέων, φὰς Ἀστυάγεα εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενόν μοι, πόλλ' ἀπειλήσας εἰ μὴ σφεα ποιήσαιμι. 4 καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναλαβὼν ἔφερον, δοκέων τῶν τινος οἰκετέων εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτὲ κατέδοξα ἔνθεν γε ἦν. ἐθάμβεον δὲ ὀρέων χρυσῷ τε καὶ εἵμασι κεκοσμημένον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κλαυθμὸν κατεστεῶτα ἐμφανέα ἐν Ἀρπάγου. 5 καὶ πρόκατε δὴ κατ' ὁδὸν πυνθάνομαι τὸν πάντα λόγον θεράποντος, ὃς ἐμὲ προπέμπων ἔξω πόλιος ἐνεχείρισε τὸ βρέφος, ὡς ἄρα Μανδάνης τε εἴη παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς καὶ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κύρου, καὶ μιν Ἀστυάγης ἐντέλλεται ἀποκτεῖναι. νῦν τε ὁδε ἐστί·”

111. Hearing this, the cowherd took the child and went back the same way and came to his dwelling. Now as it happened his wife too had been on the verge of delivering every day, and as the divinity would have it, she did in fact give birth while the cowherd was away in the city. Each of them was anxious for the other, the husband being afraid about his wife's labor, and the wife because she did not know why Harpagus had so unexpectedly sent for her husband. So when he returned and stood before her, she was startled by the unexpected sight and asked him before he could speak why Harpagus had so insistently summoned him. “Wife,” he said, “when I came to the city, I saw and heard what I ought never to have seen, and what ought never to have happened to our masters. Harpagus' whole house was full of weeping; astonished, I went in; and immediately I saw a child lying there struggling and crying, adorned in gold and embroidered clothing. And when Harpagus saw me, he told me to take the child in haste and bring it away and leave it where the mountains are the most infested with wild beasts. It was Astyages, he said, who enjoined this on me, and Harpagus threatened me grievously if I did not do it. So I took him and brought him away, supposing him to be the child of one of the servants; for I could never have guessed whose he was. But I was amazed at seeing him adorned with gold and clothing, and at hearing, too, the evident sound of weeping in the house of Harpagus. Very soon on the way I learned the whole story from the servant who brought me out of the city and gave the child into my custody: namely, that it was the son

of Mandane the king's daughter and Cambyses the son of Cyrus, and that Astyages gave the command to kill him. And now, here he is."

112 1 ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγε ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἐκκαλύψας ἀπεδείκνυε. ἡ δὲ ὥς εἶδε τὸ παιδίον μέγα τε καὶ εὐειδὲς ἓν, δακρύσασα καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐχρήριζε μηδεμιῇ τέχνῃ ἐκθεῖναι μιν. 2 ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἷός τ' εἶναι ἄλλως αὐτὰ ποιέειν· ἐπιφοιτήσιν γὰρ κατασκόπους ἐξ Ἀρπάγου ἐποψομένους, ἀπολέεσθαι τε κάκιστα ἣν μὴ σφεα ποιήσῃ. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα, δευτέρα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. "ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐ δύναμαί σε πείθειν μὴ ἐκθεῖναι, σὺ δὲ ὧδε ποίησον, εἰ δὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ὀφθῆναι ἐκκείμενον. τέτοκα γὰρ καὶ ἐγώ, τέτοκα δὲ τεθνεὺς. 3 τοῦτο μὲν φέρων πρόθεος, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς παῖδα ὥς ἐξ ἡμέων ἔοντα τρέφωμεν. καὶ οὕτω οὕτε σὺ ἀλώσσαι ἀδικέων τοὺς δεσπότας οὕτε ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἔσται· ὃ τε γὰρ τεθνεὺς βασιληῆς ταφῆς κυρήσει καὶ ὁ περιεὼν οὐκ ἀπολέει τὴν ψυχὴν."

112. And as he said this the cowherd uncovered it and showed it. But when the woman saw how fine and fair the child was, she began to cry and laid hold of the man's knees and begged him by no means to expose him. But the husband said he could not do otherwise; for, he said, spies would be coming from Harpagus to see what was done, and he would have to die a terrible death if he did not obey. Being unable to move her husband, the woman then said: "Since I cannot convince you not to expose it, then, if a child has to be seen exposed, do this: I too have borne a child, but I bore it dead. Take this one and put it out, but the child of the daughter of Astyages let us raise as if it were our own; this way, you won't be caught disobeying our masters, and we will not have plotted badly. For the dead child will have royal burial, and the living will not lose his life."

113 1 κάρτα τε ἔδοξε τῷ, βουκόλῳ πρὸς τὰ παρεόντα εὖ λέγειν ἡ γυνή, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐποίεε ταῦτα· τὸν μὲν ἔφερε θανατώσων παῖδα, τοῦτον μὲν παραδιδοῖ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γυναικί, τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ ἔοντα νεκρὸν λαβὼν ἔθηκε ἐς τὸ ἄγος ἐν τῷ ἔφερε τὸν ἕτερον· 2 κοσμήσας δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου παιδός, φέρων ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν ὁρέων τίθει. ὥς δὲ τρίτῃ ἡμέρῃ τῷ παιδίῳ ἐκκειμένῳ ἐγένετο, ἦε ἐς πόλιν ὁ βουκόλος, τῶν τινα προβοσκῶν φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τοῦ Ἀρπάγου ἀποδεικνύναι

ἔφη ἔτοιμος εἶναι τοῦ παιδίου τὸν νέκυν. 3 πέμψας δὲ ὁ Ἄρπαγος τῶν ἐωυτοῦ δορυφόρων τοὺς πιστοτάτους εἶδὲ τε διὰ τούτων καὶ ἔθαψε τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐτέθαπτο, τὸν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Κῦρον ὀνομασθέντα παραλαβοῦσα ἔτρεφε ἢ γυνὴ τοῦ βουκόλου, οὐνομα ἄλλο κού τι καὶ οὐ Κῦρον θεμένη.

113. Thinking that his wife advised him excellently in his present strait, the cowherd immediately did as she said. He gave his wife the child whom he had brought to kill, and his own dead child he put into the chest in which he carried the other, and dressed it with all the other child's finery and left it out in the most desolate part of the mountains. Then on the third day after leaving the child out, the cowherd left one of his herdsmen to watch it and went to the city, where he went to Harpagus' house and said he was ready to show the child's dead body. Harpagus sent the most trusted of his bodyguard, and these saw for him and buried the cowherd's child. So it was buried: and the cowherd's wife kept and raised the boy who was afterwards named Cyrus; but she did not give him that name, but another.

114 1 καὶ ὅτε ἦν δεκαέτης ὁ παῖς, πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιόνδε γενόμενον ἐξέφηνέ μιν. ἔπαιζε ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ ἐν τῇ ἥσαν καὶ αἱ βουκολίαι αὐται, ἔπαιζε δὲ μετ' ἄλλων ἡλίκων ἐν ὁδῷ. καὶ οἱ παῖδες παίζοντες εἶλοντο ἐωυτῶν βασιλέα εἶναι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπικλησιν παῖδα. 2 ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν διέταξε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας οἰκοδομῆειν, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους εἶναι, τὸν δὲ κου τινὰ αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέος εἶναι, τῷ δὲ τινὶ τὰς ἀγγελίας φέρειν ἐδίδου γέρας, ὥς ἐκάστῳ ἔργον προστάσσω. 3 εἷς δὴ τούτων τῶν παίδων συμπαίζων, ἐὼν Ἀρτεμβάρεος παῖς ἀνδρὸς δοκίμου ἐν Μήδοισι, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐποίησε τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου, ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν τοὺς ἄλλους παῖδας διαλαβεῖν, πειθομένων δὲ τῶν παίδων ὁ Κῦρος τὸν παῖδα τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε μαστιγέων. 4 ὁ δὲ ἐπεῖτε μετείθη τάχιστα, ὥς γε δὴ ἀνάξια ἐωυτοῦ παθὼν, μᾶλλον τι περιημέκτεε, κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς πόλιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀποικτίζετο τῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου ἦντησε, λέγων δὲ οὐ Κύρου (οὐ γάρ κω ἦν τοῦτο τοῦνομα), ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος παιδός. 5 ὁ δὲ Ἀρτεμβάρης ὀργῇ ὥς εἶχε ἐλθὼν παρὰ τὸν Ἀστυάγεα καὶ ἅμα ἀγόμενος τὸν παῖδα ἀνάρσια πρήγματα ἔφη πεπονθέναι, λέγων “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ

δούλου, βουκόλου δὲ παιδὸς ὧδε περιυβρίσμεθα,” δεικνὺς τοῦ παιδὸς τοὺς ὤμους.

114. Now when the boy was ten years old, the truth about him was revealed in some such way as this. He was playing in the village where these herdsmen's quarters were, playing in the road with others of his age. The boys while playing chose to be their king this one who was supposed to be the son of the cowherd. Then he assigned some of them to the building of houses, some to be his bodyguard, one doubtless to be the King's Eye; to another he gave the right of bringing him messages; to each he gave his proper work. Now one of these boys playing with him was the son of Artembares, a notable Mede; when he did not perform his assignment from Cyrus, Cyrus told the other boys to seize him, and when they did so he handled the boy very roughly and whipped him. As soon as he was let go, very upset about the indignity he had suffered, he went down to his father in the city and complained of what he had received at the hands of the son of Astyages' cowherd — not calling him Cyrus, for that name had not yet been given. Artembares, going just as angry as he was to Astyages and bringing his son along, announced that an impropriety had been committed, saying, “O King, by your slave, the son of a cowherd, we have been outraged thus”: and with that he bared his son's shoulders.

115 1 ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ἰδὼν Ἀστυάγης, θέλων τιμωρῆσαι τῷ παιδί τιμῆς τῆς Ἀρτεμβάρους εἵνεκα, μετεπέμπετο τὸν τε βουκόλον καὶ τὸν παῖδα. ἐπεῖτε δὲ παρῆσαν ἀμφοτέρω, βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἔφη 2 “σὺ δὴ ἐὼν τοῦδε τοιοῦτου ἐόντος παῖς ἐτόλμησας τὸν τοῦδε παῖδα ἐόντος πρώτου παρ’ ἐμοὶ ἀεικεῖν τοιῷδε περισπεῖν;” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο ὧδε. “ὦ δέσποτα, ἐγὼ ταῦτα τοῦτον ἐποίησα σὺν δίκῃ. οἱ γάρ με ἐκ τῆς κόμης παῖδες, τῶν καὶ ὁδε ἦν, παίζοντες σφέων αὐτῶν ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα· ἐδόκεον γὰρ σφί εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεότατος. 3 οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι παῖδες τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον, οὗτος δὲ ἀνηκούστεέ τε καὶ λόγον εἶχε οὐδένα, ἐς ὃ ἔλαβὲ τὴν δίκην. εἰ ὢν δὴ τοῦδε εἵνεκα ἄξιός τευ κακοῦ εἰμί, ὁδε τοι πάρεμι.”

115. When Astyages heard and saw, he was ready to avenge the boy in view of Artembares' rank: so he sent for the cowherd and his

son. When they were both present, Astyages said, fixing his eyes on Cyrus, "Is it you, then, the child of one such as this, who have dared to lay hands on the son of the greatest of my courtiers?" Cyrus answered, "Master, what I did to him I did with justice. The boys of the village, of whom he was one, chose me while playing to be their king, for they thought me the most fit for this. The other boys then did as assigned: but this one was disobedient and cared nothing for me, for which he got what he deserved. Now, if I deserve punishment for this, here I am to take it."

116 1 ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν Ἀστυάγεα ἐσήμει ἀνάγνωσις αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ὅ τε χαρακτήρ τοῦ προσώπου προσφέρεσθαι ἐδόκεε ἐς ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἐλευθερωτέρη εἶναι, ὅ τε χρόνος τῆς ἐκθέσιος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐδόκεε συμβαίνειν. 2 ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ τούτοις ἐπὶ χρόνον ἄφθογος ἦν· μόγις δὲ δὴ κοτε ἀνενειχθεὶς εἶπε, θέλων ἐκπέμψαι τὸν Ἀρτεμβάρεια, ἵνα τὸν βουκόλον μόνον λαβὼν βασανίσῃ, "Ἀρτέμβαρεις, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ποιήσω ὥστε σὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν σὸν μηδὲν ἐπιμέμφεσθαι." 3 τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀρτεμβάρεια πέμπει, τὸν δὲ Κῦρον ἦγον ἔσω οἱ θεράποντες κελεύσαντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπελέλειπτο ὁ βουκόλος μόνος μουνόθεν, τάδε αὐτὸν εἶρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγεος, κόθεν λάβοι τὸν παῖδα καὶ τίς εἴη ὁ παραδούς. 4 ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ τε ἔφη γεγονέναι καὶ τὴν τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἔτι παρ' ἑωυτῷ. Ἀστυάγης δὲ μιν οὐκ εὖ βουλευέσθαι ἔφη ἐπιθυμέοντα ἐς ἀνάγκας μεγάλας ἀπικνέεσθαι, ἅμα τε λέγων ταῦτα ἐσήμαινε τοῖσι δορυφόροις λαμβάνειν αὐτόν. 5 ὁ δὲ ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας οὕτω δὴ ἔφαινε τὸν ἔοντα λόγον· ἀρχόμενος δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διεξήμει τῇ ἀληθείᾳ χρεώμενος, καὶ κατέβαινε ἐς λιτάς τε καὶ συγγνώμην ἑωυτῷ κελεύων ἔχειν αὐτόν.

116. While the boy spoke, it seemed to Astyages that he recognized him; the character of his face was like his own, he thought, and his manner of answering was freer than customary: and the date of the exposure seemed to agree with the boy's age. Astonished at this, he sat a while silent; but when at last with difficulty he could collect his wits, he said (for he wanted to be rid of Artembares and question the cowherd with no one present), "I shall act in such a way, Artembares, that you and your son shall have no cause of complaint." So he sent Artembares away, and the attendants

led Cyrus inside at Astyages' bidding. When the cowherd was left quite alone, Astyages asked him where he had got the boy and who had been the giver. The cowherd answered that Cyrus was his own son and that the mother was still with him. Astyages said that he was not well advised if he wished to find himself in a desperate situation, and as he said this made a sign to the spearbearers to seize him. Then, under stress of necessity, the cowherd disclosed to him the whole story, telling everything exactly as it had happened from the beginning, and at the end fell to entreaty and urged the king to pardon him.

117 1 Ἀστυάγης δὲ τοῦ μὲν βουκόλου τὴν ἀληθείην ἐκφήναντος λόγον ἤδη καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο, Ἄρπαγος δὲ καὶ μεγάλως μεμφόμενος καλέειν αὐτὸν τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε. 2 ὡς δὲ οἱ παρῆν ὁ Ἄρπαγος, εἵρετό μιν ὁ Ἀστυάγης “Ἄρπαγε, τέφρῳ δὴ μόρῳ τὸν παῖδα κατεχρήσαο τόν τοι παρέδωκα ἐκ θυγατρὸς γεγονότα τῆς ἐμῆς ;” ὁ δὲ Ἄρπαγος ὡς εἶδε τὸν βουκόλον ἔνδον ἐόντα, οὐ τρέπεται ἐπὶ ψευδέα ὁδόν, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχόμενος ἀλίσκηται, ἀλλὰ λέγει τάδε. 3 “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπεῖτε παρέλαβον τὸ παιδίον, ἐβούλευον σκοπέων ὅπως σοί τε ποιήσω κατὰ νόον, καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σέ γινόμενος ἀναμάρτητος μήτε θυγατρὶ τῇ σῇ μήτε αὐτῷ σοὶ εἶην αὐθέντης. 4 ποιέω δὴ ὧδε· καλέσας τὸν βουκόλον τόνδε παραδίδωμι τὸ παιδίον, φᾶς σέ τε εἶναι τὸν κελεύοντα ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτό. καὶ λέγων τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἐψευδόμην· σὺ γὰρ ἐνετέλλεο οὕτω. παραδίδωμι μέντοι τῷδε κατὰ τάδε ἐντειλάμενος, θεῖναι μιν ἐς ἔρημον ὄρος καὶ παραμένοντα φυλάσσειν ἄχρι οὗ τελευτήσῃ, ἀπειλήσας παντοῖα τῷδε ἦν μὴ τάδε ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ. 5 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ποιήσαντος τούτου τὰ κελευόμενα ἐτελεύτησε τὸ παιδίον, πέμψας τῶν εὐνούχων τοὺς πιστοτάτους καὶ εἶδον δι’ ἐκείνων καὶ ἔθαψά μιν. οὕτω ἔσχε ὦ βασιλεῦ περὶ τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου, καὶ τοιούτῳ μόρῳ ἐχρήσατο ὁ παῖς.”

117. When the cowherd had disclosed the true story, Astyages took less interest in him, but he was very angry with Harpagus and had the guards summon him. Harpagus came, and Astyages asked him “Harpagus, how did you kill the boy, my daughter’s son, whom I gave you?” Harpagus, when he saw the cowherd was there, did not take the way of falsehood, lest he be caught and confuted: “O King,” he said, “when I took the boy, I thought and considered how to do

what you wanted and not be held a murderer by your daughter or by you even though I was blameless toward you. So I did this: I summoned this cowherd here, and gave the child to him, telling him that it was you who gave the command to kill it. And that was the truth; for such was your command. But I gave the child with the instructions that the cowherd was to lay it on a desolate mountainside and wait there and watch until it was dead; and I threatened all sorts of things if he did not accomplish this. Then, when he had done what he was told, and the child was dead, I sent the most trusted of my eunuchs and had the body viewed and buried. This, O king, is the story, and such was the end of the boy.”

118 1 Ἄρπαγος μὲν δὴ τὸν ἰθὺν ἔφαινε λόγον· Ἀστυάγης δὲ κρύπτων τὸν οἱ ἐνεῖχε χόλον διὰ τὸ γεγονός, πρῶτα μὲν, κατὰ περ ἤκουσε αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ πρῆγμα, πάλιν ἀπηγέετο τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ, μετὰ δὲ ὡς οἱ ἐπαλλλόγητο, κατέβαινε λέγων ὡς περίεστί τε ὁ παῖς καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς ἔχει καλῶς· 2 “τῷ τε γὰρ πεποιημένῳ “ ἔφη λέγων “ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ἔκαμνον μέγας, καὶ θυγατρὶ τῇ ἐμῇ διαβεβλημένος οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ἐποιεύμην. ὡς ὢν τῆς τύχης εὖ μετεστεώσης, τοῦτο μὲν τὸν σεωυτοῦ παῖδα ἀπόπεμψον παρὰ τὸν παῖδα τὸν νεήλυδα, τοῦτο δὲ (σῶστρα γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς μέλλω θύειν τοῖσι θεῶν τιμὴ αὕτη προσκέεται) πάρισθί μοι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον.”

118. Harpagus told the story straight, while Astyages, hiding the anger that he felt against him for what had been done, first repeated the story again to Harpagus exactly as he had heard it from the cowherd, then, after repeating it, ended by saying that the boy was alive and that the matter had turned out well. “For,” he said, “I was greatly afflicted by what had been done to this boy, and it weighed heavily on me that I was estranged from my daughter. Now, then, in this good turn of fortune, send your own son to this boy newly come, and (since I am about to sacrifice for the boy’s safety to the gods to whom this honor is due) come here to dine with me.”

119 1 Ἄρπαγος μὲν ὡς ἤκουσε ταῦτα, προσκυνήσας καὶ μέγαρα ποιησάμενος ὅτι τε ἡ ἁμαρτὰς οἱ ἐς δέον ἐγεγόνεε καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τύχησι χρηστῆσι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκέκλητο, ἦε ἐς τὰ οἰκία. 2 ἐσελθὼν δὲ τὴν ταχίστην, ἣν γὰρ οἱ παῖς εἷς μόνος ἔτεα τρία καὶ δέκα κου μάλιστα γεγονώς, τοῦτον ἐκπέμπεν ἰέναι τε κελεύων ἐς Ἀστυάγεος καὶ

ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν ἐκεῖνος κελεύῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ περιχαρὴς ἐὼν φράζει τῇ γυναικὶ τὰ συγκυρήσαντα. 3 Ἀστυάγης δέ, ὥς οἱ ἀπίκετο ὁ Ἀρπάγου παῖς, σφάξας αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ μέλας διελὼν τὰ μὲν ὥπτησε τὰ δὲ ἥψησε τῶν κρεῶν, εὖτυκα δὲ ποιησάμενος εἶχε ἔτοιμα. 4 ἐπεῖτε δὲ τῆς ὥρης γινομένης τοῦ δείπνου παρῆσαν οἱ τε ἄλλοι δαιτυμόνες καὶ ὁ Ἄρπαγος, τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοισι καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀστυάγῃ παρετιθέατο τράπεζαι ἐπίπλαι μηλέων κρεῶν, Ἀρπάγῳ δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ ἐωυτοῦ, πλὴν κεφαλῆς τε καὶ ἄκρων χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν, τᾶλλα πάντα· ταῦτα δὲ χωρὶς ἔκειτο ἐπὶ κανέῳ κατακεκαλυμμένα, 5 ὥς δὲ τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ ἐδόκεε ἄλλῃς ἔχειν τῆς βορῆς, Ἀστυάγης εἴρετό μιν εἰ ἡσθίῃ τι τῇ θοίνῃ. φαμένου δὲ Ἀρπάγου καὶ κάρτα ἡσθῆναι, παρέφερον τοῖσι προσέκειτο τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκαλυμμένην καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, Ἄρπαγον δὲ ἐκέλευον προσστάντες ἀποκαλύπτειν τε καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ βούλεται αὐτῶν. 6 πειθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἄρπαγος καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων ὁρᾷ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λείμματα, ἰδὼν δὲ οὔτε ἐξεπλάγη ἐντός τε ἐωυτοῦ γίνεται. εἴρετο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀστυάγης εἰ γινώσκουσι ὅτευ θηρίου κρέα βεβρώκοι. 7 ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν ἔφη καὶ ἀρεστὸν εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἂν βασιλεὺς ἔρδῃ. τούτοισι δὲ ἀμειψάμενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν ἦε ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἔμελλε, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἀλίσας θάψειν τὰ πάντα.

119. When Harpagus heard this, he bowed and went to his home, very pleased to find that his offense had turned out for the best and that he was invited to dinner in honor of this fortunate day. Coming in, he told his only son, a boy of about thirteen years of age, to go to Astyages' palace and do whatever the king commanded, and in his great joy he told his wife everything that had happened. But when Harpagus' son came, Astyages cut his throat and tore him limb from limb, roasted some of the flesh and boiled some, and kept it ready after he had prepared it. So when the hour for dinner came and the rest of the guests and Harpagus were present, Astyages and the others were served dishes of lamb's meat, but Harpagus that of his own son, all but the head and hands and feet, which lay apart covered up in a wicker basket. And when Harpagus seemed to have eaten his fill, Astyages asked him, "Did you like your meal, Harpagus?" "Exceedingly," Harpagus answered. Then those whose job it was brought him the head of his son and hands and feet concealed in the

basket, and they stood before Harpagus and told him to open and take what he liked. Harpagus did; he opened and saw what was left of his son: he saw this, but mastered himself and did not lose his composure. Astyages asked him, “Do you know what beast’s meat you have eaten?” “I know,” he said, “and all that the king does is pleasing.” With that answer he took the remains of the meat and went home. There he meant, I suppose, after collecting everything, to bury it.

120 1 Ἀρπάγῳ μὲν Ἀστυάγης δίκην ταύτην ἐπέθηκε, Κύπου δὲ πέρι βουλευὼν ἐκάλεε τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν Μάγων οἱ τὸ ἐνύπνιον οἱ ταύτῃ ἔκριναν. ἀπικομένους δὲ εἶρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῇ ἔκρινάν οἱ τὴν ὄψιν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα εἶπαν λέγοντες ὥς βασιλεῦσαι χρῆν τὸν παῖδα, εἰ ἐπέζωσε καὶ μὴ ἀπέθανε πρότερον. 2 ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται αὐτοὺς τοῖσιδε. “ἔστι τε ὁ παῖς καὶ περίεστι, καὶ μιν ἐπ’ ἀγροῦ διαιτώμενον οἱ ἐκ τῆς κόμης παῖδες ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ πάντα ὅσα περ οἱ ἀληθεί λόγῳ βασιλέες ἐτελέωσε ποιήσας· καὶ γὰρ δορυφόρους καὶ θυρωροὺς καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διατάζας ἦρχε. 3 καὶ νῦν ἐς τί ὑμῖν ταῦτα φαίνεται φέρειν ;” εἶπαν οἱ Μάγοι “εἰ μὲν περίεστί τε καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ὁ παῖς μὴ ἐκ προνοίης τινός, θάρσεέ τε τούτου εἵνεκα καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τὸ δευτερον ἄρχει. παρὰ σμικρὰ γὰρ καὶ τῶν λογίων ἡμῖν ἔνια κεχώρηκε, καὶ τά γε τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐχόμενα τελέως ἐς ἀσθενὲς ἔρχεται.” 4 ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἀστυάγης τοῖσιδε. “καὶ αὐτὸς ὦ Μάγοι ταύτῃ πλεῖστος γνώμην εἰμί, βασιλέος ὀνομασθέντος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξήκειν τε τὸν ὄνειρον καὶ μοι τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον εἶναι δεινὸν ἔτι οὐδέν. ὅμως μὲν γέ τοι συμβουλευσάτέ μοι εὖ περισκεψάμενοι τὰ μέλλει ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι οἴκῳ τε τῷ ἐμῷ καὶ ὑμῖν.” 5 εἶπαν πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Μάγοι “ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν περὶ πολλοῦ ἐστὶ κατορθοῦσθαι ἀρχὴν τὴν σὴν. κείνως μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοτριοῦται ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον περιουῖσα ἐόντα Πέρσῃν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐόντες Μῆδοι δουλούμεθα τε καὶ λόγου οὐδενὸς γινόμεθα πρὸς Περσέων, ἐόντες ξεῖνοι· σέο δ’ ἐνεστεῶτος βασιλέος, ἐόντος πολιήτεω, καὶ ἄρχομεν τὸ μέρος καὶ τιμὰς πρὸς σέο μεγάλας ἔχομεν. 6 οὕτω ὦν πάντως ἡμῖν σέο καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς προοπτέον ἐστί. καὶ νῦν εἰ φοβερὸν τι ἐνωρῶμεν, πᾶν ἂν σοὶ προεφράζομεν. νῦν δὲ ἀποσκήψαντος τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐς φαῦλον, αὐτοῖ τε θαρσέομεν καὶ σοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα παρακελευόμεθα. τὸν δὲ παῖδα τοῦτον ἐξ

ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπόπεμψαι ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς γειναμένους.”

120. Thus Astyages punished Harpagus. But, to help him to decide about Cyrus, he summoned the same Magi who had interpreted his dream as I have said: and when they came, Astyages asked them how they had interpreted his dream. They answered as before, and said that the boy must have been made king had he lived and not died first. Then Astyages said, "The boy is safe and alive, and when he was living in the country the boys of his village made him king, and he duly did all that is done by true kings: for he assigned to each individually the roles of bodyguards and sentinels and messengers and everything else, and so ruled. And what do you think is the significance of this?" "If the boy is alive," said the Magi, "and has been made king without premeditation, then be confident on this score and keep an untroubled heart: he will not be made king a second time. Even in our prophecies, it is often but a small thing that has been foretold and the consequences of dreams come to nothing in the end." "I too, Magi," said Astyages, "am very much of your opinion: that the dream came true when the boy was called king, and that I have no more to fear from him. Nevertheless consider well and advise me what will be safest both for my house and for you." The Magi said, "O King, we too are very anxious that your sovereignty prosper: for otherwise, it passes from your nation to this boy who is a Persian, and so we Medes are enslaved and held of no account by the Persians, as we are of another blood, but while you, our countryman, are established king, we have our share of power, and great honor is shown us by you. Thus, then, we ought by all means to watch out for you and for your sovereignty. And if at the present time we saw any danger we would declare everything to you: but now the dream has had a trifling conclusion, and we ourselves are confident and advise you to be so also. As for this boy, send him out of your sight to the Persians and to his parents."

121 1 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐχάρη τε καὶ καλέσας τὸν Κῦρον ἔλεγε οἱ τάδε. "ὦ παῖ, σὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ δι' ὅσιν ὀνείρου οὐ τελέην ἠδίκηον, τῇ σεωυτοῦ δὲ μοίρῃ περίεις· νῦν ὧν ἴθι χαίρων ἐς Πέρσας, πομποὺς δὲ ἐγὼ ἅμα πέμψω. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖ πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα εὐρήσεις οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην τε τὸν βουκόλον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ."

121. Hearing this, Astyages was glad, and calling Cyrus, said, “My boy, I did you wrong because of a vision I had in a dream, that meant nothing, but by your own destiny you still live; now therefore, go to the Persians, and good luck go with you; I will send guides with you. When you get there you will find a father and mother unlike the cowherd, Mitradates, and his wife.”

122 1 ταῦτα εἶπας ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἀποπέμπει τὸν Κῦρον. νοστήσαντα δέ μιν ἐς τοῦ Καμβύσεω τὰ οἰκία ἐδέξαντο οἱ γεινάμενοι, καὶ δεξάμενοι ὥς ἐπύθοντο, μεγάλως ἀσπάζοντο οἷα δὴ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτίκα τότε τελευτῆσαι, ἰστορέον τε ὅτεω τρόπῳ περιγένοιτο. 2 ὁ δέ σφι ἔλεγε, φὰς πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ εἰδέναι ἀλλ’ ἡμαρτηκέναι πλείστον, κατ’ ὁδὸν δὲ πυθέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πάθην· ἐπίστασθαι μὲν γὰρ ὥς βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος εἶη παῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κεῖθεν ὁδοῦ τὸν πάντα λόγον τῶν πομπῶν πυθέσθαι. 3 τραφῆναι δὲ ἔλεγε ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βουκόλου γυναικός, ἥτε ταύτην αἰνέων διὰ παντός, ἣν τέ οἱ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα ἡ Κυνώ. οἱ δὲ τοκέες παραλαβόντες τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο, ἵνα θειοτέρως δοκῇ τοῖσι Πέρσησι περιεῖναι σφι ὁ παῖς, κατέβαλον φάτιν ὥς ἐκκείμενον Κῦρον κύων ἐξέθρεψε.

122. After saying this, Astyages sent Cyrus away. When he returned to Cambyses’ house, his parents received him there, and learning who he was they welcomed him enthusiastically, for they had supposed that long ago he had been killed, and they asked him how his life had been saved. Then he told them, and said that until now he had known nothing but been very deceived, but that on the way he had heard the whole story of his misfortune; for he had thought, he said, that Astyages’ cowherd was his father, but in his journey from the city his escort had told him the whole story. And he had been raised, he said, by the cowherd’s wife, and he was full of her praises, and in his tale he was constantly speaking of Cyno. Hearing this name, his parents circulated a story that Cyrus was suckled by a dog when exposed, thinking in this way to make the story of his salvation seem more marvellous to the Persians.

123 1 ἐνθεῦτεν μὲν ἡ φάτις αὕτη κεχώρηκε. Κύρῳ δὲ ἀνδρευμένῳ καὶ ἐόντι τῶν ἡλικίων ἀνδρηνότατῳ καὶ προσφιλεστάτῳ προσέκειτο ὁ Ἄρπαγος δῶρα πέμπων, τίσασθαι Ἀστυάγεα ἐπιθυμέων· ἀπ’ ἑωυτοῦ γὰρ ἐόντος ἰδιώτεω οὐκ ἐνώρα τιμωρίην ἐσομένην ἐς Ἀστυάγεα,

Κῦρον δὲ ὀρέων ἐπιτρεφόμενον ἐποιέετο σύμμαχον, τὰς πάθας τὰς Κύρου τῇσι ἐωυτοῦ ὁμοιούμενος. 2 πρὸ δ' ἔτι τούτου τάδε οἱ κατέργαστο· ἐόντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος πικροῦ ἐς τοὺς Μήδους, συμμίσγων ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ὁ Ἄρπαγος τῶν πρώτων Μήδων ἀνέπειθε ὡς χρή Κῦρον προστησαμένους Ἀστυάγεα παῦσαι τῆς βασιλείης. 3 κατεργασμένου δὲ οἱ τούτου καὶ ἐόντος ἐτοίμου, οὕτω δὴ τῷ Κύρῳ διαιτωμένῳ ἐν Πέρσῃσι βουλόμενος Ἄρπαγος δηλῶσαι τὴν ἐωυτοῦ γνώμην ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε ἅτε τῶν ὁδῶν φυλασσομενέων, ὁ δὲ ἐπιτεχνᾷται τοιόνδε· 4 λαγὸν μηχανησάμενος, καὶ ἀνασχίσας τούτου τὴν γαστέρα καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποτίλας, ὡς δὲ εἶχε οὕτω ἐσέθηκε βυβλίον, γράψας τὰ οἱ ἐδόκεε· ἀπορῥάψας δὲ τοῦ λαγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ δίκτυα δοὺς ἅτε θηρευτῇ τῶν οἰκετέων τῷ πιστοτάτῳ, ἀπέστελλε ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ ἀπὸ γλώσσης διδόντα τὸν λαγὸν Κύρῳ ἐπειπεῖν αὐτοχειρὴ μιν διελεῖν καὶ μηδένα οἱ ταῦτα ποιεῦντι παρεῖναι.

123. This then was the beginning of that legend. But as Cyrus grew up to be the manliest and best loved of his peers, Harpagus courted him and sent him gifts, wishing to be avenged on Astyages; for he saw no hope for a private man like himself of punishing Astyages, but as he saw Cyrus growing up, he tried to make him an ally, for he likened Cyrus' misfortune to his own. Even before this the following had been done by him: since Astyages was harsh toward the Medes, he associated with each of the chief Medes and persuaded them to make Cyrus their leader and depose Astyages. So much being ready and done, Harpagus wanted to reveal his intent to Cyrus, who then lived among the Persians. But the roads were guarded, and he had no plan for sending a message but this: he carefully slit the belly of a hare, and then leaving it as it was without further harm he put into it a paper on which he wrote what he thought best. Then he sewed up the hare's belly, and sent it to Persia by the most trusted of his servants, giving him nets to carry as if he were a huntsman. The messenger was instructed to give Cyrus the hare and tell him by word of mouth to cut it open with his own hands, with no one else present.

124 1 ταῦτά τε δὴ ὧν ἐπιτελέα ἐγίνετο καὶ ὁ Κῦρος παραλαβὼν τὸν λαγὸν ἀνέσχισε· εὐρὼν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ βυβλίον ἐνεὸν λαβὼν

ἐπελέγετο, τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔλεγε τάδε. “ὦ παῖ Καμβύσεω, σὲ γὰρ θεοὶ ἐπορωῶσι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτὲ ἐς τοσοῦτο τύχης ἀπείκευ· σύ νυν Ἀστυάγεα τὸν σεωυτοῦ φονέα τῖσαι. 2 κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τούτου προθυμίην τέθνηκας, τὸ δὲ κατὰ θεοὺς τε καὶ ἐμὲ περιεῖς· τά σε καὶ πάλαι δοκέω πάντα ἐκμεμαθηκέναι, σέο τε αὐτοῦ περὶ ὧς ἐπρήχθη, καὶ οἷα ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος πέπονθα, ὅτι σε οὐκ ἀπέκτεινα ἀλλὰ ἔδωκα τῷ βουκόλῳ. σύ νυν, ἣν βούλη ἐμοὶ πείθεσθαι, τῆς περ Ἀστυάγης ἄρχει χώρας, ταύτης ἀπάσης ἄρξεις. Πέρσας γὰρ ἀναπείσας ἀπίστασθαι στρατηλάτεε ἐπὶ Μήδους· 3 καὶ ἦν τε ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος ἀποδεχθῆω στρατηγὸς ἀντία σεῦ, ἔστι τοι τὰ σὺ βούλει, ἦν τε τῶν τις δοκίμων ἄλλος Μήδων· πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἀποστάντες ἀπ’ ἐκείνου καὶ γενόμενοι πρὸς σέο Ἀστυάγεα κατατρέχειν πειρήσονται. ὥς ὢν ἐτοίμου τοῦ γε ἐνθάδε ἐόντος, ποίειε ταῦτα καὶ ποίειε κατὰ τάχος.”

124. All this was done. Cyrus took the hare and slit it and read the paper which was in it; the writing was as follows: “Son of Cambyses, since the gods watch over you (otherwise you would not have prospered so) avenge yourself now on Astyages, your murderer; for thanks to his intention you are dead, while thanks to the gods, and me, you live. I expect that long ago you heard the story of what was done concerning you and how Astyages treated me because I did not kill you but gave you to the cowherd. If, then, you will listen to me, you shall rule all the country which is now ruled by Astyages. Persuade the Persians to rebel, and lead their army against the Medes; then you have your wish, whether I am appointed to command the army against you or some other notable man among the Medes: for they will of themselves revolt from Astyages and join you and try to pull him down. Seeing then that all is ready here, do as I say and do it quickly.”

125 1 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ἐφρόντιζε ὅτεω τρόπῳ σοφωτάτῳ Πέρσας ἀναπείσει ἀπίστασθαι, φροντίζων δὲ εὐρίσκεται ταῦτα καιριώτατα εἶναι· ἐποίειε δὴ ταῦτα. 2 γράψας ἐς βυβλίον τὰ ἐβούλετο, ἀλίην τῶν Περσέων ἐποιήσατο, μετὰ δὲ ἀναπτύξας τὸ βυβλίον καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἔφη Ἀστυαγέα μιν στρατηγὸν Περσέων ἀποδεικνύναι. “νῦν τε,” ἔφη λέγων, “ὦ Πέρσαι, προαγορεύω ὑμῖν παρεῖναι ἕκαστον ἔχοντα δρέπανον. Κῦρος μὲν ταῦτα προηγόρευσε.

ἔστι δὲ Πέρσεων συχνὰ γένεα, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ Κῦρος συνάλισε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ Μήδων. 3 ἔστι δὲ τάδε, ἐξ ὧν ὅλλοι πάντες ἀρτέεται Πέρσαι, Πασαργάδαι Μαράφιοι Μάσπιοι. τούτων Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ ἄριστοι, ἐν τοῖσι καὶ Ἀχαιμενίδαι εἰσὶ φρήτρη, ἔνθεν οἱ βασιλέες οἱ Περσεῖδαι γεγόνασι. 4 ἄλλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἶδε, Πανθιαλαῖοι Δηρουσιαῖοι Γερμάνιοι. οὗτοι μὲν πάντες ἀροτῆρες εἰσὶ, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι νομάδες, Δάοι Μάρδοι Δροπικοὶ Σαγάρτιοι.

125. When Cyrus read this, he deliberated as to what was the shrewdest way to persuade the Persians to revolt; and what he thought to be most effective, he did: writing what he liked on a paper, he assembled the Persians, and then unfolded the paper and declared that in it Astyages appointed him leader of the Persian armies. “Now,” he said in his speech, “I command you, men of Persia, to come, each provided with a sickle.” This is what Cyrus said. Now there are many tribes in Persia: those of them that Cyrus assembled and persuaded to revolt from the Medes were the Pasargadae, the Maraphii, and the Maspaii. On these all the other Persians depend. The chief tribe is that of the Pasargadae; to them belongs the clan of the Achaemenidae, the royal house of Persia. The other Persian tribes are the Panthialaei, the Derusiaei, and the Germanii, all tillers of the soil, and the Dai, the Mardi, the Dropici, the Sagartii, all wandering herdsmen.

126 1 ὥς δὲ παρῆσαν ἅπαντες ἔχοντες τὸ προειρημένον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος, ἦν γάρ τις χῶρος τῆς Περσικῆς ἀκανθώδης ὅσον τε ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα σταδίους ἢ εἴκοσι πάντη, τοῦτον σφι τὸν χῶρον προεῖπε ἐξημερῶσαι ἐν ἡμέρῃ. 2 ἐπιτελεσάντων δὲ τῶν Περσέων τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον, δεύτερα σφι προεῖπε ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην παρεῖναι λελουμένους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὰ τε αἰπόλια καὶ τὰς ποιμένας καὶ τὰ βουκόλια ὁ Κῦρος πάντα τοῦ πατρὸς συναλίσας ἐς τὠντὸ ἔθυσσε καὶ παρεσκεύαζε ὥς δεξόμενος τὸν Περσέων στρατόν, πρὸς δὲ οἶνω τε καὶ σιτίοισι ὥς ἐπιτηδεοτάτοισι. 3 ἀπικομένους δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τοὺς Πέρσας κατακλίνας ἐς λειμῶνα εὐώχεε. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, εἶρετο σφέας ὁ Κῦρος κότερα τὰ τῇ προτεραίῃ εἶχον ἢ τὰ παρεόντα σφι εἶη αἰρετώτερα. 4 οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν πολλὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον· τὴν μὲν γὰρ προτέρην ἡμέρην πάντα σφι κακὰ ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ τότε

παρεοῦσαν πάντα ἀγαθά. παραλαβὼν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ Κῦρος παρεγύμνου τὸν πάντα λόγον, λέγων 5 “ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὕτω ὑμῖν ἔχει. βουλομένοισι μὲν ἐμέο πείθεσθαι ἔστι τάδε τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἀγαθά, οὐδένα πόνον δουλοπρεπέα ἔχουσι, μὴ βουλομένοισι δὲ ἐμέο πείθεσθαι εἰσὶ ὑμῖν πόνοι τῷ χιζῶ παραπλήσιοι ἀναρίθμητοι. 6 νῦν ὧν ἐμέο πειθόμενοι γίνεσθε ἐλεύθεροι. αὐτός τε γὰρ δοκέω θεῇ τύχῃ γεγωνῶς τάδε ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι, καὶ ὑμέας ἡγῆμαι ἄνδρας Μήδων εἶναι οὐ φαυλοτέρους οὔτε τᾶλλα οὔτε τὰ πολέμια. ὥς ὧν ἐχόντων ὦδε, ἀπίστασθε ἀπ’ Ἀστυάγεος τὴν ταχίστην.”

126. So when they all came with sickles as ordered, Cyrus commanded them to reclaim in one day a thorny tract of Persia, of two and one quarter or two and one half miles each way in extent. The Persians accomplished the task appointed; Cyrus then commanded them to wash themselves and come the next day; meanwhile, collecting his father's goats and sheep and oxen in one place, he slaughtered and prepared them as a feast for the Persian host, providing also wine and all the foods that were most suitable. When the Persians came on the next day he had them sit and feast in a meadow. After dinner he asked them which they liked more: their task of yesterday or their present pastime. They answered that the difference was great: all yesterday they had had nothing but evil, to-day nothing but good. Then, taking up their word, Cyrus laid bare his whole purpose, and said: "This is your situation, men of Persia: obey me and you shall have these good things and ten thousand others besides with no toil and slavery; but if you will not obey me, you will have labors unnumbered like your toil of yesterday. Now, then, do as I tell you, and win your freedom. For I think that I myself was born by a divine chance to undertake this work; and I hold you fully as good men as the Medes in war and in everything else. All this is true; therefore revolt from Astyages quickly now!"

127 1 Πέρσαι μὲν νυν προστάτω ἐπιλαβόμενοι ἄσμενοι ἐλευθεροῦντο, καὶ πάλαι δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι ὑπὸ Μήδων ἄρχεσθαι. Ἀστυάγης δὲ ὥς ἐπύθετο Κῦρον ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκάλεε αὐτόν. 2 ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκέλευε τὸν ἄγγελον ἀπαγγέλλειν ὅτι πρότερον ἥξι παρ’ ἐκείνων ἢ Ἀστυάγης αὐτὸς βουλήσεται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης Μήδους τε ὥπλισε πάντας, καὶ στρατηγὸν

αὐτῶν ὥστε θεοβλαβῆς ἐὼν Ἄρπαγον ἀπέδεξε, λήθην ποιούμενος τὰ μιν ἐόργεε. 3 ὥς δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι στρατευσάμενοι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συνέμισγον, οἱ μὲν τινὲς αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, ὅσοι μὴ τοῦ λόγου μετέσχον, οἱ δὲ αὐτομόλεον πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι ἐθελοκάκεόν τε καὶ ἔφευγον.

127. The Persians had long been discontent that the Medes ruled them, and now having got a champion they were glad to win their freedom. But when Astyages heard that Cyrus was about this business, he sent a messenger to summon him; Cyrus told the messenger to take back word that Astyages would see him sooner than he liked. Hearing this, Astyages armed all his Medes, and was distracted by Providence so that he forgot what he had done to Harpagus, and appointed him to command the army. So when the Medes marched out and engaged with the Persians, those who were not in on the plan fought, while others deserted to the enemy, and most were deliberate cowards and ran.

128 1 διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ. στρατεύματος αἰσχυρῶς, ὥς ἐπύθετο τάχιστα ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἔφη ἀπειλέων τῷ Κύρῳ “ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ὥς Κῦρός γε χαίρήσει.” 2 τοσαῦτα εἶπας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν Μάγων τοὺς ὀνειροπόλους, οἱ μιν ἀνέγνωσαν μετεῖναι τὸν Κῦρον, τούτους ἀνεσκολόπισε, μετὰ δὲ ὥπλισε τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ τῶν Μήδων, νέους τε καὶ πρεσβύτας ἄνδρας. 3 ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ τούτους καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐσώθη, καὶ αὐτὸς τε Ἀστυάγης ἐξωγήθη καὶ τοὺς ἐξήγαγε τῶν Μήδων ἀπέβαλε.

128. Thus the Median army was shamefully scattered. As soon as Astyages heard, he sent a threatening message to Cyrus: “Nevertheless, Cyrus shall not rejoice”; and with that he took the Magi who interpreted dreams, who had persuaded him to let Cyrus go free, and impaled them; then he armed the Medes who were left in the city, the very young and very old men. Leading these out, and engaging the Persians, he was beaten: Astyages himself was taken prisoner, and lost the Median army which he led.

129 1 ἐόντι δὲ αἰχμαλώτῳ τῷ Ἀστυάγεϊ προσστὰς ὁ Ἄρπαγος κατέχαιρέ τε καὶ κατεκερτόμεε, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων ἐς αὐτὸν θυμαλγέα ἔπεα, καὶ δὴ καὶ εἴρετό μιν πρὸς τὸ ἐωυτοῦ δεῖπνον, τὸ μιν ἐκείνος σαρεῖ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθοίνησε, ὃ τι εἶη ἢ ἐκείνου δουλοσύνη ἀντὶ τῆς

βασιλείης. 2 ὁ δέ μιν προσιδὼν ἀντείρετο εἰ ἑωυτοῦ ποιεῖται τὸ Κύρου ἔργον. Ἄρπαγος δὲ ἔφη, αὐτὸς γὰρ γράψαι, τὸ πρῆγμα ἑωυτοῦ δὴ δικαίως εἶναι. 3 Ἀστυάγης δέ μιν ἀπέφαινε τῷ λόγῳ σκαιότατόν τε καὶ ἀδικώτατον ἔοντα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, σκαιότατον μὲν γε, εἰ παρεὼν αὐτῷ βασιλέα γενέσθαι, εἰ δὴ δι' ἑωυτοῦ γε ἐπρήχθη τὰ παρεόντα, ἄλλῳ περιέθηκε τὸ κράτος, ἀδικώτατον δέ, ὅτι τοῦ δείχνου εἵνεκεν Μήδους κατεδούλωσε. 4 εἰ γὰρ δὴ δεῖν πάντως περιθεῖναι ἄλλῳ τεῷ τὴν βασιλίην καὶ μὴ αὐτὸν ἔχειν, δικαιότερον εἶναι Μήδων τεῷ περιβαλεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ Περσέων. νῦν δὲ Μήδους μὲν ἀναιτίους τούτου ἔοντας δούλους ἀντὶ δεσποτέων γεγονέναι, Πέρσας δὲ δούλους ἔοντας τὸ πρὶν Μήδων νῦν γεγονέναι δεσπότας.

129. When Astyages was a captive, Harpagus came and exulted over him and taunted him, and besides much other bitter mockery he recalled his banquet, when Astyages had fed Harpagus his son's flesh, and asked Astyages what it was like to be a slave after having been a king. Fixing his gaze on Harpagus, Astyages asked, "Do you imagine that this, which Cyrus has done, is your work?" "It was I," said the other, "who wrote the letter; the accomplishment of the work is rightly mine." "Then," said Astyages, "you stand confessed the most foolish and most unjust man on earth; most foolish, in giving another the throne which you might have had for yourself, if the present business is indeed your doing; most unjust, in enslaving the Medes because of that banquet. For if in any event another and not you had to possess the royal power, then in justice some Mede should have had it, not a Persian: but now you have made the Medes, who did you no harm, slaves instead of masters and the Persians, who were the slaves, are now the masters of the Medes."

130 1 Ἀστυάγης μὲν νυν βασιλεύσας ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα οὕτω τῆς βασιλείης κατεπαύσθη, Μῆδοι δὲ ὑπέκυψαν Πέρσῃσι διὰ τὴν τούτου πικρότητα, ἄρξαντες τῆς ἄνω Ἄλυος ποταμοῦ Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἔτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δυὼν δέοντα, πάρεξ ἢ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἦρχον. 2 ὑστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ μετεμέλησέ τέ σφι ταῦτα ποιήσασιν καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου, ἀποστάντες δὲ ὀπίσω κατεστράφησαν μάχῃ νικηθέντες. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀστυάγεος οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μῆδοισι ἦρχον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς Ἀσίης. 3

Ἀστυάγεα δὲ Κῦρος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας εἶχε παρ' ἐωυτῷ, ἐς ὃ ἐτελεύτησε. [Οὕτω δὴ Κῦρος γενόμενός τε καὶ τραφεὶς καὶ ἐβασίλευσε καὶ Κροῖσον ὕστερον τούτων ἄρξαντα ἀδικίης κατεστρέψατο, ὥς εἴρηταί μοι πρότερον. Τοῦτον δὲ καταστρεψάμενος οὕτω πάσης τῆς Ἀσίας ἥρξε.]

130. Thus Astyages was deposed from his sovereignty after a reign of thirty-five years: and the Medes had to bow down before the Persians because of Astyages' cruelty. They had ruled all Asia beyond the Halys for one hundred and twenty-eight years, from which must be subtracted the time when the Scythians held sway. At a later time they repented of what they now did, and rebelled against Darius ; but they were defeated in battle and brought back into subjection. But now, in Astyages' time, Cyrus and the Persians rose in revolt against the Medes, and from this time ruled Asia. As for Astyages, Cyrus did him no further harm, and kept him in his own house until Astyages died. This is the story of the birth and upbringing of Cyrus, and of how he became king; and afterwards, as I have already related, he subjugated Croesus in punishment for the unprovoked wrong done him; and after this victory he became sovereign of all Asia.

131 1 Πέρσας δὲ οἶδα νόμοισι τοιοῖσιδε χρεωμένους, ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους ἰδρύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι ποιεῦσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρουσι, ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς κατὰ περ οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶναι· 2 οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὀρέων ἀναβαίνοντες θυσίας ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες· θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γῇ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι. 3 τούτοις μὲν δὴ θύουσι μούνοισι ἀρχῇθεν, ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανῇ θύειν, παρὰ τε Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀραβίων. καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἀλιλάτ, Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν.

131. As to the customs of the Persians, I know them to be these. It is not their custom to make and set up statues and temples and altars, but those who do such things they think foolish, because, I suppose, they have never believed the gods to be like men, as the Greeks do; but they call the whole circuit of heaven Zeus, and to him they

sacrifice on the highest peaks of the mountains; they sacrifice also to the sun and moon and earth and fire and water and winds. From the beginning, these are the only gods to whom they have ever sacrificed; they learned later to sacrifice to the “heavenly” Aphrodite from the Assyrians and Arabians. She is called by the Assyrians Mylitta, by the Arabians Alilat, by the Persians Mitra.

132 1 θυσίῃ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι περὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους θεοὺς ἥδε κατέστηκε· οὔτε βωμοὺς ποιεῦνται οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι μέλλοντες θύειν, οὐ σπονδῇ χρέωνται, οὐκὶ αὐλῶ, οὐ στέμμασι, οὐκὶ οὐλῇσι· τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκάστω θύειν θέλῃ, ἐς χώρον καθαρὸν ἀγαγὼν τὸ κτῆνος καλέει τὸν θεόν, ἐστεφανωμένος τὸν τιάραν μυρσίνῃ μάλιστα. 2 ἑωυτῷ μὲν δὴ τῷ θύοντι ἰδίῃ μούνῳ οὐ οἱ ἐγγίνεται ἀρᾶσθαι ἀγαθὰ, ὁ δὲ τοῖσι πᾶσι Πέρσησι κατεύχεται εὖ γίνεσθαι καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασι Πέρσησι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται. ἐπεὰν δὲ διαμιστύλας κατὰ μέλεα τὸ ἱρήιον ἐψῆσῃ τὰ κρέα ὑποπάσας ποιήν ὡς ἀπαλωτάτην, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τρίφυλλον, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔθηκε ὧν πάντα τὰ κρέα. 3 διαθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστὼς ἐπαεῖδει θεογονίην, οἷν δὴ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαοιδήν· ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ Μάγου οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιέεσθαι. ἐπισχὼν δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀποφέρεται ὁ θύσας τὰ κρέα καὶ χρᾶται ὃ τι μιν λόγος αἰρέει.

132. And this is their method of sacrifice to the aforesaid gods: when about to sacrifice, they do not build altars or kindle fire, employ libations, or music, or fillets, or barley meal: when a man wishes to sacrifice to one of the gods, he leads a beast to an open space and then, wearing a wreath on his tiara, of myrtle usually, calls on the god. To pray for blessings for himself alone is not lawful for the sacrificer; rather, he prays that the king and all the Persians be well; for he reckons himself among them. He then cuts the victim limb from limb into portions, and, after boiling the flesh, spreads the softest grass, trefoil usually, and places all of it on this. When he has so arranged it, a Magus comes near and chants over it the song of the birth of the gods, as the Persian tradition relates it; for no sacrifice can be offered without a Magus. Then after a little while the sacrificer carries away the flesh and uses it as he pleases.

133 1 ἡμέρην δὲ ἀπασέων μάλιστα ἐκείνην τιμᾶν νομίζουσι τῇ ἑκάστος ἐγένετο. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πλέω δαῖτα τῶν ἀλλέων δικαιοῦσι

προτίθεσθαι· ἐν τῇ οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτῶν βοῦν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον προτιθέαται ὅλους ὀπτοὺς ἐν καμίνοις, οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων προτιθέαται. 2 σίτοις δὲ ὀλίγοις χρέωνται, ἐπιφορήμασι δὲ πολλοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἀλέσι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασὶ Πέρσαι τοὺς Ἑλληνας σιτεομένους πεινῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι σφι ἀπὸ δείπνου παραφορέεται οὐδὲν λόγου ἄξιον· εἰ δέ τι παραφέροιτο, ἐσθίοντας ἂν οὐ παύεσθαι. 3 οἶνῳ δὲ κάρτα προσκέαται, καὶ σφι οὐκ ἐμέσαι ἔξεστι, οὐκὶ οὐρῆσαι ἀντίον ἄλλου. ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω φυλάσσεται, μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ ἐώθασιν βουλευέσθαι τὰ σπουδαιέστατα τῶν πρηγμάτων· 4 τὸ δ' ἂν ἄδη σφι βουλευομένοις, τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραίῃ νήφουσι προτιθεῖ ὁ στέγάρχος, ἐν τοῦ ἂν ἐόντες βουλευόμενοι, καὶ ἦν μὲν ἄδη καὶ νήφουσι, χρέωνται αὐτῷ, ἦν δὲ μὴ ἄδη, μετιεῖσι. τὰ δ' ἂν νήφοντες προβουλεύσωνται, μεθυσκόμενοι ἐπιδιαγινώσκουσι.

133. The day which every man values most is his own birthday. On this day, he thinks it right to serve a more abundant meal than on other days: oxen or horses or camels or asses, roasted whole in ovens, are set before the rich; the poorer serve the lesser kinds of cattle. Their courses are few, the dainties that follow many, and not all served together. This is why the Persians say of Greeks that they rise from table still hungry, because not much dessert is set before them: were this too given to Greeks (the Persians say) they would never stop eating. They are very partial to wine. No one may vomit or urinate in another's presence: this is prohibited among them. Moreover, it is their custom to deliberate about the gravest matters when they are drunk; and what they approve in their deliberations is proposed to them the next day, when they are sober, by the master of the house where they deliberate; and if, being sober, they still approve it, they act on it, but if not, they drop it. And if they have deliberated about a matter when sober, they decide upon it when they are drunk.

134 1 ἐντυγχάνοντες δ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι, τῷδε ἂν τις διαγνοίῃ εἰ ὅμοιοί εἰσι οἱ συντυγχάνοντες· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους φιλέουσι τοῖσι στόμασι· ἦν δὲ ἢ οὔτερος ὑποδεέστερος ὀλίγῳ, τὰς παρειὰς φιλέονται· ἦν δὲ πολλῷ ἢ οὔτερος ἀγεννέστερος, προσπίπτων προσκυνέει τὸν ἕτερον. 2 τιμῶσι δὲ ἐκ

πάντων τοὺς ἄγχιστα ἐωυτῶν οἰκέοντας μετὰ γε ἐωυτούς, δευτέρα δὲ τοὺς δευτέρους· μετὰ δὲ κατὰ λόγον προβαίνοντες τιμῶσι· ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἐωυτῶν ἐκαστάτω οἰκημένους ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται, νομίζοντες ἐωυτοὺς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους κατὰ λόγον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκαστάτω οἰκέοντας ἀπὸ ἐωυτῶν κακίστους εἶναι. 3 ἐπὶ δὲ Μῆδων ἀρχὸν τῶν καὶ ἦρχε τὰ ἔθνεα ἀλλήλων, συναπάντων μὲν Μῆδοι καὶ τῶν ἄγχιστα οἰκούντων σφίσι, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁμούρων, οἱ δὲ μάλα τῶν ἐχομένων, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ λόγον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τιμῶσι· προέβαινε γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἔθνος ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεῦον.

134. When one man meets another on the road, it is easy to see if the two are equals; for, if they are, they kiss each other on the lips without speaking; if the difference in rank is small, the cheek is kissed; if it is great, the humbler bows and does obeisance to the other. They honor most of all those who live nearest them, next those who are next nearest, and so going ever onwards they assign honor by this rule: those who dwell farthest off they hold least honorable of all; for they think that they are themselves in all regards by far the best of all men, that the rest have only a proportionate claim to merit, until those who live farthest away have least merit of all. Under the rule of the Medes, one tribe would even govern another; the Medes held sway over all alike and especially over those who lived nearest to them; these ruled their neighbors, and the neighbors in turn those who came next to them, on the same scheme by which the Persians assign honor; for the nation kept advancing its rule and dominion.

135 1 ξεινικὰ δὲ νόμια Πέρσαι προσίενται ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσθῆτα νομίσαντες τῆς ἐωυτῶν εἶναι καλλίω φορέουσι, καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θώρηκας· καὶ εὐπαθείας τε παντοδαπὰς πυνθανόμενοι ἐπιτηδεύουσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παισὶ μίσγονται. γαμέουσι δὲ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας γυναικας, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας παλλακὰς κτῶνται.

135. But the Persians more than all men welcome foreign customs. They wear the Median dress, thinking it more beautiful than their own, and the Egyptian cuirass in war. Their luxurious practices are of all kinds, and all borrowed: the Greeks taught them pederasty.

Every Persian marries many lawful wives, and keeps still more concubines.

136 1 ἀνδραγαθίη δὲ αὕτη ἀποδέδεκται, μετὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἀγαθόν, ὃς ἂν πολλοὺς ἀποδέξῃ παῖδας· τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποδεικνύντι δῶρα ἐκπέμπει βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἡγέεται ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι. 2 παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος τρία μούνα, ἰχνεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ ἢ πενταέτης γένηται, οὐκ ἀπικνέεται ἐς ὄψιν τῷ πατρί, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῇσι γυναῖξιν δίαίταν ἔχει. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα τοῦτο οὕτω ποιέεται, ἵνα ἢν ἀποθάνῃ τρεφόμενος, μηδεμίαν ἄσιν τῷ πατρὶ προσβάλῃ.

136. After valor in battle it is accounted noble to father the greatest number of sons: the king sends gifts yearly to him who gets most. Strength, they believe, is in numbers. They educate their boys from five to twenty years old, and teach them only three things: riding and archery and honesty. A boy is not seen by his father before he is five years old, but lives with the women: the point of this is that, if the boy should die in the interval of his rearing, the father would suffer no grief.

137 1 αἰνέω μὲν νυν τόνδε τὸν νόμον, αἰνέω δὲ καὶ τόνδε, τὸ μὴ μιῆς αἰτίης εἵνεκα μήτε αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα φονεύειν, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων μηδένα τῶν ἑωυτοῦ οἰκετέων ἐπὶ μιῇ αἰτίῃ ἀνήκεστον πάθος ἔρδειν· ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος ἦν εὐρίσκη πλέω τε καὶ μέζω τὰ ἀδικήματα ἑόντα τῶν ὑπουργημάτων, οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χρᾶται. 2 ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ οὐδένα κω λέγουσι τὸν ἑωυτοῦ πατέρα οὐδὲ μητέρα, ἀλλὰ ὁκόσα ἤδη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο, πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην φασὶ ἀναζητούμενα ταῦτα ἀνευρεθῆναι ἤτοι ὑποβολιμαῖα ἑόντα ἢ μοιχίδια· οὐ γὰρ δὴ φασὶ οἶκος εἶναι τὸν γε ἀληθέως τοκέα ὑπὸ τοῦ, ἑωυτοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθνήσκειν.

137. This is a law which I praise; and it is a praiseworthy law, too, which does not allow the king himself to slay any one for a single offense, or any other Persian to do incurable harm to one of his servants for one offense. Not until an accounting shows that the offender's wrongful acts are more and greater than his services may a man give rein to his anger. They say that no one has ever yet killed his father or mother; when such a thing has been done, it always

turns out on inquest that the doer is shown to be a changeling or the fruit of adultery; for it is not to be believed (say they) that a son should kill his true parent.

138 1 ἄσσα δέ σφι ποιεῖν οὐκ ἔξεστι, ταῦτα οὐδὲ λέγειν ἔξεστι. αἰσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νενόμισται, δευτέρα δὲ τὸ ὀφείλιν χρέος, πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἵνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαίην φασὶ εἶναι τὸν ὀφείλοντα καὶ τι ψεῦδος λέγειν. ὃς ἂν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν λέπρην ἢ λεύκην ἔχη, ἐς πόλιν οὗτος οὐ κατέρχεται οὐδὲ συμμίσγεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Πέρσησι· φασὶ δέ μιν ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἀμαρτόντα τι ταῦτα ἔχειν. 2 ξεῖνον δὲ πάντα τὸν λαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ τουτέων πολλοὶ ἐξελαύνουσι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καὶ τὰς λευκάς περιστεράς, τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίην ἐπιφέροντες. ἐς ποταμὸν δὲ οὔτε ἐνουρέουσι οὔτε ἐμπτύουσι, οὐ χεῖρας ἐναπονίζονται, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα περιορῶσι, ἀλλὰ σέβονται ποταμοὺς μάλιστα.

138. Furthermore, of what they may not do, they may not speak, either. They hold lying to be the most disgraceful thing of all and next to that debt; for which they have many other reasons, but this in particular: it is inevitable (so they say) that the debtor also speak some falsehood. The citizen who has leprosy or the white sickness may not come into town or mingle with other Persians. They say that he is so afflicted because he has sinned in some way against the sun. Every stranger who gets such a disease, many drive out of the country; and they do the same to white doves, for the reason given. Rivers they especially revere; they will neither urinate nor spit nor wash their hands in them, nor let anyone else do so.

139 1 καὶ τόδε ἄλλο σφι ὧδε συμπέπτωκε γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέληθε, ἡμέας μέντοι οὐ· τὰ οὐνόματά σφι ἐόντα ὅμοια τοῖσι σώμασι καὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείῃ τελευτῶσι πάντα ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ γράμμα, τὸ Δωριεὺς μὲν σάν καλέουσι, Ἴωνες δὲ σίγμα· ἐς τοῦτο διζήμενος εὐρήσεις τελευτῶντα τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ τὰ μὲν τὰ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως.

139. There is another thing that always happens among them; we have noted it although the Persians have not: their names, which agree with the nature of their persons and their nobility, all end in the same letter, that which the Dorians call san, and the Ionians sigma; you will find, if you search, that not some but all Persian names alike

end in this letter.

140 1 ταῦτα μὲν ἀτρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν εἰδὼς εἰπεῖν· τάδε μέντοι ὡς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται καὶ οὐ σαφηνέως περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, ὡς οὐ πρότερον θάπτεται ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω ὁ νέκυς πρὶν ἂν ὑπ' ὄρνιθος ἢ κυνὸς ἐλκυσθῇ. 2 Μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως οἶδα ταῦτα ποιέοντας· ἐμφανέως γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦσι. κατακηρώσαντες δὲ ὦν τὸν νέκυν Πέρσαι γῇ κρύπτουσι. Μάγοι δὲ κεχωρίδαται πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱερέων. 3 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνεύουσι ἔμψυχον μηδὲν κτείνειν, εἰ μὴ ὅσα θύουσι· οἱ δὲ δὴ Μάγοι αὐτοχειρὶ πάντα πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου κτείνουνσι, καὶ ἀγώνισμα μέγα τοῦτο ποιεῦνται, κτείνοντες ὁμοίως μύρμηκας τε καὶ ὄφεις καὶ τᾶλλα ἐρπετὰ καὶ πετεινά. καὶ ἀμφὶ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ ἐχέτω ὡς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐνομίσθη, ἄνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.

140. So much I can say of them from my own certain knowledge. But there are other matters concerning the dead which are secretly and obscurely told: how the dead bodies of Persians are not buried before they have been mangled by birds or dogs. That this is the way of the Magi, I know for certain; for they do not conceal the practice. But this is certain, that before the Persians bury the body in earth they embalm it in wax. These Magi are as unlike the priests of Egypt as they are unlike all other men: for the priests consider it sacrilege to kill anything that lives, except what they sacrifice; but the Magi kill with their own hands every creature, except dogs and men; they kill all alike, ants and snakes, creeping and flying things, and take great pride in it. Leaving this custom to be such as it has been from the first, I return now to my former story.

141 1 Ἴωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολέες, ὡς οἱ Λυδοὶ τάχιστα κατεστράφατο ὑπὸ Περσέων, ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδεις παρὰ Κῦρον, ἐθέλοντες ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τοῖσι καὶ Κροίσῳ ἦσαν κατήκοοι. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὰ προΐσχοντο ἔλεξέ σφι λόγον, ἄνδρα φὰς αὐλητὴν ἰδόντα ἰχθῦς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ αὐλέειν, δοκέοντα σφέας ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἐς γῆν· 2 ὡς δὲ ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος, λαβεῖν ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ περιβαλεῖν τε πλῆθος πολλὸν τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ ἐξιρύσαι, ἰδόντα δὲ παλλομένους εἰπεῖν ἄρα αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθῦς “παύεσθέ μοι ὀρχεόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμέο αὐλέοντος ἠθέλετε ἐκβαίνειν ὀρχεόμενοι.” 3 Κῦρος μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον τοῖσι Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι

Αἰολεῦσι τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἔλεξε, ὅτι δὴ οἱ Ἴωνες πρότερον αὐτοῦ Κύρου δεηθέντος δι' ἀγγέλων ἀπίστασθαι σφέας ἀπὸ Κροίσου οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, τότε δὲ κατεργασμένων τῶν πρηγμάτων ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι πείθεσθαι Κύρῳ. 4 ὁ μὲν δὴ ὀργῇ ἐχόμενος ἔλεγε σφι τάδε· Ἴωνες δὲ ὥς ἤκουσαν τούτων ἀνενειχθέντων ἐς τὰς πόλεις, τείχεά τε περιβάλλοντο ἕκαστοι καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐς Πανιώνιον οἱ ἄλλοι, πλὴν Μιλησίων· πρὸς μούνους γὰρ τούτους ὄρκιον Κῦρος ἐποιήσατο ἐπ' οἷσι περ ὁ Λυδός. τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Ἴωσι ἔδοξε κοινῷ λόγῳ πέμπειν ἀγγέλους ἐς Σπάρτην δεησομένους Ἴωσι τιμωρέειν.

141. As soon as the Lydians had been subjugated by the Persians, the Ionians and Aeolians sent messengers to Cyrus, offering to be his subjects on the same terms as those which they had under Croesus. After hearing what they proposed, Cyrus told them a story. Once, he said, there was a flute-player who saw fish in the sea and played upon his flute, thinking that they would come out on to the land. Disappointed of his hope, he cast a net and gathered it in and took out a great multitude of fish; and seeing them leaping, "You had best," he said, "stop your dancing now; you would not come out and dance before, when I played to you." The reason why Cyrus told the story to the Ionians and Aeolians was that the Ionians, who were ready to obey him when the victory was won, had before refused when he sent a message asking them to revolt from Croesus. So he answered them in anger. But when the message came to the Ionians in their cities, they fortified themselves with walls, and assembled in the Panionion, all except the Milesians, with whom alone Cyrus made a treaty on the same terms as that which they had with the Lydians. The rest of the Ionians resolved to send envoys in the name of them all to Sparta, to ask help for the Ionians.

142 1 οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες οὗτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἐστί, τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὥρέων ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτύγγανον ἰδρυσάμενοι πόλεις πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· 2 οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς χωρία τῷτὸ ποιεῖι τῇ Ἰωνίῃ οὔτε τὰ κάτω οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ ὑγροῦ πιεζόμενα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ ἀνχμῶδεος. 3 γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων. Μίλητος μὲν αὐτέων πρώτη κέεται πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, μετὰ δὲ

Μυοῦς τε καὶ Πριήγη. 4 αὗται μὲν ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοίκηνται κατὰ ταῦτὰ διαλεγόμεναι σφίσι, αἶδε δὲ ἐν τῇ Λυδίῃ, Ἐφεσος Κολοφὼν Λέβεδος Τέως Κλαζομεναὶ Φώκαια· αὗται δὲ αἱ πόλεις τῆσι πρότερον λεχθείησι ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλῶσσαν οὐδέν, σφισι δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσι. ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι Ἰάδες πόλεις, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέεται, Σάμον τε καὶ Χίον, ἡ δὲ μία ἐν τῇ ἡπειρῷ ἱδρύται, Ἐρυθραί. Χῖοι μὲν νυν καὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι κατὰ τὸντὸ διαλέγονται, Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν μῦνοι. οὗτοι χαρακτηρὲς γλώσσης τέσσερες γίνονται.

142. Now these Ionians possessed the Panionion, and of all men whom we know, they happened to found their cities in places with the loveliest of climate and seasons. For neither to the north of them nor to the south does the land effect the same thing as in Ionia [nor to the east nor to the west], affected here by the cold and wet, there by the heat and drought. They do not all have the same speech but four different dialects. Miletus lies farthest south among them, and next to it come Myus and Priene; these are settlements in Caria, and they have a common language; Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomenae, Phocaea, all of them in Lydia, have a language in common which is wholly different from the speech of the three former cities. There are yet three Ionian cities, two of them situated on the islands of Samos and Chios, and one, Erythrae, on the mainland; the Chians and Erythraeans speak alike, but the Samians have a language which is their own and no one else's. It is thus seen that there are four modes of speech.

143 1 τούτων δὴ ὧν τῶν Ἰόνων οἱ Μιλήσιοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπη τοῦ φόβου, ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν νησιώτησι ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὔτε γὰρ Φοίνικες ἦσαν κω Περσέων κατήκοοι οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ναυβάται. 2 ἀπεσχίσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰόνων οὗτοι κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἀσθενέος δὲ ἐόντος τοῦ παντός τότε Ἑλληνικοῦ γένεος, πολλῶ δὴ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ Ἰωνικὸν καὶ λόγου ἐλαχίστου· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Ἀθῆναι, ἦν οὐδέν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον. 3 οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ οὔνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἴωνες κεκληθῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονται μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὐνόματι· αἱ δὲ δωδέκα πόλεις αὗται τῷ τε οὐνόματι ἡγάλλοντο καὶ ἱρὸν ἰδρύσαντο ἐπὶ

σφέων αὐτέων, τῷ οὔνομα ἔθεντο Πανιώνιον, ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἰώνων (οὐδ' ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ μετασχεῖν ὅτι μὴ Σμυρναῖοι)·

143. Among these Ionians, the Milesians were safe from the danger (for they had made a treaty), and the islanders among them had nothing to fear: for the Phoenicians were not yet subjects of the Persians, nor were the Persians themselves mariners. But those of Asia were cut off from the rest of the Ionians only in the way that I shall show. The whole Hellenic stock was then small, and the last of all its branches and the least regarded was the Ionian; for it had no considerable city except Athens. Now the Athenians and the rest would not be called Ionians, but spurned the name; even now the greater number of them seem to me to be ashamed of it; but the twelve cities aforesaid gloried in this name, and founded a holy place for themselves which they called the Panionion, and agreed among themselves to allow no other Ionians to use it (nor in fact did any except the men of Smyrna ask to be admitted);

144 1 κατὰ περ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρας Δωριέες, πρότερον δὲ ἑξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται [ῶν] μηδαμοὺς ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοίκων Δωριέων ἐς τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἱρόν ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήσαν τῆς μετοχῆς, 2 ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖσι νικῶσι, καὶ τούτους χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ. 3 ἀνὴρ ὦν Ἀλικαρνησσεύς, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀγασικλῆς, νικήσας τὸν νόμον κατηλόγησε, φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐωυτοῦ οἰκία προσεπασσάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἱ πέντε πόλεις, Λίνδος καὶ Ἰήλυσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος ἐξεκλήσαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἑκτὴν πόλιν Ἀλικαρνησόν. τοῦτοισι μὲν νυν οὗτοι ταύτην τὴν ζημίην ἐπέθηκαν.

144. just as the Dorians of what is now the country of the “Five Cities” — formerly the country of the “Six Cities” — forbid admitting any of the neighboring Dorians to the Triopian temple, and even barred from using it those of their own group who had broken the temple law. For long ago, in the games in honor of Triopian Apollo, they offered certain bronze tripods to the victors; and those

who won these were not to carry them away from the temple but dedicate them there to the god. Now when a man of Halicarnassus called Agasicles won, he disregarded this law, and, carrying the tripod away, nailed it to the wall of his own house. For this offense the five cities — Lindus, Ialysus, Camirus, Cos, and Cnidus — forbade the sixth city — Halicarnassus — to share in the use of the temple. Such was the penalty imposed on the Halicarnassians.

145 1 *δυώδεκα δὲ μοι δοκέουσι πόλιας ποιήσασθαι οἱ Ἴωνες καὶ οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι πλεῦνας ἐσδέξασθαι τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἶκεον, δυώδεκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρεα, κατὰ περ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἴωνας δυώδεκα ἐστὶ μέρεα, Πελλήνη μὲν γε πρώτη πρὸς Σικυῶνος, μετὰ δὲ Αἴγειρα καὶ Αἰγαί, ἐν τῇ Κρᾶθις ποταμὸς ἀείναος ἐστί, ἀπ' ὅτεν ὁ ἐν Ἰταλίῃ ποταμὸς τὸ οὖνομα ἔσχε, καὶ Βοῦρα καὶ Ἑλική, ἐς τὴν κατέφυγον Ἴωνες ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες, καὶ Αἰγίον καὶ Ῥύπες καὶ Πατρέες καὶ Φαρέες καὶ Ὀλένος, ἐν τῷ Πεῖρος ποταμὸς μέγας ἐστί, καὶ Δύμη καὶ Τριταιέες, οἱ μούνοι τούτων μεσόγαιοι οἰκέουσι. ταῦτα δυώδεκα μέρεα νῦν Ἀχαιῶν ἐστὶ καὶ τότε γε Ἰόνων ἦν.*

145. As for the Ionians, the reason why they made twelve cities and would admit no more was in my judgment this: there were twelve divisions of them when they dwelt in the Peloponnese, just as there are twelve divisions of the Achaeans who drove the Ionians out — Pellene nearest to Sicyon; then Aegira and Aegae, where is the never-failing river Crathis, from which the river in Italy took its name; Bura and Helice, where the Ionians fled when they were worsted in battle by the Achaeans; Aegion; Rhype; Patrae; Phareae; and Olenus, where is the great river Pirus; Dyme and Tritaeae, the only inland city of all these — these were the twelve divisions of the Ionians, as they are now of the Achaeans.

146 1 *τούτων δὴ εἵνεκα καὶ οἱ Ἴωνες δυώδεκα πόλιας ἐποίησαντο· ἐπεὶ ὥς γέ τι μᾶλλον οὗτοι Ἴωνες εἰσὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰόνων ἢ κάλλιον τι γεγόνاسι, μωρὴ πολλὴ λέγειν· τῶν Ἀβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίης εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἰωνίης μετὰ οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδέν, Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομένιοί σφι ἀναμεμίχεται καὶ Καδμεῖοι καὶ Δρύορες καὶ Φωκέες ἀποδάσμιοι καὶ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοὶ καὶ Δωριέες Ἐπιδαύριοι, ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ*

ἀναμεμίσχεται· 2 οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανηίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὀρμηθέντες καὶ νομίζοντες γενναιότατοι εἶναι Ἴωνων, οὗτοι δὲ οὐ γυναικας ἡγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἀλλὰ Καεΐρας ἔσχον, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας. 3 διὰ τοῦτόν δὲ τὸν φόνον αἱ γυναῖκες αὗται νόμον θέμεναι σφίσι αὐτῇσι ὄρκους ἐπήλασαν καὶ παρέδωκαν τῇσι θυγατράσι, μὴ κοτε ὁμοσιτῆσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι μηδὲ οὐνόματι βῶσαι τὸν ἐωυτῆς ἄνδρα, τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὅτι ἐφόνευσαν σφέων τοὺς πατέρας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἔπειτα ταῦτα ποιήσαντες αὐτῇσι συνοίκεον.

146. For this reason, and for no other, the Ionians too made twelve cities; for it would be foolishness to say that these are more truly Ionian or better born than the other Ionians; since not the least part of them are Abantes from Euboea, who are not Ionians even in name, and there are mingled with them Minyans of Orchomenus, Cadmeans, Dryopians, Phocian renegades from their nation, Molossians, Pelasgian Arcadians, Dorians of Epidaurus, and many other tribes; and as for those who came from the very town-hall of Athens and think they are the best born of the Ionians, these did not bring wives with them to their settlements, but married Carian women whose parents they had put to death. For this slaughter, these women made a custom and bound themselves by oath (and enjoined it on their daughters) that no one would sit at table with her husband or call him by his name, because the men had married them after slaying their fathers and husbands and sons. This happened at Miletus.

147 1 ταῦτα δὲ ἦν γινόμενα ἐν Μιλήτῳ. βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίους ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἱππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καύκωνας Πυλίους ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου, οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμφοτέρους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοῦ οὐνόματος μᾶλλον τι τῶν ἄλλων Ἴωνων, ἔστωσαν δὴ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἴωνες. 2 εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων γεγόνασιν καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὀρτὴν. ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων· οὗτοι γὰρ μοῦνοι Ἴωνων οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπατούρια, καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φόνου τινὰ σκῆψιν.

147. And as kings, some of them chose Lycian descendants of Glaucus son of Hippolochus, and some Caucones of Pylus,

descendants of Codrus son of Melanthus, and some both. Yet since they set more store by the name than the rest of the Ionians, let it be granted that those of pure birth are Ionians; and all are Ionians who are of Athenian descent and keep the feast Apaturia. All do keep it, except the men of Ephesus and Colophon; these are the only Ionians who do not keep it, and these because, they say, of a certain pretext of murder.

148 1 τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χῶρος ἰρὸς πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος, κοινῇ ἐξαραιρημένος ὑπὸ Ἴωνων Ποσειδέωνι Ἑλικωνίῳ. ἡ δὲ Μυκάλη ἐστὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ἄκρῃ πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον κατήκουσα Σάμῳ καταντίον, ἐς τὴν συλλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων Ἴωνες ἄγεσκον ὀρτὴν τῇ ἔθεντο οὖνομα Πανιώνια. 2 [πεπόνθασι δὲ οὔτι μοῦναι αἱ Ἴωνων ὀρταὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλήνων πάντων ὁμοίως πᾶσαι ἐς τὠντὸ γράμμα τελευτῶσι, κατὰ περ τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα.]

148. The Panionion is a sacred ground in Mykale, facing north; it was set apart for Poseidon of Helicon by the joint will of the Ionians. Mykale is a western promontory of the mainland opposite Samos; the Ionians used to assemble there from their cities and keep the festival to which they gave the name of Panionia. Not only the Ionian festivals, but all those of all the Greeks alike, end in the same letter, just as do the names of the Persians.

149 1 αὗται μὲν αἱ Ἰάδες πόλεις εἰσί, αἶδε δὲ αἱ Αἰολίδες, Κύμη ἡ Φρικωνίς καλεομένη, Λήρισαι, Νέον τεῖχος, Τῆμνος, Κίλλα, Νότιον, Αἰγιρόεσσα, Πιτάνη, Αἰγαῖαι, Μύρινα, Γρύνεια. αὗται ἑνδεκα Αἰολέων πόλεις αἱ ἀρχαῖαι· μία γὰρ σφέων παρελύθη Σμύρνη ὑπὸ Ἴωνων· ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ αὗται δωδέκα αἱ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ. 2 οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Αἰολέες χώραν μὲν ἔτυχον κτίσαντες ἀμείνω Ἴωνων, ὥρέων δὲ ἤκουσαν οὐκ ὁμοίως.

149. Those are the Ionian cities, and these are the Aeolian: Cyme (called “Phriconian”), Lerisae, Neon Teichos, Temnos, Cilla, Notion, Aegiroessa, Pitane, Aegaeae, Myrina, Gryneia. These are the ancient Aeolian cities, eleven in number; but one of them, Smyrna, was taken away by the Ionians; for these too were once twelve, on the mainland. These Aeolians had settled where the land was better than the Ionian territory, but the climate was not so good.

150 1 σμύρνην δὲ ὧδε ἀπέβαλον Αἰολέες. Κολοφωνίους ἄνδρας
στάσι ἐσσωθέντας καὶ ἐκπεσόντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεδέξαντο. μετὰ
δὲ οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὀρτὴν
ἔξω τείχεος ποιευμένους Διονύσω, τὰς πύλας ἀποκλήσαντες ἔσχον
τὴν πόλιν. 2 βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων Αἰολέων, ὁμολογίῃ ἐχρήσαντο
τὰ ἔπιπλα ἀποδόντων τῶν Ἰόνων ἐκλιπεῖν Σμύρνην Αἰολέας.
ποιησάντων δὲ ταῦτα Σμυρναίων ἐπιδιείλοντο σφέας αἱ ἑνδεκα
πόλεις καὶ ἐποιήσαντο σφέων αὐτέων πολίτας.

150. Now this is how the Aeolians lost Smyrna. Some men of Colophon, the losers in civil strife and exiles from their country, had been received by them into the town. These Colophonian exiles waited for the time when the men of Smyrna were holding a festival to Dionysus outside the walls; then they shut the gates and so got the city. Then all the Aeolians came to recover it; and an agreement was made, whereby the Aeolians would receive back their movable goods from the Ionians, and leave the city. After this was done, the other eleven cities divided the Smyrnaeans among themselves and made them citizens of their own.

151 1 αὗται μὲν νῦν αἱ ἡπειρώτιδες Αἰολίδες πόλεις, ἔξω τῶν ἐν
τῇ Ἰδῇ οἰκημενέων· κεχωρίδαται γὰρ αὗται. 2 αἱ δὲ τὰς νήσους
ἔχουσαι πέντε μὲν πόλεις τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται (τὴν γὰρ ἕκτην ἐν τῇ
Λέσβῳ οἰκημένην Ἀρίσβαν ἠνδραπόδισαν Μηθυμναῖοι ἐόντας
ὁμαίμους), ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ μία οἴκηται πόλις, καὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἑκατὸν
νήσοισι καλεομένῃσι ἄλλη μία. 3 Λεσβίοισι μὲν νῦν καὶ Τενεδίοισι,
κατὰ περ Ἰόνων τοῖσι τὰς νήσους ἔχουσι, ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν· τῇσι δὲ
λοιπῇσι πόλισι ἕαδε κοινῇ Ἰῶσι ἔπεσθαι τῇ ἂν οὗτοι ἐξηγέωνται.

151. These then are the Aeolian cities on the mainland, besides those that are situated on Ida and are separate. Among those on the islands, five divide Lesbos among them (there was a sixth on Lesbos, Arisba, but its people were enslaved by their kinfolk of Methymna); there is one on Tenedos, and one again in the “Hundred Isles,” as they are called. The men of Lesbos and Tenedos, then, like the Ionian islanders, had nothing to fear. The rest of the cities deliberated together and decided to follow the Ionians’ lead.

152 1 ὥς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην τῶν Ἰόνων καὶ Αἰολέων οἱ
ἄγγελοι (κατὰ γὰρ δὴ τάχος ἦν ταῦτα πρησόμενα), εἶλοντο πρὸ

πάντων λέγειν τὸν Φωκαέα, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Πύθερμος. ὁ δὲ πορφύρεόν τε εἶμα περιβαλόμενος, ὥς ἂν πυνθανόμενοι πλεῖστοι συνέλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ καταστάς ἔλεγε πολλὰ τιμωρέειν ἐωυτοῖσι χρηζών. 2 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐ κως ἐσήκουον, ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξέ σφι μὴ τιμωρέειν Ἴωσι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀπώσάμενοι τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς ἀγγέλους ὁμως ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκοντέρῳ ἄνδρα, ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέει, κατασκόπους τῶν τε Κύρου πρηγμάτων καὶ Ἰωνίης. 3 ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔπεμπον ἐς Σάρδις σφέων αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Λακρίνης, ἀπερέοντα Κύρῳ Λακεδαιμονίων ῥῆσιν, γῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιναμωρέειν, ὥς αὐτῶν οὐ περιοπομένων.

152. So when the envoys of the Ionians and Aeolians came to Sparta (for they set about this in haste) they chose a Phocaeen, whose name was Pythennos, to speak for all. He then put on a purple cloak, so that as many Spartans as possible might assemble to hear him, and stood up and made a long speech asking aid for his people. But the Lacedaemonians would not listen to him and refused to help the Ionians. So the Ionians departed; but the Lacedaemonians, though they had rejected their envoys, did nevertheless send men in a ship of fifty oars to see (as I suppose) the situation with Cyrus and Ionia. These, after coming to Phocaea, sent Lacrines, who was the most esteemed among them, to Sardis, to repeat there to Cyrus a proclamation of the Lacedaemonians, that he was to harm no city on Greek territory, or else the Lacedaemonians would punish him.

153 1 ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ κήρυκος, λέγεται Κῦρον ἐπειρέσθαι τοὺς παρεόντας οἱ Ἑλλήνων τινες ἐόντες ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κόσιοι πλῆθος ταῦτα ἐωυτῷ προαγορεύουσι· πυνθανόμενον δὲ μιν εἰπεῖν ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κόσιοι “οὐκ ἔδειςά κω ἄνδρα τοιοῦτους, τοῖσι ἐστὶ χῶρος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλῃ ἀποδεδεγμένος ἐς τὸν συλλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὁμνύντες ἐξαπατῶσι· τοῖσι, ἦν ἐγὼ ὑγιαίνω, οὐ τὰ Ἰώνων πάθεα ἔσται ἔλλεσχα ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκία.” 2 ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας Ἑλληνας ἀπεῤῥιψε ὁ Κῦρος τὰ ἔπεα, ὅτι ἀγοράς στησάμενοι ὧνῃ τε καὶ πρήσι χρέωνται· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀγορῇσι οὐδὲν ἐώθασιν χρᾶσθαι, οὐδέ σφι ἐστὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀγορή. 3 μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψας τὰς μὲν Σάρδις Ταβάλῳ ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τὸν δὲ

χρυσὸν τὸν τε Κροΐσου καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων Λυδῶν Πακτύῃ ἀνδρὶ Λυδῷ κομίζειν, ἀπήλυνε αὐτὸς ἐς Ἀγβάτανα, Κροῖσόν τε ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιησάμενος τὴν πρώτην εἶναι. 4 ἡ τε γὰρ Βαβυλῶν οἱ ἦν ἐμπόδιος καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἐπ' οὓς ἐπεῖχε τε στρατηλατέειν αὐτός, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνας ἄλλον πέμπειν στρατηγόν.

153. When the herald had proclaimed this, Cyrus is said to have asked the Greeks who were present who and how many in number these Lacedaemonians were who made this declaration. When he was told, he said to the Spartan herald, "I never yet feared men who set apart a place in the middle of their city where they perjure themselves and deceive each other. They, if I keep my health, shall talk of their own misfortunes, not those of the Ionians." He uttered this threat against all the Greeks, because they have markets and buy and sell there; for the Persians themselves were not used to resorting to markets at all, nor do they even have a market of any kind. Presently, entrusting Sardis to a Persian called Tabalus, and instructing Pactyes, a Lydian, to take charge of the gold of Croesus and the Lydians, he himself marched away to Ecbatana, taking Croesus with him, and at first taking no notice of the Ionians. For he had Babylon on his hands and the Bactrian nation and the Sacae and Egyptians; he meant to lead the army against these himself, and to send another commander against the Ionians.

154 1 ὥς δὲ ἀπήλασε ὁ Κῦρος ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἀπέστησε ὁ Πακτύης ἀπὸ τε Ταβάλου καὶ Κύρου, καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἅτε τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχων πάντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, ἐπικούρους τε ἐμισθοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐπιθαλασσίους ἀνθρώπους ἐπειθε σὺν ἐωντῷ στρατεύεσθαι. ἐλάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις ἐπολιόρκει Τάβαλον ἀπεργμένον ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει.

154. But no sooner had Cyrus marched away from Sardis than Pactyes made the Lydians revolt from Tabalus and Cyrus; and he went down to the sea, where, as he had all the gold of Sardis, he hired soldiers and persuaded the men of the coast to join his undertaking. Then, marching to Sardis, he penned Tabalus in the acropolis and besieged him there.

155 1 πυθόμενος δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον

τάδε. “Κροῖσε, τί ἔσται τέλος τῶν γινομένων τούτων ἐμοί; οὐ παύσονται Λυδοί, ὥς οἴκασι, πρήγμματα παρέχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχοντες. φροντίζω μὴ ἄριστον ἢ ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι σφέας. ὁμοίως γὰρ μοι νῦν γε φαίνομαι πεποιηκέναι ὥς εἴ τις πατέρα ἀποκτείνας τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ φείσατο· 2 ὥς δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ Λυδῶν τὸν μὲν πλέον τι ἢ πατέρα ἔοντα σὲ λαβὼν ἄγω, αὐτοῖσι δὲ Λυδοῖσι τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκα, καὶ ἔπειτα θωμάζω εἰ μοι ἀπεστᾶσι.” ὁ μὲν δὴ τὰ περ ἐνόεε ἔλεγε, ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε, δείσας μὴ ἀναστάτους ποιήσῃ τὰς Σάρδεις. 3 “ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν οἰκότα εἴρηκας, σὺ μέντοι μὴ πάντα θυμῷ χρέο, μηδὲ πόλιν ἀρχαίην ἐξαναστήσης ἀναμάρτητον ἐοῦσαν καὶ τῶν πρότερον καὶ τῶν νῦν ἐστεῶτων. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐγὼ τε ἔπρηξα καὶ ἐγὼ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξας φέρω· τὰ δὲ νῦν παρεόντα Πακτύης γὰρ ἐστὶ ὁ ἀδικέων, τῷ σὺ ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδεις, οὗτος δότω τοι δίκην. 4 Λυδοῖσι δὲ συγγνώμην ἔχων τάδε αὐτοῖσι ἐπίταξον, ὥς μήτε ἀποστέωσι μήτε δεινοὶ τοι ἔωσι· ἅπειπε μὲν σφι πέμψας ὅπλα ἀρήια μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι, κέλευε δὲ σφέας κιθῶνάς τε ὑποδύνειν τοῖσι εἵμασι καὶ κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι, πρόειπε δ’ αὐτοῖσι κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ κατηλεύειν παιδεύειν τοὺς παῖδας. καὶ ταχέως σφέας ὦ βασιλεῦ γυναῖκας ἀντ’ ἀνδρῶν ὄψεαι γεγονότας, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεινοὶ τοι ἔσονται μὴ ἀποστέωσι.”

155. When Cyrus heard of this on his journey, he said to Croesus, “What end to this business, Croesus? It seems that the Lydians will never stop making trouble for me and for themselves. It occurs to me that it may be best to make slaves of them; for it seems I have acted like one who slays the father and spares the children. So likewise I have taken with me you who were more than a father to the Lydians, and handed the city over to the Lydians themselves; and then indeed I marvel that they revolt!” So Cyrus uttered his thought; but Croesus feared that he would destroy Sardis, and answered him thus: “O King, what you say is reasonable. But do not ever yield to anger, or destroy an ancient city that is innocent both of the former and of the present offense. For the former I am responsible, and bear the punishment on my head; while Pactyes, in whose charge you left Sardis, does this present wrong; let him, then, pay the penalty. But pardon the Lydians, and give them this command so that they not revolt or pose a danger to you: send and forbid them to possess

weapons of war, and order them to wear tunics under their cloaks and knee-boots on their feet, and to teach their sons lyre-playing and song and dance and shop-keeping. And quickly, O king, you shall see them become women instead of men, so that you need not fear them, that they might revolt.”

156 1 Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτά οἱ ὑπετίθετο, αἰρετώτερα ταῦτα εὐρίσκων Λυδοῖσι ἢ ἀνδραποδισθέντας πρηθῆναι σφέας, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι ἦν μὴ ἀξίόχρεον πρόφασιν προτείνειν, οὐκ ἀναπείσει μιν μεταβουλεύσασθαι, ἀρρώδewν δὲ μὴ καὶ ὕστερον κοτὲ οἱ Λυδοί, ἦν τὸ παρεὸν ὑπεκδράμωσι, ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἀπόλωνται. 2 Κῦρος δὲ ἤσθεις τῇ ὑποθήκῃ καὶ ὑεὶς τῆς ὀργῆς ἔφη οἱ πείθεσθαι. καλέσας δὲ Μαζάρεια ἄνδρα Μῆδον, ταῦτά τε οἱ ἐνετείλατο προειπεῖν Λυδοῖσι τὰ ὃ Κροῖσος ὑπετίθετο, καὶ πρὸς ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας οἱ μετὰ Λυδῶν ἐπὶ Σάρδις ἐστρατεύσαντο, αὐτὸν δὲ Πακτύνῃ πάντως ζῶντα ἀγαγεῖν παρ’ ἐωυτόν.

156. Croesus proposed this to him, because he thought this was better for the Lydians than to be sold as slaves; he knew that without some reasonable plea he could not change the king’s mind, and feared that even if the Lydians should escape this time they might later revolt and be destroyed by the Persians. Cyrus was pleased by this counsel; he relented in his anger and said he would follow Croesus’ advice. Then calling Mazares, a Mede, he told him to give the Lydians the commands that Croesus advised; further, to enslave all the others who had joined the Lydians in attacking Sardis; and as for Pactyes himself, by all means to bring him into his presence alive.

157 1 ὃ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐντειλάμενος ἀπήλαυνε ἐς ἡθεα τὰ Περσέων, Πακτύης δὲ πυθόμενος ἀγχοῦ εἶναι στρατὸν ἐπ’ ἐωυτόν ἰόντα δείσας οἴχετο φεύγων ἐς Κύμην. 2 Μαζάρης δὲ ὃ Μῆδος ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις τοῦ Κύρου στρατοῦ μοῖραν ὅσῃν δὴ κοτε ἔχων, ὥς οὐκ εὔρε ἔτι ἐόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πακτύνῃ ἐν Σάρδισι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἠνάγκασε τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς ἐπιτελεῖν, ἐκ τούτου δὲ κελευσμοσύνης Λυδοὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δίαιταν τῆς ζῆς μετέβαλον. 3 Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔπεμπε ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀγγέλους ἐκδιδόναι κελεύων Πακτύνῃ. οἱ δὲ Κυμαῖοι ἔγνωσαν συμβουλῆς περὶ ἐς θεὸν

ἀνοῖσαι τὸν ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι· ἦν γὰρ αὐτόθι μαντήιον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰδρυμένον, τῷ Ἰωνέσ τε πάντες καὶ Αἰολέες ἐώθεσαν χρᾶσθαι. ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὗτος ἐστὶ τῆς Μιλησίης ὑπὲρ Πανόρμου λιμένος.

157. After giving these commands on his journey, he marched away into the Persian country. But Pactyes, learning that an army sent against him was approaching, was frightened and fled to Cyme. Mazares the Mede, when he came to Sardis with the part that he had of Cyrus' host and found Pactyes' followers no longer there, first of all compelled the Lydians to carry out Cyrus' commands; and by his order they changed their whole way of life. After this, he sent messengers to Cyme demanding that Pactyes be surrendered. The Cymaeans resolved to make the god at Branchidae their judge as to what course they should take; for there was an ancient place of divination there, which all the Ionians and Aeolians used to consult; the place is in the land of Miletus, above the harbor of Panormus.

158 1 πέμψαντες ὧν οἱ Κυμαῖοι ἐς τοὺς Βραγχίδας θεοπρόπους εἰρώτευν περὶ Πακτύην ὁκοῖόν τι ποιέοντες θεοῖσι μέλλοιεν χαριεῖσθαι. ἐπειρωτῶσι δέ σφι ταῦτα χρηστήριον ἐγένετο ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσῃσι. ταῦτα δὲ ὥς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, ὁρμέατο ἐκδιδόναι· 2 ὀρμημένου δὲ ταύτῃ τοῦ πλήθους, Ἀριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλείδew ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν ἐὼν δόκιμος ἔσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα Κυμαίους, ἀπιστέων τε τῷ χρησμῷ καὶ δοκέων τοὺς θεοπρόπους οὐ λέγειν ἀληθέως, ἐς ὃ τὸ δεύτερον περὶ Πακτύew ἐπειρησόμενοι ἦσαν ἄλλοι θεοπρόποι, τῶν καὶ Ἀριστόδικος ἦν.

158. The men of Cyme, then, sent to Branchidae to inquire of the shrine what they should do in the matter of Pactyes that would be most pleasing to the gods; and the oracle replied that they must surrender Pactyes to the Persians. When this answer came back to them, they set about surrendering him. But while the greater part were in favor of doing this, Aristodicus son of Heraclides, a notable man among the citizens, stopped the men of Cyme from doing it; for he did not believe the oracle and thought that those who had inquired of the god spoke falsely; until at last a second band of inquirers was sent to inquire concerning Pactyes, among whom was Aristodicus.

159 1 ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς Βραγχίδας ἐχρηστηριάζετο ἐκ πάντων Ἀριστόδικος ἐπειρωτῶν τάδε. “ὦναξ, ἦλθε παρ’ ἡμέας ἰκέτης

Πακτύης ὁ Λυδός, φεύγων θάνατον βίαιον πρὸς Περσέων· οἱ δὲ μιν ἐξαιτέονταί, προεῖναι Κυμαίους κελεύοντες. 2 ἡμεῖς δὲ δειμαίνοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν τὸν ἰκέτην ἐς τόδε οὐ τετολμήκαμεν ἐκδιδόναι, πρὶν ἂν τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ ἡμῖν δηλωθῇ ἀτρεκέως ὁκότερα ποιῶμεν.” ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, ὁ δ’ αὖτις τὸν αὐτὸν σφί χρησμὸν ἔφαινε, κελεύων ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσῃσι. 3 πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀριστόδικος ἐκ προνοίης ἐποίηε τάδε· περιῶν τὸν νηὸν κύκλῳ ἐξαίρει τοὺς στρουθοὺς καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἦν νενοσσευμένα ὀρνίθων γένηα ἐν τῷ νηῷ. ποιέοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγεται φωνῇ ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου γενέσθαι φέρουσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόδικον, λέγουσαν δὲ τάδε “ἀνοσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τί τάδε τολμᾷς ποιεῖν ; τοὺς ἰκέτας μου ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ κεραΐζεις ;” 4 Ἀριστόδικον δὲ οὐκ ἀπορήσαντα πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν “ὦναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν οὕτω τοῖσι ἰκέτῃσι βοηθεῖς, Κυμαίους δὲ κελεύεις τὸν ἰκέτην ἐκδιδόναι ; τὸν δὲ αὖτις ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσινδε “ναὶ κελεύω, ἵνα γε ἀσεβήσαντες θᾷσσον ἀπόλησθε, ὥς μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ ἰκετέων ἐκδόσιος ἔλθῃτε ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον.”

159. When they came to Branchidae, Aristodicus, speaking for all, put this question to the oracle: “Lord, Pactyes the Lydian has come to us a suppliant fleeing a violent death at the hands of the Persians; and they demand him of us, telling the men of Cyme to surrender him. But we, as much as we fear the Persian power, have not dared give up this suppliant of ours until it is clearly made known to us by you whether we are to do this or not.” Thus Aristodicus inquired; and the god again gave the same answer, that Pactyes should be surrendered to the Persians. With that Aristodicus did as he had already decided; he went around the temple, and took away the sparrows and all the families of nesting birds that were in it. But while he was doing so, a voice (they say) came out of the inner shrine calling to Aristodicus, and saying, “Vilest of men, how dare you do this? Will you rob my temple of those that take refuge with me?” Then Aristodicus had his answer ready: “Lord,” he said, “will you save your own suppliants, yet tell the men of Cyme to deliver up theirs?” But the god replied, “Yes, I do command them, so that you may perish all the sooner for your impiety, and never again come to inquire of my oracle about giving up those that seek refuge with you.”

160 1 ταῦτα ὥς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, οὐ βουλόμενοι

οὔτε ἐκδόντες ἀπολέσθαι οὔτε παρ' ἑωυτοῖσι ἔχοντες πολιορκέεσθαι, ἐκπέμπουσι αὐτὸν ἐς Μυτιλήνην. 2 οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπιέμποντος τοῦ Μαζάρεος ἀγγελίας ἐκδιδόναι τὸν Πακτὺν παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῳ δὴ· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τοῦτό γε εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως· οὐ γὰρ ἐτελεώθη. 3 Κυμαῖοι γὰρ ὡς ἔμαθον ταῦτα πρησόμενα ἐκ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, πέμψαντες πλοῖον ἐς Λέσβον ἐκκομίζουσι Πακτὺν ἐς Χίον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐξ ἱεροῦ Ἀθηναίης πολιούχου ἀποσπασθεὶς ὑπὸ Χίων ἐξεδόθη· ἐξέδοσαν δὲ οἱ Χῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀταρνέϊ μισθῷ. 4 τοῦ δὲ Ἀταρνέος τούτου ἐστὶ χῶρος τῆς Μυσίης, Λέσβου ἀντίος. Πακτὺν μὲν νυν παραδεξάμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, θέλοντες Κύρῳ ἀποδέξαι. 5 ἦν δὲ χρόνος οὗτος οὐκ ὀλίγος γινόμενος, ὅτε Χίων οὐδεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος τούτου οὔτε οὐλὰς κριθέων πρόχυσιν ἐποιέετο θεῶν οὐδενὶ οὔτε πέμματα ἐπέσσετο καρποῦ τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν, ἀπείχετο τε τῶν πάντων ἱρῶν τὰ πάντα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ταύτης γινόμενα.

160. When the Cymaeans heard this answer, they sent Pactyes away to Mytilene; for they were anxious not to perish for delivering him up or to be besieged for keeping him with them. Then Mazares sent a message to Mytilene demanding the surrender of Pactyes, and the Mytilenaeans prepared to give him, for a price; I cannot say exactly how much it was, for the bargain was never fulfilled; for when the Cymaeans learned what the Mytilenaeans were about, they sent a ship to Lesbos and took Pactyes away to Chios. From there he was dragged out of the temple of City-guarding Athena and delivered up by the Chians, who received in return Atarneus, which is a district in Mysia opposite Lesbos. The Persians thus received Pactyes and kept him guarded, so that they might show him to Cyrus; and for a long time no one would use barley meal from this land of Atarneus in sacrifices to any god, or make sacrificial cakes of what grew there; everything that came from that country was kept away from any sacred rite.

161 1 Χῖοι μὲν νυν Πακτὺν ἐξέδοσαν. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβαλον, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Πριηνέας ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, τοῦτο δὲ Μαϊάνδρου πεδίον πᾶν ἐπέδραμε λήϊον ποιεύμενος τῷ στρατῷ, Μαγνησίην τε ὡσαύτως. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτίκα νούσω τελευτᾷ.

161. The Chians, then, surrendered Pactyes, and afterwards Mazares led his army against those who had helped to besiege Tabalus, and he enslaved the people of Priene, and overran the plain of the Maeandrus, giving it to his army to pillage and Magnesia likewise. Immediately after this he died of an illness.

162 1 ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου, Ἄρπαγος κατέβη διάδοχος τῆς στρατηγίης, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μῆδος, τὸν ὁ Μήδων βασιλεὺς Ἀστυάγης ἀνόμῳ τραπέζῃ ἔδαισε, ὁ τῷ Κύρῳ τὴν βασιληίην συγκατεργασάμενος. 2 οὗτος ὡνὴρ τότε ὑπὸ Κύρου στρατηγὸς ἀποδεχθεὶς ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, αἶρεε τὰς πόλεις χῶμασι· ὅκως γὰρ τειχήρεας ποιήσειε, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν χῶματα χῶν πρὸς τὰ τείχεα ἐπόρθεε.

162. After his death, Harpagus, a Mede like Mazares, came down to succeed him in his command; this is the Harpagus who was entertained by Astyages the king of the Medes at that unnatural feast, and who helped win the kingship for Cyrus. This man was now made general by Cyrus. When he came to Ionia, he took the cities by means of earthworks; he would drive the men within their walls and then build earthworks against the walls and so take the cities.

163 1 πρώτη δὲ Φωκαίῃ Ἰωνίης ἐπεχείρησε. οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες οὗτοι ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τὸν τε Ἀδρίην καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνίην καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησσὸν οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες. 2 ἐναυτίλλοντο δὲ οὐ στρογγύλῃσι νηυσὶ ἀλλὰ πεντηκοντέροισι. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησσὸν προσφιλέες ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ταρτησσίων, τῷ οὖνομα μὲν ἦν, Ἀργανθώνιος, ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὀγδώκοντα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. 3 τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσφιλέες οἱ Φωκαῖες οὕτω δὴ τι ἐγένοντο ὡς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα σφέας ἐκλιπόντας Ἰωνίην ἐκέλευε τῆς ἐσωτοῦ χώρας οἰκῆσαι ὅκου βούλονται· μετὰ δέ, ὡς τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἔπειθε τοὺς Φωκαῖας, ὁ δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν Μῆδον παρ' αὐτῶν ὡς αὔξειτο, ἐδίδου σφι χρήματα τεῖχος περιβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, 4 ἐδίδου δὲ ἀφειδέως· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ περίοδος τοῦ τείχεος οὐκ ὀλίγοι στάδιοι εἰσὶ, τοῦτο δὲ πᾶν λίθων μεγάλων καὶ εὖ συναρμοσμένων.

163. Phocaea was the first Ionian town that he attacked. These Phocaean were the earliest of the Greeks to make long sea-voyages,

and it was they who discovered the Adriatic Sea, and Tyrrhenia, and Iberia, and Tartessus, not sailing in round freightships but in fifty-oared vessels. When they came to Tartessus they made friends with the king of the Tartessians, whose name was Arganthonius; he ruled Tartessus for eighty years and lived a hundred and twenty. The Phocaeans won this man's friendship to such a degree that he invited them to leave Ionia and settle in his country wherever they liked; and then, when he could not persuade them to, and learned from them how the Median power was increasing, he gave them money to build a wall around their city. He gave it generously: for the circuit of the wall is of not a few stades, and all this is made of great stones well fitted together.

164 1 τὸ μὲν δὴ τεῖχος τοῖσι Φωκαεῦσι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ἐξεποιήθη. ὁ δὲ Ἄρπαγος ὡς ἐπήλασε τὴν στρατιήν, ἐπολιόρκεε αὐτούς, προισχόμενος ἔπεα ὥς οἱ καταχρᾶ εἰ βούλονται Φωκαῖες προμαχεῶνα ἓνα μόνον τοῦ τείχεος ἐρεῖψαι καὶ οἶκημα ἐν κατιρῶσαι. 2 οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες περιημεκτέοντες τῇ δουλοσύνῃ ἔφασαν θέλειν βουλευσασθαι ἡμέρην μίαν καὶ ἔπειτα ὑποκρινέεσθαι· 3 ἐν ᾧ δὲ βουλεύονται αὐτοί, ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκείνον ἐκέλευον τὴν στρατιήν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος. ὁ δ' Ἄρπαγος ἔφη εἰδέναι μὲν εὖ τὰ ἐκείνοι μέλλοιεν ποιεῖν, ὅμως δὲ σφι παριέναι βουλευσασθαι. ἐν ᾧ ὦν ὁ Ἄρπαγος ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἀπήγαγε τὴν, στρατιήν, οἱ Φωκαῖες ἐν τούτῳ κατασπάσαντες τὰς πεντηκοντέρους, ἐσθέμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἐπιπλα πάντα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐν τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, χωρὶς ὅ τι χαλκὸς ἢ λίθος ἢ γραφὴ ἦν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐσθέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰσβάντες ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Χίου. τὴν δὲ Φωκαίην ἐρημωθεῖσαν ἀνδρῶν ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι.

164. In such a manner the Phocaeans' wall was built. Harpagus marched against the city and besieged it, but he made overtures, and said that it would suffice him if the Phocaeans would demolish one rampart of the wall and dedicate one house. But the Phocaeans, very indignant at the thought of slavery, said they wanted to deliberate for a day, and then they would answer; but while they were deliberating, Harpagus must withdraw his army from the walls, they said. Harpagus said that he well knew what they intended to do, but that nevertheless he would allow them to deliberate. So when Harpagus

withdrew his army from the walls, the Phocaeans launched their fifty-oared ships, embarked their children and women and all their movable goods, besides the statues from the temples and everything dedicated in them except bronze or stonework or painting, and then embarked themselves and set sail for Chios; and the Persians took Phocaea, left thus uninhabited.

165 1 οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες, ἐπεῖτε σφι Χῖοι τὰς νήσους τὰς Οἰνούσας καλεομένας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ὠνευμένοισι πωλέειν, δειμαίνοντες μὴ αἱ μὲν ἐμπόριον γένωνται, ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν νῆσος ἀποκληισθῇ τούτου εἵνεκα, πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Φωκαῖες ἐστέλλοντο ἐς Κύρνον· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Κύρνῳ εἴκοσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἀνεστήσαντο πόλιν, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀλαλίη. 2 Ἀργανθώνιος δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἤδη τετελευτήκεε. στελλόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, πρῶτα καταπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην κατεφόνευσαν τῶν Περσέων τὴν φυλακὴν, ἣ ἐφρούρεε παραδεξαμένη παρὰ Ἀρπάγου τὴν πόλιν. μετὰ δέ, ὥς τοῦτο σφι ἐξέργαστο, ἐποίησαντο ἰσχυρὰς κατάρας τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ ἑωυτῶν τοῦ στόλου, 3 πρὸς δὲ ταύτησι καὶ μύδρον σιδήρεον κατεπόντωσαν καὶ ὤμοσαν μὴ πρὶν ἐς Φωκαίην ἥξειν πρὶν ἢ τὸν μύδρον τοῦτον ἀναφανῆναι. στελλομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, ὑπερημίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν ἔλαβε πόθος τε καὶ οἶκτος τῆς πόλιος καὶ τῶν ἡθέων τῆς χώρας, ψευδόρκοι δὲ γενόμενοι ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ ὄρκιον ἐφύλασσαν, ἀερθέντες ἐκ τῶν Οἰνουσσέων ἔπλεον.

165. The Phocaeans would have bought the islands called Oenussae from the Chians; but the Chians would not sell them, because they feared that the islands would become a market and so their own island be cut off from trade: so the Phocaeans prepared to sail to Cynus, where at the command of an oracle they had built a city called Alalia twenty years before. Arganthonius was by this time dead. While getting ready for their voyage, they first sailed to Phocaea, where they destroyed the Persian guard to whom Harpagus had entrusted the defense of the city; and when this was done, they called down mighty curses on any one of them who should stay behind when the rest sailed. Not only this, but they sank a mass of iron in the sea, and swore never to return to Phocaea before the iron should appear again. But while they prepared to sail to Cynus, more

than half of the citizens were overcome with longing and pitiful sorrow for the city and the life of their land, and they broke their oath and sailed back to Phocaea. Those of them who kept the oath put out to sea from the Oenussae.

166 1 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐς τὴν Κύρνον ἀπίκοντο, οἴκεον κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν πρότερον ἀπικομένων ἐπ' ἕτεα πέντε, καὶ ἱρὰ ἐνιδρύσαντο. καὶ ἦγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον τοὺς περιοίκους ἅπαντας, στρατεύονται ὧν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κοινῶ λόγῳ χρῆσάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, νηυσὶ ἐκάτεροι ἐξήκοντα. 2 οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες πληρώσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ἔοντα ἀριθμὸν ἐξήκοντα, ἀντίαζον ἐς τὸ Σαρδόνιον καλεόμενον πέλαγος. συμμिसγόντων δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Καδμείῃ τις νίκη τοῖσι Φωκαεῦσι ἐγένετο· αἱ μὲν γὰρ τεσσεράκοντά σφι νέες διεφθάρησαν, αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι αἱ περιεοῦσαι ἦσαν ἄχρηστοι· ἀπεστράφατο γὰρ τοὺς ἐμβόλους. 3 καταπλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀλαλίην ἀνέλαβον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κτῆσιν ὅσῃν οἶαι τε ἐγίνοντο αἱ νέες σφι ἄγειν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπέντες τὴν Κύρνον ἔπλεον ἐς Ῥήγιον.

166. And when they came to Cyrrnus they lived there for five years as one community with those who had come first, and they founded temples there. But they harassed and plundered all their neighbors, as a result of which the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians made common cause against them, and sailed to attack them with sixty ships each. The Phocaeans also manned their ships, sixty in number, and met the enemy in the sea called Sardonian. They engaged and the Phocaeans won, yet it was only a kind of Cadmean victory; for they lost forty of their ships, and the twenty that remained were useless, their rams twisted awry. Then sailing to Alalia they took their children and women and all of their possessions that their ships could hold on board, and leaving Cyrrnus they sailed to Rhegium.

167 1 τῶν δὲ διαφθαρεισέων νεῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας οἱ τε Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ [διέλαχον, τῶν δὲ Τυρσηνῶν οἱ Ἀγυλλαῖοι] ἔλαχόν τε αὐτῶν πολλῶ πλείστους καὶ τούτους ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν. μετὰ δὲ Ἀγυλλαίοισι πάντα τὰ παριόντα τὸν χῶρον, ἐν τῷ οἱ Φωκαῖες καταλευσθέντες ἐκέατο, ἐγένετο διάστροφα καὶ ἔμπηρα καὶ ἀπόπληκτα, ὁμοίως πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἄνθρωποι. 2 οἱ δὲ

Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον βουλόμενοι ἀκέσασθαι τὴν ἁμαρτάδα. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν τὰ καὶ νῦν οἱ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἔτι ἐπιτελέουσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐναγίζουσί σφι μεγάλως καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι. 3 καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Φωκαίων τοιοῦτῳ μῶρῳ διεχρήσαντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον καταφυγόντες ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμώμενοι ἐκτίσαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωπίας ταύτην ἣτις νῦν Ὑέλη καλεῖται. 4 ἔκτισαν δὲ ταύτην πρὸς ἀνδρὸς Ποσειδωνίητεω μαθόντες ὡς τὸν Κύρνον σφι ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε κτίσαι ἥρων ἑόντα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν νῆσον.

167. As for the crews of the disabled ships, the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians drew lots for them, and of the Tyrrhenians the Agyllaioi were allotted by far the majority and these they led out and stoned to death. But afterwards, everything from Agylla that passed the place where the stoned Phocaeans lay, whether sheep or beasts of burden or men, became distorted and crippled and palsied. The Agyllaeans sent to Delphi, wanting to mend their offense; and the Pythian priestess told them to do what the people of Agylla do to this day: for they pay great honors to the Phocaeans, with religious rites and games and horse-races. Such was the end of this part of the Phocaeans. Those of them who fled to Rhegium set out from there and gained possession of that city in the Oenotrian country which is now called Hyele; they founded this because they learned from a man of Posidonia that the Cynus whose establishment the Pythian priestess ordained was the hero, and not the island.

168 1 Φωκαίης μὲν νυν πέρι τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ οὕτῳ ἔσχε παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοις καὶ Τήιοι ἐποίησαν. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ σφέων εἶλε χώματι τὸ τεῖχος Ἄρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα οἷχοντο πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Θρηίκης, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν Ἀβδηρα, τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαζομένιος Τιμήσιος κτίσας οὐκ ἀπόνητο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Θρηίκων ἐξελασθεὶς τιμὰς νῦν ὑπὸ Τηίων τῶν ἐν Ἀβδήροισι ὡς ἥρως ἔχει.

168. Thus, then, it went with the Ionian Phocaea. The Teians did the same things as the Phocaeans: when Harpagus had taken their walled city by building an earthwork, they all embarked aboard ship and sailed away for Thrace. There they founded a city, Abdera, which before this had been founded by Timesius of Clazomenae; yet

he got no profit of it, but was driven out by the Thracians. This Timesius is now honored as a hero by the Teians of Abdera.

169 1 οὗτοι μὲν νυν Ἴωνων μούνοι τὴν δουλοσύνην οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι ἐξέλιπον τὰς πατρίδας· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἴωνες πλὴν Μιλησίων διὰ μάχης μὲν ἀπίκοντο Ἀρπάγω κατὰ περ οἱ ἐκλιπόντες, καὶ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ἑκαστος μαχόμενοι, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἀλόντες ἔμενον κατὰ χώραν ἑκαστοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον. 2 Μιλήσιοι δέ, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι ἔρηται, αὐτῷ Κύρῳ ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι ἡσυχίην ἤγον. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἴωνίῃ ἐδεδούλωτο. ὥς δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Ἴωνας ἐχειρώσατο Ἀρπαγος, οἱ τὰς νήσους ἔχοντες Ἴωνες καταρρώδησαντες ταῦτα σφέας αὐτοὺς ἔδοσαν Κύρῳ.

169. These were the only Ionians who left their native lands, unable to endure slavery. The rest of the Ionians, except the Milesians, though they faced Harpagus in battle as did the exiles, and conducted themselves well, each fighting for his own country, yet, when they were defeated and their cities taken, they remained where they were and did as they were told. The Milesians, as I have already said, made a treaty with Cyrus himself and struck no blow. Thus Ionia was enslaved for the second time: and when Harpagus had conquered the Ionians of the mainland, the Ionians of the islands, fearing the same fate, surrendered to Cyrus.

170 1 κεκακωμένων δὲ Ἴωνων καὶ συλλεγομένων οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἐς τὸ Πανιώνιον, πυνθάνομαι γνώμην Βίαντα ἄνδρα Πριηνέα ἀποδέξασθαι Ἴωσι χρησιμωτάτην, τῇ εἰ ἐπείθοντο, παρεῖχε ἂν σφι εὐδαιμονέειν Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα· 2 ὃς ἐκέλευε κοινῷ στόλῳ Ἴωνας ἀερθέντας πλέειν ἐς Σαρδῶ καὶ ἔπειτα πόλιν μίαν κτίζειν πάντων Ἴωνων, καὶ οὕτω ἀπαλαχθέντας σφέας δουλοσύνης εὐδαιμονήσειν, νήσων τε ἀπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἄλλων· μένουσι δέ σφι ἐν τῇ Ἴωνίῃ οὐκ ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι ἐσομένην. 3 αὕτη μὲν Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέος γνώμη ἐπὶ διεφθαρμένοισι Ἴωσι γενομένη, χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ διαφθαρῆναι Ἴωνίην Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἐόντος Φοίνικος, ὃς ἐκέλευε ἐν βουλευτήριον Ἴωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέῳ (Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἰωνίης), τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλεις οἰκεομένας μηδὲν ἦσσαν νομίζεσθαι κατὰ περ ἐς δῆμοι εἶεν· οὗτοι

μὲν δὴ σφι γνώμας τοιάσδε ἀπεδέξαντο.

170. When the Ionians, despite their evil plight, nonetheless assembled at the Panionion, Bias of Priene, I have learned, gave them very useful advice, and had they followed it they might have been the most prosperous of all Greeks: for he advised them to put out to sea and sail all together to Sardo and then found one city for all Ionians: thus, possessing the greatest island in the world and ruling others, they would be rid of slavery and have prosperity; but if they stayed in Ionia he could see (he said) no hope of freedom for them. This was the advice which Bias of Priene gave after the destruction of the Ionians; and that given before the destruction by Thales of Miletus, a Phoenician by descent, was good too; he advised that the Ionians have one place of deliberation, and that it be in Teos (for that was the center of Ionia), and that the other cities be considered no more than demes. Thus Bias and Thales advised.

171 1 Ἄρπαγος δὲ καταστρεψάμενος Ἴωνῖν ἐποιέετο στρατηίην ἐπὶ Κᾶρας καὶ Καυνίους καὶ Λυκίους, ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἴωνας καὶ Αἰολέας. 2 εἰσὶ δὲ τούτων Κᾶρες μὲν ἀπιγμένοι ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκ τῶν νήσων. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἔοντες Μίνω κατήκοοι καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες εἶχον τὰς νήσους, φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ὑποτελέοντες, ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ δυνατός εἰμι ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐξικέσθαι ἀκοῇ· οἱ δέ, ὅκως Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουν οἱ τὰς νέας. 3 ἅτε δὴ Μίνω τε κατεστραμμένου γῆν πολλὴν καὶ εὐτυχέοντος τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ Καρικὸν ἦν ἔθνος λογιμώτατον τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀπάντων κατὰ τοῦτον ἅμα τὸν χρόνον μακρῷ μάλιστα. 4 καὶ σφι τριζὰ ἐξευρήματα ἐγένετο, τοῖσι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐχρήσαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λόφους ἐπιδέεσθαι Κᾶρες εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ σημήια ποιέεσθαι, καὶ ὄχανα ἀσπίσι οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι· τέως δὲ ἄνευ ὀχάνων ἐφόρεον τὰς ἀσπίδας πάντες οἱ περ ἐώθεσαν ἀσπίσι χρᾶσθαι, τελαμῶσι σκυτίνοισι οἰηκίζοντες, περὶ τοῖσι αὐχέσι τε καὶ τοῖσι ἄριστεροῖσι ὥμοισι περικείμενοι. 5 μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κᾶρας χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ Δωριέες τε καὶ Ἴωνες ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν νήσων, καὶ οὕτω ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀπίκοντο. κατὰ μὲν δὴ Κᾶρας οὕτω Κρηῖτες λέγουσι γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε ὁμολογεῖνσι τούτοις οἱ Κᾶρες, ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἑωυτοὺς εἶναι αὐτόχθονας ἡπειρώτας, καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ διαχρεωμένους τῷ περ νῦν. 6

ἀποδείκνῃσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοισι Διὸς Καρίου ἱρὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι ὥς κασιγνήτοισι ἐοῦσι τοῖσι Καρσί· τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεοῦς. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ μέτεστι, ὅσοι δὲ ἐόντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος ὁμόγλωσσοι τοῖσι Καρσί ἐγένοντο, τούτοισι δὲ οὐ μέτα.

171. Harpagus, after subjugating Ionia, made an expedition against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians, taking Ionians and Aeolians with him. Of these, the Carians have come to the mainland from the islands; for in the past they were islanders, called Leleges and under the rule of Minos, not (as far as I can learn by report) paying tribute, but manning ships for him when he needed them. Since Minos had subjected a good deal of territory for himself and was victorious in war, this made the Carians too at that time by far the most respected of all nations. They invented three things in which they were followed by the Greeks: it was the Carians who originated wearing crests on their helmets and devices on their shields, and who first made grips for their shields; until then all who used shields carried them without these grips, and guided them with leather belts which they slung round the neck and over the left shoulder. Then, a long time afterwards, the Carians were driven from the islands by Dorians and Ionians and so came to the mainland. This is the Cretan story about the Carians; but the Carians themselves do not subscribe to it, but believe that they are aboriginal inhabitants of the mainland and always bore the name which they bear now; and they point to an ancient shrine of Carian Zeus at Mylasa, to which Mysians and Lydians, as brethren of the Carians (for Lydus and Mysus, they say, were brothers of Car), are admitted, but not those who spoke the same language as the Carians but were of another people.

172 1 οἱ δὲ Καύνιοι αὐτόχθονες δοκέειν ἔμοι εἰσί, αὐτοὶ μέντοι ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶ εἶναι. προσκεχωρήκασι δὲ γλῶσσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸ Καρικὸν ἔθνος, ἣ οἱ Κᾶρες πρὸς τὸ Καυνικόν (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι), νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται κεχωρισμένοισι πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ Καρῶν. τοῖσι γὰρ κάλλιστον ἐστὶ κατ' ἡλικίην τε καὶ φιλότητα εἰλαδὸν συγγίνεσθαι ἐς πόσιν, καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ. 2 ἰδρυθέντων δὲ σφι ἱρῶν ξεινικῶν, μετέπειτα ὥς σφι ἀπέδοξε, ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖσι πατρίοισι μοῦνον, χέασθαι θεοῖσι,

ἐνδύντες τὰ ὄπλα ἅπαντες Καύνιοι ἠβηδόν, τύπτοντες δόρασι τὸν ἥερα, μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Καλυνδικῶν εἶποντο, καὶ ἔφασαν ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς ξεινικοὺς θεοὺς.

172. I think the Caunians are aborigines of the soil, but they say that they came from Crete. Their speech has become like the Carian, or the Carian like theirs (for I cannot clearly decide), but in their customs they diverge widely from the Carians, as from all other men. Their chief pleasure is to assemble for drinking-bouts in groups according to their ages and friendships: men, women, and children. Certain foreign rites of worship were established among them; but afterwards, when they were inclined otherwise, and wanted to worship only the gods of their fathers, all Caunian men of full age put on their armor and went together as far as the boundaries of Calynda, striking the air with their spears and saying that they were casting out the alien gods.

173 1 καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τρόποισι τοιούτοισι χρέωνται, οἱ δὲ Λύκιοι ἐκ Κρήτης τῶρχαῖον γεγόνασι (τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν βάρβαροι)· 2 διενειχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιληΐας τῶν Εὐρώπης παίδων Σαρπηδόνοιο τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσι Μίνω, ἐξήλασε αὐτόν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς γῆν τὴν Μιλυάδα· τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὕτη τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλυάς, οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. 3 ἕως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδῶν ἦρχε, οἱ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο τό πέρ τε ἡνείκαντο οὖνομα καὶ νυν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων οἱ Λύκιοι Τερμίλαι· ὡς δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Πανδίωνος, ἐξελασθεὶς καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ Αἰγέος, ἀπίκητο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα, οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τοῦ Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκλήθησαν. 4 νόμοισι δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖσι τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖσι χρέωνται. ἐν δὲ τόδε ἴδιον νενομίκασι καὶ οὐδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων· καλέουσι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἑωυτοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων· 5 εἰρομένου δὲ ἐτέρου τὸν πλησίον τίς εἴη, καταλέξει ἑωυτὸν μητρόθεν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμέεται τὰς μητέρας. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε γυνὴ ἀσπὴ δούλῳ συνοικήσῃ, γενναῖα τὰ τέκνα νενόμισται· ἦν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀσπὴ καὶ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν γυναῖκα ξείνην ἢ παλλακὴν ἔχη, ἄτιμα τὰ τέκνα γίνεται.

173. Such are their ways. The Lycians were from Crete in ancient times (for in the past none that lived on Crete were Greek). Now there was a dispute in Crete about the royal power between Sarpedon and Minos, sons of Europa; Minos prevailed in this dispute and drove out Sarpedon and his partisans; who, after being driven out, came to the Milyan land in Asia. What is now possessed by the Lycians was in the past Milyan, and the Milyans were then called Solymi. For a while Sarpedon ruled them, and the people were called Termilae, which was the name that they had brought with them and that is still given to the Lycians by their neighbors; but after Lycus son of Pandion came from Athens — banished as well by his brother, Aegeus — to join Sarpedon in the land of the Termilae, they came in time to be called Lycians after Lycus. Their customs are partly Cretan and partly Carian. But they have one which is their own and shared by no other men: they take their names not from their fathers but from their mothers, and when one is asked by his neighbor who he is, he will say that he is the son of such a mother, and rehearse the mothers of his mother. Indeed, if a female citizen marries a slave, her children are considered pure-blooded; but if a male citizen, even the most prominent of them, takes an alien wife or concubine, the children are dishonored.

174 1 οἱ μὲν νυν Κᾶρες οὐδὲν λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἀποδεξάμενοι ἐδουλώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀρπάγου, οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Κᾶρες ἀποδεξάμενοι οὐδέν, οὔτε ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων ταύτην τὴν χώραν οἰκεῖουσιν· 2 οἰκεῖουσιν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι Κνίδιοι. οἱ τῆς χώρας τῆς σφετέρης τετραμμένης ἐς πόντον, τὸ δὴ Τριόπιον καλεῖται, ἀργμένης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς Βυβασσίδος, ἐούσης τε πάσης τῆς Κνιδίης πλὴν ὀλίγης περιῤῥόου 3 (τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ὁ Κεραμεικὸς κόλπος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἢ κατὰ Σύμην τε καὶ Ῥόδον θάλασσα), τὸ ὣν δὴ ὀλίγον τοῦτο, ἐὼν ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πέντε στάδια, ὥρυsson οἱ Κνίδιοι ἐν ὅσῳ Ἄρπαγος τὴν Ἰωνίην κατεστρέφετο, βουλόμενοι νῆσον τὴν χώραν ποιῆσαι. ἐντὸς δὲ πᾶσά σφι ἐγένετο· τῇ γὰρ ἡ Κνιδίη χώρα ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τελευτᾷ, ταύτῃ ὁ ἰσθμὸς ἐστὶ τὸν ὥρυsson. 4 καὶ δὴ πολλῇ, χειρὶ ἐργαζομένων τῶν Κνιδίων, μᾶλλον γάρ τι καὶ θειότερον ἐφαίνοντο τιτρώσκεσθαι οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ οἰκότος τά τε ἄλλα τοῦ σώματος καὶ μάλιστα τὰ

περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς θραυομένης τῆς πέτρης, ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους ἐπειρησομένους τὸ ἀντίξοον. 5 ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι, ὥς αὐτοὶ Κνίδιοι λέγουσι, χρᾶ ἐν τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε. Ἴσθμὸν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε μηδ' ὀρύσσετε· Ζεὺς γάρ κ' ἔθηκε νῆσον, εἴ κ' ἐβούλετο. 6 Κνίδιοι μὲν ταῦτα τῆς Πυθίης χρησάσης τοῦ τε ὀρύγματος ἐπαύσαντο καὶ Ἀρπάγῳ ἐπίοντι σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀμαχητὶ σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδωσαν.

174. Neither the Carians nor any Greeks who dwell in this country did any thing notable before they were all enslaved by Harpagus. Among those who inhabit it are certain Cnidians, colonists from Lacedaemon. Their country (it is called the Triopion) lies between the sea and that part of the peninsula which belongs to Bubassus, and all but a small part of the Cnidian territory is washed by the sea (for it is bounded on the north by the gulf of Ceramicus, and on the south by the sea off Syme and Rhodes). Now while Harpagus was conquering Ionia, the Cnidians dug a trench across this little space, which is about two-thirds of a mile wide, in order that their country might be an island. So they brought it all within the entrenchment; for the frontier between the Cnidian country and the mainland is on the isthmus across which they dug. Many of them were at this work; and seeing that the workers were injured when breaking stones more often and less naturally than usual, some in other ways, but most in the eyes, the Cnidians sent envoys to Delphi to inquire what it was that opposed them. Then, as they themselves say, the priestess gave them this answer in iambic verse: ““Do not wall or trench the isthmus: Zeus would have given you an island, if he had wanted to.” “ At this answer from the priestess, the Cnidians stopped their digging, and when Harpagus came against them with his army they surrendered to him without resistance.

175 1 ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασεεὺς οἰκέοντες ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησοῦ μεσόγαιαν· τοῖσι ὅκως τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδεον ἔσσεσθαι, αὐτοῖσιν τε καὶ τοῖσι περιοίκοις, ἡ ἱερεὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίης πώγωνα μέγαν ἔσχε. τρεῖς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο. οὗτοι τῶν περὶ Καρίην ἀνδρῶν μοῦνοί τε ἀντέσχον χρόνον Ἀρπάγῳ καὶ πρήγματα παρέσχον πλεῖστα, ὅρος τειχίσαντες τῷ οὐνομα ἐστὶ Λίδη.

175. There were Pedaseans dwelling inland above Halicarnassus; when any misfortune was approaching them or their neighbors, the

priestess of Athena grew a long beard. This had happened to them thrice. These were the only men near Caria who held out for long against Harpagus, and they gave him the most trouble; they fortified a hill called Lide.

176 1 Πηδασέες μὲν νυν χρόνῳ ἐξαιρέθησαν. Λύκιοι δέ, ὥς ἐς τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδίον ἦλασε ὁ Ἄρπαγος τὸν στρατόν, ἐπεξιόντες καὶ μαχόμενοι ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀρετᾶς ἀπεδείκνυντο, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ κατελιγθέντες ἐς τὸ ἄστυ συνήλυσαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, καὶ ἔπειτα ὑπῆψαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πᾶσαν ταύτην καίεσθαι. 2 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ συνομόσαντες ὄρκους δεινούς, ἐπεξελθόντες ἀπέθανον πάντες Ξανθιοὶ μαχόμενοι. 3 τῶν δὲ νῦν Λυκίων φαμένων Ξανθίων εἶναι οἱ πολλοί, πλὴν ὀγδῶκοντα ἰστιάων, εἰσὶ ἐπῆλυδες· αἱ δὲ ὀγδῶκοντα ἰστίαι αὗται ἔτυχον τηνικαῦτα ἐκδημέουσι καὶ οὕτω περιεγένοντο. τὴν μὲν δὴ Ξάνθον οὕτω ἔσχε ὁ Ἄρπαγος, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Καῦνον ἔσχε· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καύνιοι τοὺς Λυκίους ἐμιμήσαντο τὰ πλέω.

176. The Pedaseans were at length taken, and when Harpagus led his army into the plain of Xanthus, the Lycians came out to meet him, and showed themselves courageous fighting few against many; but being beaten and driven into the city, they gathered their wives and children and goods and servants into the acropolis, and then set the whole acropolis on fire. Then they swore great oaths to each other, and sallying out fell fighting, all the men of Xanthus. Of the Xanthians who claim now to be Lycians the greater number, all except eighty households, are of foreign descent; these eighty families as it happened were away from the city at that time, and thus survived. So Harpagus gained Xanthus, and Caunus too in a somewhat similar manner, the Caunians following for the most part the example of the Lycians.

177 1 τὰ μὲν νυν κάτω τῆς Ἀσίας Ἄρπαγος ἀνάστατα ἐποίει, τὰ δὲ ἄνω αὐτῆς αὐτὸς Κῦρος, πᾶν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος καὶ οὐδὲν παριείς. τὰ μὲν νυν αὐτῶν πλέω παρήσομεν· τὰ δὲ οἱ παρέσχε τε πόνον πλείστον καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατα ἐστί, τούτων ἐπιμνήσομαι.

177. Harpagus, then, made havoc of lower Asia; in the upper country, Cyrus himself vanquished every nation, leaving none

untouched. Of the greater part of these I will say nothing, but will speak only of those which gave Cyrus the most trouble and are most worthy of being described.

178 1 Κῦρος ἐπέιτε τὰ πάντα τῆς ἡπείρου ὑποχείρια ἐποιήσατο, Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐπετίθετο. τῆς δὲ Ἀσσυρίας ἐστὶ μὲν κου καὶ ἄλλα πολίσματα μεγάλα πολλά, τὸ δὲ ὀνομαστότατον καὶ ἰσχυρότατον καὶ ἔνθα σφι Νίνου ἀναστάτου γενομένης τὰ βασιλῆα κατεστήκεε, ἦν Βαβυλῶν, ἐοῦσα τοιαύτη δὴ τις πόλις. 2 κέεται ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ, μέγαθος ἐοῦσα μέτωπον ἑκαστον εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίων, ἐούσης τετραγώνου· οὗτοι στάδιοι τῆς περιόδου τῆς πόλιος γίνονται συνάπαντες ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι, τὸ μὲν νυν μέγαθος τοσοῦτον ἐστὶ τοῦ ἄστεος τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου, ἐκεκόσμητο δὲ ὥς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. 3 τάφος μὲν πρῶτά μιν βαθέα τε καὶ εὐρέα καὶ πλὴν ὕδατος περιθέει, μετὰ δὲ τεῖχος πεντήκοντα μὲν πηγέων βασιλῆων ἐὸν τὸ εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ διηκοσίων πηγέων· ὁ δὲ βασιλῆος πῆχυς τοῦ μετρίου ἐστὶ πήχεος μέζων τρισὶ δακτύλοισι.

178. When Cyrus had made all the mainland submit to him, he attacked the Assyrians. In Assyria there are many other great cities, but the most famous and the strongest was Babylon, where the royal dwelling had been established after the destruction of Ninus. Babylon was a city such as I will now describe. It lies in a great plain, and is in shape a square, each side fifteen miles in length; thus sixty miles make the complete circuit of the city. Such is the size of the city of Babylon; and it was planned like no other city of which we know. Around it runs first a moat deep and wide and full of water, and then a wall eighty three feet thick and three hundred thirty three feet high. The royal measure is greater by three fingers' breadth than the common measure.

179 1 δεῖ δὴ με πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι φράσαι ἵνα τε ἐκ τῆς τάφρου ἡ γῆ ἀναισιμώθη, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὄντινα τρόπον ἔργαστο. ὀρύσσοντες ἅμα τὴν τάφρον ἐπλίνθουν τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἐκφερομένην, ἐλκύσαντες δὲ πλίνθους ἱκανὰς ὥπτησαν αὐτὰς ἐν καμίνοις. 2 μετὰ δὲ τέλματι χρεώμενοι ἀσφάλτῳ θερμῇ καὶ διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων πλίνθου ταρσοὺς καλάμων διαστοιβάζοντες, ἔδειμαν πρῶτα μὲν τῆς τάφου τὰ χεῖλα, δευτέρα δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. 3 ἐπάνω δὲ τοῦ τείχεος παρὰ τὰ ἔσχατα οἰκήματα

μουνόκωλα ἔδειμαν, τετραμμένα ἐς ἄλληλα· τὸ μέσον δὲ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἔλιπον τεθρίπῳ περιέλασιν. πύλαι δὲ ἐνεστᾶσι πέριξ τοῦ τείχεος ἑκατόν, χάλκεαι πᾶσαι, καὶ σταθμοί τε καὶ ὑπέρθυρα ὡσαύτως. 4 ἔστι δὲ ἄλλη πόλις ἀπέχουσα ὀκτὼ ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος· Ἴς οὖνομα αὐτῇ· ἐνθα ἔστι ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας· Ἴς καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ οὖνομα· ἐσβάλλει δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον. οὗτος ὢν ὁ Ἴς ποταμὸς ἅμα τῷ, ὕδατι θρόμβους ἀσφάλτου ἀναδιδοῖ πολλούς, ἐνθεν ἡ ἄσφαλτος ἐς τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τείχος ἐκομίσθη.

179. Further, I must relate where the earth was used as it was dug from the moat and how the wall was constructed. As they dug the moat, they made bricks of the earth which was carried out of the place they dug, and when they had moulded bricks enough, they baked them in ovens; then using hot bitumen for cement and interposing layers of wattled reeds at every thirtieth course of bricks, they built first the border of the moat and then the wall itself in the same fashion. On the top, along the edges of the wall, they built houses of a single room, facing each other, with space enough between to drive a four-horse chariot. There are a hundred gates in the circuit of the wall, all of bronze, with posts and lintels of the same. There is another city, called Is, eight days' journey from Babylon, where there is a little river, also named Is, a tributary of the Euphrates river; from the source of this river Is, many lumps of bitumen rise with the water; and from there the bitumen was brought for the wall of Babylon.

180 1 ἐτετείχιστο μὲν νυν ἡ Βαβυλὼν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, ἔστι δὲ δύο φάρσέα τῆς πόλιος. τὸ γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ποταμὸς διέργει, τῷ οὖνομα ἔστι Εὐφράτης· ῥέει δὲ ἐξ Ἀρμενίων, ἐὼν μέγας καὶ βαθὺς καὶ ταχύς· ἐξιεῖ δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. 2 τὸ ὢν δὴ τεῖχος ἐκάτερον τοὺς ἀγκῶνας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐλήλათ· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου αἱ ἐπικαμπαὶ παρὰ χεῖλος ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ αἵμασι πλίνθων ὀπτέων παρατείνει. 3 τὸ δὲ ἄστρῳ αὐτό, ἐὼν πλήρες οἰκίεων τριωρόφων καὶ τετρωρόφων, κατατέμνεται τὰς ὁδοὺς ἰθείας τὰς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς ἐπικαρσίας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐχούσας. 4 κατὰ δὴ ὢν ἐκάστην ὁδὸν ἐν τῇ αἵμασι τῇ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδες ἐπῆσαν, ὅσαι περ αἱ λαῦραι, τοσαῦται ἀριθμόν· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὗται χάλκεαι....

φέρουσαι [καὶ αὐταὶ] ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμόν.

180. Thus, then, this wall was built; the city is divided into two parts; for it is cut in half by a river named Euphrates, a wide, deep, and swift river, flowing from Armenia and issuing into the Red Sea. The angles of the wall, then, on either side are built quite down to the river; here they turn, and from here a fence of baked bricks runs along each bank of the stream. The city itself is full of houses three and four stories high; and the ways that traverse it, those that run crosswise towards the river and the rest, are all straight. Further, at the end of each road there was a gate in the riverside fence, one gate for each alley; these gates also were of bronze, and these too opened on the river.

181 1 τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τεῖχος θώρηξ ἐστί, ἕτερον δὲ ἔσωθεν τεῖχος περιθεῖ, οὐ πολλῷ τεφρῷ ἀσθενέστερον τοῦ ἑτέρου τείχεος, στενότερον δέ. 2 ἐν δὲ φάρσει ἑκατέρῳ τῆς πόλιος ἐτετείχιστο ἐν μέσῳ ἐν τῷ μὲν τὰ βασιλῆα περιβόλῳ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ Διὸς Βήλου ἱερὸν χαλκόπυλον, καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι τοῦτο ἑὸν, δύο σταδίων πάντη, ἑὸν τετράγωνον. 3 ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρι οὗ ὀκτὼ πύργων. 4 ἀνάβασις δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα πεποιήται. μεσοῦντι δὲ κου τῆς ἀναβάσιος ἐστὶ καταγωγή τε καὶ θῶκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖσι κατίζοντες ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες. 5 ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ νηὸς ἔπεστι μέγας· ἐν δὲ τῷ νηῷ κλίνη μεγάλη κέεται εὖ ἐστρωμένη, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα παρακέεται χρυσῆ. ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἔστι οὐδὲν αὐτόθι ἐνιδρυμένον, οὐδὲ νύκτα οὐδεὶς ἐναυλίζεται ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ γυνὴ μούνη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τὴν ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἔλῃται ἐκ πασέων, ὥς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐόντες ἰδέεσθαι τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ.

181. These walls are the city's outer armor; within them there is another encircling wall, nearly as strong as the other, but narrower. In the middle of one division of the city stands the royal palace, surrounded by a high and strong wall; and in the middle of the other is still to this day the sacred enclosure of Zeus Belus, a square of four hundred and forty yards each way, with gates of bronze. In the center of this sacred enclosure a solid tower has been built, two hundred and

twenty yards long and broad; a second tower rises from this and from it yet another, until at last there are eight. The way up them mounts spirally outside the height of the towers; about halfway up is a resting place, with seats for repose, where those who ascend sit down and rest. In the last tower there is a great shrine; and in it stands a great and well-covered couch, and a golden table nearby. But no image has been set up in the shrine, nor does any human creature lie there for the night, except one native woman, chosen from all women by the god, as the Chaldaeans say, who are priests of this god.

182 1 φασι δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φοιτᾶν τε ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ ἀμπαύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, κατὰ περ ἐν Θήβῃσι τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι· 2 καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖθι κοιμᾶται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Θηβαίου γυνή, ἀμφοτέραι δὲ αὗται λέγονται ἀνδρῶν οὐδαμῶν ἐς ὁμιλίην φοιτᾶν· καὶ κατὰ περ ἐν Πατάροις τῆς Λυκίης ἡ πρόμαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὰν γένηται· οὐ γὰρ ὧν αἰεὶ ἐστὶ χρηστήριον αὐτόθι· ἐπεὰν δὲ γένηται τότε ὧν συγκατακληίεται τὰς νύκτας ἔσω ἐν τῷ νηῷ.

182. These same Chaldaeans say (though I do not believe them) that the god himself is accustomed to visit the shrine and rest on the couch, as in Thebes of Egypt, as the Egyptians say (for there too a woman sleeps in the temple of Theban Zeus, and neither the Egyptian nor the Babylonian woman, it is said, has intercourse with men), and as does the prophetess of the god at Patara in Lycia, whenever she is appointed; for there is not always a place of divination there; but when she is appointed she is shut up in the temple during the night.

183 1 ἔστι δὲ τοῦ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱεροῦ καὶ ἄλλος κάτω νηός, ἐνθα ἄγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Διὸς ἐνὶ κατήμενον χρύσειον, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα μεγάλη παρακέεται χρυσῇ, καὶ τὸ βᾶθρον οἱ καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρύσεος ἐστί· καὶ ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων χρυσοῦ πεποιήται ταῦτα. 2 ἔξω δὲ τοῦ νηοῦ βωμός ἐστι χρύσεος, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς μέγας, ἐπ' οὗ θύεται τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ χρυσοῦ βωμοῦ οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν ὅτι μὴ γαλαθηνὰ μούνα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέζονος βωμοῦ καὶ καταγίζουσι λιβανωτοῦ χίλια τάλαντα ἔτεος ἐκάστου οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τότε ἐπεὰν τὴν ὁρτὴν ἄγωσι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ. ἦν

δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ ἔτι τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἀνδριάς δυώδεκα πηγέων χρύσεος στερεός· 3 ἐγὼ μὲν μιν οὐκ εἶδον, τὰ δὲ λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων, ταῦτα λέγω. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδριάντι Δαρεῖος μὲν ὁ Ὑστάσπεος ἐπιβουλεύσας οὐκ ἐτόλμησε λαβεῖν, Χέρξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου ἔλαβε καὶ τὸν ἱερά ἀπέκτεινε ἀπαγορεύοντα μὴ κινεῖν τὸν ἀνδριάντα. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὕτω κεκόσμηται, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἴδια ἀναθήματα πολλά.

183. In the Babylonian temple there is another shrine below, where there is a great golden image of Zeus, sitting at a great golden table, and the footstool and the chair are also gold; the gold of the whole was said by the Chaldeans to be eight hundred talents' weight. Outside the temple is a golden altar. There is also another great altar, on which are sacrificed the full-grown of the flocks; only nurslings may be sacrificed on the golden altar, but on the greater altar the Chaldeans even offer a thousand talents' weight of frankincense yearly, when they keep the festival of this god; and in the days of Cyrus there was still in this sacred enclosure a statue of solid gold twenty feet high. I myself have not seen it, but I relate what is told by the Chaldeans. Darius son of Hystaspes proposed to take this statue but dared not; Xerxes his son took it, and killed the priest who warned him not to move the statue. Such is the furniture of this temple, and there are many private offerings besides.

184 1 τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ταύτης πολλοὶ μὲν κου καὶ ἄλλοι ἐγένοντο βασιλέες, τῶν ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγοισι μνήμην ποιήσομαι, οἱ τὰ τείχεά τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες δύο. ἡ μὲν πρότερον ἄρξασα, τῆς ὕστερον γενεῇσι πέντε πρότερον γενομένη, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Σεμίραμις, αὕτη μὲν ἀπεδέξατο χρώματα ἀνὰ τὸ πεδῖον ἔοντα ἀξιοθέητα· πρότερον δὲ ἐώθεε ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδῖον πᾶν πελαγίζειν.

184. Now among the many rulers of this city of Babylon (whom I shall mention in my Assyrian history) who finished the building of the walls and the temples, there were two that were women. The first of these lived five generations earlier than the second, and her name was Semiramis: it was she who built dikes on the plain, a notable work; before that the whole plain used to be flooded by the river.

185 1 ἡ δὲ δὴ δεῦτερον γενομένη ταύτης βασιλεία, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν

Νίτωκρις, αὕτη δὲ συνετωτέρη γενομένη τῆς πρότερον ἀρξάσης τοῦτο μὲν μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν Μήδων ὀρῶσα ἀρχὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ οὐκ ἀτρεμίζουσαν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τε ἀραιρημένα ἄστεα αὐτοῖσι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Νίνον, προεφυλάξατο ὅσα ἐδύνατο μάλιστα. 2 πρῶτα μὲν τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ῥέοντα πρότερον ἰθὺν, ὃς σφι διὰ τῆς πόλιος μέσης ῥέει, τοῦτον ἄνωθεν διώρυχας ὀρύξασα οὕτω δὴ τι ἐποίησε σκολιὸν ὥστε δὴ τρίς ἐς τῶν τινα κωμέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίῃ ἀπικνέεται ῥέων· τῇ δὲ κώμῃ οὖνομα ἐστί, ἐς τὴν ἀπικνέεται ὁ Εὐφρήτης, Ἀρδέρικκα. καὶ νῦν οἱ ἂν κομίζονται ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυλῶνα, καταπλέοντες τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τρίς τε ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην κώμην παραγίνονται καὶ ἐν τρισὶ ἡμέρησι. 3 τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἐποίησε, χῶμα δὲ παρέχωσε παρ' ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χεῖλος ἄξιον θώματος μέγαθος καὶ ὕψος ὅσον τι ἐστί. 4 κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῶ Βαβυλῶνος ὥρυσσε ἔλυτρον λίμνη, ὀλίγον τι παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, βάθος μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰεὶ ὀρύσσουσα, εὖρος δὲ τὸ περίμετρον αὐτοῦ ποιεῦσα εἴκοσί τε καὶ τετρακοσίων σταδίων· τὸν δὲ ὀρυσσόμενον χοῦν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἀναισίμου παρὰ τὰ χεῖλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραχέουσα. 5 ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ ὀρώρυκτο, λίθους ἀγαγομένη κρηπίδα κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν ἤλασε. 6 ἐποίει δὲ ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα, τὸν τε ποταμὸν σκολιὸν καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα πᾶν ἔλος, ὥς ὃ τε ποταμὸς βραδύτερος εἶη περὶ καμπὰς πολλὰς ἀγνύμενος, καὶ οἱ πλόοι ἔωσι σκολιοὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἔκ τε τῶν πλόων ἐκδέκεται περίοδος τῆς λίμνης μακρὴ. 7 κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἐργάζετο τῆς χώρας τῇ αἰ τε ἐσβολαὶ ἦσαν καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μήδων ὁδοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιμισγόμενοι οἱ Μῆδοι ἐκμανθάνοιεν αὐτῆς τὰ πρήγματα.

185. The second queen, whose name was Nitocris, was a wiser woman than the first. She left such monuments as I shall record; and moreover, seeing that the kingdom of Media was great and restless and Ninus itself among other cities had fallen to it, she took such precautions as she could for her protection. First she dealt with the river Euphrates, which flows through the middle of her city; this had been straight before; but by digging canals higher up she made the river so crooked that its course now passes one of the Assyrian villages three times; the village which is so approached by the Euphrates is called Ardericca. And now those who travel from our

sea to Babylon must spend three days as they float down the Euphrates coming three times to the same village. Such was this work; and she built an embankment along either shore of the river, marvellous for its greatness and height. Then a long way above Babylon she dug the reservoir of a lake, a little way off from the river, always digging deep enough to find water, and making the circumference a distance of fifty two miles; what was dug out of this hole, she used to embank either edge of the river; and when she had it all dug, she brought stones and made a quay all around the lake. Her purpose in making the river wind and turning the hole into marsh was this: that the current might be slower because of the many windings that broke its force, and that the passages to Babylon might be crooked, and that right after them should come also the long circuit of the lake. All this work was done in that part of the country where the passes are and the shortest road from Media, so that the Medes might not mix with her people and learn of her affairs.

186 1 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐκ βάθεος περιεβάλετο, τοιήνδε δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν παρενθήκην ἐποιήσατο. τῆς πόλιος ἐούσης δύο φαρσέων, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσον ἔχοντος, ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων ὅπως τις ἐθέλοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐτέρου φάρσεος εἰς τοῦτερον διαβῆναι, χρῆν πλοίῳ διαβαίνειν, καὶ ἦν, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ὀχληρὸν τοῦτο. αὕτη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεῖδε. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ὥρυσσε τὸ ἔλυτρον τῇ λίμνῃ, μνημόσυνον τόδε ἄλλο ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου ἐλίπετο· 2 ἐτάμνετο λίθους περιμήκεας, ὥς δὲ οἱ ἦσαν οἱ λίθοι ἔτοιμοι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀρώρυκτο, ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥέεθρον πᾶν εἰς τὸ ὥρυσσε χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπίμπλατο τοῦτο, ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεξηρασμένου τοῦ ἀρχαίου ῥέεθρου τοῦτο μὲν τὰ χεῖλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς καταβάσις τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλίδων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν φερούσας ἀνοικοδόμησε πλίνθοισι ὀπτῆσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ τείχεϊ, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ μέσῃν καὶ μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν τοῖσι λίθοις τοὺς ὠρύξατο οἰκοδόμει γέφυραν, δέουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδήρῳ τε καὶ μολύβδῳ. 3 ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὅπως μὲν ἡμέρη γίνοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπ' ὧν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῦντο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι· τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα ταῦτα ἀπαιρέεσκον τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφοιτέοντες τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παρ' ἀλλήλων. 4 ὥς δὲ τό τε ὀρυχθὲν λίμνη πλήρης ἐγεγόνει ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐκεκόσμητο, τὸν Εὐφρήτην

ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ῥέεθρα ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἐξήγαγε, καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὀρυχθὲν ἔλος γενόμενον ἐς δέον ἐδόκεε γεγονέναι καὶ τοῖσι πολίτησι γέφυρα ἦν κατεσκευασμένη.

186. So she made the deep river her protection; and this work led to another which she added to it. Her city was divided into two parts by the river that flowed through the middle. In the days of the former rulers, when one wanted to go from one part to the other, one had to cross in a boat; and this, I suppose, was a nuisance. But the queen also provided for this; she made another monument of her reign out of this same work when the digging of the basin of the lake was done. She had very long blocks of stone cut; and when these were ready and the place was dug, she turned the course of the river into it, and while it was filling, the former channel now being dry, she bricked the borders of the river in the city and the descent from the gate leading down to the river with baked bricks, like those of the wall; and near the middle of the city she built a bridge with the stones that had been dug up, binding them together with iron and lead. Each morning, she laid square-hewn logs across it, on which the Babylonians crossed; but these logs were removed at night, lest folk always be crossing over and stealing from one another. Then, when the basin she had made for a lake was filled by the river and the bridge was finished, Nitocris brought the Euphrates back to its former channel out of the lake; thus she had served her purpose, as she thought, by making a swamp of the basin, and her citizens had a bridge made for them.

187 1 ἡ δ' αὐτὴ αὕτη βασιλεία καὶ ἀπάτην τοιήνδε τινὰ ἐμηχανήσατο· ὕπερ τῶν μάλιστα λεωφόρων πυλέων τοῦ ἄστεος τάφον ἐωυτῇ κατεσκευάσατο μετέωρον ἐπιπολῆς αὐτέων τῶν πυλέων, ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. 2 “τῶν τις ἐμεῦ ὕστερον γινομένων Βαβυλῶνος βασιλέων ἦν σπανίση χρημάτων, ἀνοίξας τὸν τάφον λαβέτω ὁκόσα βούλεται χρήματα· μὴ μέντοι γε μὴ σπανίσας γε ἄλλως ἀνοίξῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον·” 3 οὗτος ὁ τάφος ἦν ἀκίνητος μέχρι οὗ ἐς Δαρεῖον περιῆλθε ἡ βασιλιή· Δαρεῖω δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐδόκεε εἶναι τῇσι πύλῃσι ταύτῃσι μηδὲν χρᾶσθαι, καὶ χρημάτων κειμένων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐπικαλεομένων, μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά· 4 τῇσι δὲ πύλῃσι ταύτῃσι οὐδὲν ἐχρᾶτο τοῦδε

εἵνεκα, ὅτι ὑπερ κεφαλῆς οἱ ἐγίνετο ὁ νεκρὸς διεξελαύνοντι. 5 ἀνοίξας δὲ τὸν τάφον εὗρε χρήματα μὲν οὐ, τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· “εἰ μὴ ἅπληστός τε ἕας χρημάτων καὶ αἰσχροκερδῆς, οὐκ ἂν νεκρῶν θήκας ἀνέωγες.” αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ βασιλεία τοιαύτη τις λέγεται γενέσθαι.

187. There was a trick, too, that this same queen contrived. She had a tomb made for herself and set high over the very gate of that entrance of the city which was used most, with writing engraved on the tomb, which read: “If any king of Babylon in the future is in need of money, let him open this tomb and take as much as he likes: but let him not open it unless he is in need; for it will be the worse for him.” This tomb remained untouched until the kingship fell to Darius. He thought it a very strange thing that he should never use this gate, or take the money when it lay there and the writing itself invited him to. The reason he did not use the gate was that the dead body would be over his head as he passed through. After opening the tomb, he found no money there, only the dead body, with writing which read: “If you were ever satisfied with what you had and did not disgrace yourself seeking more, you would not have opened the coffins of the dead.” Such a woman, it is recorded, was this queen.

188 1 ὁ δὲ δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα ἐστρατεύετο, ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ τοῦνομα Λαβυνήτου καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχήν. στρατεύεται δὲ δὴ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐσκευασμένος ἐξ οἴκου καὶ προβάτοισι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεω ποταμοῦ ἅμα ἄγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα ῥέοντος, τοῦ μόνου πίνει βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ποταμοῦ. 2 τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χοάσπεω τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπεψημένου πολλαὶ κάρτα ἅμαξαι τετράκυκλοι ἡμιόνεαι κομίζουσιν ἐν ἀγγηίοισι ἀργυρέοισι ἔπονται, ὅκη ἂν ἐλαύνῃ ἐκάστοτε.

188. Cyrus, then, marched against Nitocris' son, who inherited the name of his father Labynetus and the sovereignty of Assyria. Now when the Great King campaigns, he marches well provided with food and flocks from home; and water from the Choaspes river that flows past Susa is carried with him, the only river from which the king will drink. This water of the Choaspes is boiled, and very many four-wheeled wagons drawn by mules carry it in silver vessels, following

the king wherever he goes at any time.

189 1 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Γύνδῃ ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐν Ματινηοῖσι ὄρεσι, ῥέει δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς ἕτερον ποταμὸν Τίγρην, ὁ δὲ παρὰ Ἰωπὶν πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο ὁ Κῦρος ἐόντα νησιπέρητον, ἐνθαυτὰ οἱ τῶν τις ἱρῶν ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν ὑπὸ ὕβριος ἐσβὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο, ὁ δὲ μιν συμψήσας ὑποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων. 2 κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦτο ὑβρίσαντι, καὶ οἱ ἐπηπείλησε οὕτω δὴ μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσειν ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναῖκας μιν εὐπετέως τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας διαβήσεσθαι. 3 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπειλὴν μετεῖς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα στρατεύειν διαίρειε τὴν στρατιὴν δίχα, διελὼν δὲ κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας ὑποδέξας διώρυχας ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παρ' ἑκάτερον τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ Γύνδεω τετραμμένας πάντα τρόπον, διατάξας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. 4 οἷα δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζομένου ἦνετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὅμως μέντοι τὴν θερεῖν πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διέτριψαν ἐργαζόμενοι.

189. When Cyrus reached the Gyndes river on his march to Babylon, which rises in the mountains of the Matieni and flows through the Dardanean country into another river, the Tigris, that again passes the city of Opis and empties into the Red Sea — when, I say, Cyrus tried to cross the Gyndes, which was navigable there, one of his sacred white horses dashed recklessly into the river trying to get through it, but the current overwhelmed him and swept him under and away. At this violence of the river Cyrus was very angry, and he threatened to make it so feeble that women could ever after cross it easily without wetting their knees. After uttering this threat, he paused in his march against Babylon, and, dividing his army into two parts, drew lines planning out a hundred and eighty canals running every way from either bank of the Gyndes; then he organized his army along the lines and made them dig. Since a great multitude was at work, it went quickly; but they spent the whole summer there before it was finished.

190 1 ὥς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κῦρος ἐς τριηκοσίας καὶ ἑξήκοντα διώρυχάς μιν διαλαβὼν, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, οὕτω δὴ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι

ἐκστρατευσάμενοι ἔμενον αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐλαύνων ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλιος, συνέβαλόν τε οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. 2 οἷα δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἔτι πρότερον τὸν Κῦρον οὐκ ἀτρεμίζοντα, ἀλλ' ὀρέοντες αὐτὸν παντὶ ἔθνεϊ ὁμοίως ἐπιχειρόντα, προσεάζαντο σιτία ἐτέων κάρτα πολλῶν. ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν λόγον εἶχον τῆς πολιορκίης οὐδένα, Κῦρος δὲ ἀπορίῃσι ἐνείχετο, ἅτε χρόνου τε ἐγγινομένου συχνοῦ ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδὲν τῶν πρηγμάτων προκοπτομένων.

190. Then at the beginning of the following spring, when Cyrus had punished the Gyndes by dividing it among the three hundred and sixty canals, he marched against Babylon at last. The Babylonians sallied out and awaited him; and when he came near their city in his march, they engaged him, but they were beaten and driven inside the city. There they had stored provisions enough for very many years, because they knew already that Cyrus was not a man of no ambition, and saw that he attacked all nations alike; so now they were indifferent to the siege; and Cyrus did not know what to do, being so long delayed and gaining no advantage.

191 1 εἴτε δὴ ὢν ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορέοντι ὑπεθήκατο, εἴτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἦν, ἐποίηε δὴ τοιόνδε. 2 τάξας τὴν στρατιὴν ἅπασαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσβάλλει, καὶ ὀπισθε αὐτὶς τῆς πόλιος τάξας ἐτέρους, τῇ ἐξιεῖ ἐκ τῆς πόλιος ὁ ποταμός, προεῖπε τῷ στρατῷ, ὅταν διαβατὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον ἴδωνται γενόμενον, ἐσιέναι ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω τε δὴ τάξας καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα παραινέσας ἀπήλαυνε αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ ἀρχηγῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ. 3 ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην, τὰ περ ἢ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεία ἐποίησε κατὰ τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἐποίηε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἕτερα τοιαῦτα· τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυχι ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην εὐοῦσαν ἔλος, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε, ὑπονοστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. 4 γενομένου δὲ τούτου τοιούτου, οἱ Πέρσαι οἱ περ ἐτετάχατο ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ῥέεθρον τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω ποταμοῦ ὑπονενοστηκότος ἀνδρὶ ὥς ἐς μέσον μηρὸν μάλιστά κη, κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσήσαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. 5 εἰ μὲν νυν προεπύθοντο ἢ ἔμαθον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου ποιούμενον, οἱ δ' ἂν περιδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφθειραν ἂν κάκιστα· κατακλήσαντες γὰρ ἂν πάσας τὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν

πυλίδας ἐχούσας καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἵμασιās ἀναβάντες τὰς παρὰ τὰ χεῖλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐληλαμένας, ἔλαβον ἂν σφέας ὥς ἐν κύρτῃ. ὁ νῦν δὲ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκίτου σφί παρέστησαν οἱ Πέρσαι. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῆς πόλιος, ὥς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, τῶν περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς πόλιος ἐαλωκότων τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκέοντας τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὐ μανθάνειν ἐαλωκότας, ἀλλὰ τυχεῖν γάρ σφί ἐοῦσαν ὀρτὴν, χορεύειν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι εἶναι, ἐς ὃ δὴ καὶ τὸ κάρτα ἐπύθοντο.

191. Whether someone advised him in his difficulty, or whether he perceived for himself what to do, I do not know, but he did the following. He posted his army at the place where the river goes into the city, and another part of it behind the city, where the river comes out of the city, and told his men to enter the city by the channel of the Euphrates when they saw it to be fordable. Having disposed them and given this command, he himself marched away with those of his army who could not fight; and when he came to the lake, Cyrus dealt with it and with the river just as had the Babylonian queen: drawing off the river by a canal into the lake, which was a marsh, he made the stream sink until its former channel could be forded. When this happened, the Persians who were posted with this objective made their way into Babylon by the channel of the Euphrates, which had now sunk to a depth of about the middle of a man's thigh. Now if the Babylonians had known beforehand or learned what Cyrus was up to, they would have let the Persians enter the city and have destroyed them utterly; for then they would have shut all the gates that opened on the river and mounted the walls that ran along the river banks, and so caught their enemies in a trap. But as it was, the Persians took them unawares, and because of the great size of the city (those who dwell there say) those in the outer parts of it were overcome, but the inhabitants of the middle part knew nothing of it; all this time they were dancing and celebrating a holiday which happened to fall then, until they learned the truth only too well.

192 1 καὶ Βαβυλῶν μὲν οὕτω τότε πρῶτον ἀραίρητο. τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι δηλώσω ὅση τις ἐστί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε. βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς τροφὴν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιῆς διαραίρηται, πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου, γῆ πᾶσα ὅσης ἄρχει·

δυώδεκα ὧν μηνῶν ἐόντων ἐς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας τρέφει μιν ἡ Βαβυλωνίη χωρῇ, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἡ λοιπὴ πᾶσα Ἀσίη. 2 οὕτω τριτημορίη ἡ Ἀσσυρίη χώρα τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίας. καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, τὴν οἱ Πέρσαι σατραπηίην καλέουσι, ἐστὶ ἀπασέων τῶν ἀρχέων πολλόν τι κρατίστη, ὅκου Τριτανταίχημ τῷ Ἀρταβάζου ἐκ βασιλέος ἔχοντι τὸν νομὸν τοῦτον ἀργυρίου μὲν προσήιε ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἀρτάβη μεστή. 3 ἡ δὲ ἀρτάβη, μέτρον ἐὸν Περσικόν, χωρέει μεδίμνου Ἀττικοῦ πλέον χοίριζι τρισὶ Ἀττικῇσι, ἵπποι δὲ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ἰδίη, πάρεξ τῶν πολεμιστηρίων, οἱ μὲν ἀναβαίνοντες τὰς θηλέας ὀκτακόσιοι, αἱ δὲ βαινόμεναι ἑξακισχίλια καὶ μυρία· ἀνέβαινε γὰρ ἕκαστος τῶν ἐρσένων τούτων εἴκοσι ἵππους. 4 κυνῶν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν τοσοῦτο δὴ τι πλῆθος ἐτρέφετο ὥστε τέσσερες τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κῶμαι μεγάλαι, τῶν ἄλλων εὐδοῖσαι ἀτελέες, τοῖσι κυσὶ προσετετάχατο σιτία παρέχειν. τοιαῦτα μὲν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ὑπῆρχε ἐόντα.

192. And Babylon, then for the first time, was taken in this way. I shall show how great the power of Babylon is by many other means, but particularly by this. All the land that the great King rules is parcelled out to provision him and his army, and pays tribute besides: now the territory of Babylon feeds him for four of the twelve months in the year, the whole of the rest of Asia providing for the other eight. Thus the wealth of Assyria is one third of the entire wealth of Asia. The governorship of this land, which the Persians call “satrapy,” is by far the most powerful of all the governorships, since the daily income of Tritantæchmes son of Artabazus, who governed this province by the king’s will, was an artaba full of silver (the artaba is a Persian measure, containing more than an Attic medimnus by three Attic choenixes), and besides warhorses he had eight hundred stallions in his stables, and sixteen thousand brood mares, each stallion servicing twenty mares. Moreover he kept so great a number of Indian dogs that four great villages of the plain were appointed to provide food for the dogs and exempted from all other burdens. Such were the riches of the governor of Babylon.

193 1 ἡ δὲ γῆ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ὕεται μὲν ὀλίγῳ, καὶ τὸ ἐκτρέφον τὴν ρίζαν τοῦ σίτου ἐστὶ τοῦτο· ἀρδόμενον μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀδρύνεται τε τὸ λήιον καὶ παραγίνεται ὁ σῖτος, οὐ κατὰ περ ἐν

Αἰγύπτῳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας, ἀλλὰ
χερσί τε καὶ κηλωνηίοισι ἀρδόμενος. 2 ἡ γὰρ Βαβυλωνίη χώρα πᾶσα,
κατὰ περ ἢ Αἰγυπτίη, κατατέμνεται ἐς διώρυχας· καὶ ἡ μεγίστη τῶν
διωρύχων ἐστὶ νηυσιπέρητος, πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένη τὸν χειμερινόν,
ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς ἄλλον ποταμὸν ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω, ἐς τὸν Τίγρην, παρ’
ὃν Νίνος πόλις οἴκητο. ἔστι δὲ χωρέων αὕτη πασέων μακρῷ ἀρίστη
τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν... 3 τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα
δένδρεα οὐδὲ πειρᾶται ἀρχὴν φέρειν, οὔτε συκέην οὔτε ἄμπελον
οὔτε ἐλαίην. τὸν δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καρπὸν ὧδε ἀγαθὴ ἐκφέρειν ἐστὶ
ὥστε ἐπὶ διηκόσια μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀποδοῖ, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἄριστα αὐτὴ
ἐωυτῆς ἐνείκη, ἐπὶ τριηκόσια ἐκφέρει. τὰ δὲ φύλλα αὐτόθι τῶν τε
πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κριθέων τὸ πλάτος γίνεται τεσσέρων εὐπετέως
δακτύλων. 4 ἐκ δὲ κέγχρου καὶ σησάμου ὅσον τι δένδρον μέγαθος
γίνεται, ἐξεπιστάμενος μνήμην οὐ ποιήσομαι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῖσι μὴ
ἀπιγμένοισι ἐς τὴν Βαβυλωνίην χώραν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν
ἐχόμενα ἐς ἀπιστίην πολλὴν ἀπῖκται. χρέωνται δὲ οὐδὲν ἐλαίῳ ἄλλ’
ἢ ἐκ τῶν σησάμων ποιεῦντες. εἰσὶ δὲ σφι φοίνικες πεφυκότες ἀνὰ
πᾶν τὸ πεδῖον, οἱ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν καρποφόροι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ σιτία καὶ
οἶνον καὶ μέλι ποιεῦνται. 5 τοὺς συκέων τρόπον θεραπεύουσι τὰ τε
ἄλλα καὶ φοινίκων τοὺς ἔρσενας Ἑλληνὲς καλέουσι, τούτων τὸν
καρπὸν περιδέουσι τῇσι βαλανηφόροισι τὸν φοινίκων, ἵνα πεπαίνῃ τε
σφι ὁ ψὴν τὴν βάλανον ἐσδύνων καὶ μὴ ἀπορῥέῃ ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ
φοίνικος· ψῆνας γὰρ δὴ φέρουσι ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες κατὰ περ
δὴ οἱ ὀλυνθοί.

193. There is little rain in Assyria. This nourishes the roots of the grain; but it is irrigation from the river that ripens the crop and brings the grain to fullness. In Egypt, the river itself rises and floods the fields; in Assyria, they are watered by hand and by swinging beams. For the whole land of Babylon, like Egypt, is cut across by canals. The greatest of these is navigable: it runs towards where the sun rises in winter, from the Euphrates to another river, the Tigris, on which stood the city of Ninus. This land is by far the most fertile in grain which we know. It does not even try to bear trees, fig, vine, or olive, but Demeter’s grain is so abundant there that it yields for the most part two hundred fold, and even three hundred fold when the harvest is best. The blades of the wheat and barley there are easily four

fingers broad; and for millet and sesame, I will not say to what height they grow, though it is known to me; for I am well aware that even what I have said regarding grain is wholly disbelieved by those who have never visited Babylonia. They use no oil except what they make from sesame. There are palm trees there growing all over the plain, most of them yielding fruit, from which food is made and wine and honey. The Assyrians tend these like figs, and chiefly in this respect, that they tie the fruit of the palm called male by the Greeks to the date-bearing palm, so that the gall-fly may enter the dates and cause them to ripen, and that the fruit of the palm may not fall; for the male palms, like unripened figs, have gall-flies in their fruit.

194 1 τὸ δὲ ἀπάντων θῶμα μέγιστόν μοι ἐστὶ τῶν ταύτῃ μετὰ γε αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ἔρχομαι φράσω· τὰ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πορευόμενα ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἐόντα κυκλοτερέα, πάντα σκύτινα. 2 ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἀρμενίοισι τοῖσι κατύπερθε Ἀσσυρίων οἰκημένοισι νομέας ἰτέης ταμόμενοι ποιήσωνται, περιτείνουσι τούτοισι διφθέρας στεγαστρίδας ἔξωθεν ἐδάφεος τρόπον, οὔτε πρύμνην ἀποκρίνοντες οὔτε πῶρην συνάγοντες, ἀλλ' ἀσπίδος τρόπον κυκλοτερέα ποιήσαντες καὶ καλάμης πλήσαντες πᾶν τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο ἀπιεῖσι κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν φέρεσθαι, φορτίων πλήσαντες· μάλιστα δὲ βίκους φοινικηίους κατάγουσι οἴνου πλέους. 3 ἰθύνεται δὲ ὑπὸ τε δύο πλήκτρων καὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν ὀρθῶν ἐστεώτων, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔσω ἔλκει τὸ πλήκτρον ὁ δὲ ἔξω ὠθέει. ποιεῖται δὲ καὶ κάρτα μεγάλα ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐλάσσω· τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων γόμον ἔχει. ἐν ἐκάστῳ δὲ πλοίῳ ὄνος ζωὸς ἔνεστι, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι μέζοσι πλεῦνες. 4 ἐπεὰν ὦν ἀπίκωνται πλέοντες ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα καὶ διαθέωνται τὸν φόρτον, νομέας μὲν τοῦ πλοίου καὶ τὴν καλάμην πᾶσαν ἀπ' ὧν ἐκήρυξαν, τὰς δὲ διφθέρας ἐπισάξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀπελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους. 5 ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ οὐκ οἶά τε ἐστὶ πλέειν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ὑπὸ τάχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐκ ξύλων ποιεῦνται τὰ πλοῖα ἀλλ' ἐκ διφθερέων. ἐπεὰν δὲ τοὺς ὄνους ἐλαύνοντες ἀπίκωνται ὀπίσω ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους, ἄλλα τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιεῦνται πλοῖα.

194. I am going to indicate what seems to me to be the most marvellous thing in the country, next to the city itself. Their boats

which ply the river and go to Babylon are all of skins, and round. They make these in Armenia, higher up the stream than Assyria. First they cut frames of willow, then they stretch hides over these for a covering, making as it were a hold; they neither broaden the stern nor narrow the prow, but the boat is round, like a shield. They then fill it with reeds and send it floating down the river with a cargo; and it is for the most part palm wood casks of wine that they carry down. Two men standing upright steer the boat, each with a paddle, one drawing it to him, the other thrusting it from him. These boats are of all sizes, some small, some very large; the largest of them are of as much as five thousand talents burden. There is a live ass in each boat, or more than one in the larger. So when they have floated down to Babylon and disposed of their cargo, they sell the framework of the boat and all the reeds; the hides are set on the backs of asses, which are then driven back to Armenia, for it is not by any means possible to go upstream by water, because of the swiftness of the current; it is for this reason that they make their boats of hides and not of wood. When they have driven their asses back into Armenia, they make more boats in the same way.

195 1 τὰ μὲν δὴ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα· ἐσθῆτι δὲ τοιῆδε χρέωνται, κιθῶνι ποδηνεκὲι λινέῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἄλλον εἰρίνεον κιθῶνα ἐπενδύνει καὶ χλανίδιον λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενος, ὑποδήματα ἔχων ἐπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῇσι Βοιωτίῃσι ἐμβάσι. κομῶντες δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς μίτρησι ἀναδέονται, μεμυρισμένοι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα. 2 σφρηγῖδα δὲ ἕκαστος ἔχει καὶ σκῆπτρον χειροποίητον· ἐπ' ἑκάστῳ δὲ σκῆπτρῳ ἔπεστι πεποιημένον ἢ μῆλον ἢ ρόδον ἢ κρίνον ἢ αἰετὸς ἢ ἄλλο τι· ἄνευ γὰρ ἐπισήμου οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ ἔχειν σκῆπτρον.

195. Such then are their boats. For clothing, they wear a linen tunic, reaching to the feet; over this the Babylonian puts on another tunic, of wool, and wraps himself in a white mantle; he wears the shoes of his country, which are like Boeotian sandals. Their hair is worn long, and covered by caps; the whole body is perfumed. Every man has a seal and a carved staff, and on every staff is some image, such as that of an apple or a rose or a lily or an eagle: no one carries a staff without an image.

196 1 αὕτη μὲν δὴ σφι ἄρτισις περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐστί· νόμοι δὲ

αὐτοῖσι ὧδε κατεστᾶσι, ὁ μὲν σοφώτατος ὅδε κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέρην, τῷ καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν Ἐνετοὺς πυνθάνομαι χρᾶσθαι. κατὰ κώμας ἐκάστας ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτεος ἐκάστου ἐποιέετο τάδε· ὥς ἂν αἱ παρθένοι γενοίαιτο γάμων ὥραϊαι, ταύτας ὅκως συναγάγοιεν πάσας, ἐς ἓν χωρίον ἐσάγεσκον ἀλέας, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὰς ἵστατο ὄμιλος ἀνδρῶν, 2 ἀνιστὰς δὲ κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην κῆρυξ πωλέεσκε, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν εὐειδεστάτην ἐκ πασέων· μετὰ δέ, ὅκως αὕτη εὐροῦσα πολλὸν χρυσίον πρηθείη, ἄλλην ἂν ἐκήρυσσε ἢ μετ' ἐκείνην ἔσκε εὐειδεστάτη· ἐπωλέοντο δὲ ἐπὶ συνοικῆσι. ὅσοι μὲν δὴ ἔσκον εὐδαίμονες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐπίγαμοι, ὑπερβάλλοντες ἀλλήλους ἐξωνέοντο τὰς καλλιστευούσας· ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ δήμου ἔσκον ἐπίγαμοι, οὗτοι δὲ εἶδος μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο χρηστοῦ, οἱ δ' ἂν χρήματά τε καὶ αἰσχίονας παρθένους ἐλάμβανον. 3 ὥς γὰρ δὴ διεξέλθοι ὁ κῆρυξ πωλέων τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν παρθένων ἀνίστη ἂν τὴν ἀμορφεστάτην, ἣ εἴ τις αὐτέων ἔμπηρος εἴη, καὶ ταύτην ἂν ἐκήρυσσε, ὅστις θέλοι ἐλάχιστον χρυσίον λαβὼν συνοικέειν αὐτῇ, ἐς ὃ τῷ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὑπισταμένῳ προσέκειτο. τὸ δὲ ἂν χρυσίον ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ τῶν εὐειδέων παρθένων καὶ οὕτω αἱ εὐμορφοὶ τὰς ἀμόρφους καὶ ἐμπήρους ἐξεδίδουσιν. ἐκδοῦναι δὲ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα ὅτεω βούλοιο ἕκαστος οὐκ ἐξῆν, οὐδὲ ἄνευ ἐγγυητέω ἀπάγεσθαι τὴν παρθένον πριάμενον, ἀλλ' ἐγγυητὰς χρῆν καταστήσαντα ἢ μὲν συνοικήσειν αὐτῇ, οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι. 4 εἰ δὲ μὴ συμφερόιατο, ἀποφέρειν τὸ χρυσίον ἔκειτο νόμος. ἐξῆν δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλης ἐλθόντα κώμης τὸν βουλόμενον ὠνέεσθαι. 5 ὁ μὲν νυν κάλλιστος νόμος οὗτός σφι ἦν, οὐ μέντοι νῦν γε διατελέει ἐὼν, ἄλλο δὲ τι ἐξευρήκασιν νεωστὶ γενέσθαι [ἵνα μὴ ἀδικοῖεν αὐτὰς μηδ' εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν ἄγονται]· ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ἀλόντες ἐκακώθησαν καὶ οἰκοφθορήθησαν, πᾶς τις τοῦ δήμου βίου σπανίζων καταπορνεύει τὰ θήλεα τέκνα.

196. This is the equipment of their persons. I will now speak of their established customs. The wisest of these, in our judgment, is one which I have learned by inquiry is also a custom of the Eneti in Illyria. It is this: once a year in every village all the maidens as they attained marriageable age were collected and brought together into one place, with a crowd of men standing around. Then a crier would display and offer them for sale one by one, first the fairest of all; and then, when she had fetched a great price, he put up for sale the next

most attractive, selling all the maidens as lawful wives. Rich men of Assyria who desired to marry would outbid each other for the fairest; the ordinary people, who desired to marry and had no use for beauty, could take the ugly ones and money besides; for when the crier had sold all the most attractive, he would put up the one that was least beautiful, or crippled, and offer her to whoever would take her to wife for the least amount, until she fell to one who promised to accept least; the money came from the sale of the attractive ones, who thus paid the dowry of the ugly and the crippled. But a man could not give his daughter in marriage to whomever he liked, nor could one that bought a girl take her away without giving security that he would in fact make her his wife. And if the couple could not agree, it was a law that the money be returned. Men might also come from other villages to buy if they so desired. This, then, was their best custom; but it does not continue at this time; they have invented a new one lately [so that the women not be wronged or taken to another city]; since the conquest of Babylon made them afflicted and poor, everyone of the people that lacks a livelihood prostitutes his daughters.

197 1 δεύτερος δὲ σοφίῃ ὁδε ἄλλος σφι νόμος κατέστηκε· τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἐκφορέουσι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ χρέωνται ἰητροῖσι. προσιόντες ὧν πρὸς τὸν κάμνοντα συμβουλευούσι περὶ τῆς νοῦσου, εἴ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτο ἔπαθε ὁκοῖον ἂν ἔχη ὁ κάμνων ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε παθόντα, ταῦτα προσιόντες συμβουλευούσι καὶ παραινέουσι ἅσσα αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἐξέφυγε ὁμοίην νοῦσον ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε ἐκφυγόντα. σιγῇ δὲ παρεξελθεῖν τὸν κάμνοντα οὐ σφι ἔξεστι, πρὶν ἂν ἐπείρηται ἥντινα νοῦσον ἔχει.

197. I come now to the next wisest of their customs: having no use for physicians, they carry the sick into the market-place; then those who have been afflicted themselves by the same illness as the sick man's, or seen others in like case, come near and advise him about his disease and comfort him, telling him by what means they have themselves recovered from it or seen others recover. No one may pass by the sick man without speaking and asking after his sickness.

198 1 ταφαὶ δὲ σφι ἐν μέλιτι, θρῆνοι δὲ παραπλήσιοι τοῖσι ἐν

Αἰγύπτῳ. ὅσακις δ' ἂν μιχθῇ γυναικὶ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, περὶ θυμὴμα καταγιζόμενον ἵζει, ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἡ γυνὴ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖ, ὄρθρου δὲ γενομένου λούνται καὶ ἀμφότεροι· ἄγγεος γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄψονται πρὶν ἂν λούσωνται. ταῦτά δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ἀράβιοι ποιεῦσι.

198. The dead are embalmed in honey for burial, and their dirges are like the dirges of Egypt. Whenever a Babylonian has had intercourse with his wife, they both sit before a burnt offering of incense, and at dawn they wash themselves; they will touch no vessel before this is done. This is the custom in Arabia also.

199 1 ὁ δὲ δὴ αἰσχιστος τῶν νόμων ἐστὶ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ὅδε· δεῖ πᾶσαν γυναῖκα ἐπιχωρίην ἰζομένην ἐς ἱρὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἅπαξ ἐν τῇ ζῳῇ μιχθῆναι ἀνδρὶ ξείνῳ. πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀξιούμεναι ἀναμίσγεσθαι τῇσι ἄλλῃσι, οἷα πλούτῳ ὑπερφρονέουσai, ἐπὶ ζευγέων ἐν καμάρῃσι ἐλάσασαι πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν ἐστᾶσι· θεραπείῃ δέ σφι ὀπισθε ἔπεται πολλή. 2 αἱ δὲ πλεῦνες ποιεῦσι ὧδε· ἐν τεμένει Ἀφροδίτης κατέαται στέφανον περὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἔχουσai θώμιγγος πολλὰι γυναῖκες· αἱ μὲν γὰρ προσέρχονται, αἱ δὲ ἀπέρχονται. σχοινοτενέες δὲ διέξοδοι πάντα τρόπον ὁδῶν ἔχουσι διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, δι' ὧν οἱ ξεῖνοι διεξιόντες ἐκλέγονται· 3 ἔνθα ἐπεὰν ἴζηται γυνή, οὐ πρότερον ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἢ τίς οἱ ξείνων ἀργύριον ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὰ γούνατα μιχθῇ ἔξω τοῦ ἱροῦ· ἐμβαλόντα δὲ δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοσόνδε· “ἐπικαλέω τοι τὴν θεὸν Μύλιττα.” Μύλιττα δὲ καλέουσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Ἀσσύριοι. 4 τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον μέγαθος ἐστὶ ὅσον ὦν· οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἀπώσεται· οὐ γὰρ οἱ θέμις ἐστὶ· γίνεται γὰρ ἱρὸν τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον. τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ ἐμβαλόντι ἔπεται οὐδὲ ἀποδοκιμᾶ οὐδένα. ἐπεὰν δὲ μιχθῇ, ἀποσιωσαμένη τῇ θεῷ ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, καὶ τῷ τούτου οὐκ οὕτω μέγα τί οἱ δώσεις ὥς μιν λάμψει. 5 ὅσαι μὲν νυν εἰδὸς τε ἐπαμμέναι εἰσὶ καὶ μεγάλῃ, ταχὺ ἀπαλλάσσονται, ὅσαι δὲ ἄμορφοι αὐτέων εἰσὶ, χρόνον πολλὸν προσμένουσι οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ τριέτεα καὶ τετραέτεα μετεξέτεραι χρόνον μένουσι. ἐνιαχῇ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐστὶ παραπλήσιος τούτῳ νόμος.

199. The foulest Babylonian custom is that which compels every woman of the land to sit in the temple of Aphrodite and have intercourse with some stranger once in her life. Many women who

are rich and proud and disdain to mingle with the rest, drive to the temple in covered carriages drawn by teams, and stand there with a great retinue of attendants. But most sit down in the sacred plot of Aphrodite, with crowns of cord on their heads; there is a great multitude of women coming and going; passages marked by line run every way through the crowd, by which the men pass and make their choice. Once a woman has taken her place there, she does not go away to her home before some stranger has cast money into her lap, and had intercourse with her outside the temple; but while he casts the money, he must say, "I invite you in the name of Mylitta" (that is the Assyrian name for Aphrodite). It does not matter what sum the money is; the woman will never refuse, for that would be a sin, the money being by this act made sacred. So she follows the first man who casts it and rejects no one. After their intercourse, having discharged her sacred duty to the goddess, she goes away to her home; and thereafter there is no bribe however great that will get her. So then the women that are fair and tall are soon free to depart, but the uncomely have long to wait because they cannot fulfill the law; for some of them remain for three years, or four. There is a custom like this in some parts of Cyprus.

200 1 νόμοι μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι οὗτοι κατεστᾶσι· εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πατριαὶ τρεῖς αἷ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σιτέονται εἰ μὴ ἰχθὺς μούνον, τοὺς ἐπεῖτε ἂν θηρεύσαντες αὐήνωσι πρὸς ἥλιον, ποιεῦσι τάδε· ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς ὄλμον καὶ λείναντες ὑπέροισι σῶσι διὰ σινδόνης, καὶ ὃς μὲν ἂν βούληται αὐτῶν ἅτε μᾶζαν μαζάμενος ἔχει, ὁ δὲ ἄρτου τρόπον ὁπτήσας.

200. These are established customs among the Babylonians. Furthermore, there are three tribes in the country that eat nothing but fish, which they catch and dry in the sun; then, after throwing it into a mortar, they pound it with pestles and strain everything through linen. Then whoever desires kneads as it were a cake of it and eats it; others bake it like bread.

201 1 ὥς δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος κατέργαστο, ἐπεθύμησε Μασσαγέτας ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο καὶ μέγα λέγεται εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, οἰκημένον δὲ πρὸς ἠῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολάς, πέρην τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ, ἀντίον δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων

ἀνδρῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἵτινες καὶ Σκυθικὸν λέγουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι.

201. When Cyrus had conquered this nation, too, he wanted to subject the Massagetae. These are said to be a great and powerful people dwelling towards the east and the sunrise, beyond the Araxes and opposite the Issedones; and some say that they are a Scythian people.

202 1 ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ μέζων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἰστρου· νήσους δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Λέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλησίας συχνάς φασι εἶναι, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι ἀνθρώπους οἱ σιτέονται μὲν ρίζας τὸ θέρος ὀρύσσοντες παντοίας· καρποὺς δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρέων ἐξευρημένους σφι ἐς φορβὴν κατατίθεσθαι ὠραίους, καὶ τούτους σιτέεσθαι τὴν χειμερινήν. 2 ἄλλα δέ σφι ἐξευρῆσθαι δένδρεα καρποὺς τοιούσδε τινὰς φέροντα, τοὺς ἐπέιτε ἂν ἐς τὸντὸ συνέλθωσι κατὰ εἴλας καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσονται κύκλῳ περιζομένους ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, ὀσφραινομένους δὲ καταγιζόμενου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὁσμῇ κατὰ περ Ἑλλήνας τῷ οἴνῳ πλεῦνος δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι, ἐς ὃ ἐς ὄρχησίν τε ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἐς αἰοδὴν ἀπικνέεσθαι. τούτων μὲν αὕτη λέγεται δίαίτα εἶναι. 3 ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Ματινηῶν, ὅθεν περ ὁ Γύνδης τὸν ἐς τὰς διώρυχας τὰς ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας διέλαβε ὁ Κῦρος, στόμασι δὲ ἐξερεύγεται τεσσαεράκοντα, τῶν τὰ πάντα πλὴν ἑνὸς ἐς ἑλεᾶ τε καὶ τενάγεα ἐκδιδοῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἀνθρώπους κατοικῆσθαι λέγουσι ἰχθῦς ὠμοὺς σιτεομένους, ἐσθῆτι δὲ νομίζοντας χρᾶσθαι φωκέων δέρμασι. 4 τὸ δὲ ἐν τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Ἀράξεω ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ ἐς τὴν Κασπίην θάλασσαν. ἡ δὲ Κασπίη θάλασσα ἐστὶ ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς, οὐ συμμίσγουσα τῇ ἐτέρῃ θαλάσσῃ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνὲς ναυτίλλονται πᾶσα καὶ ἡ ἔξω στηλέων θάλασσα ἡ Ἀτλαντὶς καλεομένη καὶ ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ μία ἐοῦσα τυγχάνει.

202. The Araxes is said by some to be greater and by some to be less than the Ister. It is reported that there are many islands in it as big as Lesbos, and men on them who in summer live on roots of all kinds that they dig up, and in winter on fruit that they have got from trees when it was ripe and stored for food; and they know (it is said) of trees bearing a fruit whose effect is this: gathering in groups and kindling a fire, the people sit around it and throw the fruit into the flames; then the fumes of it as it burns make them drunk as the

Greeks are with wine, and more and more drunk as more fruit is thrown on the fire, until at last they rise up to dance and even sing. Such is said to be their way of life. The Araxes flows from the country of the Matieni (as does the Gyndes, which Cyrus divided into the three hundred and sixty channels) and empties itself through forty mouths, of which all except one issue into bogs and swamps, where men are said to live whose food is raw fish, and their customary dress sealskins. The one remaining stream of the Araxes flows in a clear channel into the Caspian sea. This is a sea by itself, not joined to the other sea. For that on which the Greeks sail, and the sea beyond the pillars of Heracles, which they call Atlantic, and the Red Sea, are all one:

203 1 ἡ δὲ Κασπίη ἐστὶ ἐτέρη ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς, ἐοῦσα μῆκος μὲν πλόου εἰρεσίῃ χρεωμένῳ πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερέων, εὖρος δέ, τῇ εὐρυτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὐτῇ ἑωυτῆς, ὅκτῳ ἡμερέων. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην φέροντα τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ὁ Καύκασος παρατείνει, ἐὼν ὁρέων καὶ πλήθει μέγιστον καὶ μεγάθει ὑψηλότατον. ἔθνεα δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐν ἑωυτῷ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ' ὕλης ἀγρίης ζῶοντα· 2 ἐν τοῖσι καὶ δένδρεα φύλλα τοιῆσδε ἰδέης παρεχόμενα εἶναι λέγεται, τὰ τρίβοντάς τε καὶ παραμίσγοντας ὕδωρ ζῶα ἑωυτοῖσι ἐς τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐγγράφειν· τὰ δὲ ζῶα οὐκ ἐκπλύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συγκαταγερᾶσκειν τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰρίῳ κατὰ περ ἐνυφανθέντα ἀρχήν. μῖξιν δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι ἐμφανέα κατὰ περ τοῖσι προβάτοισι.

203. but the Caspian is separate and by itself. Its length is what a ship rowed by oars can traverse in fifteen days, and its breadth, where it is broadest, is an eight days' journey. Along its western shore stretches the range of Caucasus, which has more and higher peaks than any other range. Many and all kinds of nations dwell in the Caucasus, and the most of them live on the fruits of the forest. Here, it is said, are trees growing leaves that men crush and mix with water and use for painting figures on their clothing; these figures cannot be washed out, but last as long as the wool, as if they had been woven into it from the first. Men and women here (they say) have intercourse openly, like beasts of the flock.

204 1 τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς Κασπίης

καλεομένης ὁ Καύκασος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἡῶ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πεδῖον ἐκδέκεται πλῆθος ἄπειρον ἐς ἄποσιν. τοῦ ὧν δὴ πεδίου τούτου τοῦ μεγάλου οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν μετέχουσι οἱ Μασσαγέται, ἐπ' οὓς ὁ Κῦρος ἔσχε προθυμίην στρατεύσασθαι. 2 πολλά τε γάρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαείροντα καὶ ἐποτρύνοντα ἦν, πρῶτον μὲν ἡ γένεσις, τὸ δοκέειν πλέον τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπου, δευτέρα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχία ἡ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γενομένη· ὅκη γὰρ ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι Κῦρος, ἀμήχανον ἦν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔθνος διαφυγεῖν.

204. This sea called Caspian is hemmed in to the west by the Caucasus: towards the east and the sunrise there stretches from its shores a boundless plain as far as the eye can see. The greater part of this wide plain is the country of the Massagetae, against whom Cyrus was eager to lead his army. For there were many weighty reasons that impelled and encouraged him to do so: first, his birth, because of which he seemed to be something more than mortal; and next, his victories in his wars: for no nation that Cyrus undertook to attack could escape from him.

205 1 ἦν δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος γυνὴ τῶν Μασσαγετέων βασίλεια. Τόμυρις οἱ ἦν οὖνομα. ταύτην πέμπων ὁ Κῦρος ἐμῆτο τῷ λόγῳ θέλων γυναῖκα ἣν ἔχειν. ἡ δὲ Τόμυρις συνιέῖσα οὐκ αὐτὴν μιν μνόμενον ἀλλὰ τὴν Μασσαγετέων βασιλῆην, ἀπέπατο τὴν πρόσδοτον. 2 Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὥς οἱ δόλῳ οὐ προεχώρει, ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξαν ἐποιέετο ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας στρατήην, γεφύρας τε ζευγνύων ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβασιν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ πλοίων τῶν διαπορθμευόντων τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκοδομεόμενος.

205. Now at this time the Massagetae were ruled by a queen called Tomyris, whose husband was dead. Cyrus sent a message with a pretence of wanting her for his wife, but Tomyris would have none of his advances, well understanding that he wanted not her but the kingdom of the Massagetae. So when guile was of no avail, Cyrus marched to the Araxes and openly prepared to attack the Massagetae; he bridged the river for his army to cross, and built towers on the pontoons bridging the river.

206 1 ἔχοντι δὲ οἱ τοῦτον τὸν πόνον πέμψασα ἡ Τόμυρις κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, παῦσαι σπεύδων τὰ σπεύδεις· οὐ

γὰρ ἂν εἰδείης εἴ τοι ἐς καιρὸν ἔσται ταῦτα τελεόμενα· παυσάμενος δὲ βασίλευε τῶν σεωυτοῦ, καὶ ἡμέας ἀνέχευ ὀρέων ἄρχοντας τῶν περ ἄρχομεν. 2 οὐκὼν ἐθελήσεις ὑποθήκησι τῇσιδε χρᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ πάντως μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἡσυχίης εἶναι· σὺ δὲ εἰ μεγάλως προθυμέαι Μασσαγετέων πειρηθῆναι, φέρε μόχθον μὲν τὸν ἔχεις ζευγνύς τὸν ποταμὸν ἅπες, σὺ δὲ ἡμέων ἀναχωρησάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν ἡμερέων ὁδὸν διάβαινε ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν· 3 εἰ δ' ἡμέας βούλει ἐσδέξασθαι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν, σὺ τὸν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποίει. ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Κῦρος συνεκάλεσε Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, συναγείρας δὲ τοὺτους ἐς μέσον σφί προετίθεε τὸ πρῆγμα, συμβουλευόμενος ὁκότερα ποιῇ. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸ αἰ γινῶμαι συνεζέπιπτον κελευόντων ἐσδέκεσθαι Τόμυριν τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν χώραν.

206. But while he was busy at this, Tomyris sent a herald to him with this message: "O king of the Medes, stop hurrying on what you are hurrying on, for you cannot know whether the completion of this work will be for your advantage. Stop, and be king of your own country; and endure seeing us ruling those whom we rule. But if you will not take this advice, and will do anything rather than remain at peace, then if you so greatly desire to try the strength of the Massagetae, stop your present work of bridging the river, and let us withdraw three days' journey from the Araxes; and when that is done, cross into our country. Or if you prefer to receive us into your country, then withdraw yourself as I have said." Hearing this, Cyrus called together the leading Persians and laid the matter before them, asking them to advise him which he should do. They all spoke to the same end, urging him to let Tomyris and her army enter his country.

207 1 παρεὼν δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενος τὴν γνώμην ταύτην Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς ἀπεδείκνυτο ἐναντίην τῇ προκειμένη γνώμῃ, λέγων τάδε. "ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἶπον μὲν καὶ πρότερόν τοι ὅτι ἐπεὶ με Ζεὺς ἔδωκε τοι, τὸ ἂν ὁρῶ σφάλμα ἐὼν οἴκῳ τῷ σῷ κατὰ δύναμιν ἀποτρέψειν· τὰ δὲ μοι παθήματα ἐόντα ἀχάρिता μαθήματα γέγονε. 2 εἰ μὲν ἀθάνατος δοκέεις εἶναι καὶ στρατιῆς τοιαύτης ἄρχειν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴῃ πρῆγμα γνώμας ἐμὲ σοὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι· εἰ δ' ἔγνωκας ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ σὺ εἴς καὶ ἐτέρων τοιῶνδε ἄρχεις, ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον μάθε, ὥς κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἐστὶ πρηγμάτων, περιφερόμενος δὲ οὐκ ἔξαιε τοὺς

αὐτοὺς ; εὐτυχέειν. 3 ἤδη ὧν ἔχω γνώμην περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου πρήγματος τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ οὗτοι. εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσομεν ἐσδέξασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τὴν χώραν, ὅδε τοι ἐν αὐτῷ κίνδυνος ἐνι· ἐσσωθεὶς μὲν προσπολλύεις πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχήν. δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι νικῶντες Μασσαγέται οὐ τὸ ὀπίσω φεύζονται ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀρχὰς τὰς σὰς ἐλῶσι. 4 νικῶν δὲ οὐ νικᾷς τοσοῦτον ὅσον εἰ διαβὰς ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων, νικῶν Μασσαγέτας, ἔποιο φεύγουσι. τὴν γὰρ ἀντιθήσω ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι νικήσας τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ἐλᾷς ἰθὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Τομύριος. 5 χωρὶς τε τοῦ ἀπηγημένου αἰσχρὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν Κῦρόν γε τὸν Καμβύσεω γυναικὶ εἴξαντα ὑποχωρῆσαι τῆς χώρας. νῦν ὧν μοι δοκεῖ διαβάντας προελθεῖν ὅσον ἂν ἐκείνοι ὑπεξίωσι, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τάδε ποιεῦντας πειρᾶσθαι ἐκείνων περιγενέσθαι. 6 ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Μασσαγέται εἰσὶ ἀγαθῶν τε Περσικῶν ἄπειροι καὶ καλῶν μεγάλων ἀπαθέες. τοῦτοις ὧν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι τῶν προβάτων ἀφειδέως πολλὰ κατακόπαντας καὶ σκευάσαντας προθεῖναι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δαῖτα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κρητῆρας ἀφειδέως οἴνου ἀκρήτου καὶ σιτία παντοῖα. 7 ποιήσαντας δὲ ταῦτα, ὑπολιπομένους τῆς στρατιῆς τὸ φλαυρότατον, τοὺς λοιποὺς αὖτις ἐξαναχωρέειν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν. ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ γνώμης μὴ ἀμάρτω, κεῖνοι ἰδόμενοι ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ τρέψονται τε πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν λείπεται ἀπόδεξις ἔργων μεγάλων.”

207. But Croesus the Lydian, who was present, was displeased by their advice and spoke against it. “O King,” he said, “you have before now heard from me that since Zeus has given me to you I will turn aside to the best of my ability whatever misadventure I see threatening your house. And disaster has been my teacher. Now, if you think that you and the army that you lead are immortal, I have no business giving you advice; but if you know that you and those whom you rule are only men, then I must first teach you this: men’s fortunes are on a wheel, which in its turning does not allow the same man to prosper forever. So, if that is the case, I am not of the same opinion about the business in hand as these other counsellors of yours. This is the danger if we agree to let the enemy enter your country: if you lose the battle, you lose your empire also, for it is plain that if the Massagetæ win they will not retreat but will march against your provinces. And if you conquer them, it is a lesser

victory than if you crossed into their country and routed the Massagetae and pursued them; for I weigh your chances against theirs, and suppose that when you have beaten your adversaries you will march for the seat of Tomyris' power. And besides what I have shown, it would be a shameful thing and not to be endured if Cyrus the son of Cambyses should yield and give ground before a woman. Now then, it occurs to me that we should cross and go forward as far as they draw back, and that then we should endeavor to overcome them by doing as I shall show. As I understand, the Massagetae have no experience of the good things of Persia, and have never fared well as to what is greatly desirable. Therefore, I advise you to cut up the meat of many of your sheep and goats into generous portions for these men, and to cook it and serve it as a feast in our camp, providing many bowls of unmixed wine and all kinds of food. Then let your army withdraw to the river again, leaving behind that part of it which is of least value. For if I am not mistaken in my judgment, when the Massagetae see so many good things they will give themselves over to feasting on them; and it will be up to us then to accomplish great things."

208 1 γνῶμαι μὲν αὗται συνέστασαν· Κῦρος δὲ μετεῖς τὴν προτέρην γνώμην, τὴν Κροΐσου δὲ ἐλόμενος, προηγόρευε Τομύρι ἐξαναχωρέειν ὥς αὐτοῦ διαβησομένου ἐπ' ἐκείνην. ἥ μὲν δὴ ἐξανεχώρει κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρῶτα· Κῦρος δὲ Κροΐσον ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἐσθεῖς τῷ ἐωυτοῦ παιδί Καμβύσῃ, τῷ περ τὴν βασιληίην ἐδίδου, καὶ πολλὰ ἐντειλάμενός οἱ τιμᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν, ἣν ἡ διάβασις ἡ ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας μὴ ὀρθωθῇ, ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος καὶ ἀποστείλας τούτους ἐς Πέρσας, αὐτὸς διέβαινε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ.

208. So these opinions clashed; and Cyrus set aside his former plan and chose that of Croesus; consequently, he told Tomyris to draw her army off, for he would cross (he said) and attack her; so she withdrew as she had promised before. Then he entrusted Croesus to the care of his own son Cambyses, to whom he would leave his sovereignty, telling Cambyses to honor Croesus and treat him well if the crossing of the river against the Massagetae should not go well. With these instructions, he sent the two back to Persia, and he and his

army crossed the river.

209 1 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν Ἀράξεια, νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης εἶδε ὄψιν εὖδων ἐν τῶν Μασσαγετέων τῇ χωρῇ τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Κῦρος ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ὁρᾶν τῶν Ὑστάσπεος παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. 2 Ὑστάσπεϊ δὲ τῷ Ἀρσάμεος ἐόντι ἀνδρὶ Ἀχαιμενίδῃ ἦν τῶν παίδων Δαρεῖος πρεσβύτατος, ἐὼν τότε ἡλικίην ἐς εἴκοσὶ κου μάλιστα ἔτεα, καὶ οὗτος κατελέλειπτο ἐν Πέρσῃσι· οὐ γὰρ εἶχε κω ἡλικίην στρατεύεσθαι. 3 ἐπεὶ ὧν δὴ ἐξηγέρθη ὁ Κῦρος, ἐδίδου λόγον ἐωυτῷ περὶ τῆς ὀψιος. ὥς δὲ οἱ ἐδόκεε μεγάλη εἶναι ἡ ὀψις, καλέσας Ὑστάσπεα καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μόνον εἶπε “Ὑστασπες, παῖς σὸς ἐπιβουλεύων ἐμοί τε καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ ἐάλωκε. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀτρεκέως οἶδα, ἐγὼ σημανέω· 4 ἐμεῦ θεοὶ κήδονται καὶ μοι πάντα προδεικνύουσι τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα. ἤδη ὧν ἐν τῇ παροιχομένη νυκτὶ εὖδων εἶδον τῶν σῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. 5 οὐκ ὄν ἐστι μηχανὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία τὸ μὴ ἐκείνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί· σύ νυν τὴν ταχίστην πορεύεο ὀπίσω ἐς Πέρσας καὶ ποιεε ὅκως, ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ τάδε καταστρεψάμενος ἔλθω ἐκεῖ, ὥς μοι καταστήσεις τὸν παῖδα ἐς ἔλεγχον.”

209. After he had crossed the Araxes, he dreamed that night while sleeping in the country of the Massagetae that he saw the eldest of Hystaspes' sons with wings on his shoulders, the one wing overshadowing Asia and the other Europe. Hystaspes son of Arsames was an Achaemenid, and Darius was the eldest of his sons, then about twenty years old; this Darius had been left behind in Persia, not yet being of an age to go on campaign. So when Cyrus awoke he considered his vision, and because it seemed to him to be of great importance, he sent for Hystaspes and said to him privately, “Hystaspes, I have caught your son plotting against me and my sovereignty; and I will tell you how I know this for certain. The gods care for me and show me beforehand all that is coming. Now then, I have seen in a dream in the past night your eldest son with wings on his shoulders, overshadowing Asia with the one and Europe with the other. From this vision, there is no way that he is not plotting against me. Therefore hurry back to Persia, and see that when I come back

after subjecting this country you bring your son before me to be questioned about this.”

210 1 Κύρος μὲν δοκέων οἱ Δαρεῖον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἔλεγε τάδε· τῷ δὲ ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτήσῃν αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ μέλλοι, ἡ δὲ βασιλῆῃ αὐτοῦ περιχωρεοί ἐς Δαρεῖον. 2 ἀμείβεται δὴ ὢν ὁ Ὑστάσπης τοῖσιδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ εἴῃ ἀνὴρ Πέρσης γεγωνὸς ὅστις τοὶ ἐπιβουλεύσειε, εἰ δ’ ἐστί, ἀπόλοιτο ὡς τάχιστα· ὃς ἀντὶ μὲν δούλων ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρους Πέρσας εἶναι, ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἄρχειν ἀπάντων. 3 εἰ δέ τις τοῖ ὄνσι ἀπαγγέλλει παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν νεώτερα βουλεύειν περὶ σέο, ἐγὼ τοι παραδίδωμι χρᾶσθαι αὐτῷ τοῦτο ὃ τι σὺ βούλει.”

210. Cyrus said this, thinking that Darius was plotting against him; but in fact, heaven was showing him that he himself was to die in the land where he was and Darius inherit his kingdom. So then Hystaspes replied with this: “O King, may there not be any Persian born who would plot against you! But if there is, may he perish suddenly; for you have made the Persians free men instead of slaves and rulers of all instead of subjects of any. But if your vision does indeed signify that my son is planning revolution, I give him to you to treat as you like.”

211 1 Ὑστάσπης μὲν τούτοισι ἀμειψάμενος καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἀράξεα ἦε ἐς Πέρσας φυλάξων Κύρῳ τὸν παῖδα Δαρεῖον, Κύρος δὲ προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ἡμέρης ὁδὸν ἐποίεε κατὰ τὰς Κροίσου ὑποθήκας. 2 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κύρου τε καὶ Περσέων τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ ἀπελάσαντος ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα, λειφθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀχρηίου, ἐπελθοῦσα τῶν Μασσαγετέων τριτημορις τοῦ στρατοῦ τούς τε λειφθέντας τῆς Κύρου στρατιῆς ἐφόνευσεν ἀλεξομένους καὶ τὴν προκειμένην ἰδόντες δαῖτα, ὡς ἐχειρώσαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους, κλιθέντες ἐδαίνυντο, πληρωθέντες δὲ φορβῆς καὶ οἴνου ἡῦδον. 3 οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μὲν σφέων ἐφόνευσαν, πολλῶ δ’ ἔτι πλεῦνας ἐζώγρησαν καὶ ἄλλους καὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖδα στρατηγέοντα Μασσαγετέων, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Σπαργαπίσης.

211. After having given this answer and crossed the Araxes, Hystaspes went to Persia to watch his son for Cyrus; and Cyrus, advancing a day’s journey from the Araxes, acted according to Croesus’ advice. Cyrus and the sound portion of the Persian army

marched back to the Araxes, leaving behind those that were useless; a third of the Massagetae forces attacked those of the army who were left behind and destroyed them despite resistance; then, when they had overcome their enemies, seeing the banquet spread they sat down and feasted, and after they had had their fill of food and wine, they fell asleep. Then the Persians attacked them, killing many and taking many more alive, among whom was the son of Tomyris the queen, Spargapises by name, the leader of the Massagetae.

212 1 ἡ δὲ πυθομένη τά τε περὶ τὴν στρατιὴν γεγονότα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν παῖδα, πέμπουσα κήρυκα παρὰ Κῦρον ἔλεγε τάδε. 2 “ἄπληστε αἵματος Κῦρε, μηδὲν ἐπαερθῆς τῷ γεγονότι τῷδε πρήγματι, εἰ ἀμπελίνῳ καρπῷ, τῷ περ αὐτοὶ ἐμπιπλάμενοι μαίνεσθε οὕτω ὥστε κατιόντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπαναπλέειν ὑμῖν ἔπεα κακά, τοιούτῳ φαρμάκῳ δολώσας ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ’ οὐ μάχῃ κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν. 3 νῦν ὧν μευ εὖ παραινέουσας ὑπόλαβε τὸν λόγον· ἀποδοὺς μοι τὸν παῖδα ἄπιθι ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἀζήμιος, Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίδι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίσας. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσεις, ἥλιον ἐπόμνυμί τοι τὸν Μασσαγετέων δεσπότην, ἡ μὲν σε ἐγὼ καὶ ἄπληστον ἔοντα αἵματος κορέσω.”

212. When Tomyris heard what had happened to her army and her son, she sent a herald to Cyrus with this message: “Cyrus who can never get enough blood, do not be elated by what you have done; it is nothing to be proud of if, by the fruit of the vine — with which you Persians fill yourselves and rage so violently that evil words rise in a flood to your lips when the wine enters your bodies — if, by tricking him with this drug, you got the better of my son, and not by force of arms in battle. Now, then, take a word of good advice from me: give me back my son and leave this country unpunished, even though you have savaged a third of the Massagetae army. But if you will not, then I swear to you by the sun, lord of the Massagetae, that I shall give even you who can never get enough of it your fill of blood.”

213 1 Κῦρος μὲν ἐπέων οὐδένα τούτων ἀνενειχθέντων ἐποιέετο λόγον· ὁ δὲ τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖς Σπαργαπίσης, ὥς μιν ὁ τε οἶνος ἀνῆκε καὶ ἔμαθε ἵνα ἦν κακοῦ, δεηθεὶς Κύρου ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθῆναι ἔτυχε, ὥς δὲ ἐλύθη τε τάχιστα καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκράτησε, διεργάζεται ἐωυτόν.

213. Cyrus dismissed this warning when it was repeated to him. But Spargapises, the son of the queen Tomyris, after the wine wore off and he recognized his evil plight, asked Cyrus to be freed from his bonds; and this was granted him; but as soon as he was freed and had the use of his hands, he did away with himself.

214 1 καὶ δὴ οὗτος μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ τελευτᾷ· Τόμυρις δέ, ὥς οἱ Κῦρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε, συλλέξασα πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτῆς δύναμιν συνέβαλε Κύρῳ. ταύτην τὴν μάχην, ὅσαι δὴ βαρβάρων ἀνδρῶν μάχαι ἐγένοντο, κρίνω ἰσχυροτάτην γενέσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ πυνθάνομαι οὕτῳ τοῦτο γινόμενον. 2 πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ λέγεται αὐτοὺς διαστάντας ἐς ἀλλήλους τοξεύειν, μετὰ δὲ ὥς σφι τὰ βέλεα ἐξετετόξευτο, συμπεσόντας τῇσι αἰχμῇσί τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐγχειριδίοισι συνέχεσθαι. χρόνον τε δὴ ἐπὶ πολλὸν συνεστάναι μαχομένους καὶ οὐδετέρους ἐθέλειν φεύγειν. τέλος δὲ οἱ Μασσαγέται περιεγέγοντο, 3 ἥ τε δὴ πολλὴ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατιῆς αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διεφθάρη καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Κῦρος τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα ἔτεα. 4 ἀσκὸν δὲ πλήσασα αἵματος ἀνθρωπείου Τόμυρις ἐδίζητο ἐν τοῖσι τεθνεῶσι τῶν Περσέων τὸν Κύρου νέκυν, ὥς δὲ εὔρε, ἐναπῆκε αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸν ἀσκόν, λυμαιομένη δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπέλεγε τάδε· 5 “σὺ μὲν ἐμὲ ζῶσάν τε καὶ νικῶσάν σε μάχῃ ἀπώλεσας, παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν ἐλὼν δόλω· σὲ δ’ ἐγώ, κατὰ περ ἠπείλησα, αἵματος κορέσω.” τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Κύρου τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων, ὅδε μοι ὁ πιθανώτατος εἴρηται.

214. Such was the end of Spargapises. Tomyris, when Cyrus would not listen to her, collected all her forces and engaged him. This fight I judge to have been the fiercest ever fought by men that were not Greek; and indeed I have learned that this was so. For first (it is said) they shot arrows at each other from a distance; then, when their arrows were all spent, they rushed at each other and fought with their spears and swords; and for a long time they stood fighting and neither would give ground; but at last the Massagetae got the upper hand. The greater part of the Persian army was destroyed there on the spot, and Cyrus himself fell there, after having reigned for one year short of thirty years. Tomyris filled a skin with human blood, and searched among the Persian dead for Cyrus' body; and when she found it, she pushed his head into the skin, and insulted the dead man

in these words: “Though I am alive and have defeated you in battle, you have destroyed me, taking my son by guile; but just as I threatened, I give you your fill of blood.” Many stories are told of Cyrus’ death; this, that I have told, is the most credible.

215 1 Μασσαγέται δὲ ἐσθῆτά τε ὁμοίην τῇ Σκυθικῇ φορέουσι καὶ δίαιταν ἔχουσι, ἱππόται δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ ἄνιπποι (ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ μετέχουσι) καὶ τοξόται τε καὶ αἰχμοφόροι, σαγάρεις νομίζοντες ἔχειν. χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται· ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐς αἰχμὰς καὶ ἄρδεις καὶ σαγάρεις, χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται, ὅσα δὲ περὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ ζωστήρας καὶ μασχαλιστήρας, χρυσῷ κοσμέονται. 2 ὥς δ’ αὐτως τῶν ἵππων τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα χαλκέους θώρηκας περιβάλλουσι, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς χαλινοὺς καὶ στόμια καὶ φάλαρα χρυσῷ. σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδ’ ἀργύρῳ χρέωνται οὐδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ σφι ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χωρῇ, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς καὶ ὁ χαλκὸς ἄπλετος.

215. These Massagetae are like the Scythians in their dress and way of life. They are both cavalry and infantry (having some of each kind), and spearmen and archers; and it is their custom to carry battle-axes. They always use gold and bronze; all their spear-points and arrow-heads and battle-axes are bronze and the adornment of their headgear and belts and girdles is gold. They equip their horses similarly, protecting their chests with bronze breastplates and putting gold on reins, bits, and cheekplates. But they never use iron and silver, for there is none at all in their country, but gold and bronze abound.

216 1 νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται τοιοῖσινδε. γυναῖκα μὲν γαμέει ἕκαστος, ταύτησι δὲ ἐπὶκοῖνα χρέωνται· τὸ γὰρ Σκύθας φασὶ “Ἕλληνες ποιεῖν, οὐ Σκύθαι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιέοντες ἀλλὰ Μασσαγέται· τῆς γὰρ ἐπιθυμῆση γυναικὸς Μασσαγέτης ἀνὴρ, τὸν φαρετρεῶνα ἀποκρεμάσας πρὸ τῆς ἀμάξης μίσγεται ἀδεῶς. 2 οὗρος δὲ ἡλικίης σφι πρόκειται ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς· ἐπεὰν δὲ γέρων γένηται κάρτα, οἱ προσήκοντές οἱ πάντες συνελθόντες θύουσί μιν καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα ἅμα αὐτῷ, ἐψήσαντες δὲ τὰ κρέα κατευωχέονται. 3 ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ὀλβιώτατά σφι νενόμισται, τὸν δὲ νοῦσφ τελευτήσαντα οὐ κατασιτέονται ἀλλ’ γῇ κρύπτουσι, συμφορὴν ποιούμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἴκετο ἐς τὸ τυθῆναι. σπείρουσι δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ κτηνέων ζώουσι καὶ ἰχθύων· οἱ δὲ ἄφθονοί σφι ἐκ τοῦ Ἀράξω ποταμοῦ παραγίνονται· 4 γαλακτοπόται δ’ εἰσὶ. θεῶν δὲ

μοῦνον ἥλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι ἵππους. νόος δὲ οὗτος τῆς θυσίης·
τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχίστῳ πάντων τῶν θνητῶν τὸ τάχιστον δατέονται.

216. Now for their customs: each man marries a wife, but the wives are common to all. The Greeks say this is a Scythian custom; it is not, but a custom of the Massagetae. There, when a man desires a woman, he hangs his quiver before her wagon, and has intercourse with her without fear. Though they fix no certain term to life, yet when a man is very old all his family meet together and kill him, with beasts of the flock besides, then boil the flesh and feast on it. This is held to be the happiest death; when a man dies of an illness, they do not eat him, but bury him in the earth, and lament that he did not live to be killed. They never plant seed; their fare is their livestock and the fish which they take in abundance from the Araxes. Their drink is milk. The sun is the only god whom they worship; they sacrifice horses to him; the reasoning is that he is the swiftest of the gods, and therefore they give him the swiftest of mortal things.

Βιβλίο Β – Ευτέρπη. Book II.

1 1 τελευτήσαντος δὲ Κύρου παρέλαβε τὴν βασιληίην Καμβύσης, Κύρου ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Κασσανδάνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεω θυγατρὸς, τῆς προαποθανούσης Κῦρος αὐτός τε μέγα πένθος ἐποιήσατο καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι προεῖπε πᾶσι τῶν ἦρχε πένθος ποιέεσθαι. 2 ταύτης δὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Κύρου Καμβύσης Ἴωνας μὲν καὶ Αἰολέας ὡς δούλους πατρώιους ἐόντας ἐνόμιζε, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἐποιέετο στρατηλασίην ἄλλους τε παραλαβὼν τῶν ἦρχε καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐπεκράτεε.

1. After the death of Cyrus, Cambyses inherited his throne. He was the son of Cyrus and of Cassandane, the daughter of Pharnaspes, for whom Cyrus mourned deeply when she died before him, and had all his subjects mourn also. Cambyses was the son of this woman and of Cyrus. He considered the Ionians and Aeolians slaves inherited from his father, and prepared an expedition against Egypt, taking with him some of these Greek subjects besides others whom he ruled.

2 1 οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, πρὶν μὲν ἢ Ψαμμήτιχον σφέων βασιλεῦσαι, ἐνόμιζον ἐωυτοὺς πρῶτους γενέσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ψαμμήτιχος βασιλεύσας ἠθέλησε εἰδέναι οἵτινες γενοίαιτο πρῶτοι, ἀπὸ τούτου νομίζουσι Φρύγας προτέρους γενέσθαι ἐωυτῶν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐωυτούς. 2 Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο πυνθανόμενος πόρον οὐδένα τούτου ἀνευρεῖν, οἱ γενοίαιτο πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιτεχνᾶται τοιόνδε. παιδία δύο νεογνὰ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων δίδωσι ποιμένι τρέφειν ἐς τὰ ποίμνια τροφήν τινα τοιήνδε, ἐντειλάμενος μηδένα ἀντίον αὐτῶν μηδεμίαν φωνὴν ἰέναι, ἐν στέγῃ δὲ ἐρήμῃ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν κέεσθαι αὐτά, καὶ τὴν ὥρην ἐπαγινέειν σφι αἶγας, πλήσαντα δὲ γάλακτος τᾶλλα διαπρήσσεσθαι. 3 ταῦτα δὲ ἐποιέε τε καὶ ἐνετέλλετο Ψαμμήτιχος θέλων ἀκοῦσαι τῶν παιδίων, ἀπαλλαχθέντων τῶν ἀσῆμων κνυζημάτων, ἦντινα φωνὴν ῥήξουσι πρῶτην· τὰ περ ὧν καὶ ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ διέτης χρόνος ἐγεγόνεε ταῦτα τῷ ποιμένι πρήσσοντι, ἀνοίγοντι τὴν θύρην καὶ ἐσιόντι τὰ παιδία ἀμφοτέρα προσπίπτοντα βεκὸς ἐφώνεον, ὀρέγοντα τὰς χεῖρας. 4 τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ἀκούσας ἥσυχος ἦν ὁ ποιμήν· ὡς δὲ πολλάκις

φοιτέοντι καὶ ἐπιμελομένῳ πολλὸν ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος, οὕτω δὴ σημήνας τῷ δεσπότῃ ἤγαγε τὰ παιδία κελεύσαντος ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐκείνου. ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος ἐπυνθάνετο οἵτινες ἀνθρώπων βεκός τι καλέουσι, πυνθανόμενος δὲ εὔρισκε Φρύγας καλέοντας τὸν ἄρτον. 5 οὕτω συνεχώρησαν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ τοιούτῳ σταθμισάμενοι πρήγματι τοὺς Φρύγας πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι ἐωυτῶν. ὧδε μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱρέων τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τοῦ ἐν Μέμφι ἤκουον· Ἕλληνες δὲ λέγουσι ἄλλα τε μάταια πολλὰ καὶ ὥς γυναικῶν τὰς γλώσσας ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος ἐκταμὼν τὴν δίαίταν οὕτω ἐποιήσατο τῶν παίδων παρὰ ταύτησι τῇσι γυναιξί.

2. Now before Psammetichus became king of Egypt, the Egyptians believed that they were the oldest people on earth. But ever since Psammetichus became king and wished to find out which people were the oldest, they have believed that the Phrygians were older than they, and they than everybody else. Psammetichus, when he was in no way able to learn by inquiry which people had first come into being, devised a plan by which he took two newborn children of the common people and gave them to a shepherd to bring up among his flocks. He gave instructions that no one was to speak a word in their hearing; they were to stay by themselves in a lonely hut, and in due time the shepherd was to bring goats and give the children their milk and do everything else necessary. Psammetichus did this, and gave these instructions, because he wanted to hear what speech would first come from the children, when they were past the age of indistinct babbling. And he had his wish; for one day, when the shepherd had done as he was told for two years, both children ran to him stretching out their hands and calling “Bekos!” as he opened the door and entered. When he first heard this, he kept quiet about it; but when, coming often and paying careful attention, he kept hearing this same word, he told his master at last and brought the children into the king’s presence as required. Psammetichus then heard them himself, and asked to what language the word “Bekos” belonged; he found it to be a Phrygian word, signifying bread. Reasoning from this, the Egyptians acknowledged that the Phrygians were older than they. This is the story which I heard from the priests of Hephaestus’ temple at Memphis; the Greeks say among many foolish things that

Psammetichus had the children reared by women whose tongues he had cut out.

3 1 κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν τροφὴν τῶν παίδων τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον, ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν Μέμφι ἐλθὼν ἐς λόγους τοῖσι ἱρεῦσι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας τε καὶ ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν αὐτῶν τούτων εἵνεκεν ἐτραπόμην, ἐθέλων εἰδέναι εἰ συμβήσονται τοῖσι λόγοις τοῖσι ἐν Μέμφι· οἱ γὰρ Ἡλιοπολῖται λέγονται Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι λογιώτατοι. 2 τὰ μὲν νυν θεῖα τῶν ἀπηγημάτων οἷα ἤκουον οὐκ εἰμι πρόθυμος ἐξηγέσθαι, ἔξω ἢ τὰ οὐνόματα αὐτῶν μῦθον, νομίζων πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἴσον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπίστασθαι· τὰ δ' ἂν ἐπιμνησθῶ αὐτῶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἐξαναγκαζόμενος ἐπιμνησθήσομαι.

3. Besides this story of the rearing of the children, I also heard other things at Memphis in conversation with the priests of Hephaestus; and I visited Thebes and Heliopolis, too, for this very purpose, because I wished to know if the people of those places would tell me the same story as the priests at Memphis; for the people of Heliopolis are said to be the most learned of the Egyptians. Now, such stories as I heard about the gods I am not ready to relate, except their names, for I believe that all men are equally knowledgeable about them; and I shall say about them what I am constrained to say by the course of my history.

4 1 ὅσα δὲ ἀνθρωπία πρήγματα, ὧδε ἔλεγον ὁμολογέοντες σφίσι, πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἐξευρεῖν τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, δωδέκα μέρεα δασαμένους τῶν ὥρέων ἐς αὐτόν· ταῦτα δὲ ἐξευρεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀστέρων ἔλεγον· ἄγουσι δὲ τοσῶδε σοφώτερον Ἑλλήνων, ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅσῳ Ἕλληνες μὲν διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἐμβόλιμον ἐπεμβάλλουσι τῶν ὥρέων εἵνεκεν, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τριηκοντημέρους ἄγοντες τοὺς δωδέκα μῆνας ἐπάγουσι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πέντε ἡμέρας πάρεξ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, καὶ σφι ὁ κύκλος τῶν ὥρέων ἐς τὡντὸ περιῶν παραγίνεται. 2 δωδέκ' αὖ τε θεῶν ἐπωνυμίας ἔλεγον πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους νομίσαι καὶ Ἕλληνας παρὰ σφέων ἀναλαβεῖν, βωμούς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς θεοῖσι ἀπονεῖμαι σφέας πρώτους καὶ ζῶα ἐν λίθοις ἐγγλύψαι. καὶ τούτων μὲν νυν τὰ πλεονέκῃ ἐδήλουν οὕτω γενόμενα. βασιλεῦσαι δὲ πρῶτον Αἰγύπτου ἀνθρωπὸν ἔλεγον Μῖνα· 3 ἐπὶ τούτῳ, πλὴν τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ νομοῦ, πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον εἶναι ἕλος, καὶ αὐτῆς εἶναι οὐδὲν ὑπερέχον τῶν νῦν ἔνερθε λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος

έόντων, ές τήν ανάπλοος από θαλάσσης έπτά ήμερέων έστι ανά τόν ποταμόν.

4. But as to human affairs, this was the account in which they all agreed: the Egyptians, they said, were the first men who reckoned by years and made the year consist of twelve divisions of the seasons. They discovered this from the stars (so they said). And their reckoning is, to my mind, a juster one than that of the Greeks; for the Greeks add an intercalary month every other year, so that the seasons agree; but the Egyptians, reckoning thirty days to each of the twelve months, add five days in every year over and above the total, and thus the completed circle of seasons is made to agree with the calendar. Furthermore, the Egyptians (they said) first used the names of twelve gods (which the Greeks afterwards borrowed from them); and it was they who first assigned to the several gods their altars and images and temples, and first carved figures on stone. Most of this they showed me in fact to be the case. The first human king of Egypt, they said, was Min. In his time all of Egypt except the Thebaic district was a marsh: all the country that we now see was then covered by water, north of lake Moeris, which is seven days' journey up the river from the sea.

5 1 καί εὔ μοι ἐδόκεον λέγειν περὶ τῆς χώρας· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ καὶ μὴ προακούσαντι ἰδόντι δέ, ὅστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, ὅτι Αἴγυπτος, ἐς τὴν Ἑλληνες ναυτίλλονται, ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐπικτητός τε γῆ καὶ δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὰ κατῦπερθε ἔτι τῆς λίμνης ταύτης μέχρι τριῶν ἡμερέων πλόου, τῆς πέρι ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲν ἔτι τοιόνδε ἔλεγον, ἔστι δὲ ἕτερον τοιόνδε. 2 Αἰγύπτου γὰρ φύσις ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας τοιῆδε. πρῶτα μὲν προσπλέων ἔτι καὶ ἡμέρης δρόμον ἀπέχων ἀπὸ γῆς, κατεῖς καταπειρητηρίην πηλόν τε ἀνοίσεις καὶ ἐν ἑνδεκα ὀργυῆσι ἔσαι. τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δηλοῖ πρόχυσιν τῆς γῆς εὐῶσαν.

5. And I think that their account of the country was true. For even if a man has not heard it before, he can readily see, if he has sense, that that Egypt to which the Greeks sail is land deposited for the Egyptians, the river's gift — not only the lower country, but even the land as far as three days' voyage above the lake, which is of the same nature as the other, although the priests did not say this, too. For this is the nature of the land of Egypt: in the first place, when you

approach it from the sea and are still a day's sail from land, if you let down a sounding line you will bring up mud from a depth of eleven fathoms. This shows that the deposit from the land reaches this far.

6 1 αὐτὶς δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστὶ Αἰγύπτου μῆκος τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἐξήκοντα σχοῖνοι, κατὰ ἡμεῖς διαιρέομεν εἶναι Αἶγυπτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλινθινήτεω κόλπου μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἣν τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει· ταύτης ὧν ἅπο οἱ ἐξήκοντα σχοῖνοι εἰσὶ. 2 ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ γεωπεῖναι εἰσὶ ἀνθρώπων, ὀργυῖῃσι μεμετρήκασιν τὴν χώραν, ὅσοι δὲ ἦσσαν γεωπεῖναι, σταδίοισι, οἱ δὲ πολλὴν ἔχουσι, παρασάγγῃσι, οἱ δὲ ἄφθονον λίην, σχοίνοισι. 3 δύναται δὲ ὁ παρασάγγης τριήκοντα στάδια, ὁ δὲ σχοῖνος, μέτρον ἐὼν Αἰγύπτιον, ἐξήκοντα στάδια.

6. Further, the length of the seacoast of Egypt itself is sixty "schoeni" — of Egypt, that is, as we judge it to be, reaching from the Plinthinete gulf to the Serbonian marsh, which is under the Casian mountain — between these there is this length of sixty schoeni. Men that have scant land measure by feet; those that have more, by miles; those that have much land, by parasangs; and those who have great abundance of it, by schoeni. The parasang is three and three quarters miles, and the schoenus, which is an Egyptian measure, is twice that.

7 1 οὕτω ἂν εἴησαν Αἰγύπτου στάδιοι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. ἐνθεῦτεν μὲν καὶ μέχρι Ἥλιου πόλιος ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἐστὶ εὐρέα Αἶγυπτος, ἐοῦσα πᾶσα ὑπὲρ τε καὶ ἐνυδρος καὶ ἰλὺς. ἐστὶ δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς Ἥλιου πόλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω ἰόντι παραπλησίη τὸ μῆκος τῇ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὁδῷ τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν δωδέκα θεῶν τοῦ βωμοῦ φερούσῃ ἐς τε Πῖσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν νηὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου. 2 σμικρόν τι τὸ διάφορον εὗροι τις ἂν λογιζόμενος τῶν ὁδῶν τουτέων τὸ μὴ ἴσας μῆκος εἶναι, οὐ πλέον πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐς Πῖσαν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων καταδεῖ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων μὴ εἶναι πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, ἡ δὲ ἐς Ἥλιου πόλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πληροῖ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον.

7. By this reckoning, then, the seaboard of Egypt will be four hundred and fifty miles in length. Inland from the sea as far as Heliopolis, Egypt is a wide land, all flat and watery and marshy. From the sea up to Heliopolis is a journey about as long as the way from the altar of the twelve gods at Athens to the temple of Olympian Zeus at Pisa. If a reckoning is made, only a little

difference of length, not more than two miles, will be found between these two journeys; for the journey from Athens to Pisa is two miles short of two hundred, which is the number of miles between the sea and Heliopolis.

8 1 ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλίου πόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι στερινή ἐστι Αἴγυπτος. τῇ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Αραβίης ὄρος παρατέταται, φέρον ἀπ' ἄρκτου πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον, αἰεὶ ἄνω τεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην θάλασσαν· ἐν τῷ αἰ λίθοτομίαι ἔνεισι αἰ ἐς τὰς πυραμίδας κατατμηθεῖσαι τὰς ἐν Μέμφι. ταύτῃ μὲν λῆγον ἀνακάμπτει ἐς τὰ εἴρηται τὸ ὄρος· τῇ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐωυτοῦ ἐστι μακρότατον, ὥς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην, δύο μηνῶν αὐτὸ εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ ἡοῦς πρὸς ἐσπέρην, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ λιβανωτοφόρα αὐτοῦ τὰ τέρματα εἶναι. 2 τοῦτο μὲν νυν τὸ ὄρος τοιοῦτο ἐστί, τὸ δὲ πρὸς Λιβύης τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὄρος ἄλλο πέτρινον τείνει, ἐν τῷ αἰ πυραμίδες ἔνεισι, ψάμμῳ κατελυμένον, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοῦ Αραβίου τὰ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην φέροντα. 3 τὸ ὧν δὴ ἀπὸ Ἡλίου πόλιος οὐκέτι πολλὸν χωρίον ὥς εἶναι Αἰγύπτου, ἀλλ' ὅσον τε ἡμερέων τεσσέρων καὶ δέκα ἀναπλόου ἐστὶ στερινή Αἴγυπτος, ἐοῦσα τῶν ὁρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τὸ μεταξὺ πεδιάς μὲν γῆ, στάδιοι δὲ μάλιστα ἐδόκεόν μοι εἶναι, τῇ στερινότατον ἐστί, διηκοσίων οὐ πλέους ἐκ τοῦ Αραβίου ὄρεος ἐς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλούμενον. τὸ δ' ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτὶς εὐρέα Αἴγυπτος ἐστί. πέφυκε μὲν νυν ἡ χώρα αὕτη οὕτω.

8. Beyond and above Heliopolis, Egypt is a narrow land. For it is bounded on the one side by the mountains of Arabia, which run north to south, always running south towards the sea called the Red Sea. In these mountains are the quarries that were hewn out for making the pyramids at Memphis. This way, then, the mountains run, and end in the places of which I have spoken; their greatest width from east to west, as I learned by inquiry, is a two months' journey, and their easternmost boundaries yield frankincense. Such are these mountains. On the side of Libya, Egypt is bounded by another range of rocky mountains among which are the pyramids; these are all covered with sand, and run in the same direction as those Arabian hills that run southward. Beyond Heliopolis, there is no great distance — in Egypt, that is: the narrow land has a length of only fourteen days' journey up the river. Between the aforesaid mountain

ranges, the land is level, and where the plain is narrowest it seemed to me that there were no more than thirty miles between the Arabian mountains and those that are called Libyan. Beyond this Egypt is a wide land again. Such is the nature of this country.

9 1 ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλίου πόλιος ἐς Θήβας ἐστὶ ἀνάπλοος ἐννέα ἡμερέων, στάδιοι δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι, σχοίνων ἐνὸς καὶ ὀγδῶκοντα ἐόντων. 2 οὗτοι συντιθέμενοι οἱ στάδιοι Αἰγύπτου τὸ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἤδη μοι καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται ὅτι ἐξακοσίων τε ἐστὶ σταδίων καὶ τρισχιλίων, ὅσον δέ τι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγειαν μέχρι Θηβέων ἐστί, σημανέω· στάδιοι γὰρ εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐξακισχίλιοι. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Θηβέων ἐς Ἐλεφαντίνην καλεομένην πόλιν στάδιοι χίλιοι καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι εἰσί.

9. From Heliopolis to Thebes is nine days' journey by river, and the distance is six hundred and eight miles, or eighty-one schoeni. This, then, is a full statement of all the distances in Egypt: the seaboard is four hundred and fifty miles long; and I will now declare the distance inland from the sea to Thebes : it is seven hundred and sixty-five miles. And between Thebes and the city called Elephantine there are two hundred and twenty-five miles.

10 1 ταύτης ὧν τῆς χώρας τῆς εἰρημένης ἡ πολλή, κατὰ περ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἔλεγον, ἐδόκεε καὶ αὐτῷ μοι εἶναι ἐπικτήτος Αἰγυπτίοισι. τῶν γὰρ ὁρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τῶν ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν πόλιν κειμένων τὸ μεταξὺ ἐφαίνετό μοι εἶναι κοτὲ κόλπος θαλάσσης, ὥσπερ γε τὰ περὶ Ἴλιον καὶ Τευθρανίνην καὶ Ἔφεσόν τε καὶ Μαιάνδρου πεδίων, ὥς γε εἶναι σμικρὰ ταῦτα μεγάλοισι συμβαλεῖν· 2 τῶν γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία προσχωσάντων ποταμῶν ἐνὶ τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου, ἐόντος πενταστόμου, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν πλήθεος πέρι ἄξιος συμβληθῆναι ἐστί. 3 εἰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, οὐ κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ἐόντες μεγάλα, οἵτινες ἔργα ἀποδεξάμενοι μεγάλα εἰσί· τῶν ἐγὼ φράσαι ἔχω οὐνόματα καὶ ἄλλων καὶ οὐκ ἤκιστα Ἀχελῷου, ὃς ῥέων δι' Ἀκαρνανίης καὶ ἐξιεῖς ἐς θάλασσαν τῶν Ἐχινάδων νήσων τὰς ἡμισέας ἤδη ἡπειρον πεποιήκε.

10. The greater portion, then, of this country of which I have spoken was land deposited for the Egyptians as the priests told me, and I myself formed the same judgment; all that lies between the ranges of mountains above Memphis to which I have referred

seemed to me to have once been a gulf of the sea, just as the country about Ilion and Teuthrania and Ephesus and the plain of the Maeander, to compare these small things with great. For of the rivers that brought down the stuff to make these lands, there is none worthy to be compared for greatness with even one of the mouths of the Nile, and the Nile has five mouths. There are also other rivers, not so great as the Nile, that have had great effects; I could rehearse their names, but principal among them is the Achelous, which, flowing through Acarnania and emptying into the sea, has already made half of the Echinades Islands mainland.

11 1 ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίης χώρας, Αἰγύπτου δὲ οὐ πρόσω, κόλπος θαλάσσης ἐσέχων ἐκ τῆς Ἑρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης, μακρὸς οὕτω δὴ τι καὶ στεινὸς ὥς ἔρχομαι φράσω· 2 μῆκος μὲν πλόου ἀρξαμένῳ ἐκ μυχοῦ διεκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν εὐρέαν θάλασσαν ἡμέραι ἀναισιμῶνται τεσσαράκοντα εἰρεσίῃ χρεωμένων· εὖρος δέ, τῇ εὐρύτατος ἐστὶ ὁ κόλπος, ἥμισυ ἡμέρης πλόου. ῥήγι δ' ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄμπωτις ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. 3 ἕτερον τοιοῦτον κόλπον καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον δοκέω γενέσθαι κοτέ, τὸν μὲν ἐκ τῆς βορηῆς θαλάσσης κόλπον ἐσέχοντα ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίας, τὸν δὲ Ἀράβιον, τὸν ἔρχομαι λέξων, ἐκ τῆς νοτίης φέροντα ἐπὶ Συρίης, σχεδὸν μὲν ἀλλήλοισι συντετραίνοντας τοὺς μυχοὺς, ὀλίγον δέ τι παραλλάσσοντας τῆς χώρας. 4 εἰ ὢν ἐθελήσει ἐκτρέψαι τὸ ῥέεθρον ὁ Νεῖλος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, τί μιν κωλύει ῥέοντος τούτου ἐκχωσθῆναι ἐντός γε δισμυρίων ἐτέων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἔλπομαί γε καὶ μυρίων ἐντὸς χωσθῆναι ἄν· κοῦ γε δὴ ἐν τῷ προαναισιμωμένῳ χρόνῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι οὐκ ἂν χωσθεῖη κόλπος καὶ πολλῶ μέζων ἔτι τούτου ὑπὸ τοσούτου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ οὕτω ἐργατικοῦ;

11. Now in Arabia, not far from Egypt, there is a gulf extending inland from the sea called Red , whose length and width are such as I shall show: in length, from its inner end out to the wide sea, it is a forty days' voyage for a ship rowed by oars; and in breadth, it is half a day's voyage at the widest. Every day the tides ebb and flow in it. I believe that where Egypt is now, there was once another such gulf; this extended from the northern sea towards Aethiopia, and the other, the Arabian gulf of which I shall speak, extended from the south towards Syria; the ends of these gulfs penetrated into the country

near each other, and but a little space of land separated them. Now, if the Nile inclined to direct its current into this Arabian gulf, why should the latter not be silted up by it inside of twenty thousand years? In fact, I expect that it would be silted up inside of ten thousand years. Is it to be doubted, then, that in the ages before my birth a gulf even much greater than this should have been silted up by a river so great and so busy?

12 1 τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ὧν καὶ τοῖσι λέγουσι αὐτὰ πείθομαι καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτω κάρτα δοκέω εἶναι, ἰδὼν τε τὴν Αἴγυπτον προκειμένην τῆς ἐχομένης γῆς κογχυλία τε φαινόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖσι ὄρεσι καὶ ἄλμην ἐπανθέουσιν, ὥστε καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας δηλέεσθαι, καὶ ψάμμον μόνον Αἰγύπτου ὄρος τοῦτο τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος ἔχον, 2 πρὸς δὲ τῇ χώρῃ οὔτε τῇ Ἀραβίῃ προσοῦρω ἐούση τὴν Αἴγυπτον προσεικέλην οὔτε τῇ Λιβύῃ, οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τῇ Συρίῃ (τῆς γὰρ Ἀραβίης τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν Σύροι νέμονται), ἀλλὰ μελάγγαιόν τε καὶ καταρρήγνυμένην, ὥστε ἐοῦσαν ἰλὺν τε καὶ πρόχυσιν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας κατενηνεγμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. 3 τὴν δὲ Λιβύην ἰδμεν ἐρυθροτέρην τε γῆν καὶ ὑποσαμμοτέρην, τὴν δὲ Ἀραβίην τε καὶ Συρίην ἀργιλωδεστέραν τε καὶ ὑπόπετρον ἐοῦσαν.

12. As for Egypt, then, I credit those who say it, and myself very much believe it to be the case; for I have seen that Egypt projects into the sea beyond the neighboring land, and shells are exposed to view on the mountains, and things are coated with salt, so that even the pyramids show it, and the only sandy mountain in Egypt is that which is above Memphis; besides, Egypt is like neither the neighboring land of Arabia nor Libya, not even like Syria (for Syrians inhabit the seaboard of Arabia); it is a land of black and crumbling earth, as if it were alluvial deposit carried down the river from Aethiopia; but we know that the soil of Libya is redder and somewhat sandy, and Arabia and Syria are lands of clay and stones.

13 1 ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τότε μοι μέγα τεκμήριον περὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης οἱ ἱρέες, ὡς ἐπὶ Μοίριος βασιλέος, ὅπως ἔλθοι ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ πῆχας τὸ ἐλάχιστον, ἄρδεσκε Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἔνερθε Μέμφιος· καὶ Μοίρι οὐκ ἦν ἔτεα εἰνακόσια τετελευτηκότι ὅτε τῶν ἱρέων ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἤκουον. νῦν δὲ εἰ μὴ ἐπ' ἑκκαίδεκα ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα πῆχας ἀναβῇ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὁ ποταμός, οὐκ ὑπερβαίνει ἐς τὴν χώραν.

2 δοκέουσί τέ μοι Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἔνερθε λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος οἰκέοντες τά τε ἄλλα χωρία καὶ τὸ καλεόμενον Δέλτα, ἣν οὕτω ἡ χώρα αὕτη κατὰ λόγον ἐπιδιδῶ ἐς ὕψος καὶ τὸ ὅμοιον ἀποδιδῶ ἐς αὖξησιν, 1 μὴ κατακλύζοντος αὐτὴν τοῦ Νείλου πείσεσθαι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τὸν ἐπίλοιπον Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ κοτὲ αὐτοὶ Ἑλλήνας ἔφασαν πείσεσθαι. 3 πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὥς ὕεται πᾶσα ἡ χώρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄλλ' οὐ ποταμοῖσι ἄρδεται κατὰ περ ἡ σφετέρη, ἔφασαν Ἑλλήνας ψευσθέντας κοτὲ ἐλπίδος μεγάλης κακῶς πεινήσειν. τὸ δὲ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐθέλει λέγειν ὥς, εἰ μὴ ἐθελήσει σφι ὕειν ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ αὐχμῶ διαχρᾶσθαι, λιμῶ οἱ Ἑλληνες αἰρεθήσονται· οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφι ἐστὶ ὕδατος οὐδεμία ἄλλη ἀποστροφὴ ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς μοῦνον.

13. This, too, that the priests told me about Egypt, is a strong proof: when Moeris was king, if the river rose as much as thirteen feet, it watered all of Egypt below Memphis. Moeris had not been dead nine hundred years when I heard this from the priests. But now, if the river does not rise at least twenty-six or twenty-five feet, the land is not flooded. And, in my opinion, the Egyptians who inhabit the lands lower down the river than lake Moeris, and especially what is called the Delta — if this land of theirs rises in the same proportion and broadens likewise in extent, and the Nile no longer floods it — will forever after be in the same straits as they themselves once said the Greeks would be; for, learning that all the Greek land is watered by rain, but not by river water like theirs, they said that one day the Greeks would be let down by what they counted on, and miserably starve: meaning that, if heaven send no rain for the Greeks and afflict them with drought, the Greeks will be overtaken by famine, for there is no other source of water for them except Zeus alone.

14 1 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Ἑλλήνας Αἰγυπτίοισι ὀρθῶς ἔχοντα εἴρηται· φέρε δὲ νῦν καὶ αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι ὥς ἔχει φράσω· εἴ σφι θέλοι, ὥς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, ἡ χώρα ἡ ἔνερθε Μέμφιος (αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶ ἡ αὖξανόμενη) κατὰ λόγον τοῦ παροιχομένου χρόνου ἐς ὕψος αὖξάνεσθαι, ἄλλο τι ἢ οἱ ταύτη οἰκέοντες Αἰγυπτίων πεινήσουσι; εἰ μήτε γε ὕσεται σφι ἡ χώρα μήτε ὁ ποταμὸς οἴος τ' ἔσται ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας ὑπερβαίνειν. 2 ἥ γὰρ δὴ νῦν γε οὗτοι ἀπονητότατα καρπὸν κομίζονται ἐκ γῆς τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων πάντων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν

Αἰγυπτίων· οἳ οὔτε ἀρότρῳ ἀναρρήγνυντες αὐλακας ἔχουσι πόνους οὔτε σκάλλοντες οὔτε ἄλλο ἐργαζόμενοι οὐδὲν τῶν οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι περὶ λήιον πονέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν σφι ὁ ποταμὸς αὐτόματος ἐπελθὼν ἄρσῃ τὰς ἀρούρας, ἄρσας δὲ ἀπολίπη ὀπίσω, τότε σπεύρας ἕκαστος τὴν ἐωυτοῦ ἄρουραν ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτὴν ὕς, ἐπεὰν δὲ καταπατήσῃ τῇσι ὑσὶ τὸ σπέρμα, ἄμητον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου μένει, ἀποδινήσας δὲ τῇσι ὑσὶ τὸν σῖτον οὕτω κομίζεται.

14. And this prediction of the Egyptians about the Greeks was true enough. But now let me show the prospect for the Egyptians themselves: if, as I have already said, the country below Memphis (for it is this which rises) should increase in height in the same proportion as formerly, will not the Egyptians who inhabit it go hungry, as there is no rain in their country and the river will be unable to inundate their fields? At present, of course, there are no people, either in the rest of Egypt or in the whole world, who live from the soil with so little labor; they do not have to break the land up with the plough, or hoe, or do any other work that other men do to get a crop; the river rises of itself, waters the fields, and then sinks back again; then each man sows his field and sends swine into it to tread down the seed, and waits for the harvest; then he has the swine thresh his grain, and so garners it.

15 1 εἰ ὧν βουλόμεθα γνώμῃσι τῇσι Ἰώνων χρᾶσθαι τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον, οἳ φασὶ τὸ Δέλτα μόνον εἶναι Αἴγυπτον, ἀπὸ Περσέος καλεομένης σκοπιῆς λέγοντες τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν εἶναι αὐτῆς μέχρι Ταριχηίων τῶν Πηλουσιακῶν, τῇ δὴ τεσσεράκοντα εἰσὶ σχοῖνοι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεγόντων ἐς μεσόγαιαν τείνειν αὐτὴν μέχρι Κερκασώρου πόλιος, κατ' ἣν σχίζεται ὁ Νεῖλος ἕς τε Πηλούσιον ῥέων καὶ ἐς Κάνωβον, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα λεγόντων τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὰ μὲν Λιβύης τὰ δὲ Ἀραβίης εἶναι, ἀποδεικνύοιμεν ἂν τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ χρεώμενοι Αἰγυπτίοισι οὐκ ἐοῦσαν πρότερον χώραν. 2 ἤδη γάρ σφι τό γε Δέλτα, ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἐμοὶ δοκέει, ἐστὶ κατάρρυτον τε καὶ νεωστὶ ὥς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἀναπεφηνός. εἰ τοῖνυν σφι χώρα γε μηδεμία ὑπῆρχε, τί περιεργάζοντο δοκέοντες πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι; οὐδὲ ἔδει σφέας ἐς διάπειραν τῶν παιδίων ἰέναι, τίνα γλῶσσαν πρώτην ἀπήσουσι. 3 ἀλλ' οὔτε Αἰγυπτίους δοκέω ἅμα τῷ Δέλτα τῷ ὑπὸ Ἰώνων καλεομένῳ γενέσθαι αἰεὶ τε

εἶναι ἐξ οὗ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐγένετο, προΐούσης δὲ τῆς χώρας πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν γενέσθαι πολλοὺς δὲ τοὺς ὑποκαταβαίνοντας. τὸ δ' ὧν πάλαι αἱ Θῆβαι Αἴγυπτος ἐκαλέετο, τῆς τὸ περίμετρον στάδιοι εἰσὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι.

15. Now if we agree with the opinion of the Ionians, who say that only the Delta is Egypt, and that its seaboard reaches from the so-called Watchtower of Perseus forty schoeni to the Salters' at Pelusium, while inland it stretches as far as the city of Cercasorus, where the Nile divides and flows to Pelusium and Canobus, and that all the rest of Egypt is partly Libya and partly Arabia — if we follow this account, we can show that there was once no land for the Egyptians; for we have seen that (as the Egyptians themselves say, and as I myself judge) the Delta is alluvial land and but lately (so to speak) came into being. Then if there was once no land for them, it was an idle notion that they were the oldest nation on earth, and they need not have made that trial to see what language the children would first speak. I maintain, rather, that the Egyptians did not come into existence together with what the Ionians call the Delta, but have existed since the human race came into being; and as the land grew in extent, there were many of them who stayed behind, and many who spread down over it. Be that as it may, the Theban district, a land of seven hundred and sixty-five miles in circumference, was in the past called Egypt.

16 1 εἰ ὧν ἡμεῖς ὀρθῶς περὶ αὐτῶν γινώσκομεν, Ἴωνες οὐκ εὖ φρονέουσι περὶ Αἰγύπτου· εἰ δὲ ὀρθή ἐστι ἡ γνώμη τῶν Ἰώνων, Ἑλληνάς τε καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἴωνα ἀποδείκνυμι οὐκ ἐπισταμένους λογίζεσθαι, οἱ φασὶ τρία μόρια εἶναι γῆν πᾶσαν, Εὐρώπην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Λιβύην. 2 τέταρτον γὰρ δὴ σφεας δεῖ προσλογίζεσθαι Αἰγύπτου τὸ Δέλτα, εἰ μήτε γε ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσίης μήτε τῆς Λιβύης· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Νεῖλος γε ἐστὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὁ τὴν Ἀσίην οὐρίζων τῇ Λιβύῃ, τοῦ Δέλτα δὲ τούτου κατὰ τὸ ὀξὺ περιρρήγνυται ὁ Νεῖλος, ὥστε ἐν τῷ μεταξύ Ἀσίης τε καὶ Λιβύης γίνονται ἄν.

16. If, then, our judgment of this is right, the Ionians are in error concerning Egypt; but if their opinion is right, then it is plain that they and the rest of the Greeks cannot reckon truly, when they divide the whole earth into three parts, Europe, Asia, and Libya; they must

add to these a fourth part, the Delta of Egypt, if it belongs neither to Asia nor to Libya; for by their showing the Nile is not the river that separates Asia and Libya; the Nile divides at the apex of this Delta, so that this land must be between Asia and Libya.

17 1 καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰώνων γνώμην ἀπίεμεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὧδε καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγομεν, Αἴγυπτον μὲν πᾶσαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων οἰκεομένην κατὰ περ Κιλικίην τὴν ὑπὸ Κιλικίων καὶ Ἀσσυρίην τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων, οὖρισμα δὲ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Λιβύῃ οἶδαμεν οὐδὲν ἐὼν ὀρθῷ λόγῳ εἰ μὴ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίων οὖρους. 2 εἰ δὲ τῷ ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων νενομισμένῳ χρῆσόμεθα, νομοιοῦμεν Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν ἀρξαμένην ἀπὸ Καταδούπων τε καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος δίχα διαιρέεσθαι καὶ ἀμφοτερέων τῶν ἐπωνυμιῶν ἔχεσθαι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς εἶναι τῆς Λιβύης τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας. 3 ὁ γὰρ δὴ Νεῖλος ἀρξάμενος ἐκ τῶν Καταδούπων ῥέει μέσσην Αἴγυπτον σχίζων ἐς θάλασσαν· μέχρι μὲν νυν Κερκασώρου πόλιος ῥέει εἰς ἐὼν ὁ Νεῖλος, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος σχίζεται τριφασίας ὁδοῦς. 4 καὶ ἡ μὲν πρὸς ἥῳ τρέπεται, τὸ καλέεται Πηλούσιον στόμα, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα τῶν ὁδῶν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἔχει· τοῦτο δὲ Κανωβικὸν στόμα κέκληται. ἡ δὲ δὴ ἰθεὰ τῶν ὁδῶν τῷ Νεῖλῳ ἐστὶ ἥδε· ἄνωθεν φερόμενος ἐς τὸ ὄξυ τοῦ Δέλτα ἀπικνέεται, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου σχίζων μέσον τὸ Δέλτα ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξιεῖ, οὔτε ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν τοῦ ὕδατος παρεχόμενος ταύτην οὔτε ἥκιστα ὀνομαστήν· τὸ καλέεται Σεβεννυτικὸν στόμα. 5 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερα διφάσια στόματα ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβεννυτικοῦ ἀποσχισθέντα, φέροντα ἐς θάλασσαν· τοῖσι οὐνόματα κέεται τάδε, τῷ μὲν Σαῖτικὸν αὐτῶν τῷ δὲ Μενδήσιον. 6 τὸ δὲ Βολβίτινον στόμα καὶ τὸ Βουκολικὸν οὐκ ἰθαγενέα στόματα ἐστὶ ἀλλ' ὀρυκτά.

17. We leave the Ionians' opinion aside, and our own judgment about the matter is this: Egypt is all that country which is inhabited by Egyptians, just as Cilicia and Assyria are the countries inhabited by Cilicians and Assyrians, and we know of no boundary line (rightly so called) below Asia and Libya except the borders of the Egyptians. But if we follow the belief of the Greeks, we shall consider all Egypt commencing from the Cataracts and the city of Elephantine to be divided into two parts, and to claim both the names, the one a part of Libya and the other of Asia. For the Nile, beginning from the Cataracts, divides Egypt into two parts as it flows

to the sea. Now, as far as the city Cercasorus the Nile flows in one channel, but after that it parts into three. One of these, which is called the Pelusian mouth, flows east; the second flows west, and is called the Canobic mouth. But the direct channel of the Nile, when the river in its downward course reaches the apex of the Delta, flows thereafter clean through the middle of the Delta into the sea; in this is seen the greatest and most famous part of its waters, and it is called the Sebennytic mouth. There are also two channels which separate themselves from the Sebennytic and so flow into the sea: by name, the Saïtic and the Mendesian. The Bolbitine and Bucolic mouths are not natural but excavated channels.

18 ἡ μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι τοσαύτη ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος ὅσην τινὰ ἐγὼ ἀποδείκνυμι τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ τὸ Ἄμμωνος χρηστήριον γεγόμενον· τὸ ἐγὼ τῆς ἐμεωυτοῦ γνώμης ὕστερον περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐπυθόμην. 2 οἱ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ Μαρέης τε πόλιος καὶ Ἄπιος, οἰκέοντες Αἰγύπτου τὰ πρόσουρα Λιβύῃ, αὐτοὶ τε δοκέοντες εἶναι Λίβυες καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἀχθόμενοι τῇ περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ θρησκείῃ, βουλόμενοι θηλέων βοῶν μὴ ἔργεσθαι, ἐπεμψαν ἐς Ἄμμωνα φάμενοι οὐδὲν σφίσι τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι κοινὸν εἶναι· οἰκέειν τε γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμολογέειν αὐτοῖσι, βούλεσθαι τε πάντων σφίσι ἐξεῖναι γεύεσθαι. 3 ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφεας οὐκ ἔα ποιέειν ταῦτα, φὰς Αἴγυπτον εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπὶ ᾧ ἄρδει, καὶ Αἰγυπτίους εἶναι τούτους οἱ ἔνερθε Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος οἰκέοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου πίνουσι. οὕτω σφι ταῦτα ἐχρήσθη.

18. The response of oracle of Ammon in fact bears witness to my opinion, that Egypt is of such an extent as I have argued; I learned this by inquiry after my judgment was already formed about Egypt. The men of the cities of Marea and Apis, in the part of Egypt bordering on Libya, believing themselves to be Libyans and not Egyptians, and disliking the injunction of the religious law that forbade them to eat cows' meat, sent to Ammon saying that they had no part of or lot with Egypt: for they lived (they said) outside the Delta and did not consent to the ways of its people, and they wished to be allowed to eat all foods. But the god forbade them: all the land, he said, watered by the Nile in its course was Egypt, and all who lived lower down than the city Elephantine and drank the river's

water were Egyptians. Such was the oracle given to them.

19 1 ἐπέρχεται δὲ ὁ Νεῖλος, ἐπεὰν πληθύῃ, οὐ μούνον τὸ Δέλτα ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ τε λεγομένου χωρίου εἶναι καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου ἐνιαχῇ καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἡμερέων ἐκατέρωθι ὁδόν, καὶ πλεόν ἔτι τούτου καὶ ἔλασσον. τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ φύσις περὶ οὔτε τι τῶν ἱρέων οὔτε ἄλλου οὐδενὸς παραλαβεῖν ἐδυνάσθη. 2 πρόθυμος δὲ ἔα τάδε παρ' αὐτῶν πυθέσθαι, ὃ τι κατέρχεται μὲν ὁ Νεῖλος πληθύνων ἀπὸ τροπέων τῶν θερινέων ἀρξάμενος ἐπὶ ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας, πελάσας δὲ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τουτέων τῶν ἡμερέων ὀπίσω ἀπέρχεται ἀπολείπων τὸ ῥέεθρον, ὥστε βραχὺς τὸν χειμῶνα ἅπαντα διατελέει ἐὼν μέχρι οὗ αὐτὶς τροπέων τῶν θερινέων. 3 τούτων ὧν περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν οἶός τε ἐγενόμην παραλαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἱστορέων αὐτοὺς ἥντινα δύναιμι ἔχει ὁ Νεῖλος τὰ ἔμπαλιν πεφυκέναι τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν· ταῦτά τε δὴ τὰ λελεγμένα βουλόμενος εἰδέναι ἱστώρεον καὶ ὃ τι αὔρας ἀποπνεούσας μούνος ποταμῶν πάντων οὐ παρέχεται.

19. When the Nile is in flood, it overflows not only the Delta but also the lands called Libyan and Arabian, as far as two days' journey from either bank in places, and sometimes more than this, sometimes less. Concerning its nature, I could not learn anything either from the priests or from any others. Yet I was anxious to learn from them why the Nile comes down with a rising flood for a hundred days from the summer solstice; and when this number of days is passed, sinks again with a diminishing stream, so that the river is low for the whole winter until the summer solstice again. I was not able to get any information from any of the Egyptians regarding this, when I asked them what power the Nile has to be contrary in nature to all other rivers. I wished to know this, and asked; also, why no breezes blew from it as from every other river.

20 1 ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων μὲν τινὲς ἐπίσημοι βουλόμενοι γενέσθαι σοφὴν ἔλεξαν περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου τριφασίας ὁδοῦς· τῶν τὰς μὲν δύο τῶν ὁδῶν οὐδ' ἀξιῶ μνησθῆναι εἰ μὴ ὅσον σημῆναι βουλόμενος μούνον· 2 τῶν ἡ ἑτέρη μὲν λέγει τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀνέμους εἶναι αἰτίους πληθύνειν τὸν ποταμὸν, κωλύοντας ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκρέειν τὸν Νεῖλον. πολλάκις δὲ ἐτησίαι μὲν οὐκὼν ἔπνευσαν, ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος τῷ τούτῳ ἐργάζεται. 3 πρὸς δέ, εἰ ἐτησῖαι αἴτιοι ἦσαν, χρῆν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμούς, ὅσοι τοῖσι ἐτησίῃσι ἀντίοι ῥέουσι, ὁμοίως πάσχειν καὶ

κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Νεῖλῳ, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι τοσοῦτῳ ὅσῳ ἐλάσσονες ἔόντες ἀσθενέστερα τὰ ρεύματα παρέχονται. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, οἱ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο πάσχουσι οἷόν τι καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος.

20. But some of the Greeks, wishing to be notable for cleverness, put forward three opinions about this river, two of which I would not even mention except just to show what they are. One of them maintains that the Etesian winds are the cause of the river being in flood, because they hinder the Nile from emptying into the sea. But there are many times when the Etesian winds do not blow, yet the Nile does the same as before. And further, if the Etesian winds were the cause, then the other rivers which flow contrary to those winds should be affected like the Nile, and even more so, since being smaller they have a weaker current. Yet there are many rivers in Syria and many in Libya, and they behave nothing like the Nile.

21 1 ἡ δ' ἑτέρα ἀνεπιστημονεστέρα μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς λελεγμένης, λόγῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν θωμασιωτέρα· ἡ λέγει ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ ρέοντα αὐτὸν ταῦτα μηχανᾶσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ὠκεανὸν γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ρέειν.

21. The second opinion is less grounded on knowledge than the previous, though it is more marvellous to the ear: according to it, the river effects what it does because it flows from Ocean, which flows around the whole world.

22 1 ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ὁδῶν πολλὸν ἐπιεικεστάτη ἐοῦσα μάλιστα ἔννευσται· λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὐδ' αὕτη οὐδέν, φαμένη τὸν Νεῖλον ρέειν ἀπὸ τηκομένης χιόνος· ὃς ρέει μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης διὰ μέσων Αἰθιοπῶν, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. 2 κῶς ὦν δῆτα ρέει ἂν ἀπὸ χιόνος, ἀπὸ τῶν θερμωτάτων ῥέων ἐς τὰ ψυχρότερα τὰ πολλὰ ἐστὶ; ἀνδρὶ γε λογιζέσθαι τοιούτων πέρι οἷον τε ἔοντι, ὥς οὐδὲ οἶκος ἀπὸ χιόνος μιν ρέειν, πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέγιστον μαρτύριον οἱ ἄνεμοι παρέχονται πνέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν χωρέων τουτέων θερμοί· 3 δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι ἄνομβρος ἡ χώρα καὶ ἀκρύσταλλος διατελεῖ ἐοῦσα, ἐπὶ δὲ χιόνι πεσοῦση πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ὕσαι ἐν πέντε ἡμέρησι, ὥστε, εἰ ἐχιόνιζε, ὕετο ἂν ταῦτα τὰ χωρία· τρίτα δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος μέλανες ἔόντες. 4 ἰκτῖνοι δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες δι' ἔτεος ἔόντες οὐκ ἀπολείπουσι, γέραναι δὲ φεύγουσαι τὸν χειμῶνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ χώρῃ γινόμενον φοιτῶσι ἐς χειμασίην ἐς τοὺς τόπους τούτους. εἰ

τοῖνυν ἐχίονιζε καὶ ὅσον ὦν ταύτην τὴν χώραν δι' ἧς τε ῥέει καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄρχεται ῥέων ὁ Νεῖλος, ἣν ἂν τούτων οὐδέν, ὥς ἡ ἀνάγκη ἐλέγχει.

22. The third opinion is by far the most plausible, yet the most erroneous of all. It has no more truth in it than the others. According to this, the Nile flows from where snows melt; but it flows from Libya through the midst of Ethiopia, and comes out into Egypt. How can it flow from snow, then, seeing that it comes from the hottest places to lands that are for the most part cooler? In fact, for a man who can reason about such things, the principal and strongest evidence that the river is unlikely to flow from snows is that the winds blowing from Libya and Ethiopia are hot. In the second place, the country is rainless and frostless; but after snow has fallen, it has to rain within five days ; so that if it snowed, it would rain in these lands. And thirdly, the men of the country are black because of the heat. Moreover, kites and swallows live there all year round, and cranes come every year to these places to winter there, flying from the wintry weather of Scythia. Now, were there but the least fall of snow in this country through which the Nile flows and where it rises, none of these things would happen, as necessity proves.

23 1 ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ λέξας ἐς ἀφανὲς τὸν μῦθον ἀνενεΐκας οὐκ ἔχει ἔλεγχον· οὐ γὰρ τινὰ ἔγωγε οἶδα ποταμὸν Ὀκεανὸν ἐόντα, Ὅμηρον δὲ ἢ τινὰ τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ποιητέων δοκέω τὸ οὔνομα εὐρόντα ἐς ποίησιν ἐσενεΐκασθαι.

23. The opinion about Ocean is grounded in obscurity and needs no disproof; for I know of no Ocean river; and I suppose that Homer or some older poet invented this name and brought it into his poetry.

24 1 εἰ δὲ δεῖ μεμψάμενον γνώμας τὰς προκειμένας αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν ἀφανέων γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι, φράσω δι' ὃ τι μοι δοκείει πληθύνεσθαι ὁ Νεῖλος τοῦ θέρεος· τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥρην ἀπελαυνόμενος ὁ ἥλιος ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίης διεξόδου ὑπὸ τῶν χειμῶνων ἔρχεται τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω. 2 ὥς μὲν νυν ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ δηλῶσαι, πᾶν εἴρηται· τῆς γὰρ ἂν ἀγχοτάτω τε ἢ χώρας οὗτος ὁ θεὸς καὶ κατὰ ἡντινα, ταύτην οἰκὸς διψῇν τε ὑδάτων μάλιστα καὶ τὰ ἐγχώρια ρεύματα μαραίνεσθαι τῶν ποταμῶν.

24. If, after having condemned the opinions proposed, I must

indicate what I myself think about these obscure matters, I shall say why I think the Nile floods in the summer. During the winter, the sun is driven by storms from his customary course and passes over the inland parts of Libya. For the briefest demonstration, everything has been said; for whatever country this god is nearest, or over, it is likely that that land is very thirsty for water and that the local rivers are dried up.

25 1 ὥς δὲ ἐν πλέονι λόγῳ δηλῶσαι, ὧδε ἔχει. διεξιὼν τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω ὁ ἥλιος τάδε ποιεῖ· ἅτε διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου αἰθρίου τε ἐόντος τοῦ ἡέρος τοῦ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ ἀλεινῆς τῆς χώρας ἐούσης καὶ ἀνέμων ψυχρῶν, διεξιὼν ποιεῖ οἷόν περ καὶ τὸ θέρος ἔωθε ποιεῖν ἰὼν τὸ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· 2 ἔλκει γὰρ ἐπ' ἐωυτόν τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐλκύσας δὲ ἀπωθέει ἐς τὰ ἄνω χωρία, ὑπολαμβάνοντες δὲ οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ διασκιδνάντες τήκουσι· καὶ εἰσὶ οἰκώτως οἱ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώρας πνέοντες, ὃ τε νότος καὶ ὁ λίψ, ἀνέμων πολλὸν τῶν πάντων ὑετιώτατοι 3 δοκεῖ δέ μοι οὐδὲ πᾶν τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐπέτειον ἐκάστοτε ἀποπέμπεσθαι τοῦ Νείλου ὁ ἥλιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπολείπεσθαι περὶ ἐωυτόν. πρηῦνομένου δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀπέρχεται ὁ ἥλιος ἐς μέσον τὸν οὐρανὸν ὀπίσω, καὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ὁμοίως ἀπὸ πάντων ἔλκει τῶν ποταμῶν. 4 τῶς δὲ οἱ μὲν ὀμβρίου ὕδατος συμμισγομένου πολλοῦ αὐτοῖσι, ἅτε ὑομένης τε τῆς χώρας καὶ κεχαδρωμένης, ῥέουσι μεγάλοι· τοῦ δὲ θέρεος τῶν τε ὀμβρῶν ἐπλειπόντων αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐλκόμενοι ἀσθενέες εἰσί. 5 ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος ἐὼν ἄνομβρος, ἐλκόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μούνος ποταμῶν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, οἰκώτως αὐτὸς ἐωυτοῦ ῥέει πολλῷ ὑποδεέστερος ἢ τοῦ θέρεος· τότε μὲν γὰρ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὑδάτων ἴσον ἔλκεται, τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα μούνος πιέζεται. οὕτω τὸν ἥλιον νενόμικα τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι.

25. A lengthier demonstration goes as follows. In its passage over the inland parts of Libya, the sun does this: as the air is always clear in that region, the land warm, and the winds cool, the sun does in its passage exactly as it would do in the summer passing through the middle of the heaven: it draws the water to itself, and having done so, expels it away to the inland regions, and the winds catch it and scatter and dissolve it; and, as is to be expected, those that blow from that country, the south and the southwest, are the most rainy of all

winds. Yet I think that the sun never lets go of all of the water that it draws up from the Nile yearly, but keeps some back near itself. Then, as the winter becomes milder, the sun returns to the middle of the heaven, and after that draws from all rivers alike. Meanwhile, the other rivers are swollen to high flood by the quantity of water that falls into them from the sky, because the country is rained on and cut into gullies; but in the summer they are low, lacking the rain and being drawn up too by the sun. But the Nile, being fed by no rain, and being the only river drawn up by the sun in winter, at this time falls far short of the height that it had in summer; which is but natural; for in summer all other waters too and not it alone are attracted to the sun, but in the winter it alone is afflicted.

26 1 αἴτιος δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὸν ἡέρα ξηρὸν τὸν ταύτη εἶναι, διακαίων τὴν διέξοδον ἐωντοῦ· οὕτω τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω θέρος αἰεὶ κατέχει. 2 εἰ δὲ ἡ στάσις ἥλλακτο τῶν ὥρέων, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῇ μὲν νῦν ὁ βορέης τε καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐστᾶσι, ταύτη μὲν τοῦ νότου ἦν ἡ στάσις καὶ τῆς μεσαμβρίας, τῇ δὲ ὁ νότος νῦν ἔστηκε, ταύτη δὲ ὁ βορέης, εἰ ταῦτα οὕτω εἶχε, ὁ ἥλιος ἂν ἀπελαννόμενος ἐκ μέσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τοῦ βορέω ἦε ἂν τὰ ἄνω τῆς Εὐρώπης κατὰ περ νῦν τῆς Λιβύης ἔρχεται, διεξιόντα δ' ἂν μιν διὰ πάσης <τῆς> Εὐρώπης ἔλπομαι ποιεῖν ἂν τὸν Ἰστρον τὰ περ νῦν ἐργάζεται τὸν Νεῖλον.

26. I am convinced, therefore, that the sun is the cause of this phenomenon. The dryness of the air in these parts is also caused by the sun, in my opinion, because it burns its way through it; hence, it is always summer in the inland part of Libya. But were the stations of the seasons changed, so that the south wind and the summer had their station where the north wind and winter are now set, and the north wind was where the south wind is now — if this were so, the sun, when driven from mid-heaven by the winter and the north wind, would pass over the inland parts of Europe as it now passes over Libya, and I think that in its passage over all Europe it would have the same effect on the Ister as it now does on the Nile.

27 1 τῆς αὔρης δὲ πέρι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀποπνέει, τήνδε ἔχω γνώμην, ὥς κάρτα ἀπὸ θερμῶν χωρέων οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι οὐδὲν ἀποπνέειν, αὔρη δὲ ἀπὸ ψυχροῦ τινος φιλέει πνέειν.

27. And as to why no breeze blows from the river, this is my opinion: it is not natural that any breeze blow from very hot places; breezes always come from that which is very cold.

28 1 ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἔστω ὥς ἔστι τε καὶ ὥς ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο· τοῦ δὲ Νείλου τὰς πηγὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίων οὔτε Λιβύων οὔτε Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἔμοι ἀπικομένων ἐς λόγους οὐδεὶς ὑπέσχετο εἰδέναι, εἰ μὴ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν Σαί πόλει ὁ γραμματιστὴς τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης. 2 οὗτος δ' ἔμοιγε παίζειν ἐδόκεε φάμενος εἰδέναι ἀτρεκέως· ἔλεγε δὲ ὧδε, εἶναι δύο ὄρεα ἐς ὃξὺ τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπηγμένα, μεταξὺ Συήνης τε πόλιος κείμενα τῆς Θηβαΐδος καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης, οὐνόματα δὲ εἶναι τοῖσι ὄρεσι τῷ μὲν Κρῶφι τῷ δὲ Μῶφι· 3 τὰς ὧν δὴ πηγὰς τοῦ Νείλου ἐούσας ἀβύσσους ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τῶν ὀρέων τούτων ῥέειν, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ῥέειν καὶ πρὸς βορρὴν ἄνεμον, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἡμισυ ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ νότου. 4 ὥς δὲ ἄβυσσοι εἰσι αἱ πηγαί, ἐς διάπειραν ἔφη τούτου Ψαμμήτιχον Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα ἀπικέσθαι· πολλέων γὰρ αὐτὸν χιλιάδων ὀργυιέων πλεζάμενον κάλον κατεῖναι ταύτη καὶ οὐκ ἐξικέσθαι ἐς βυσσόν. 5 οὕτω μὲν δὴ ὁ γραμματιστής, εἰ ἄρα ταῦτα γινόμενα ἔλεγε, ἀπέφαινε, ὥς ἐμὲ κατανοέειν, δίνας τινὰς ταύτη ἐούσας ἰσχυρὰς καὶ παλιρρόειν, οἷα δὲ ἐμβάλλοντος τοῦ ὕδατος τοῖσι ὄρεσι, μὴ δύνασθαι κατιεμένην καταπειρητηρίην ἐς βυσσὸν ἵεναι.

28. Let this be, then, as it is and as it was in the beginning. But as to the sources of the Nile, no one that conversed with me, Egyptian, Libyan, or Greek, professed to know them, except the recorder of the sacred treasures of Athena in the Egyptian city of Saïs. I thought he was joking when he said that he had exact knowledge, but this was his story. Between the city of Syene in the Thebaid and Elephantine, there are two hills with sharp peaks, one called Crophi and the other Mophi. The springs of the Nile, which are bottomless, rise between these hills; half the water flows north towards Egypt, and the other half south towards Ethiopia. He said that Psammetichus king of Egypt had put to the test whether the springs are bottomless: for he had a rope of many thousand fathoms' length woven and let down into the spring, but he could not reach to the bottom. This recorder, then, if he spoke the truth, showed, I think, that there are strong

eddies and an upward flow of water, such that with the stream rushing against the hills the sounding-line when let down cannot reach bottom.

29 1 ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν ἐδυνάμην πυθέσθαι. ἀλλὰ τοσόνδε μὲν ἄλλο ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐπυθόμην, μέχρι μὲν Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος αὐτόπτης ἐλθὼν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀκοῇ ἤδη ἱστορέων. 2 ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι ἄναντες ἐστὶ χωρίον· ταύτῃ ὧν δεῖ τὸ πλοῖον διαδήσαντας ἀμφοτέρωθεν κατὰ περ βοῦν πορεύεσθαι· ἦν δὲ ἀπορράγῃ τὸ πλοῖον οἴχεται φερόμενον ὑπὸ ἰσχύος τοῦ ρόου. 3 τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἐπ' ἡμέρας τέσσερας πλόος, σκολιὸς δὲ ταύτῃ κατὰ περ ὁ Μαϊάνδρος ἐστὶ ὁ Νεῖλος· σχοῖνοι δὲ δυνάδεκα εἰσὶ οὗτοι τοὺς δεῖ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διεκπλῶσαι. καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπίξεται ἐς πεδίον λεῖον, ἐν τῷ νῆσον περιῶρείει ὁ Νεῖλος· Ταχομψὺ οὖνομα αὐτῇ ἐστὶ. 4 οἰκέουσι δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἄνω Αἰθίοπες ἤδη καὶ τῆς νήσου τὸ ἥμισυ, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔχεται δὲ τῆς νήσου λίμνην μεγάλην, τὴν πέριξ νομάδες Αἰθίοπες νέμονται· τὴν διεκπλώσας ἐς τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ῥέεθρον ἤξεις, τὸ ἐς τὴν λίμνην ταύτην ἐκδιδού. 5 καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβάς παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὁδοιπορίην ποιήσεται ἡμερέων τεσσεράκοντα· σκόπελοι/ τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ ὀξέες ἀνέχουσι καὶ χοιράδες πολλαὶ εἰσι, δι' ὧν οὐκ οἶά τε ἐστὶ πλέειν. 6 διεξελθὼν δὲ ἐν τῇσι τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρησι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, αὐτὶς ἐς ἕτερον πλοῖον ἐσβάς δυνάδεκα ἡμέρας πλεύσει, καὶ ἔπειτα ἤξεις ἐς πόλιν μεγάλην τῇ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Μερὸν· λέγεται δὲ αὕτη ἢ πόλις εἶναι μητρόπολις τῶν ἄλλων Αἰθιόπων. 7 οἱ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ Δία θεῶν καὶ Διόνυσον μούρους σέβονται, τούτους τε μεγάλως τιμῶσι, καὶ σφι μαντήιον Διὸς κατέστηκε· στρατεύονται δὲ ἐπεὰν σφας ὁ θεὸς οὗτος κελεύῃ διὰ θεσπισμάτων, καὶ τῇ ἂν κελεύῃ [, ἐκεῖσε].

29. I was unable to learn anything from anyone else, but this much further I did learn by the most extensive investigation that I could make, going as far as the city of Elephantine to look myself, and beyond that by question and hearsay. Beyond Elephantine, as one travels inland, the land rises. Here one must pass with the boat roped on both sides as men harness an ox; and if the rope breaks, the boat will be carried away by the strength of the current. This part of the river is a four days' journey by boat, and the Nile here is twisty just as the Maeander; a distance of twelve schoeni must be passed in

the foregoing manner. After that, you come to a level plain, where there is an island in the Nile, called Takhompso. The country above Elephantine now begins to be inhabited by Ethiopians: half the people of the island are Ethiopians, and half Egyptians. Near the island is a great lake, on whose shores live nomadic Ethiopians. After crossing this, you come to the stream of the Nile, which empties into this lake. Then you disembark and journey along the river bank for forty days; for there are sharp projecting rocks in the Nile and many reefs, through which no boat can pass. Having traversed this part in forty days as I have said, you take boat again and so travel for twelve days until you come to a great city called Meroe, which is said to be the capital of all Ethiopia. The people of the place worship no other gods but Zeus and Dionysus; these they greatly honor, and they have a place of divination sacred to Zeus; they send out armies whenever and wherever this god through his oracle commands them.

30 1 ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλέων ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ ἄλλῳ ἤξειεις ἐς τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἐν ὅσῳ περ ἐξ Ἑλεφαντίνης ἦλθες ἐς τὴν μητρόπολιν τὴν Αἰθιόπων. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτομόλοισι τούτοισι οὕνομα ἐστὶ Ἀσμάχ, δύναται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν οἱ ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς παριστάμενοι βασιλεί. 2 ἀπέστησαν δὲ αὗται τέσσερες καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες Αἰγυπτίων τῶν μαχίμων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας τούτους δι' αἰτίν τεινῆς. ἐπὶ Ψαμμητίχου βασιλέος φυλακαὶ κατέστησαν ἐν τε Ἑλεφαντίνῃ πόλει πρὸς Αἰθιόπων καὶ ἐν Δάφνησι τῇσι Πηλουσίῃσι ἄλλῃ [δὲ] πρὸς Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ ἐν Μαρῇ πρὸς Λιβύης ἄλλῃ. 3 ἔτι δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ καὶ Περσέων κατὰ ταῦτα αἱ φυλακαὶ ἔχουσι ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ Ψαμμητίχου ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἑλεφαντίνῃ Πέρσαι φρουρέουσι καὶ ἐν Δάφνησι. τοὺς ὧν δὴ Αἰγυπτίους τρία ἔτεα φρουρήσαντας ἀπέλυε οὐδεὶς τῆς φρουρῆς· οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι καὶ κοινῇ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ψαμμητίχου ἀποστάντες ἦσαν ἐς Αἰθιοπίν. 4 Ψαμμητίχος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐδίωκε· ὡς δὲ κατέλαβε, ἐδέετο πολλὰ λέγων καὶ σφῆας θεοὺς πατρώιους ἀπολιπεῖν οὐκ ἔα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας. τῶν δὲ τινὰ λέγεται δέξαντα τὸ αἰδοῖον εἰπεῖν, ἔνθα ἂν τοῦτο ἦ, ἔσσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι ἐνθαῦτα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας. 5 οὗτοι ἐπεῖτε ἐς Αἰθιοπίν ἀπίκοντο, διδοῦσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Αἰθιόπων βασιλεῖ, ὁ δὲ σφέας τῷδε ἀντιδωρέεται· ἥσαν οἱ διάφοροι τινὲς γεγονότες τῶν

Αἰθιοῦπων· τούτους ἐκέλευε ἐξελόντας τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν οἰκέειν. τούτων δὲ ἐσοικισθέντων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας ἡμερώτεροι γεγónασι Αἰθίοπες, ἤθεα μαθόντες Αἰγύπτια.

30. From this city you make a journey by water equal in distance to that by which you came from Elephantine to the capital city of Ethiopia, and you come to the land of the Deserters. These Deserters are called Asmakh, which translates, in Greek, as “those who stand on the left hand of the king”. These once revolted and joined themselves to the Ethiopians, two hundred and forty thousand Egyptians of fighting age. The reason was as follows. In the reign of Psammetichus, there were watchposts at Elephantine facing Ethiopia, at Daphnae of Pelusium facing Arabia and Assyria, and at Marea facing Libya. And still in my time the Persians hold these posts as they were held in the days of Psammetichus; there are Persian guards at Elephantine and at Daphnae. Now the Egyptians had been on guard for three years, and no one came to relieve them; so, organizing and making common cause, they revolted from Psammetichus and went to Ethiopia. Psammetichus heard of it and pursued them; and when he overtook them, he asked them in a long speech not to desert their children and wives and the gods of their fathers. Then one of them, the story goes, pointed to his genitals and said that wherever that was, they would have wives and children. So they came to Ethiopia, and gave themselves up to the king of the country; who, to make them a gift in return, told them to dispossess certain Ethiopians with whom he was feuding, and occupy their land. These Ethiopians then learned Egyptian customs and have become milder-mannered by intermixture with the Egyptians.

31 1 μέχρι μὲν νυν τεσσέρων μηνῶν πλόου καὶ ὁδοῦ γινώσκεται ὁ Νεῖλος πάρεξ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ρεύματος· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ συμβαλλομένῳ μῆνες εὐρίσκονται ἀναισιμούμενοι ἐξ Ἑλεφαντίνης πορευομένῳ ἐς τοὺς αὐτομόλους τούτους. ῥέει δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης τε καὶ ἡλίου δυσμέων. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οὐδεὶς ἔχει σαφέως φράσαι· ἔρημος γὰρ ἐστὶ ἡ χώρα αὕτη ὑπὸ καύματος.

31. To a distance of four months’ travel by land and water, then, there is knowledge of the Nile, besides the part of it that is in Egypt. So many months, as reckoning shows, are found to be spent by one

going from Elephantine to the country of the Deserters. The river flows from the west and the sun's setting. Beyond this, no one has clear information to declare; for all that country is desolate because of the heat.

32 1 ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ἤκουσα ἀνδρῶν Κυρηναίων φαμένων ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμμωνος χρηστήριον καὶ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λόγους Ἐτεάρχῳ τῷ Ἀμμωνίων βασιλεί, καὶ κως ἐκ λόγων ἄλλων ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λέσχην περὶ τοῦ Νείλου, ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ οἶδε τὰς πηγὰς, καὶ τὸν Ἐτεάρχον φάναι ἐλθεῖν κοτε παρ' αὐτὸν Νασαμῶνας ἄνδρας. 2 τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν Λιβυκόν, νέμεται δὲ τὴν Σύρτιν τε καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡῷ χώρην τῆς Σύρτιος οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλόν. 3 ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Νασαμῶνας καὶ εἰρωτωμένους εἴ τι ἔχουσι πλέον λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἐρήμων τῆς Λιβύης, φάναι παρὰ σφίσι γενέσθαι ἀνδρῶν δυναστέων παῖδας ὑβριστάς, τοὺς ἄλλα τε μηχανᾶσθαι ἀνδρωθέντας περισσὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀποκληρῶσαι πέντε ἑωυτῶν ὀψομένους τὰ ἔρημα τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ εἴ τι πλέον ἴδοιεν τῶν τὰ μακρότατα ἰδομένων. 4 τῆς γὰρ Λιβύης τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν βορρῆϊν θάλασσαν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι Σολόεντος ἄκρης, ἥ τελευτᾷ τῆς Λιβύης, παρήκουσι παρὰ πᾶσαν Λίβυες καὶ Λιβύων ἔθνεα πολλά, πλὴν ὅσον Ἑλλήνες καὶ Φοίνικες ἔχουσι· τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης τε καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατηκόντων ἀνθρώπων, τὰ κατ' ὑπερθε θηριώδης ἐστὶ ἡ Λιβύη· τὰ δὲ κατ' ὑπερθε τῆς θηριώδεος ψάμμος τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἄνυδρος δεινῶς καὶ ἔρημος πάντων. 5 εἴπαι ὦν τοὺς νεηνίας ἀποπεμπομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἡλίκων, ὕδασι τε καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐξηρτυμένους, ἰέναι τὰ πρῶτα μὲν διὰ τῆς οἰκεομένης, ταύτην δὲ διεξελθόντας ἐς τὴν θηριώδεα ἀπικέσθαι, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τὴν ἔρημον διεξιέναι, τὴν ὁδὸν ποιευμένους πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον, 6 διεξελθόντας δὲ χῶρον πολλὸν ψαμμώδεα καὶ ἐν πολλῇσι ἡμέρησι ἰδεῖν δὴ κοτε δένδρεα ἐν πεδίῳ πεφυκότα, καὶ σφεας προσελθόντας ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ ἐπεόντος ἐπὶ τῶν δενδρέων καρποῦ, ἀπτομένοισι δέ σφι ἐπελθεῖν ἄνδρας μικροῦς, μετρίων ἐλάσσονας ἀνδρῶν, λαβόντας δὲ ἄγειν σφέας· φωνῆς δὲ οὔτε τι τῆς ἐκείνων τοὺς Νασαμῶνας γινώσκειν οὔτε τοὺς ἄγοντας τῶν Νασαμώνων· 7 ἄγειν τε δὴ αὐτοὺς δι' ἐλέων μεγίστων, καὶ διεξελθόντας ταῦτα ἀπικέσθαι ἐς πόλιν ἐν τῇ πάντας εἶναι τοῖσι ἄγουσι τὸ μέγαθος ἴσους, χρῶμα δὲ μέλανας. παρὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ῥέειν ποταμὸν μέγαν, ῥέειν δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης αὐτὸν πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, φαίνεσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ

κροκοδείλους.

32. But I heard this from some men of Cyrene, who told me that they had gone to the oracle of Ammon, and conversed there with Etearchus king of the Ammonians, and that from other subjects the conversation turned to the Nile, how no one knows the source of it. Then Etearchus told them that once he had been visited by some Nasamonians. These are a Libyan people, inhabiting the country of the Syrtis and a little way to the east of the Syrtis. When these Nasamonians were asked on their arrival if they brought any news concerning the Libyan desert, they told Etearchus that some sons of their leading men, proud and violent youths, when they came to manhood, besides planning other wild adventures, had chosen by lot five of their company to visit the deserts of Libya and see whether they could see any farther than those who had seen the farthest. It must be known that the whole northern seacoast of Libya, from Egypt as far as the promontory of Soloeis, which is the end of Libya, is inhabited throughout its length by Libyans, many tribes of them, except the part held by Greeks and Phoenicians; the region of Libya that is above the sea and the inhabitants of the coast is infested by wild beasts; and farther inland than the wild-beast country everything is sand, waterless and desolate. When the young men left their companions, being well supplied with water and provisions, they journeyed first through the inhabited country, and after passing this they came to the region of wild beasts. After this, they travelled over the desert, towards the west, and crossed a wide sandy region, until after many days they saw trees growing in a plain; when they came to these and were picking the fruit of the trees, they were met by little men of less than common stature, who took them and led them away. The Nasamonians did not know these men's language nor did the escort know the language of the Nasamonians. The men led them across great marshes, after crossing which they came to a city where all the people were of a stature like that of the guides, and black. A great river ran past this city, from the west towards the rising sun; crocodiles could be seen in it.

33 1 ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου Ἐτεάρχου λόγος ἐς τοῦτό μοι δεδηλώσθω, πλὴν ὅτι ἀπονοστιῆσαι τε ἔφασκε τοὺς Νασαμῶνας, ὥς

οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἔλεγον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς οὗτοι ἀπίκοντο ἀνθρώπους, γόητας εἶναι ἅπαντας. 2 τὸν δὲ δὴ ποταμὸν τοῦτον τὸν παραρρέοντα καὶ Ἐτέαρχος συνεβάλλετο εἶναι Νεῖλον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ λόγος οὕτω αἰρέει. ῥέει γὰρ ἐκ Λιβύης ὁ Νεῖλος καὶ μέσσην τάμνων Λιβύην, καὶ ὡς ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι τοῖσι ἐμφανέσι τὰ μὴ γινωσκόμενα τεκμαιρόμενος, τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκ τῶν ἴσων μέτρων ὁρμάται. 3 Ἰστρος τε γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Πυρήνης πόλιος ῥέει μέσσην σχίζων τὴν Εὐρώπην· οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ εἰσὶ ἔξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων, ὁμουρέουσι δὲ Κυνησίοισι, οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς δυσμέων οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένων· 4 τελευτᾷ δὲ ὁ Ἰστρος ἐς θάλασσαν ῥέων τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου [διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης], τῇ Ἰστρίνῃ οἱ Μιλησίων οἰκέουσι ἄποικοι.

33. This is enough of the story told by Etearchus the Ammonian; except he said that the Nasamonians returned, as the men of Cyrene told me, and that the people to whose country they came were all wizards; as to the river that ran past the city, Etearchus guessed it to be the Nile; and reason proves as much. For the Nile flows from Libya, right through the middle of it; and as I guess, reasoning about things unknown from visible signs, it rises proportionally as far away as does the Ister. For the Ister flows from the land of the Celts and the city of Pyrene through the very middle of Europe; now the Celts live beyond the Pillars of Heracles, being neighbors of the Cynesii, who are the westernmost of all the peoples inhabiting Europe. The Ister, then, flows clean across Europe and ends its course in the Euxine sea, at Istria, which is inhabited by Milesian colonists.

34 1 ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἰστρος, ῥέει γὰρ δι' οἰκεομένης, πρὸς πολλῶν γινώσκεται, περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Νεῖλου πηγέων οὐδεὶς ἔχει λέγειν· ἀοίκητός τε γὰρ καὶ ἔρημος ἐστὶ ἡ Λιβύη δι' ἧς ῥέει. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ῥεύματος αὐτοῦ, ἐπ' ὅσον μακρότατον ἱστορεῦντα ἦν ἐξικέσθαι, εἴρηται· ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἡ δὲ Αἴγυπτος τῆς ὀρεινῆς Κυλικίης μάλιστά κη ἀντίη κέεται· 2 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐς Σινώπην τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ πέντε ἡμερέων ἰθέα ὁδὸς εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί· ἡ δὲ Σινώπη τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκδιδόντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἀντίον κέεται. οὕτω τὸν Νεῖλον δοκέω διὰ πάσης [τῆς] Λιβύης διεξιόντα ἐξισοῦσθαι τῷ Ἰστρῷ. Νεῖλου μὲν νυν πέρι τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

34. The Ister, since it flows through inhabited country, is known

from many reports; but no one can speak of the source of the Nile; for Libya, though which it runs, is uninhabited and desert. Regarding its course, I have related everything that I could learn by inquiry; and it issues into Egypt. Now Egypt lies about opposite to the mountainous part of Cilicia; from there, it is a straight five days' journey for an unencumbered man to Sinope on the Euxine; and Sinope lies opposite the place where the Ister falls into the sea. Thus I suppose the course of the Nile in its passage through Libya to be like the course of the Ister.

35 1 ἔρχομαι δὲ περὶ Αἰγύπτου μηκυνέων τὸν λόγον, ὅτι πλεῖστα θωμάσια ἔχει [ἢ ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα χώρα] καὶ ἔργα λόγου μέζω παρέχεται πρὸς πᾶσαν χώραν τούτων εἵνεκα πλέω περὶ αὐτῆς εἰρήσεται. 2 Αἰγύπτιοι ἅμα τῷ οὐρανῷ τῷ κατὰ σφέας ἐόντι ἑτεροίῳ καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ φύσιν ἀλλοιῶν παρεχομένῳ ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἔμπαλιν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι ἐστήσαντο ἥθεά τε καὶ νόμους· ἐν τοῖσι αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἀγοράζουσι καὶ καπηλεύουσι, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατ' οἴκους ἐόντες ὑφαίνουσι· ὑφαίνουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνω τὴν κρόκην ὠθέοντες, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ κάτω. 3 τὰ ἄχθεα οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν φορέουσι, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων. οὐρέουσι αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ὀρθαί, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατήμενοι. εὐμαρεῖη χρέωνται ἐν τοῖσι οἴκοισι, ἐσθίουσι δὲ ἔξω ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι ἐπιλέγοντες ὥς τὰ μὲν αἰσχυρὰ ἀναγκαῖα δὲ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ἐστὶ ποιέειν χρεόν, τὰ δὲ μὴ αἰσχυρὰ ἀναφανδόν. 4 ἱρᾶται γυνὴ μὲν οὐδεμία οὔτε ἔρσηνος θεοῦ οὔτε θηλέης, ἄνδρες δὲ πάντων τε καὶ πασέων. τρέφειν τοὺς τοκέας τοῖσι μὲν παισὶ οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη μὴ βουλομένοισι, τῇσι δὲ θυγατράσι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ μὴ βουλομένησι.

35. It is sufficient to say this much concerning the Nile. But concerning Egypt, I am going to speak at length, because it has the most wonders, and everywhere presents works beyond description; therefore, I shall say the more concerning Egypt. Just as the Egyptians have a climate peculiar to themselves, and their river is different in its nature from all other rivers, so, too, have they instituted customs and laws contrary for the most part to those of the rest of mankind. Among them, the women buy and sell, the men stay at home and weave; and whereas in weaving all others push the woof upwards, the Egyptians push it downwards. Men carry burdens on

their heads, women on their shoulders. Women pass water standing, men sitting. They ease their bowels indoors, and eat out of doors in the streets, explaining that things unseemly but necessary should be done alone in private, things not unseemly should be done openly. No woman is dedicated to the service of any god or goddess; men are dedicated to all deities male or female. Sons are not compelled against their will to support their parents, but daughters must do so though they be unwilling.

36 1 οἱ ἱερεῖς τῶν θεῶν τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ κομέουσι, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ ξυρῶνται. τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι νόμος ἅμα κηδεῖ κεκάρθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς τοὺς μάλιστα ἰκνέεται, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὑπὸ τοὺς θανάτους ἀνιῇσι τὰς τρίχας αὖξεσθαι τὰς τε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῷ γενεῖῳ, τέως ἐξυρημένοι. 2 τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι χωρὶς θηρίων < ἡ > δαίαιτα ἀποκέκριται, Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ ὁμοῦ θηρίοισι ἡ δαίαιτα ἐστί. ἀπὸ πυρῶν καὶ κριθέων ὄλλοι ζώουσι, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῷ ποιευμένῳ ἀπὸ τούτων τὴν ζοὴν ὄνειδος μέγιστον ἐστί, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ ὀλυρέων ποιεῦνται σιτία, τὰς ζεῖας μετεξέτεροι καλέουσι. 3 φυρῶσι τὸ μὲν σταῖς τοῖσι ποσί, τὸν δὲ πηλὸν τῇσι χερσί, [καὶ τὴν κόπρον ἀναιρέονται]. τὰ αἰδοῖα ὄλλοι μὲν ἐῷσι ὥς ἐγένοντο, πλὴν ὅσοι ἀπὸ τούτων ἔμαθον, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ περιτάμνονται. εἴματα τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἕκαστος ἔχει δύο, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἓν ἐκάστη. 4 τῶν ἱστίων τοὺς κρίκους καὶ τοὺς κάλους οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐξωθεν προσδέουσι, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἔσωθεν. γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζονται ψήφοισι Ἕλληνες μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά· καὶ ποιεῦντες ταῦτα αὐτοὶ μὲν φασὶ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ποιέειν, Ἕλληνας δὲ ἐπ' ἀριστερά. διφασίοισι δὲ γράμμασι χρέωνται, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἱρὰ τὰ δὲ δημοτικὰ καλέεται.

36. Everywhere else, priests of the gods wear their hair long; in Egypt, they are shaven. For all other men, the rule in mourning for the dead is that those most nearly concerned have their heads shaven; Egyptians are shaven at other times, but after a death they let their hair and beard grow. The Egyptians are the only people who keep their animals with them in the house. Whereas all others live on wheat and barley, it is the greatest disgrace for an Egyptian to live so; they make food from a coarse grain which some call spelt. They knead dough with their feet, and gather mud and dung with their

hands. The Egyptians and those who have learned it from them are the only people who practise circumcision. Every man has two garments, every woman only one. The rings and sheets of sails are made fast outside the boat elsewhere, but inside it in Egypt. The Greeks write and calculate from left to right; the Egyptians do the opposite; yet they say that their way of writing is towards the right, and the Greek way towards the left. They employ two kinds of writing; one is called sacred, the other demotic.

37 1 θεοσεβέες δὲ περισσῶς ἐόντες μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμοισι τοιοῖσινδε χρέωνται. ἐκ χαλκῶν ποτηρίων πίνουνσι, διασμῶντες ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, οὐκ ὁ μὲν ὁ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντες. 2 εἵματα δὲ λίνεα φορέουσι αἰεὶ νεόπλυτα, ἐπιτηδεύοντες τοῦτο μάλιστα, τὰ τε αἰδοῖα περιτάμνονται καθαριότητος εἵνεκεν, προτιμῶντες καθαροὶ εἶναι ἢ εὐπρεπέστεροι. οἱ δὲ ἱρέες ξυρῶνται πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρης, ἵνα μήτε φθεῖρ μήτε ἄλλο μυσαρὸν μηδὲν ἐγγίνηται σφι θεραπεύουσι τοὺς θεοὺς. 3 ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι οἱ ἱρέες λινὴν μούνην καὶ ὑποδήματα βύβλινα· ἄλλην δέ σφι ἐσθῆτα οὐκ ἔξεστι λαβεῖν οὐδὲ ὑποδήματα ἄλλα. λοῦνται δὲ δις τῆς ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ψυχρῷ καὶ δις ἐκάστης νυκτός, ἄλλας τε θρησκευτικὰς ἐπιτελέουσι μυρίας ὥς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. 4 ἀσχοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὀλίγα· οὔτε τι γὰρ τῶν οἰκηίων τρίβουσι οὔτε δαπανῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ σιτία σφι ἐστὶ ἱρὰ πεσσόμενα, καὶ κρεῶν βοέων καὶ χηνέων πληθὺς τι ἐκάστῳ γίνεται πολλὸν ἡμέρης ἐκάστης, δίδοται δέ σφι καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος· ἰχθύων δὲ οὐ σφι ἔξεστι πάσασθαι. 5 κυάμους δὲ οὔτε τι μάλα σπεύρουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, τοὺς τε γινομένους οὔτε τρώγουσι οὔτε ἔψοντες πατέονται, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἱρέες οὐδὲ ὀρέοντες ἀνέχονται, νομίζοντες οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναί μιν ὄσπριον. ἱρᾶται δὲ οὐκ εἷς ἐκάστου τῶν θεῶν ἀλλὰ πολλοί, τῶν εἷς ἐστὶ ἀρχιερεὺς· ἐπεὰν δὲ τις ἀποθάνῃ, τούτου ὁ παῖς ἀντικατίσταται.

37. They are religious beyond measure, more than any other people; and the following are among their customs. They drink from cups of bronze, which they clean out daily; this is done not by some but by all. They are especially careful always to wear newly-washed linen. They practise circumcision for cleanliness' sake; for they would rather be clean than more becoming. Their priests shave the whole body every other day, so that no lice or anything else foul may

infest them as they attend upon the gods. The priests wear a single linen garment and sandals of papyrus: they may have no other kind of clothing or footwear. Twice a day and twice every night they wash in cold water. Their religious observances are, one may say, innumerable. But also they receive many benefits: they do not consume or spend anything of their own; sacred food is cooked for them, beef and goose are brought in great abundance to each man every day, and wine of grapes is given to them, too. They may not eat fish. The Egyptians sow no beans in their country; if any grow, they will not eat them either raw or cooked; the priests cannot endure even to see them, considering beans an unclean kind of legume. Many (not only one) are dedicated to the service of each god. One of these is the high priest; and when a high priest dies, his son succeeds to his office.

38 1 τοὺς δὲ βοῦς τοὺς ἔρσενας τοῦ Ἐπάφου εἶναι νομίζουσι, καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκιμάζουσι αὐτοὺς ὧδε· τρίχα ἦν καὶ μίαν ἰδηται ἐπεοῦσαν μέλαιναν, οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναι νομίζει. 2 δίζηται δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένος τῶν τις ἰρέων καὶ ὀρθοῦ ἐστεῶτος τοῦ κτήνεος καὶ ὑπτίου, καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐξειρύσας, εἰ καθαρὴ τῶν προκειμένων σημηίων, τὰ ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἐρέω· κατορᾷ δὲ καὶ τὰς τρίχας τῆς οὐρῆς εἰ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει πεφυκυίας. 3 ἦν δὲ τούτων πάντων ἡ καθαρός, σημαίνεται βύβλῳ περὶ τὰ κέρα εἰλίσσων καὶ ἔπειτα γῆν σημαντρίδα ἐπιπλάσας ἐπιβάλλει τὸν δακτύλιον, καὶ οὕτω ἀπάγουσι. ἀσήμαντον δὲ θύσαντι θάνατος ἢ ζημὴ ἐπικέεται. δοκιμάζεται μὲν νυν τὸ κτῆνος τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, θυσίῃ δέ σφι ἥδε κατέστηκε.

38. They believe that bulls belong to Epaphus, and for this reason scrutinize them as follows; if they see even one black hair on them, the bull is considered impure. One of the priests, appointed to the task, examines the beast, making it stand and lie, and drawing out its tongue, to determine whether it is clean of the stated signs which I shall indicate hereafter. He looks also to the hairs of the tail, to see if they grow naturally. If it is clean in all these respects, the priest marks it by wrapping papyrus around the horns, then smears it with sealing-earth and stamps it with his ring; and after this they lead the bull away. But the penalty is death for sacrificing a bull that the priest has not marked. Such is the manner of approving the beast; I

will now describe how it is sacrificed.

39 1 ἀγαγόντες τὸ σεσημασμένον κτῆνος πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ὅκου ἂν θύωσι, πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ οἶνον κατὰ τοῦ ἱρηίου ἐπισπείσαντες καὶ ἐπικαλέσαντες τὸν θεὸν σφάζουσι, σφάζαντες δὲ ἀποτάμνουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν. 2 σῶμα μὲν δὴ τοῦ κτήneos δείρουσι, κεφαλῇ δὲ κείνη πολλὰ καταρησάμενοι φέρουσι, τοῖσι μὲν ἂν ἡ ἀγορὴ καὶ Ἑλληνές σφι ἔωσι ἐπιδήμιοι ἔμποροι, οἱ δὲ φέροντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀπ' ὧν ἔδοντο, τοῖσι δὲ ἂν μὴ παρέωσι Ἑλληνες, οἱ δ' ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμόν· 3 καταρῶνται δὲ τάδε λέγοντες τῇσι κεφαλῇσι, εἴ τι μέλλοι ἢ σφίσι τοῖσι θύουσι ἢ Αἰγύπτῳ τῇ συναπάσῃ κακὸν γενέσθαι, ἐς κεφαλὴν ταύτην τραπέσθαι. 4 κατὰ μὲν νυν τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν θυομένων κτηνέων καὶ τὴν ἐπίσπεισιν τοῦ οἶνου πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι νόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται ὁμοίως ἐς πάντα τὰ ἱρά, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ νόμου οὐδὲ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἐμψύχου κεφαλῆς γεύσεται Αἰγυπτίων οὐδεῖς.

39. After leading the marked beast to the altar where they will sacrifice it, they kindle a fire; then they pour wine on the altar over the victim and call upon the god; then they cut its throat, and having done so sever the head from the body. They flay the carcass of the victim, then invoke many curses on its head, which they carry away. Where there is a market, and Greek traders in it, the head is taken to the market and sold; where there are no Greeks, it is thrown into the river. The imprecation which they utter over the heads is that whatever ill threatens those who sacrifice, or the whole of Egypt, fall upon that head. In respect of the heads of sacrificed beasts and the libation of wine, the practice of all Egyptians is the same in all sacrifices; and from this ordinance no Egyptian will taste of the head of anything that had life.

40 1 ἡ δὲ δὴ ἐξαιρέσις τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ ἡ καῦσις ἄλλη περὶ ἄλλο ἱρόν σφι κατέστηκε· τὴν δ' ὧν μεγίστην τε δαίμονα ἡγνῆται εἶναι καὶ μεγίστην οἱ ὀρτὴν ἀνάγουσι, ταύτην ἔρχομαι ἐρέων....1 2 ἐπεὰν ἀποδείρῳσι τὸν βοῦν, κατευξάμενοι κοιλίην μὲν κείνην πᾶσαν ἐξ ὧν εἶλον, σπλάγχνα δὲ αὐτοῦ λείπουν ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν πιμελὴν, σκέλεα δὲ ἀποτάμνουσι καὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν ἄκρην καὶ τοὺς ὠμούς τε καὶ τὸν τράχηλον. 3 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα τοῦ βοὸς πιμπλᾷσι ἄρτων καθαρῶν καὶ μέλιτος καὶ ἀσταφίδος καὶ σύκων καὶ

λιβανωτοῦ καὶ συμύρνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυωμάτων, πλήσαντες δὲ τούτων καταγίζουσι, ἔλαιον ἄφθονον καταχέοντες· 4 προνηστεύσαντες δὲ θύουσι, καιομένων δὲ τῶν ἱρῶν τύπτονται πάντες, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποτύψωνται, δαῖτα προτίθενται τὰ ἐλίποντο τῶν ἱρῶν.

40. But in regard to the disembowelling and burning of the victims, there is a different way for each sacrifice. I shall now, however, speak of that goddess whom they consider the greatest, and in whose honor they keep highest festival. After praying in the foregoing way, they take the whole stomach out of the flayed bull, leaving the entrails and the fat in the carcass, and cut off the legs, the end of the loin, the shoulders, and the neck. Having done this, they fill what remains of the carcass with pure bread, honey, raisins, figs, frankincense, myrrh, and other kinds of incense, and then burn it, pouring a lot of oil on it. They fast before the sacrifice, and while it is burning, they all make lamentation; and when their lamentation is over, they set out a meal of what is left of the victim.

41 1 τοὺς μὲν νυν καθαροὺς βοῦς τοὺς ἔρσενας καὶ τοὺς μόσχους οἱ πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι θύουσι, τὰς δὲ θηλέας οὐ σφι ἔξεστι θύειν, ἀλλὰ ἱραὶ εἰσι τῆς Ἰσιος· 2 τὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἰσιος ἄγαλμα ἐὼν γυναικῆιον βούκερων ἐστὶ κατὰ περ Ἑλλήνες τὴν Ἰοῦν γράφουσι, καὶ τὰς βοῦς τὰς θηλέας Αἰγύπτιοι πάντες ὁμοίως σέβονται προβάτων πάντων μάλιστα μακρῶ. 3 τῶν εἵνεκα οὔτε ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος οὔτε γυνὴ ἄνδρα Ἑλλήνα φιλήσειε ἂν τῷ στόματι, οὐδὲ μαχαίρῃ ἀνδρὸς Ἑλληνος χρήσεται οὐδὲ ὀβελοῖσι οὐδὲ λέβητι, οὐδὲ κρέως καθαροῦ βοὸς διατετμημένου Ἑλληνικῇ μαχαίρῃ γεύσεται. 4 θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας βοῦς τρόπον τόνδε· τὰς μὲν θηλέας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπιεῖσι, τοὺς δὲ ἔρσενας κατορύσσουσι ἕκαστοι ἐν τοῖσι προαστείοισι, τὸ κέρας τὸ ἕτερον ἢ καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ὑπερέχοντα σημηίου εἵνεκεν· ἐπεὰν δὲ σαπῇ καὶ προσίῃ ὁ τεταγμένος χρόνος, ἀπικνέεται ἐς ἐκάστην πόλιν βᾶρις ἐκ τῆς Προσωπίτιδος καλευμένης νήσου. 5 ἢ δ' ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῷ Δέλτα, περίμετρον δὲ αὐτῆς εἰσὶ σχοῖνοι ἐννέα. ἐν ταύτῃ ὧ τῇ Προσωπίτιδι νήσῳ ἔνεισι μὲν καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις συχναί, ἐκ τῆς δὲ αἱ βάρειες παραγίνονται ἀναιρησόμεναι τὰ ὅστέα τῶν βοῶν, οὖνομα τῇ πόλει Ἀτάρβηχis, ἐν δ' αὐτῇ Ἀφροδίτης ἱρὸν ἅγιον ἱδρυται. 6 ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλανῶνται πολλοὶ ἄλλοι ἐς

ἄλλας πόλεις, ἀνορύξαντες δὲ τὰ ὅστέα ἀπάγουσι καὶ θάπτουσι ἐς ἓνα χῶρον πάντες. κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοῖσι βουσί καὶ τᾶλλα κτήνεα θάπτουσι ἀποθνήσκοντα· καὶ γὰρ περὶ ταῦτα οὕτω σφι νενομοθέτῃται· κτείνουσι γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ ταῦτα.

41. All Egyptians sacrifice unblemished bulls and bull-calves; they may not sacrifice cows: these are sacred to Isis. For the images of Isis are in woman's form, horned like a cow, exactly as the Greeks picture Io, and cows are held by far the most sacred of all beasts of the herd by all Egyptians alike. For this reason, no Egyptian man or woman will kiss a Greek man, or use a knife, or a spit, or a cauldron belonging to a Greek, or taste the flesh of an unblemished bull that has been cut up with a Greek knife. Cattle that die are dealt with in the following way. Cows are cast into the river, bulls are buried by each city in its suburbs, with one or both horns uncovered for a sign; then, when the carcass is decomposed, and the time appointed is at hand, a boat comes to each city from the island called Prosopitis, an island in the Delta, nine schoeni in circumference. There are many other towns on Prosopitis; the one from which the boats come to gather the bones of the bulls is called Atarbekhis; a temple of Aphrodite stands in it of great sanctity. From this town many go out, some to one town and some to another, to dig up the bones, which they then carry away and all bury in one place. As they bury the cattle, so do they all other beasts at death. Such is their ordinance respecting these also; for they, too, may not be killed.

42 1 ὅσοι μὲν δὴ Διὸς Θηβαιέος ἵδρυνται ἱρὸν ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαίου εἰσί, οὗτοι μὲν νυν πάντες ὁίων ἀπεχόμενοι αἴγας θύουσι. 2 θεοὺς γὰρ δὴ οὐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες ὁμοίως Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἰσιὸς τε καὶ Ὀσίριος, τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι· τούτους δὲ ὁμοίως ἅπαντες σέβονται. ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ Μένδητος ἔκτηνται ἱρὸν ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ Μενδησίου εἰσί, οὗτοι δὲ αἰγῶν ἀπεχόμενοι ὅις θύουσι. 3 Θηβαῖοι μὲν νυν καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τούτους ὁίων ἀπέχονται, διὰ τὰδε λέγουσι τὸν νόμον τόνδε σφίσι τεθῆναι. Ἡρακλέα θελῆσαι πάντως ιδέσθαι τὸν Δία, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὀφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· τέλος δέ, ἐπεῖτε λιπαρέειν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τὰδε τὸν Δία μηχανήσασθαι· 4 κριὸν ἐκδείραντα προσχέσθαι τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποταμόντα τοῦ κριοῦ καὶ ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκος οὕτω οἱ ἑωυτὸν ἐπιδέξει. ἀπὸ τούτου

κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Διὸς τῷγαλμα ποιεῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων Ἀμμώνιοι, ἐόντες Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν ἄποικοι καὶ φωνὴν μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων νομίζοντες. 5 δοκέειν δέ μοι, καὶ τὸ οὐνομα Ἀμμώνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦδε σφίσι τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἐποιήσαντο· Ἀμοῦν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τὸν Δία. τοὺς δὲ κριοὺς οὐ θύουσι Θηβαῖοι, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ σφι ἱροὶ διὰ τοῦτο. 6 μὴ δὲ ἡμέρη τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐν ὁρτῇ τοῦ Διός, κριὸν ἓνα κατακόψαντες καὶ ἀποδείραντες κατὰ τὸντο ἐνδύουσι τῷγαλμα τοῦ Διός, καὶ ἔπειτα ἄλλο ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέος προσάγουσι πρὸς αὐτό. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τύπτονται οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἅπαντες τὸν κριὸν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν ἱρῇ θήκῃ θάπτουσι αὐτόν.

42. All that have a temple of Zeus of Thebes or are of the Theban district sacrifice goats, but will not touch sheep. For no gods are worshipped by all Egyptians in common except Isis and Osiris, who they say is Dionysus; these are worshipped by all alike. Those who have a temple of Mendes or are of the Mendesian district sacrifice sheep, but will not touch goats. The Thebans, and those who by the Theban example will not touch sheep, give the following reason for their ordinance: they say that Heracles wanted very much to see Zeus and that Zeus did not want to be seen by him, but that finally, when Heracles prayed, Zeus contrived to show himself displaying the head and wearing the fleece of a ram which he had flayed and beheaded. It is from this that the Egyptian images of Zeus have a ram's head; and in this, the Egyptians are imitated by the Ammonians, who are colonists from Egypt and Ethiopia and speak a language compounded of the tongues of both countries. It was from this, I think, that the Ammonians got their name, too; for the Egyptians call Zeus "Amon". The Thebans, then, consider rams sacred for this reason, and do not sacrifice them. But one day a year, at the festival of Zeus, they cut in pieces and flay a single ram and put the fleece on the image of Zeus, as in the story; then they bring an image of Heracles near it. Having done this, all that are at the temple mourn for the ram, and then bury it in a sacred coffin.

43 1 Ἡρακλέος δὲ περὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἤκουσα, ὅτι εἴη τῶν δωδεκα θεῶν· τοῦ ἐτέρου δὲ περὶ Ἡρακλέος, τὸν Ἕλληνας οἶδασι, οὐδαμῇ Αἰγύπτου ἐδυνάσθην ἀκοῦσαι. 2 καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ παρ'

Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον τὸ οὖνομα Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, ἀλλὰ Ἑλληνες μᾶλλον παρ' Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων οὗτοι οἱ θέμενοι τῷ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γόνῳ τοῦνομα Ἡρακλέα, πολλά μοι καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήρια ἐστὶ τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχειν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὅτι τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέος τούτου οἱ γονεὲς ἀμφοτέρω ἦσαν Ἀμφιτρύων καὶ Ἀλκμήνη γεγονότες τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, καὶ διότι Αἰγύπτιοι οὔτε Ποσειδέωνος οὔτε Διοσκούρων τὰ οὐνόματα φασὶ εἰδέναι, οὐδέ σφι θεοὶ οὗτοι ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἀποδεδέχεται. 3 καὶ μὴν εἴ γε παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον οὖνομά τευ δαίμονος, τούτων οὐκ ἦκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα ἔμελλον μνήμην ἔξειν, εἴ περ καὶ τότε ναυτιλίῃσι ἐχρέωντο καὶ ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ναυτίλοι, ὥς ἔλπομαί τε καὶ ἐμὴ γνώμη αἰρέει· ὥστε τούτων ἂν καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν θεῶν τὰ οὐνόματα ἐξεπιστέατο Αἰγύπτιοι ἢ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. 4 ἀλλὰ τις ἀρχαῖος ἐστὶ θεὸς Αἰγυπτίοις Ἡρακλέης· ὥς δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἕτα ἐστὶ ἐπτακισχίλια καὶ μύρια ἐς Ἄμασιν βασιλεύσαντα, ἐπεὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀκτὼ θεῶν οἱ δωδέκα θεοὶ ἐγένοντο τῶν Ἡρακλέα ἓνα νομίζουσι.

43. Concerning Heracles, I heard it said that he was one of the twelve gods. But nowhere in Egypt could I hear anything about the other Heracles, whom the Greeks know. I have indeed a lot of other evidence that the name of Heracles did not come from Hellas to Egypt, but from Egypt to Hellas (and in Hellas to those Greeks who gave the name Heracles to the son of Amphitryon), besides this: that Amphitryon and Alcmene, the parents of this Heracles, were both Egyptian by descent ; and that the Egyptians deny knowing the names Poseidon and the Dioscuri, nor are these gods reckoned among the gods of Egypt. Yet if they got the name of any deity from the Greeks, of these not least but in particular would they preserve a recollection, if indeed they were already making sea voyages and some Greeks, too, were seafaring men, as I expect and judge; so that the names of these gods would have been even better known to the Egyptians than the name of Heracles. But Heracles is a very ancient god in Egypt; as the Egyptians themselves say, the change of the eight gods to the twelve, one of whom they acknowledge Heracles to be, was made seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis.

44 1 καὶ θέλων δὲ τούτων περὶ σαφές τι εἰδέναι ἐξ ὧν οἶόν τε ἦν, ἐπλευσα καὶ ἐς Τύρον τῆς Φοινίκης, πυνθανόμενος αὐτόθι εἶναι ἱρὸν

Ἡρακλέος ἅγιον. 2 καὶ εἶδον πλουσίως κατεσκευασμένον ἄλλοισι τε πολλοῖσι ἀναθήμασι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἦσαν στήλαι δύο, ἥ μὲν χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἥ δὲ σμαράγδου λίθου λάμποντος τὰς νύκτας μέγαθος. ἐς λόγους δὲ ἐλθὼν τοῖσι ἱεῦσι τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρόμην ὁκόσος χρόνος εἴη ἐξ οὗ σφι τὸ ἱρὸν ἱδρυται. 3 εὗρον δὲ οὐδὲ τούτους τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι συμφερομένους· ἔφασαν γὰρ ἅμα Τύρῳ οἰκίζομένη καὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἱδρυθῆναι, εἶναι δὲ ἕτεα ἀπ' οὗ Τύρον οἰκέουσι τριηκόσια καὶ δισχίλια. εἶδον δὲ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ καὶ ἄλλο ἱρὸν Ἡρακλέος ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντος Θασίου εἶναι· 4 ἀπικόμην δὲ καὶ ἐς Θάσον, ἐν τῇ εὗρον ἱρὸν Ἡρακλέος ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἱδρυμένον, οἱ κατ' Εὐρώπης ζήτησιν ἐκπλώσαντες Θάσον ἔκτισαν· καὶ ταῦτα καὶ πέντε γενεῇσι ἀνδρῶν πρότερα ἐστὶ ἢ τὸν Ἀμφιτρύωνος Ἡρακλέα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γενέσθαι. 5 τὰ μὲν νυν ἱστορημένα δηλοῖ σαφέως παλαιὸν θεὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐόντα, καὶ δοκέουσι δέ μοι οὗτοι ὀρθότατα Ἑλλήνων ποιέειν, οἱ διζᾷ Ἡράκλεια ἱδρυσάμενοι ἔκتهνται, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὡς ἀθανάτῳ Ὀλυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπωνυμίην θύουσι, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ ὡς ἥρῳι ἐναγίζουσι.

44. Moreover, wishing to get clear information about this matter where it was possible so to do, I took ship for Tyre in Phoenicia, where I had learned by inquiry that there was a holy temple of Heracles. There I saw it, richly equipped with many other offerings, besides two pillars, one of refined gold, one of emerald: a great pillar that shone at night; and in conversation with the priests, I asked how long it was since their temple was built. I found that their account did not tally with the belief of the Greeks, either; for they said that the temple of the god was founded when Tyre first became a city, and that was two thousand three hundred years ago. At Tyre I saw yet another temple of the so-called Thasian Heracles. Then I went to Thasos, too, where I found a temple of Heracles built by the Phoenicians, who made a settlement there when they voyaged in search of Europe; now they did so as much as five generations before the birth of Heracles the son of Amphitryon in Hellas. Therefore, what I have discovered by inquiry plainly shows that Heracles is an ancient god. And furthermore, those Greeks, I think, are most in the right, who have established and practise two worships of Heracles, sacrificing to one Heracles as to an immortal, and calling him the Olympian, but to the other bringing offerings as to a dead hero.

45 1 λέγουσι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ Ἕλληνες, εὐήθης δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅδε ὁ μῦθος ἐστὶ τὸν περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους λέγουσι, ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπικόμενον ἐς Αἴγυπτον στέψαντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ πομπῆς ἐξῆγον ὡς θύσοντες τῷ Διί· τὸν δὲ τέως μὲν ἡσυχίην ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ κατάρχοντο, ἐς ἀλκὴν τραπόμενον πάντας σφέας καταφονεῦσαι. 2 ἐμοὶ μὲν νυν δοκεῖ οὖσι ταῦτα λέγοντες τῆς Αἰγυπτίων φύσις καὶ τῶν νόμων πάμπαν ἀπείρως ἔχειν οἱ Ἕλληνες· τοῖσι γὰρ οὐδὲ κτήνεα ὅσῃ θύειν ἐστὶ χωρὶς ὕων καὶ ἐρσένων βοῶν καὶ μόσχων, ὅσοι ἂν καθαροὶ ἦωσι, καὶ χηνῶν, κῶς ἂν οὗτοι ἀνθρώπους θύοιεν; 3 ἔτι δὲ ἓνα ἐόντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ ἔτι ἄνθρωπον, ὡς δὴ φασί, κῶς φύσιν ἔχει πολλὰς μυριάδας φονεῦσαι; καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν εἰποῦσι καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡρώων εὐμένεια εἶη.

45. And the Greeks say many other ill-considered things, too; among them, this is a silly story which they tell about Heracles: that when he came to Egypt, the Egyptians crowned him and led him out in a procession to sacrifice him to Zeus; and for a while (they say) he followed quietly, but when they started in on him at the altar, he resisted and killed them all. Now it seems to me that by this story the Greeks show themselves altogether ignorant of the character and customs of the Egyptians; for how should they sacrifice men when they are forbidden to sacrifice even beasts, except swine and bulls and bull-calves, if they are unblemished, and geese? And furthermore, as Heracles was alone, and, still, only a man, as they say, how is it natural that he should kill many myriads? In talking so much about this, may I keep the goodwill of gods and heroes!

46 1 τὰς δὲ δὴ αἶγας καὶ τοὺς τράγους τῶνδε εἵνεκα οὐ θύουσι Αἰγυπτίων οἱ εἰρημένοι· τὸν Πᾶνα τῶν ὀκτῶ θεῶν λογίζονται εἶναι οἱ Μενδήσιοι, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτῶ θεοὺς τούτους προτέρους τῶν δωδέκα θεῶν φασὶ γενέσθαι. 2 γράφουσί τε δὴ καὶ γλύφουσι οἱ ζωγράφοι καὶ οἱ ἀγαλματοποιοὶ τοῦ Πανὸς τῷγαλμα κατὰ περ Ἑλλήνες αἰγοπρόσωπον καὶ τραγοσκελέα, οὔτι τοιοῦτον νομίζοντες εἶναί μιν ἀλλὰ ὁμοῖον τοῖσι ἄλλοις θεοῖσι· ὅτε δὲ εἵνεκα τοιοῦτον γράφουσι αὐτόν, οὐ μοι ἥδιον ἐστὶ λέγειν. 3 σέβονται δὲ πάντας τοὺς αἶγας οἱ Μενδήσιοι, καὶ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἔρσενας τῶν θηλέων, καὶ τούτων οἱ αἰπόλοι τιμὰς μέζονας ἔχουσι· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἓνα μάλιστα, ὅστις

ἐπεὰν ἀποθάνῃ, πένθος μέγα παντὶ τῷ Μενδησίῳ νομῶ τίθεται. 4 καλέεται δὲ ὁ τε τράγος καὶ ὁ Πᾶν Αἰγυπτιστὶ Μένδης. ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ τοῦτο τὸ τέρας· γυναικὶ τράγος ἐμίσγητο ἀναφανδόν. τοῦτο ἐς ἐπίδεξιν ἀνθρώπων ἀπίκετο.

46. This is why the Egyptians of whom I have spoken sacrifice no goats, male or female: the Mendesians reckon Pan among the eight gods who, they say, were before the twelve gods. Now in their painting and sculpture, the image of Pan is made with the head and the legs of a goat, as among the Greeks; not that he is thought to be in fact such, or unlike other gods; but why they represent him so, I have no wish to say. The Mendesians consider all goats sacred, the male even more than the female, and goatherds are held in special estimation: one he-goat is most sacred of all; when he dies, it is ordained that there should be great mourning in all the Mendesian district. In the Egyptian language Mendes is the name both for the he-goat and for Pan. In my lifetime a strange thing occurred in this district: a he-goat had intercourse openly with a woman. This came to be publicly known.

47 1 ὅν δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι μιὰρὸν ἡγνῆται θηρίον εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἦν τις ψαύση αὐτῶν παριῶν αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἱματίοις ἀπ' ὧν ἔβαντε ἔωτον βὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμόν· τοῦτο δὲ οἱ συβῶται ἐόντες Αἰγύπτιοι ἐγγενέες ἐς ἱρὸν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐσέρχονται μούνοι πάντων, οὐδέ σφι ἐκδίδοσθαι οὐδεὶς θυγατέρα ἐθέλει οὐδ' ἄγεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκδίδονται τε οἱ συβῶται καὶ ἄγονται ἐξ ἀλλήλων. 2 τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοις θεοῖσι θύειν ὅς οὐ δικαιοῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι, Σελήνῃ δὲ καὶ Διονύσῳ μούνοισι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, τῇ αὐτῇ πανσελήνῳ, [τοὺς] ὅς θύσαντες πατέονται τῶν κρεῶν. διότι δὲ τοὺς ὅς ἐν μὲν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι ὀρτῇσι ἀπεστυγῆκασιν ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ θύουσι, ἔστι μὲν λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγόμενος, ἐμοὶ μέντοι ἐπισταμένῳ οὐκ εὐπρεπέστερος ἐστὶ λέγεσθαι. 3 θυσίῃ δὲ ἦδε τῶν ὧν τῇ Σελήνῃ ποιεῖται· ἐπεὰν θύσῃ, τὴν οὐρὴν ἄκρην καὶ τὸν σπλῆνα καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλοον συνθεῖς ὁμοῦ κατ' ὧν ἐκάλυψε πάσῃ τοῦ κτήneos τῇ πιμελῇ τῇ περὶ τὴν νηδὺν γινομένη, καὶ ἔπειτα καταγίξει πυρὶ· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα σιτέονται ἐν τῇ πανσελήνῳ ἐν τῇ ἂν τὰ ἱρὰ θύσωσι, ἐν ἄλλῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ οὐκ ἂν ἔτι γευσαίαιτο. οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου σταιτίνας πλάσαντες ὅς καὶ ὀπτήσαντες ταύτας

θύουσι.

47. Swine are held by the Egyptians to be unclean beasts. In the first place, if an Egyptian touches a hog in passing, he goes to the river and dips himself in it, clothed as he is; and in the second place, swineherds, though native born Egyptians, are alone of all men forbidden to enter any Egyptian temple; nor will any give a swineherd his daughter in marriage, nor take a wife from their women; but swineherds intermarry among themselves. Nor do the Egyptians think it right to sacrifice swine to any god except the Moon and Dionysus; to these, they sacrifice their swine at the same time, in the same season of full moon; then they eat the meat. The Egyptians have an explanation of why they sacrifice swine at this festival, yet abominate them at others; I know it, but it is not fitting that I relate it. But this is how they sacrifice swine to the Moon: the sacrificer lays the end of the tail and the spleen and the caul together and covers them up with all the fat that he finds around the belly, then consigns it all to the fire; as for the rest of the flesh, they eat it at the time of full moon when they sacrifice the victim; but they will not taste it on any other day. Poor men, with but slender means, mold swine out of dough, which they then take and sacrifice.

48 1 τῷ δὲ Διονύσῳ τῆς ἑορτῆς τῇ δορπῇ χοῖρον πρὸ τῶν θυρέων σφάζας ἕκαστος διδοῖ ἀποφέρεσθαι τὸν χοῖρον αὐτῷ τῷ ἀποδομένῳ τῶν συβωτέων. 2 τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἀνάγουσι ὀρθὴν τῷ Διονύσῳ [οἱ] Αἰγύπτιοι πλὴν χορῶν κατὰ ταῦτα σχεδὸν πάντα Ἑλλήσι· ἀντὶ δὲ φαλλῶν ἄλλα σφι ἐστὶ ἐξευρημένα, ὅσον τε πηχυαῖα ἀγάλματα νευρόσπαστα, τὰ περιφορέουσι κατὰ κώμας γυναῖκες, νεῦον τὸ αἰδοῖον, οὐ πολλῶν τεφ ἔλασσον ἐὼν τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος· προηγέεται δὲ αὐλός, αἱ δὲ ἔπονται ἀείδουσαι τὸν Διόνυσον. 3 διότι δὲ μέζον τε ἔχει τὸ αἰδοῖον καὶ κινεῖ μοῦνον τοῦ σώματος, ἔστι λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱρὸς λεγόμενος.

48. To Dionysus, on the evening of his festival, everyone offers a piglet which he kills before his door and then gives to the swineherd who has sold it, for him to take away. The rest of the festival of Dionysus is observed by the Egyptians much as it is by the Greeks, except for the dances; but in place of the phallus, they have invented the use of puppets two feet high moved by strings, the male member

nodding and nearly as big as the rest of the body, which are carried about the villages by women; a flute-player goes ahead, the women follow behind singing of Dionysus. Why the male member is so large and is the only part of the body that moves, there is a sacred legend that explains.

49 1 ἤδη ὧν δοκέει μοι Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμυθέωνος τῆς θυσίης ταύτης οὐκ εἶναι ἀδαῆς ἀλλ' ἔμπειρος. Ἑλλησι γὰρ δὴ Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξηγησάμενος τοῦ Διονύσου τό τε οὔνομα καὶ τὴν θυσίην καὶ τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ φαλλοῦ· ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐ πάντα συλλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ἔφηνε, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐπιγενόμενοι τούτῳ σοφισταὶ μεζόνως ἐξέφηναν· τὸν δ' ὧν φαλλὸν τὸν τῷ Διονύσῳ πεμπόμενον Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ὁ κατηγησάμενος, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου μαθόντες ποιεῦσι τὰ ποιεῦσι Ἑλληνες. 2 ἐγὼ μὲν νυν φημὶ Μελάμποδα γενόμενον ἄνδρα σοφὸν μαντικὴν τε ἐωυτῷ συστήσαι καὶ πυθόμενον ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐσηγήσασθαι Ἑλλησι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, ὀλίγα αὐτῶν παραλλάξαντα. οὐ γὰρ δὴ συμπεσεῖν γε φήσω τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποιούμενα τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι· ὁμότροπα γὰρ ἂν ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι καὶ οὐ νεωστὶ ἐσηγμένα. 3 οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ φήσω ὅπως Αἰγύπτιοι παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον ἢ τοῦτο ἢ ἄλλο κού τι νόμαιοι. πυθέσθαι δέ μοι δοκέει μάλιστα Μελάμπους τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παρὰ Κάδμου τε τοῦ Τυρίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίνην καλεομένην χώραν.

49. Now then, it seems to me that Melampus son of Amytheon was not ignorant of but was familiar with this sacrifice. For Melampus was the one who taught the Greeks the name of Dionysus and the way of sacrificing to him and the phallic procession; he did not exactly unveil the subject taking all its details into consideration, for the teachers who came after him made a fuller revelation; but it was from him that the Greeks learned to bear the phallus along in honor of Dionysus, and they got their present practice from his teaching. I say, then, that Melampus acquired the prophetic art, being a discerning man, and that, besides many other things which he learned from Egypt, he also taught the Greeks things concerning Dionysus, altering few of them; for I will not say that what is done in Egypt in connection with the god and what is done among the Greeks originated independently: for they would then be of an Hellenic

character and not recently introduced. Nor again will I say that the Egyptians took either this or any other custom from the Greeks. But I believe that Melampus learned the worship of Dionysus chiefly from Cadmus of Tyre and those who came with Cadmus from Phoenicia to the land now called Boeotia.

50 1 σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντων τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐλήλυθε εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦκει, πυνθανόμενος οὕτω εὐρίσκω ἐόν· δοκέω δ' ὧν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπῆχθαι. 2 ὅτι γὰρ δὴ μὴ Ποσειδέωνος καὶ Διοσκούρων, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι ταῦτα εἴρηται, καὶ Ἥρης καὶ Ἰστῆς καὶ Θέμιος καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Νηρηίδων, τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Αἰγυπτίοισι αἰεὶ κοτε τὰ οὐνόματα ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν δὲ οὐ φασι θεῶν γινώσκειν τὰ οὐνόματα, οὗτοι δέ μοι δοκεῖν ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ὀνομασθῆναι, πλὴν Ποσειδέωνος· τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεὸν παρὰ Λιβύων ἐπύθοντο· 3 οὐδαμοὶ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Ποσειδέωνος οὐνομα ἔκτενται εἰ μὴ Λίβυες καὶ τιμῶσι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον αἰεὶ. νομίζουσι δ' ὧν Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδ' ἥρωσι οὐδέν.

50. In fact, the names of nearly all the gods came to Hellas from Egypt. For I am convinced by inquiry that they have come from foreign parts, and I believe that they came chiefly from Egypt. Except the names of Poseidon and the Dioscuri, as I have already said, and Hera, and Hestia, and Themis, and the Graces, and the Nereids, the names of all the gods have always existed in Egypt. I only say what the Egyptians themselves say. The gods whose names they say they do not know were, as I think, named by the Pelasgians, except Poseidon, the knowledge of whom they learned from the Libyans. Alone of all nations the Libyans have had among them the name of Poseidon from the beginning, and they have always honored this god. The Egyptians, however, are not accustomed to pay any honors to heroes.

51 1 ταῦτα μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτοισι, τὰ ἐγὼ φράσω, Ἕλληνες ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων νενομίκασιν· τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμέω τὰ ἀγάλματα ὀρθὰ ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα ποιεῦντες οὐκ ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασιν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν πρῶτοι μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων Ἀθηναῖοι παραλαβόντες, παρὰ δὲ τούτων ὄλλοι. 2 Ἀθηναίοισι γὰρ ἤδη τῆνικαῦτα ἐς Ἑλληνας τελέουσι Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ

χώρη, ὅθεν περ καὶ Ἑλληνες ἤρξαντο νομισθῆναι. ὅστις δὲ τὰ Καβείρων ὄργια μεμύηται, τὰ Σαμοθρήκες ἐπιτελέουσι παραλαβόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, οὗτος ὦνῆρ οἶδε τὸ λέγω· 3 τὴν γὰρ Σαμοθρηκὴν οἶκεον πρότερον Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι οἱ περ Ἀθηναίοισι σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο, [καὶ παρὰ τούτων Σαμοθρήκες τὰ ὄργια παραλαμβάνουσι]. 4 ὁρθὰ ὧν ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα τὰγάλματα τοῦ Ἑρμέω Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν ἐποιήσαντο· οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ἱρόν τινα λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεξαν, [τὰ ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Σαμοθρηκῇ μυστηρίοισι δεδήλωται].

51. These customs, then, and others besides, which I shall indicate, were taken by the Greeks from the Egyptians. It was not so with the ithyphallic images of Hermes; the production of these came from the Pelasgians, from whom the Athenians were the first Greeks to take it, and then handed it on to others. For the Athenians were then already counted as Greeks when the Pelasgians came to live in the land with them and thereby began to be considered as Greeks. Whoever has been initiated into the rites of the Cabeiri, which the Samothracians learned from the Pelasgians and now practice, understands what my meaning is. Samothrace was formerly inhabited by those Pelasgians who came to live among the Athenians, and it is from them that the Samothracians take their rites. The Athenians, then, were the first Greeks to make ithyphallic images of Hermes, and they did this because the Pelasgians taught them. The Pelasgians told a certain sacred tale about this, which is set forth in the Samothracian mysteries.

52 1 ἔθνον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῖσι ἐπευχόμενοι, ὥς ἐγὼ ἐν Δωδώνῃ οἶδα ἀκούσας, ἐπωνυμίην δὲ οὐδ' οὖνομα ἐποιεῦντο οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἀκηκόεσάν κω. θεοὺς δὲ προσωνόμασαν σφέας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτου, ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομὰς εἶχον. 2 ἔπειτα δὲ χρόνου πολλοῦ διεξελθόντος ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπικόμενα τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων, (Διονύσου δὲ ὕστερον πολλῶ ἐπύθοντο). καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐχρηστηριάζοντο περὶ τῶν οὐνομάτων ἐν Δωδώνῃ· (τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήιον τοῦτο νενόμισται ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν Ἑλληνισι χρηστηρίων εἶναι, καὶ ἦν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον μῦθον). 3 ἐπεὶ ὧν ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ οἱ Πελασγοὶ εἰ ἀνέλωνται τὰ

οὐνόματα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦκοντα, ἀνεῖλε τὸ μαντήιον χρᾶσθαι. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔθουν τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν θεῶν χρεώμενοι· παρὰ δὲ Πελασγῶν Ἕλληνες ἐξεδέξαντο ὕστερον.

52. Formerly, in all their sacrifices, the Pelasgians called upon gods without giving name or appellation to any (I know this, because I was told at Dodona); for as yet they had not heard of such. They called them gods from the fact that, besides setting everything in order, they maintained all the dispositions. Then, after a long while, first they learned the names of the rest of the gods, which came to them from Egypt, and, much later, the name of Dionysus; and presently they asked the oracle at Dodona about the names; for this place of divination, held to be the most ancient in Hellas, was at that time the only one. When the Pelasgians, then, asked at Dodona whether they should adopt the names that had come from foreign parts, the oracle told them to use the names. From that time onwards they used the names of the gods in their sacrifices; and the Greeks received these later from the Pelasgians.

53 1 ἔνθεν δὲ ἐγένοντο ἕκαστος τῶν θεῶν, εἴτε αἰεὶ ἦσαν πάντες, ὁκοῖοι τε τινὲς τὰ εἶδα, οὐκ ἠπιστέατο μέχρι οὗ πρώην τε καὶ χθὲς ὥς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. 2 Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοις ἔτεσι δοκέω μὲν πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι καὶ οὐ πλέοσι· οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες καὶ τιμὰς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες καὶ εἶδα αὐτῶν σημῆναντες. 3 οἱ δὲ πρότερον ποιηταὶ λεγόμενοι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι ὕστερον, ἔμοιγε δοκέειν, ἐγένοντο. τούτων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα αἱ Δωδωνίδες ἱρεῖαι λέγουσι, τὰ δὲ ὕστερα τὰ ἐς Ἡσίοδόν τε καὶ Ὅμηρον ἔχοντα ἐγὼ λέγω.

53. But whence each of the gods came to be, or whether all had always been, and how they appeared in form, they did not know until yesterday or the day before, so to speak; for I suppose Hesiod and Homer flourished not more than four hundred years earlier than I; and these are the ones who taught the Greeks the descent of the gods, and gave the gods their names, and determined their spheres and functions, and described their outward forms. But the poets who are said to have been earlier than these men were, in my opinion, later. The earlier part of all this is what the priestesses of Dodona tell; the

later, that which concerns Hesiod and Homer, is what I myself say.

54 1 χρηστηρίων δὲ περὶ τοῦ τε ἐν Ἑλλησι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ τόνδε Αἰγύπτιοι λόγον λέγουσι. ἔφασαν οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Θηβαίου Διὸς δύο γυναῖκας ἱερείας ἐκ Θηβέων ἐξαχθῆναι ὑπὸ Φοινίκων, καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων πυθέσθαι ἐς Λιβύην πρηθεῖσαν τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας· ταύτας δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας εἶναι τὰς ἰδρυσαμένας τὰ μαντήια πρῶτας ἐν τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι ἔθνεσι. 2 εἰρομένου δέ μευ ὁκόθεν οὕτω ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγουσι, ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα ζήτησιν μεγάλην ἀπὸ σφέων γενέσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν τουτέων, καὶ ἀνευρεῖν μὲν σφέας οὐ δυνατοὶ γενέσθαι, πυθέσθαι δὲ ὕστερον ταῦτα περὶ αὐτέων τά περ δὴ ἔλεγον.

54. But about the oracles in Hellas, and that one which is in Libya, the Egyptians give the following account. The priests of Zeus of Thebes told me that two priestesses had been carried away from Thebes by Phoenicians; one, they said they had heard was taken away and sold in Libya, the other in Hellas; these women, they said, were the first founders of places of divination in the aforesaid countries. When I asked them how it was that they could speak with such certain knowledge, they said in reply that their people had sought diligently for these women, and had never been able to find them, but had learned later the story which they were telling me.

55 1 ταῦτα μὲν νυν τῶν ἐν Θήβῃσι ἱρέων ἤκουον, τάδε δὲ Δωδωναίων φασὶ αἱ προμάντιες· δύο πελειάδας μελαίνας ἐκ Θηβέων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀναπταμένας τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λιβύην τὴν δὲ παρὰ σφέας ἀπικέσθαι, 2 ἰζομένην δέ μιν ἐπὶ φηγὸν αὐδάξασθαι φωνῇ ἀνθρωπῆϊ ὥς χρεὸν εἶη μαντήιον αὐτόθι Διὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβεῖν θεῖον εἶναι τὸ ἐπαγγελλλόμενον αὐτοῖσι, καὶ σφείας ἐκ τούτου ποιῆσαι. 3 τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Λίβυας οἰχομένην πελειάδα λέγουσι Ἄμμωνος χρηστήριον κελεῦσαι τοὺς Λίβυας ποιεῖν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Διὸς. Δωδωναίων δὲ αἱ ἱερεῖαι, τῶν τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ οὕνομα ἦν Προμένεια, τῇ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην Τιμαρέτη, τῇ δὲ νεωτάτῃ Νικάνδρῃ, ἔλεγον ταῦτα· συνωμολόγεον δὲ σφι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Δωδωναῖοι οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρόν.

55. That, then, I heard from the Theban priests; and what follows, the prophetesses of Dodona say: that two black doves had come flying from Thebes in Egypt, one to Libya and one to Dodona; the

latter settled on an oak tree, and there uttered human speech, declaring that a place of divination from Zeus must be made there; the people of Dodona understood that the message was divine, and therefore established the oracular shrine. The dove which came to Libya told the Libyans (they say) to make an oracle of Ammon; this also is sacred to Zeus. Such was the story told by the Dodonaean priestesses, the eldest of whom was Promeneia and the next Timarete and the youngest Nicandra; and the rest of the servants of the temple at Dodona similarly held it true.

56 1 ἐγὼ δ' ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην τήνδε· εἰ ἀληθέως οἱ Φοίνικες ἐξήγαγον τὰς ἱρὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λιβύην τὴν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπέδοντο, δοκέει ἐμοὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη τῆς νῦν Ἑλλάδος, πρότερον δὲ Πελασγίης καλευμένης τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης, πρηθῆναι ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς, 2 ἔπειτα δουλεύουσα αὐτόθι ἰδρῦσασθαι ὑπὸ φηγῷ πεφυκυίῃ ἱρὸν Διός, ὥσπερ ἦν οἶκος ἀμφοτελεύουσαν ἐν Θήβησι ἱρὸν Διός, ἔνθα ἀπίκετο, ἐνθαῦτα μνήμην αὐτοῦ ἔχειν· 3 ἐκ δὲ τούτου χρηστήριον κατηγήσατο, ἐπεῖτε συνέλαβε τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν· φάναι δὲ οἱ ἀδελφεὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ πεπρῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Φοινίκων ὑπ' ὧν καὶ αὕτη ἐπρήθη.

56. But my own belief about it is this. If the Phoenicians did in fact carry away the sacred women and sell one in Libya and one in Hellas, then, in my opinion, the place where this woman was sold in what is now Hellas, but was formerly called Pelasgia, was Thesprotia; and then, being a slave there, she established a shrine of Zeus under an oak that was growing there; for it was reasonable that, as she had been a handmaid of the temple of Zeus at Thebes, she would remember that temple in the land to which she had come. After this, as soon as she understood the Greek language, she taught divination; and she said that her sister had been sold in Libya by the same Phoenicians who sold her.

57 1 πελειάδες δέ μοι δοκέουσι κληθῆναι πρὸς Δωδωναίων ἐπὶ τοῦδε αἱ γυναῖκες, διότι βάρβαροι ἦσαν, ἐδόκεον δὲ σφι ὁμοίως ὄρνισι φθέγγεσθαι· 2 μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τὴν πελειάδα ἀνθρωπινῇ φωνῇ αὐδάσασθαι λέγουσι, ἐπεῖτε συνετά σφι ἡῦδα ἡ γυνή· ἔως δὲ ἐβαρβάριζε, ὄρνιθος τρόπον ἐδόκεε σφι φθέγγεσθαι, ἐπεὶ τέφ' ἄν τρόπῳ πελειάς γε ἀνθρωπινῇ φωνῇ φθέγγετο; μέλαιναν δὲ λέγοντες

εἶναι τὴν πελειάδα σημαίνουνσι ὅτι Αἰγυπτίῃ ἢ γυνὴ ἦν. 3 ἡ δὲ μαντηίῃ ἢ τε ἐν Θήβησι τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι καὶ ἐν Δωδώνῃ παραπλήσιαι ἀλλήλησι τυγχάνουσι ἐοῦσαι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν ἡ μαντική ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπιγμένη.

57. I expect that these women were called “doves” by the people of Dodona because they spoke a strange language, and the people thought it like the cries of birds; then the woman spoke what they could understand, and that is why they say that the dove uttered human speech; as long as she spoke in a foreign tongue, they thought her voice was like the voice of a bird. For how could a dove utter the speech of men? The tale that the dove was black signifies that the woman was Egyptian. The fashions of divination at Thebes of Egypt and at Dodona are like one another; moreover, the practice of divining from the sacrificed victim has also come from Egypt.

58 1 πανηγύρις δὲ ἄρα καὶ πομπὰς καὶ προσαγωγὰς πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιησάμενοι, καὶ παρὰ τούτων Ἑλλήνες μεμαθήκασι. τεκμήριον δέ μοι τούτου τόδε· αἱ μὲν γὰρ φαίνονται ἐκ πολλοῦ τευ χρόνου ποιούμεναι, αἱ δὲ Ἑλληνικαὶ νεωστὶ ἐποίηθησαν.

58. It would seem, too, that the Egyptians were the first people to establish solemn assemblies, and processions, and services; the Greeks learned all that from them. I consider this proved, because the Egyptian ceremonies are manifestly very ancient, and the Greek are of recent origin.

59 1 πανηγυρίζουσι δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι οὐκ ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, πανηγύρις δὲ συχνάς, μάλιστα μὲν καὶ προθυμότατα ἐς Βούβαστιν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμίδι, δεύτερα δὲ ἐς Βούσιριν πόλιν τῇ Ἴσι· 2 ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ δὴ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ μέγιστον Ἴσιος ἱρόν, ἱδρυται δὲ ἡ πόλις αὕτη τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Δέλτα· Ἴσις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Δημήτηρ. 3 τρίτα δὲ ἐς Σάιν πόλιν τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ πανηγυρίζουσι, τέταρτα δὲ ἐς Ἥλιου πόλιν τῷ Ἠλίῳ, πέμπτα δὲ ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν τῇ Αἰγυπτίῃ, ἕκτα δὲ ἐς Πάπρημιν πόλιν τῷ Ἀρεῖ.

59. The Egyptians hold solemn assemblies not once a year, but often. The principal one of these and the most enthusiastically celebrated is that in honor of Artemis at the town of Bubastis, and the next is that in honor of Isis at Busiris. This town is in the middle of the Egyptian Delta, and there is in it a very great temple of Isis,

who is Demeter in the Greek language. The third greatest festival is at Saïs in honor of Athena; the fourth is the festival of the sun at Heliopolis, the fifth of Leto at Buto, and the sixth of Ares at Papremis.

60 1 ἐς μὲν νυν Βούβαστιν πόλιν ἐπεὰν κομίζονται, ποιεῦσι τοιάδε. πλέουσί τε γὰρ δὴ ἅμα ἄνδρες γυναῖξί καὶ πολλόν τι πλῆθος ἑκατέρων ἐν ἐκάστη βάρῃ· αἱ μὲν τινὲς τῶν γυναικῶν κρόταλα ἔχουσιν κροταλίζουσι, οἳ δὲ αὐλέουσι κατὰ πάντα τὸν πλόον, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες αἰεῖδουσι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας κροτέουσι. 2 ἐπεὰν δὲ πλέοντες κατὰ τινα πόλιν ἄλλην γένωνται, ἐγγρίμψαντες τὴν βάρην τῇ γῇ ποιεῦσι τοιάδε· αἱ μὲν τινὲς τῶν γυναικῶν ποιεῦσι τὰ περ εἶρηκα, αἱ δὲ τωθάζουσι βοῶσαι τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ γυναῖκας, αἱ δὲ ὀρχέονται, αἱ δὲ ἀνασύρονται ἀνιστάμεναι. ταῦτα παρὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν παραποταμὴν ποιεῦσι. 3 ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπικῶνται ἐς τὴν Βούβαστιν, ὀρτάζουσι μεγάλας ἀνάγοντες θυσίας, καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος ἀναισιμοῦται πλέων ἐν τῇ ὁρτῇ ταύτῃ ἢ ἐν τῷ ἅπαντι ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ ἐπιλοίπῳ. συμφοιτῶσι δέ, ὃ τι ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή ἐστι πλὴν παιδίων, καὶ ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα μυριάδας, ὥς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι.

60. When the people are on their way to Bubastis, they go by river, a great number in every boat, men and women together. Some of the women make a noise with rattles, others play flutes all the way, while the rest of the women, and the men, sing and clap their hands. As they travel by river to Bubastis, whenever they come near any other town they bring their boat near the bank; then some of the women do as I have said, while some shout mockery of the women of the town; others dance, and others stand up and lift their skirts. They do this whenever they come alongside any riverside town. But when they have reached Bubastis, they make a festival with great sacrifices, and more wine is drunk at this feast than in the whole year besides. It is customary for men and women (but not children) to assemble there to the number of seven hundred thousand, as the people of the place say.

61 1 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ ποιέεται, ἐν δὲ Βουσίρι πόλει ὡς ἀνάγουσι τῇ Ἰσι τὴν ὁρτήν, εἴρηται προτερόν μοι· τύπτονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τὴν θυσίην πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι, μυριάδες κάρτα πολλὰ ἀνθρώπων· τὸν δὲ τύπτονται, οὗ μοι ὅσιον ἐστὶ λέγειν. 2 ὅσοι δὲ

Καρῶν εἰσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντες, οὗτοι δὲ τοσοῦτ' ἔτι πλέω ποιεῦσι τούτων ὅσ' καὶ τὰ μέτωπα κόπτονται μαχαίρησι, καὶ τούτῳ εἰσὶ δῆλοι ὅτι εἰσὶ ξεῖνοι καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι.

61. This is what they do there; I have already described how they keep the feast of Isis at Busiris. There, after the sacrifice, all the men and women lament, in countless numbers; but it is not pious for me to say who it is for whom they lament. Carians who live in Egypt do even more than this, inasmuch as they cut their foreheads with knives; and by this they show that they are foreigners and not Egyptians.

62 1 ἐς Σάιν δὲ πόλιν ἐπεὰν συλλεχθέωσι, τῆς θυσίης ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ λύχνα καίουσι πάντες πολλὰ ὑπαίθρια περὶ τὰ δώματα κύκλῳ· τὰ δὲ λύχνα ἐστὶ ἐμβάφια ἔμπλεα ἀλὸς καὶ ἐλαίου, ἐπιπολῆς δὲ ἔπεστι αὐτὸ τὸ ἐλλύχνιον, καὶ τοῦτο καίεται παννύχιον, καὶ τῇ ὀρτῇ οὐνομα κέεται λυγνοκαΐη. 2 οἱ δ' ἂν μὴ ἔλθωσι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὴν πανήγυριν ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν νύκτα τῆς θυσίης καίουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες τὰ λύχνα, καὶ οὕτῳ οὐκ ἐν Σαί μούνη καίεται ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον. ὅτεν δὲ εἵνεκα φῶς ἔλαχε καὶ τιμὴν ἢ νύξ αὕτη, ἔστι ἱρὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος λεγόμενος.

62. When they assemble at Saïs on the night of the sacrifice, they keep lamps burning outside around their houses. These lamps are saucers full of salt and oil on which the wick floats, and they burn all night. This is called the Feast of Lamps. Egyptians who do not come to this are mindful on the night of sacrifice to keep their own lamps burning, and so they are alight not only at Saïs but throughout Egypt. A sacred tale is told showing why this night is lit up thus and honored.

63 1 ἐς δὲ Ἥλιου τε πόλιν καὶ Βουτοῦν θυσίας μούνας ἐπιτελέουσι φοιτέοντες. ἐν δὲ Παπρήμῃ θυσίας μὲν καὶ ἱρὰ κατὰ περ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ποιεῦσι· εὗτ' ἂν δὲ γίνηται καταφερῆς ὁ ἥλιος, ὀλίγοι μὲν τινὲς τῶν ἱρέων περὶ τῷγαλμα πεπονέαται, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ξύλων κορύνας ἔχοντες ἐστᾶσι τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ἄλλοι τε εὐχολὰς ἐπιτελέοντες πλεῦνες χιλίων ἀνδρῶν, ἕκαστοι ἔχοντες ξύλα καὶ οὗτοι, ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα ἀλέες ἐστᾶσι. 2 τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐὼν ἐν νηφ̃ μικρῷ ξυλίνῳ κατακεχρυσωμένῳ προεκκομίζουσι τῇ προτεραιίῃ ἐς ἄλλο οἶκημα ἱρόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ὀλίγοι οἱ περὶ τῷγαλμα λελειμμένοι

ἔλκουσι τετράκυκλον ἄμαξαν ἄγουσαν τὸν νηόν τε καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ νηῷ ἐνεὸν ἄγαλμα, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔῴσι ἐν τοῖσι προπυλαίοισι ἐστεῶτες ἐσιέναι, οἱ δὲ εὐχολιμαῖοι τιμωρέοντες τῷ θεῷ παίουσι αὐτοὺς ἄλξεσμένους. 3 ἐνθαῦτα μάχη ξύλοισι καρτερῇ γίνεται κεφαλὰς τε συναράσσονται, καὶ ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω πολλοὶ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων· οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Αἰγύπτιοι ἔφασαν ἀποθνήσκειν οὐδένα. 4 τὴν δὲ πανήγυριν ταύτην ἐκ τοῦδε νομίσαι φασὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι· οἰκέειν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτῳ τοῦ Ἄρεος τὴν μητέρα, καὶ τὸν Ἄρεα ἀπότροφον γενόμενον ἐλθεῖν ἐξανδρωμένον ἐθέλοντα τῇ μητρὶ συμμῖξαι, καὶ τοὺς προπόλους τῆς μητρός, οἷα οὐκ ὁπωπώτας αὐτὸν πρότερον, οὐ περιοῶν παριέναι ἀλλὰ ἀπερύκειν, τὸν δὲ ἐξ ἄλλης πόλιος ἀγαγόμενον ἀνθρώπους τούς τε προπόλους τρηχέως περισπεῖν καὶ ἐσελθεῖν παρὰ τὴν μητέρα. ἀπὸ τούτου τῷ Ἀρεῖ ταύτην τὴν πληγὴν ἐν τῇ ὁρτῇ νενομικέναι φασί.

63. When the people go to Heliopolis and Buto, they offer sacrifice only. At Papremis sacrifice is offered and rites performed just as elsewhere; but when the sun is setting, a few of the priests hover about the image, while most of them go and stand in the entrance to the temple with clubs of wood in their hands; others, more than a thousand men fulfilling vows, who also carry wooden clubs, stand in a mass opposite. The image of the god, in a little gilded wooden shrine, they carry away on the day before this to another sacred building. The few who are left with the image draw a four-wheeled wagon conveying the shrine and the image that is in the shrine; the others stand in the space before the doors and do not let them enter, while the vow-keepers, taking the side of the god, strike them, who defend themselves. A fierce fight with clubs breaks out there, and they are hit on their heads, and many, I expect, even die from their wounds; although the Egyptians said that nobody dies. The natives say that they made this assembly a custom from the following incident: the mother of Ares lived in this temple; Ares had been raised apart from her and came, when he grew up, wishing to visit his mother; but as her attendants kept him out and would not let him pass, never having seen him before, Ares brought men from another town, manhandled the attendants, and went in to his mother. From this, they say, this hitting for Ares became a custom in the

festival.

64 1 καὶ τὸ μὴ μίσγεσθαι γυναιξὶ ἐν ἱεροῖσι μηδὲ ἀλούτους ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἐς ἱρὰ ἐσιέναι οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ πρῶτοι θρησκεύσαντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν πάντες ἄνθρωποι, πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων, μίσγονται ἐν ἱεροῖσι καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικῶν [ἀνιστάμενοι] ἄλουτοι ἐσέρχονται ἐς ἱρόν, νομίζοντες ἀνθρώπους εἶναι κατὰ περ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα· 2 καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα ὀρᾶν καὶ ὀρνίθων γένεα ὀχευόμενα ἐν τε τοῖσι νηοῖσι τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖσι τεμένεσι· εἰ ὧν εἶναι τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο μὴ φίλον, οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ τὰ κτήνεα ποιέειν. οὗτοι μὲν νυν τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγοντες ποιεῦσι ἔμοιγε οὐκ ἀρεστά·

64. Furthermore, it was the Egyptians who first made it a matter of religious observance not to have intercourse with women in temples or to enter a temple after such intercourse without washing. Nearly all other peoples are less careful in this matter than are the Egyptians and Greeks, and consider a man to be like any other animal; for beasts and birds (they say) are seen to mate both in the temples and in the sacred precincts; now were this displeasing to the god, the beasts would not do so. This is the reason given by others for practices which I, for my part, dislike;

65 1 Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ θρησκεύουσι περισσῶς τὰ τε ἄλλα περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ διὰ καὶ τὰδε. 2 ἐοῦσα ἡ Αἴγυπτος ὁμοῦρος τῇ Λιβύῃ οὐ μάλα θηριώδης ἐστί· τὰ δὲ ἐόντα σφι ἅπαντα ἱρὰ νενόμισται, καὶ τὰ μὲν σύντροφά αὐτοῖσι [τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι], τὰ δὲ οὐ. τῶν δὲ εἵνεκεν ἀνεῖται [τὰ θηρία] ἱρὰ εἰ λέγοιμι, καταβαίην ἂν τῷ λόγῳ ἐς τὰ θεῖα πρήγματα, τὰ ἐγὼ φεύγω μάλιστα ἀπηγέεσθαι· τὰ δὲ καὶ εἴρηκα αὐτῶν ἐπιψάσας, ἀναγκαίῃ καταλαμβανόμενος εἶπον. 3 νόμος δὲ ἐστὶ περὶ τῶν θηρίων ὧδε ἔχων· μελεδωνοὶ ἀποδεδέχεται τῆς τροφῆς χωρὶς ἐκάστων καὶ ἔρσενες καὶ θήλειαι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, τῶν παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδέκεται τὴν τιμὴν. 4 οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇσι πόλισι ἕκαστοι εὐχὰς τάσδε σφι ἀποτελέουσι· εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἂν ᾗ τὸ θηρίον, ζυρῶντες τῶν παιδίων ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἢ τὸ ἥμισυ ἢ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἰστᾶσι σταθμῷ πρὸς ἀργύριον τὰς τρίχας· τὸ δ' ἂν ἐλκύσῃ, τοῦτο τῇ μελεδωνῷ τῶν θηρίων διδοῖ, ἢ δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τάμνουσα ἰχθὺς παρέχει βορὴν τοῖσι θηρίοις. 5 τροφή μὲν διὰ αὐτοῖσι τοιαύτη ἀποδέδεκται· τὸ δ' ἂν τις τῶν θηρίων τούτων ἀποκτείνῃ, ἢν μὲν ἐκὼν, θάνατος ἢ ζημίη, ἢν δὲ ἀέκων, ἀποτίνει ζημίην τὴν ἂν οἱ ἱερεῖς τάξωνται. ὅς δ' ἂν ἴβιν ἢ ἴρηκα ἀποκτείνῃ, ἢν τε ἐκὼν ἢν τε ἀέκων, τεθνάναι ἀνάγκη.

65. but the Egyptians in this and in all other matters are exceedingly strict against desecration of their temples. Although Egypt has Libya on its borders, it is not a country of many animals. All of them are held sacred; some of these are part of men's households and some not; but if I were to say why they are left alone as sacred, I should end up talking of matters of divinity, which I am especially averse to treating; I have never touched upon such except where necessity has compelled me. But I will indicate how it is customary to deal with the animals. Men and women are appointed guardians to provide nourishment for each kind respectively; a son inherits this office from his father. Townsfolk in each place, when they pay their vows, pray to the god to whom the animal is dedicated, shaving all or one half or one third of their children's heads, and weighing the hair in a balance against a sum of silver; then the weight in silver of the hair is given to the female guardian of the creatures, who buys fish with it and feeds them. Thus, food is provided for them. Whoever kills one of these creatures intentionally

is punished with death; if he kills accidentally, he pays whatever penalty the priests appoint. Whoever kills an ibis or a hawk, intentionally or not, must die for it.

66 1 πολλῶν δὲ ἐόντων ὁμοτρόφων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι θηρίων πολλῷ ἂν ἔτι πλέω ἐγίνετο, εἰ μὴ κατελάμβανε τοὺς αἰελοῦρους τοιαύδε· ἐπεὰν τέκωσι αἱ θήλειαι, οὐκέτι φοιτεύουσι παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας· οἱ δὲ διζήμενοι μίσγεσθαι αὐτῇσι οὐκ ἔχουσι. 2 πρὸς ὧν ταῦτα σοφίζονται τάδε· ἀρπάζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν θηλέων καὶ ὑπαιρεόμενοι τὰ τέκνα κτείνουσι, κτείναντες μέντοι οὐ πατέονται· αἱ δὲ στερισκόμεναι τῶν τέκνων, ἄλλων δὲ ἐπιθυμέουσai, οὕτω δὴ ἀπικνέονται παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας· φιλότεκνον γὰρ τὸ θηρίον. 3 πυρκαϊῆς δὲ γενομένης θεῖα πρήγματα καταλαμβάνει τοὺς αἰελοῦρους· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι διαστάντες φυλακὰς ἔχουσι τῶν αἰελοῦρων, ἀμελήσαντες σβεννύναι τὸ καιόμενον, οἱ δὲ αἰέλουροι διαδύνοντες καὶ ὑπερθρώσκοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐσάλλονται ἐς τὸ πῦρ. 4 ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα πένθεα μεγάλα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταλαμβάνει. ἐν ὅτεοισι δ' ἂν οἰκίοισι αἰέλουρος ἀποθάνῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, οἱ ἐνοικέοντες πάντες ξυρῶνται τὰς ὀφρύας μούνας, παρ' ὅτεοισι δ' ἂν κύων, πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν.

66. There are many household animals; and there would be many more, were it not for what happens among the cats. When the females have a litter, they are no longer receptive to the males; those that seek to have intercourse with them cannot; so their recourse is to steal and carry off and kill the kittens (but they do not eat what they have killed). The mothers, deprived of their young and desiring to have more, will then approach the males; for they are creatures that love offspring. And when a fire breaks out, very strange things happen among the cats. The Egyptians stand around in a broken line, thinking more of the cats than of quenching the burning; but the cats slip through or leap over the men and spring into the fire. When this happens, there is great mourning in Egypt. The occupants of a house where a cat has died a natural death shave their eyebrows and no more; where a dog has died, the head and the whole body are shaven.

67 1 ἀπάγονται δὲ οἱ αἰέλουροι ἀποφανόντες ἐς ἱρὰς στέγας, ἔνθα θάπτονται ταριχευθέντες, ἐν Βουβάστιπόλι· τὰς δὲ κύνας ἐν τῇ ἐωυτῶν ἕκαστοι πόλι θάπτουσι ἐν ἱρῇσι θήκησι. ὥς δὲ αὐτως τῇσι

κυσι οἱ ἰχνευταὶ θάπτονται. τὰς δὲ μυγαλᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἱρηκας ἀπάγουσι ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν, τὰς δὲ ἱβις ἐς Ἑρμέω πόλιν. 2 τὰς δὲ ἄρκτους ἐούσας σπανίας καὶ τοὺς λύκους οὐ πολλῶ τεω ἐόντας ἁλωπέκων μέζονας αὐτοῦ θάπτουσι τῇ ἂν εὐρεθέωσι κείμενοι.

67. Dead cats are taken away to sacred buildings in the town of Bubastis, where they are embalmed and buried; female dogs are buried by the townsfolk in their own towns in sacred coffins; and the like is done with mongooses. Shrewmice and hawks are taken away to Buto, ibises to the city of Hermes. There are few bears, and the wolves are little bigger than foxes; both these are buried wherever they are found lying.

68 1 τῶν δὲ κροκοδείλων φύσις ἐστὶ τοιήδε. τοὺς χειμεριωτάτους μῆνας τέσσερας ἐσθίει οὐδέν, ἐὼν δὲ τετράπουν χερσαῖον καὶ λιμναῖον ἐστὶ. τίκει μὲν γὰρ ὥα ἐν γῇ καὶ ἐκλέπει, καὶ τὸ πολλὸν τῆς ἡμέρης διατρίβει ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ, τὴν δὲ νύκτα πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ· θερμότερον γὰρ δὴ ἐστὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς τε αἰθρίας καὶ τῆς δρόσου. 2 πάντων δὲ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν θνητῶν τοῦτο ἐξ ἐλαχίστου μέγιστον γίνεται· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὥα χηνέων οὐ πολλῶ μέζονα τίκει, καὶ ὁ νεοσσὸς κατὰ λόγον τοῦ ὥου γίνεται, αὐξανόμενος δὲ γίνεται καὶ ἐς ἑπτακαίδεκα πῆχας καὶ μέζων ἔτι. 3 ἔχει δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν ὕος, ὀδόντας δὲ μεγάλους καὶ χαυλιόδοντας κατὰ λόγον τοῦ σώματος. γλῶσσαν δὲ μοῦνον θηρίων οὐκ ἔφυσε, οὐδὲ κινεῖ τὴν κάτω γνάθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο μοῦνον θηρίων τὴν ἄνω γνάθον προσάγει τῇ κάτω. 4 ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὄνυχας καρτεροὺς καὶ δέρμα λεπιδωτὸν ἄρρηκτον ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου. τυφλὸν δὲ ἐν ὕδατι, ἐν δὲ τῇ αἰθρίῃ ὀξυδερκέστατον. ἅτε δὴ ὦν ἐν ὕδατι δίαίταν ποιεύμενον, τὸ στόμα ἐνδοθεν φονεῖ πᾶν μεστὸν βδελλέων. τὰ μὲν δὲ ἄλλα ὄρνεα καὶ θηρία φεύγει μιν, ὁ δὲ τροχίλος εἰρηναῖον οἱ ἐστὶ ἅτε ὠφελεομένῳ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. 5 ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβῇ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ὁ κροκόδειλος καὶ ἔπειτα χάνη (ἔωθε γὰρ τοῦτο ὡς ἐπίπαν ποιεῖν πρὸς τὸν ζέφυρον), ἐνθαῦτα ὁ τροχίλος ἐσδύνων ἐς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καταπίνει τὰς βδέλλας· ὁ δὲ ὠφελεύμενος ἡδεται καὶ οὐδὲν σίνεται τὸν τροχίλον.

68. The nature of crocodiles is as follows. For the four winter months, it eats nothing. It has four feet, and lives both on land and in the water, for it lays eggs and hatches them out on land and spends the greater part of the day on dry ground, and the night in the river,

the water being warmer than the air and dew. No mortal creature of all which we know grows from so small a beginning to such greatness; for its eggs are not much bigger than goose eggs, and the young crocodile is of a proportional size, but it grows to a length of twenty-eight feet and more. It has eyes like pigs' eyes, and long, protruding teeth. It is the only animal that has no tongue. It does not move the lower jaw, but brings the upper jaw down upon the lower, uniquely among beasts. It also has strong claws, and a scaly, impenetrable hide on its back. It is blind in the water, but very keen of sight in the air. Since it lives in the water, its mouth is all full of leeches. All birds and beasts flee from it, except the sandpiper, with which it is at peace because this bird does the crocodile a service; for whenever the crocodile comes ashore out of the water and then opens its mouth (and it does this mostly to catch the west wind), the sandpiper goes into its mouth and eats the leeches; the crocodile is pleased by this service and does the sandpiper no harm.

69 1 τοῖσι μὲν δὴ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱροὶ εἰσι οἱ κροκόδειλοι, τοῖσι δὲ οὐ, ἀλλ' ἅτε πολεμίους περιέπουσι· οἱ δὲ περὶ τε Θήβας καὶ τὴν Μοίριος λίμνην οἰκέοντες καὶ κάρτα ἡγῆνται αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἱρούς· 2 ἐκ πάντων δὲ ἓνα ἑκάτεροι τρέφουσι κροκόδειλον δεδιδαγμένον εἶναι χειροῖθεα, ἀρτήματα/ τε λίθινα χυτὰ καὶ χρύσεια ἐς τὰ ὄτα ἐνθέντες καὶ ἀμφιδέας περὶ τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας, καὶ σιτία ἀποτακτὰ διδόντες καὶ ἱρήια, καὶ περιέποντες ὥς κάλλιστα ζῶντας· ἀποθανόντας δὲ θάπτουσι ταριχεύσαντες ἐν ἱρῇσι θήκησι. 3 οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἐλεφαντίνην πόλιν οἰκέοντες καὶ ἐσθίουσι αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἡγεόμενοι ἱρούς εἶναι. καλέονται δὲ οὐ κροκόδειλοι ἀλλὰ χάμπαι· κροκοδείλους δὲ Ἴωνες ὠνόμασαν, εἰκάζοντες αὐτῶν τὰ εἶδεα τοῖσι παρὰ σφίσι γινομένοισι κροκοδείλοισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇσι αἵμασιῇσι.

69. Some of the Egyptians consider crocodiles sacred; others do not, but treat them as enemies. Those who live near Thebes and lake Moeris consider them very sacred. Every household raises one crocodile, trained to be tame; they put ornaments of glass and gold on its ears and bracelets on its forefeet, provide special food and offerings for it, and give the creatures the best of treatment while they live; after death, the crocodiles are embalmed and buried in sacred coffins. But around Elephantine they are not held sacred, and

are even eaten. The Egyptians do not call them crocodiles, but khampsae. The Ionians named them crocodiles, from their resemblance to the lizards which they have in their walls.

70 1 ἄγραι δὲ σφέων πολλαὶ κατεστᾶσι καὶ παντοῖαι· ἡ δ' ὦν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἀξιοτάτη ἀπηγήσιος εἶναι, ταύτην γράφω. ἐπεὰν νῶτον ὑὸς δελεάσῃ περὶ ἄγκιστρον, μετιῖ ἐς μέσον τὸν ποταμόν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ χεῖλεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔχων δέλφακα ζῶην ταύτην τύπτει. 2 ἐπακούσας δὲ τῆς φωνῆς ὁ κροκόδειλος ἵεται κατὰ τὴν φωνήν, ἐντυχὼν δὲ τῷ νώτῳ καταπίνει· οἱ δὲ ἔλκουσι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐξελकुσθῇ ἐς γῆν, πρῶτον ἀπάντων ὁ θηρευτὴς πηλῷ κατ' ὦν ἔπλασε αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας κάρτα εὐπετέως τὰ λοιπὰ χειροῦται, μὴ ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο σὺν πόνῳ.

70. There are many different ways of crocodile hunting; I will write of the way that I think most worth mentioning. The hunter baits a hook with a hog's back, and lets it float into the midst of the river; he himself stays on the bank with a young live pig, which he beats. Hearing the squeals of the pig, the crocodile goes after the sound, and meets the bait, which it swallows; then the hunters pull the line. When the crocodile is drawn ashore, first of all the hunter smears its eyes over with mud; when this is done, the quarry is very easily mastered — no light matter, without that.

71 1 οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οἱ ποτάμιοι νομῷ μὲν τῷ Παπρημίτῃ ἱροὶ εἰσι, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι οὐκ ἱροὶ. φύσιν δὲ παρέχονται ἰδέης τοιήνδε· τετράπουν ἐστί, δίχληλον, ὀπλαὶ βοῶς, σιμόν, λοφιὴν ἔχον ἵππου, χαυλιόδοντας φαῖνον, οὐρὴν ἵππου καὶ φωνήν, μέγαθος ὅσον τε βοῦς ὁ μέγιστος· τὸ δέρμα δ' αὐτοῦ οὕτω δῆ τι παχύ ἐστι ὥστε αὐοῦ γενομένου ξυστὰ ποιέεσθαι [ἀκόντια] ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

71. Hippopotamuses are sacred in the district of Papremis, but not elsewhere in Egypt. They present the following appearance: four-footed, with cloven hooves like cattle; blunt-nosed; with a horse's mane, visible tusks, a horse's tail and voice; big as the biggest bull. Their hide is so thick that, when it is dried, spearshafts are made of it.

72 1 γίνονται δὲ καὶ ἐνὸδριες ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, τὰς ἱρὰς ἡγνῆται εἶναι. νομίζουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τὸν καλούμενον λεπιδωτὸν ἱρὸν εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἔγχελυν, ἱρούς δὲ τούτους τοῦ Νείλου φασὶ εἶναι, καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων τοὺς χηναλώπεκας.

72. Otters are found in the river, too, which the Egyptians consider sacred; and they consider sacred that fish, too, which is called the scale-fish, and the eel. These, and the fox-goose among birds, are said to be sacred to the god of the Nile.

73 1 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὄρνις ἱρός, τῷ οὐνομα φοῖνιξ. ἐγὼ μὲν μιν οὐκ εἶδον εἰ μὴ ὅσον γραφῇ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ σπάνιος ἐπιφοιτᾷ σφι, δι' ἐτέων, ὡς Ἡλιοπολίται λέγουσι, πεντακοσίων· 2 φοιτᾶν δὲ τότε φασὶ ἐπεὰν οἱ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ πατήρ. ἔστι δέ, εἰ τῇ γραφῇ παρόμοιος, τοσόσδε καὶ τοιόσδε· τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ χρυσόκομα τῶν πτερῶν τὰ δὲ ἐρυθρὰ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα· αἰετῷ περιήγησιν ὁμοιότατος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος. 3 τοῦτον δὲ λέγουσι μηχανᾶσθαι τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες· ἐξ Ἀραβίης ὁρμώμενον ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Ἡλίου κομίζειν τὸν πατέρα ἐν σμύρνῃ ἐμπλάσσοντα καὶ θάπτειν ἐν τοῦ Ἡλίου τῷ ἱρῷ, 4 κομίζειν δὲ οὕτω· πρῶτον τῆς σμύρνης ῥὸν πλάσσειν ὅσον τε δυνατός ἐστι φέρειν, μετὰ δὲ πειρᾶσθαι αὐτὸ φορέοντα, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποπειρηθῇ, οὕτω δὴ κοιλήναντα τὸ ῥὸν τὸν πατέρα ἐς αὐτὸ ἐντιθέναι, σμύρνη δὲ ἄλλη ἐμπλάσσειν τοῦτο κατ' ὃ τι τοῦ ῥοῦ ἐκκοιλήνας ἐνέθηκε τὸν πατέρα· ἐσκειμένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς γίνεσθαι τῷ τὸ βάρος· ἐμπλάσαντα δὲ κομίζειν μιν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐς τοῦ Ἡλίου τὸ ἱρόν. ταῦτα μὲν τοῦτον τὸν ὄρνιν λέγουσι ποιεῖν.

73. There is another sacred bird, too, whose name is phoenix. I myself have never seen it, only pictures of it; for the bird seldom comes into Egypt: once in five hundred years, as the people of Heliopolis say. It is said that the phoenix comes when his father dies. If the picture truly shows his size and appearance, his plumage is partly golden and partly red. He is most like an eagle in shape and size. What they say this bird manages to do is incredible to me. Flying from Arabia to the temple of the sun, they say, he conveys his father encased in myrrh and buries him at the temple of the Sun. This is how he conveys him: he first molds an egg of myrrh as heavy as he can carry, then tries lifting it, and when he has tried it, he then hollows out the egg and puts his father into it, and plasters over with more myrrh the hollow of the egg into which he has put his father, which is the same in weight with his father lying in it, and he conveys him encased to the temple of the Sun in Egypt. This is what they say this bird does.

74 1 εἰσὶ δὲ περὶ Θήβας ἱροὶ ὄφεις, ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμῶς δηλήμονες, οἳ μεγάθει ἔοντες μικροὶ δύο κέρα φορέουσι πεφυκότες ἐξ ἄκρης τῆς κεφαλῆς· τοὺς θάπτουσι ἀποθανόντας ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Διός· τούτου γὰρ σφέας τοῦ θεοῦ φασὶ εἶναι ἱρούς.

74. Near Thebes there are sacred snakes, harmless to men, small in size, and bearing two horns on the top of their heads. These, when they die, are buried in the temple of Zeus, to whom they are said to be sacred.

75 1 ἔστι δὲ χώρος τῆς Ἀραβίης κατὰ Βουτοῦν πόλιν μάλιστα κη κείμενος, καὶ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἦλθον πυνθανόμενος περὶ τῶν πτερωτῶν ὀφίων· ἀπικόμενος δὲ εἶδον ὅστέα ὀφίων καὶ ἀκάνθας πλήθει μὲν ἀδύνατα ἀπηγήσασθαι, σωροὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀκανθέων καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ ὑποδεέστεροι καὶ ἐλάσσονες ἔτι τούτων, πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν οὔτοι. 2 ἔστι δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος, ἐν τῷ αἰ ἄκανθαι κατακεχύεται, τοιόσδε τις, ἐσβολὴ ἐξ ὀρέων στενῶν ἐς πεδίον μέγα, τὸ δὲ πεδίον τοῦτο συνάπτει τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ πεδίῳ. 3 λόγος δὲ ἐστὶ ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πτερωτοὺς ὄφεις ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίης πέτεσθαι ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου, τὰς δὲ ἴβις τὰς ὀρνιθας ἀπαντῶσας ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτης τῆς χώρας οὐ παριέναι τοὺς ὄφεις ἀλλὰ κατακτείνειν. 4 καὶ τὴν ἴβιν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον τετιμῆσθαι λέγουσι Ἀράβιοι μεγάλως πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων· ὁμολογεῖν δὲ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι διὰ ταῦτα τιμᾶν τὰς ὀρνιθας ταύτας.

75. There is a place in Arabia not far from the town of Buto where I went to learn about the winged serpents. When I arrived there, I saw innumerable bones and backbones of serpents: many heaps of backbones, great and small and even smaller. This place, where the backbones lay scattered, is where a narrow mountain pass opens into a great plain, which adjoins the plain of Egypt. Winged serpents are said to fly from Arabia at the beginning of spring, making for Egypt; but the ibis birds encounter the invaders in this pass and kill them. The Arabians say that the ibis is greatly honored by the Egyptians for this service, and the Egyptians give the same reason for honoring these birds.

76 1 εἶδος δὲ τῆς μὲν ἴβιος τόδε· μέλαινα δεινῶς πᾶσα, σκέλεα δὲ φορεῖ γεράνου, πρόσωπον δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπίγρυπον, μέγαθος ὅσον κρέξ. τῶν μὲν δὴ μελαινέων τῶν μαχομενέων πρὸς τοὺς ὄφεις ἦδε ἰδέη, τῶν δ' ἐν ποσὶ μᾶλλον εἰλευμενέων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι (διζαὶ

γὰρ δὴ εἰσι ἱβίες) 2 ψιλὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν δειρὴν πᾶσαν, λευκὴ πτεροῖσι πλὴν κεφαλῆς καὶ αὐχένος καὶ ἀκρέων τῶν πτερύγων καὶ τοῦ πυγαίου ἄκρου (ταῦτα δὲ τὰ εἶπον πάντα μέλανα ἐστὶ δεινῶς), σκέλεα δὲ καὶ πρόσωπον ἐμπερὴς τῇ ἐτέρῃ. τοῦ δὲ ὄφις ἡ μορφή οἷα περ τῶν ὕδρων, 3 πτίλα δὲ οὐ πτερωτὰ φορέει ἀλλὰ τοῖσι τῆς νυκτερίδος πτεροῖσι μάλιστα κη ἐμπερέστατα. Τοσαῦτα μὲν θηρίων περὶ ἰρῶν εἰρήσθω.

76. Now this is the appearance of the ibis. It is all quite black, with the legs of a crane, and a beak sharply hooked, and is as big as a landrail. Such is the appearance of the ibis which fights with the serpents. Those that most associate with men (for there are two kinds of ibis) have the whole head and neck bare of feathers; their plumage is white, except the head and neck and wingtips and tail (these being quite black); the legs and beak of the bird are like those of the other ibis. The serpents are like water-snakes. Their wings are not feathered but very like the wings of a bat. I have now said enough concerning creatures that are sacred.

77 1 αὐτῶν δὲ δὴ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν σπειρομένην Αἴγυπτον οἰκεῖουσιν, μνήμην ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἐπασκέοντες μάλιστα λογιώτατοι εἰσὶ μακρῶ τῶν ἐγὼ ἐς διάπειραν ἀπικόμην, 2 τρόπῳ δὲ ζόῃς τοῖσδε διαχρέωνται· συρμαῖζουσιν τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπεξῆς μηνὸς ἐκάστου, ἐμέτοισι θηρώμενοι τὴν ὑγιεῖν καὶ κλύσμασι, νομίζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν τρεφόντων σιτίων πάσας τὰς νοῦσους τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι γίνεσθαι. 3 εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ Λίβυας ὑγιερέστατοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ὥρέων δοκέειν ἐμοὶ εἵνεκα, ὅτι οὐ μεταλλάσσουν αἱ ὥραι· ἐν γὰρ τῇσι μεταβολῇσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι αἱ νοῦσοι μάλιστα γίνονται τῶν τε ἄλλων πάντων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ὥρέων μάλιστα. 4 ἄρτοφαγεῖν δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀλυρέων ποιεῦντες ἄρτους, τοὺς ἐκεῖνοι κυλλήστις ὀνομάζουσιν. οἶνω δὲ ἐκ κριθέων πεποιημένῳ διαχρέωνται· οὐ γὰρ σφιν εἰσὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἄμπελοι. ἰχθύων δὲ τοὺς μὲν πρὸς ἥλιον αὐήναντες ὠμοὺς σιτέονται, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ ἄλμης τεταριχευμένους. 5 ὀρνίθων δὲ τοὺς τε ὀρτυγας καὶ τὰς νήσας καὶ τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ὀρνίθων ὠμὰ σιτέονται προταριχεύσαντες. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα ἢ ὀρνίθων ἢ ἰχθύων σφιν ἐστὶ ἐχόμενα, χωρὶς ἢ ὀκόσοι σφιν ἰροὶ ἀποδεδέχαται, τοὺς λοιποὺς ὀπτοὺς καὶ ἐφθοὺς σιτέονται.

77. Among the Egyptians themselves, those who live in the cultivated country are the most assiduous of all men at preserving the memory of the past, and none whom I have questioned are so skilled in history. They practice the following way of life. For three consecutive days in every month they purge themselves, pursuing health by means of emetics and drenches; for they think that it is from the food they eat that all sicknesses come to men. Even without this, the Egyptians are the healthiest of all men, next to the Libyans; the explanation of which, in my opinion, is that the climate in all seasons is the same: for change is the great cause of men's falling sick, more especially changes of seasons. They eat bread, making loaves which they call "cyllestis," of coarse grain. For wine, they use a drink made from barley, for they have no vines in their country. They eat fish either raw and sun-dried, or preserved with brine. Quails and ducks and small birds are salted and eaten raw; all other kinds of birds, as well as fish (except those that the Egyptians consider sacred) are eaten roasted or boiled.

78 1 ἐν δὲ τῇσι συνουσίῃσι τοῖσι εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν, ἐπεὰν ἀπὸ δείπνου γένωνται, περιφέρει ἀνὴρ νεκρὸν ἐν σορῷ ξύλινον πεποιημένον, μεμιμημένον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ γραφῇ καὶ ἔργῳ, μέγαθος ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον ἢ δίπηχυν, δεικνὺς δὲ ἐκάστῳ τῶν συμποτέων λέγει "ἐς τοῦτον ὁρέων πῖνέ τε καὶ τέρπευ· ἔσσει γὰρ ἀποθανῶν τοιοῦτος." ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια ποιεῦσι.

78. After rich men's repasts, a man carries around an image in a coffin, painted and carved in exact imitation of a corpse two or four feet long. This he shows to each of the company, saying "While you drink and enjoy, look on this; for to this state you must come when you die." Such is the custom at their symposia.

79 1 πατρίοισι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐπικτῶνται· τοῖσι ἄλλα τε ἐπάξια ἐστὶ νόμιμα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄεισμα ἓν ἐστὶ, Λίνος, ὅπερ ἓν τε Φοινίκη αἰοίδιμος ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ καὶ ἄλλῃ, κατὰ μέντοι ἔθνεα οὖνομα ἔχει, 2 συμφέρεται δὲ ὧν τὸς εἶναι τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Λίνον ὀνομάζοντες ἀεΐδουσι, ὥστε πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποθωμάζειν με τῶν περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐόντων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Λίνον ὀκόθεν ἔλαβον τὸ οὖνομα· φαίνονται δὲ αἰεὶ κοτε τοῦτον ἀεΐδοντες. ἔστι δὲ Αἰγυπτιστὶ ὁ Λίνος καλούμενος Μανερῶς. 3 ἔφασαν δέ μιν

Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου παῖδα μουνογενέα γενέσθαι, ἀποθανόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον θρήνοισι τούτοις ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων τιμηθῆναι, καὶ αἰοιδῆν τε ταύτην πρώτην καὶ μούνην σφίσι γενέσθαι.

79. They keep the customs of their fathers, adding none to them. Among other notable customs of theirs is this, that they have one song, the Linus-song, which is sung in Phoenicia and Cyprus and elsewhere; each nation has a name of its own for this, but it happens to be the same song that the Greeks sing, and call Linus; so that of many things in Egypt that amaze me, one is: where did the Egyptians get Linus? Plainly they have always sung this song; but in Egyptian Linus is called Maneros. The Egyptians told me that Maneros was the only son of their first king, who died prematurely, and this dirge was sung by the Egyptians in his honor; and this, they said, was their earliest and their only chant.

80 1 συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τόδε ἄλλο Αἰγύπτιοι Ἑλλήνων μούνοισι Λακεδαιμονίοισι· οἱ νεώτεροι αὐτῶν τοῖσι πρεσβυτέροισι συντυγχάνοντες εἰκουςι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἐκτρέπονται καὶ ἐπιοῦσι ἐξ ἔδρης ὑπανιστέαται. 2 τόδε μέντοι ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι συμφέρονται· ἀντὶ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι προσκυνέουσι κατιέντες μέχρι τοῦ γούνατος τὴν χεῖρα.

80. There is a custom, too, which no Greeks except the Lacedaemonians have in common with the Egyptians: younger men, encountering their elders, yield the way and stand aside, and rise from their seats for them when they approach. But they are like none of the Greeks in this: passers-by do not address each other, but salute by lowering the hand to the knee.

81 1 ἐνδεδύκασι δὲ κιθῶνας λινέους περὶ τὰ σκέλεα θυσανωτούς, τοὺς καλέουσι καλασίρις· ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ εἰρίνεα εἴματα λευκὰ ἐπαναβληδὸν φορέουσι. οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τὰ ἱρὰ ἐσφέρεται εἰρίνεα οὐδὲ συγκαταθάπτεται σφι· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον. 2 ὁμολογέουσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλεομένοις καὶ Βακχικοῖσι, εὐοῦσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ Πυθαγορείοισι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ὀργίων μετέχοντα ὅσιον ἐστὶ ἐν εἰρινέοις εἴμασι θαφθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱρὸς λόγος λεγόμενος.

81. They wear linen tunics with fringes hanging about the legs,

called “calasiris,” and loose white woolen mantles over these. But nothing woolen is brought into temples, or buried with them: that is impious. They agree in this with practices called Orphic and Bacchic, but in fact Egyptian and Pythagorean: for it is impious, too, for one partaking of these rites to be buried in woolen wrappings. There is a sacred legend about this.

82 1 καὶ τάδε ἄλλα Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐστὶ ἐξευρημένα, μείς τε καὶ ἡμέρη ἐκάστη θεῶν ὅτεν ἐστί, καὶ τῇ ἕκαστος ἡμέρη γενόμενος ὅτέοισι ἐγκυρήσει καὶ ὅκως τελευτήσῃ καὶ ὁκοῖός τις ἔσται. καὶ τούτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἐν ποιήσιν γενόμενοι ἐχρήσαντο. 2 τέρατα/ τε πλέω σφι ἀνεύρηται ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἀπασιν ἀνθρώποις· γενομένου γὰρ τέρατος φυλάσσουσι γραφόμενοι τῷποβαῖνον, καὶ ἦν κοτε ὕστερον παραπλήσιον τούτῳ γένηται, κατὰ τὸν τοῦτο νομίζουσι ἀποβήσεσθαι.

82. Other things originating with the Egyptians are these. Each month and day belong to one of the gods, and according to the day of one’s birth are determined how one will fare and how one will end and what one will be like; those Greeks occupied with poetry exploit this. More portents have been discovered by them than by all other peoples; when a portent occurs, they take note of the outcome and write it down; and if something of a like kind happens again, they think it will have a like result.

83 1 μαντική δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὧδε διακέεται· ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδενὶ προσκέεται ἢ τέχνη, τῶν δὲ θεῶν μετεξετέροις· καὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλῆος μαντήιον αὐτόθι ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀθηναίης καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἄρεος καὶ Διός, καὶ τό γε μάλιστα ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται πάντων τῶν μαντηίων, Λητοῦς ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλει ἐστί. οὐ μέντοι αἱ γε μαντηῖαι σφι κατὰ τὸν τοῦτο ἐστᾶσι, ἀλλὰ διάφοροι εἰσί.

83. As to the art of divination among them, it belongs to no man, but to some of the gods; there are in their country oracles of Heracles, Apollo, Athena, Artemis, Ares, and Zeus, and of Leto (the most honored of all) in the town of Buto. Nevertheless, they have several ways of divination, not just one.

84 1 ἡ δὲ ἱητρικὴ κατὰ τάδε σφι δέδασται· μῆς νούσου ἕκαστος ἱητρός ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ πλεόνων. πάντα δ’ ἱητρῶν ἐστὶ πλέα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν ἱητροὶ κατεστᾶσι, οἱ δὲ κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ ὀδόντων, οἱ δὲ τῶν

κατὰ νηδύν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀφανέων νούσων.

84. The practice of medicine is so specialized among them that each physician is a healer of one disease and no more. All the country is full of physicians, some of the eye, some of the teeth, some of what pertains to the belly, and some of internal diseases.

85 1 θρῆνοι δὲ καὶ ταφαί σφεων εἰσι αἶδε· τοῖσι ἂν ἀπογένηται ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἄνθρωπος τοῦ τις καὶ λόγος ἦ, τὸ θῆλυ γένος πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων τούτων κατ' ὧν ἐπλάσατο τὴν κεφαλὴν πηλῷ ἢ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, κᾶπεται ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοις λιποῦσαι τὸν νεκρὸν αὐταὶ ἀνὰ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν στρωφώμεναι τύπτονται ἐπεζωσμένοι καὶ φαίνουσαι τοὺς μαζοὺς, σὺν δὲ σφι αἱ προσήκουσαι πᾶσαι, 2 ἐτέρωθεν δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες, τύπτονται ἐπεζωσμένοι καὶ οὗτοι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, οὕτω ἐς τὴν ταρίχευσιν κομίζουσι.

85. They mourn and bury the dead like this: whenever a man of note is lost to his house by death, all the women of the house daub their faces or heads with mud; then they leave the corpse in the house and roam about the city lamenting, with their garments girt around them and their breasts showing, and with them all the women of their relatives; elsewhere, the men lament, with garments girt likewise. When this is done, they take the dead body to be embalmed.

86 1 εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατέαται καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσι ταύτην. 2 οὗτοι, ἐπεὰν σφι κομισθῇ νεκρός, δεικνύουσι τοῖσι κομίσασι παραδείγματα νεκρῶν ξύλινα, τῇ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα..., καὶ τὴν μὲν σπουδαιοτάτην αὐτέων φασὶ εἶναι τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον ποιεῦμαι τὸ οὖνομα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ὀνομάζειν, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν δεικνύουσι ὑποδεεστέραν τε ταύτης καὶ εὐτελεστέραν, τὴν δὲ τρίτην εὐτελεστάτην· φράσαντες δὲ πυνθάνονται παρ' αὐτῶν κατὰ ἥντινα βούλονται σφι σκευασθῆναι τὸν νεκρὸν. 3 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐκποδὼν μισθῷ ὁμολογήσαντες ἀπαλλάσσονται, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειπόμενοι ἐν οἰκίμασι ὧδε τὰ σπουδαιότατα ταριχεύουσι. πρῶτα μὲν σκολιῷ σιδήρῳ διὰ τῶν μυξωτήρων ἐξάγουσι τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ οὕτω ἐξάγοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐγχείοντες φάρμακα· 4 μετὰ δὲ λίθῳ Αἰθιοπικῷ ὀξεί παρασχίσαντες παρὰ τὴν λαπάρην ἐξ ὧν εἶλον τὴν κοιλίην πᾶσαν, ἐκκαθήραντες δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ διηθήσαντες οἶνῳ φοινικίῳ αὐτὶς διηθέουσι θυμῆμασι τετριμμένοις· 5 ἔπειτα τὴν νηδὺν σμύρνης ἀκηράτου τετριμμένης καὶ κασίης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυμημάτων, πλὴν

λιβανωτοῦ, πλήσαντες συρράπτουσι ὀπίσω. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ταριχεύουσι λίτρῳ κρύψαντες ἡμέρας ἑβδομήκοντα· πλεῖνας δὲ τουτέων οὐκ ἔξεστι ταριχεύειν. 6 ἐπεὰν δὲ παρέλθωσι αἱ ἑβδομήκοντα, λούσαντες τὸν νεκρὸν κατελίσσουσι πᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα σινδόνης βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι κατατετμημένοισι, ὑποχρίοντες τῷ κόμμι, τῷ δὲ ἂντὶ κόλλης τὰ πολλὰ χρέωνται Αἰγύπτιοι. 7 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ παραδεξάμενοί μιν οἱ προσήκοντες ποιεῦνται ξύλινον τύπον ἀνθρωποειδέα, ποιησάμενοι δὲ ἐσεργνῷσι τὸν νεκρὸν, καὶ κατακλήσαντες οὕτω θησαυρίζουσι ἐν οἰκῇματι θηκαίῳ, ἰστάντες ὀρθὸν πρὸς τοῖχον.

86. There are men whose sole business this is and who have this special craft. When a dead body is brought to them, they show those who brought it wooden models of corpses, painted likenesses; the most perfect way of embalming belongs, they say, to One whose name it would be impious for me to mention in treating such a matter; the second way, which they show, is less perfect than the first, and cheaper; and the third is the least costly of all. Having shown these, they ask those who brought the body in which way they desire to have it prepared. Having agreed on a price, the bearers go away, and the workmen, left alone in their place, embalm the body. If they do this in the most perfect way, they first draw out part of the brain through the nostrils with an iron hook, and inject certain drugs into the rest. Then, making a cut near the flank with a sharp knife of Ethiopian stone, they take out all the intestines, and clean the belly, rinsing it with palm wine and bruised spices; they sew it up again after filling the belly with pure ground myrrh and casia and any other spices, except frankincense. After doing this, they conceal the body for seventy days, embalmed in saltpetre; no longer time is allowed for the embalming; and when the seventy days have passed, they wash the body and wrap the whole of it in bandages of fine linen cloth, anointed with gum, which the Egyptians mostly use instead of glue; then they give the dead man back to his friends. These make a hollow wooden figure like a man, in which they enclose the corpse, shut it up, and keep it safe in a coffin-chamber, placed erect against a wall.

87 1 οὕτω μὲν τοὺς τὰ πολυτελέστατα σκευάζουσι νεκρούς, τοὺς

δὲ τὰ μέσα βουλομένους τὴν δὲ πολυτελείην φεύγοντας σκευάζουσι ὧδε· 2 ἐπεὰν τοὺς κλυστήρας πλήσωνται τοῦ ἀπὸ κέδρου ἀλείφατος γινομένου, ἐν ᾧ ἔπλησαν τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν κοιλίην, οὔτε ἀναταμόντες αὐτὸν οὔτε ἐξελόντες τὴν νηδύν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑδρὴν ἐσηθήσαντες καὶ ἐπιλαβόντες τὸ κλύσμα τῆς ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ ταριχεύουσι τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας, τῇ δὲ τελευταίῃ ἐξιῶσι ἐκ τῆς κοιλίης τὴν κεδρίην τὴν ἐσήκαν πρότερον. 3 ἡ δὲ ἔχει τοσαύτην δύναμιν ὥστε ἅμα ἐωυτῇ τὴν νηδύν καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα κατατετηκότα ἐξάγει· τὰς δὲ σάρκας τὸ λίτρον κατατῆκει, καὶ δὴ λείπεται τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ δέρμα μόνον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα. ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, ἀπ' ᾧ ἔδωκαν οὕτω τὸν νεκρόν, οὐδὲν ἔτι πρηγματευθέντες.

87. That is how they prepare the dead in the most costly way; those who want the middle way and shun the costly, they prepare as follows. The embalmers charge their syringes with cedar oil and fill the belly of the dead man with it, without making a cut or removing the intestines, but injecting the fluid through the anus and preventing it from running out; then they embalm the body for the appointed days; on the last day they drain the belly of the cedar oil which they put in before. It has such great power as to bring out with it the internal organs and intestines all dissolved; meanwhile, the flesh is eaten away by the saltpetre, and in the end nothing is left of the body but hide and bones. Then the embalmers give back the dead body with no more ado.

88 1 ἡ δὲ τρίτη ταρίχευσις ἐστὶ ἥδε, ἡ τοὺς χρήμασι ἀσθενεστεροὺς σκευάζει· συρμαίῃ διηθήσαντες τὴν κοιλίην ταριχεύουσι τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπ' ᾧ ἔδωκαν ἀποφέρεσθαι.

88. The third manner of embalming, the preparation of the poorer dead, is this: they cleanse the belly with a purge, embalm the body for the seventy days and then give it back to be taken away.

89 1 τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, ἐπεὰν τελευτήσωσι, οὐ παραυτίκα διδοῦσι ταριχεύειν, οὐδὲ ὅσαι ἂν ἔωσι εὐειδέες κάρτα καὶ λόγου πλεῦνος γυναῖκες· ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν τριταῖαι ἢ τεταρταῖαι γένωνται, οὕτω παραδιδούσι τοῖσι ταριχεύουσι. 2 τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῦσι οὕτω τοῦδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα μὴ σφι οἱ ταριχευταὶ μίσγωνται τῇσι γυναιξί· λαμφθῆναι γὰρ τινὰ φασὶ μισγόμενον νεκρῷ προσφάτῳ γυναικός,

κατεπειν δὲ τὸν ὁμότεχον.

89. Wives of notable men, and women of great beauty and reputation, are not at once given to the embalmers, but only after they have been dead for three or four days; this is done to deter the embalmers from having intercourse with the women. For it is said that one was caught having intercourse with the fresh corpse of a woman, and was denounced by his fellow-workman.

90 1 ὃς δ' ἂν ἡ αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἢ ξείνων ὁμοίως ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου ἀρπασθεῖς ἢ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φαίνεται τεθνεώς, κατ' ἣν ἂν πόλιν ἐξενηχθῇ, τούτους πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ταριχεύσαντας αὐτὸν καὶ περιστειλάντας ὥς κάλλιστα θάψαι ἐν ἱρῇσι θήκησι. 2 οὐδὲ ψαῦσαι ἔξεστι αὐτοῦ ἄλλον οὐδένα οὔτε τῶν προσηκόντων οὔτε τῶν φίλων, ἀλλὰ μιν αἱ ἱερεῖς αὐτοῖ τοῦ Νείλου ἅτε πλέον τι ἢ ἀνθρώπου νεκρὸν χειραπτάζοντες θάπτουσι.

90. Anyone, Egyptian or foreigner, known to have been carried off by a crocodile or drowned by the river itself, must by all means be embalmed and wrapped as attractively as possible and buried in a sacred coffin by the people of the place where he is cast ashore; none of his relatives or friends may touch him, but his body is considered something more than human, and is handled and buried by the priests of the Nile themselves.

91 1 ἐλληνικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, μὴδ' ἄλλων μηδαμὰ μηδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι οὕτω τοῦτο φυλάσσουσι, ἔστι δὲ Χέμμης πόλις μεγάλη νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ ἐγγὺς Νέης πόλιος. 2 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης ἱρὸν τετράγωνον, πέριξ δὲ αὐτοῦ φοίνικες πεφύκασι. τὰ δὲ πρόπυλα τοῦ ἱροῦ λίθινα ἐστὶ κάρτα μεγάλα. ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἀνδριάντες δύο ἐστᾶσι λίθινοι μεγάλοι. ἐν δὲ τῷ περιβεβλημένῳ τούτῳ νηὸς τε ἓνι καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνέστηκε τοῦ Περσέος. 3 οὗτοι οἱ Χεμμῖται λέγουσι τὸν Περσέα πολλάκις μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν γῆν φαίνεσθαι σφι πολλάκις δὲ ἔσω τοῦ ἱροῦ, σανδάλιον τε αὐτοῦ πεφορημένον εὐρίσκεσθαι ἐὼν τὸ μέγαθος δίπηχυ, τὸ ἐπεὰν φανῇ, εὐθηνέειν ἅπασαν Αἴγυπτον. 4 ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι, ποιεῦσι δὲ τάδε Ἑλληνικὰ τῷ Περσεῖ. ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν τιθεῖσι διὰ πάσης ἀγωνίης ἔχοντα, παρέχοντες ἄεθλα κτήνεα καὶ χλαίνας καὶ δέρματα. 5 εἰρομένου δέ μευ ὃ τι σφι μούνοισι ἔωθε ὁ Περσεὺς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι

καὶ ὅ τι κεχωρίδαται Αἰγυπτίων τῶν ἄλλων ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν τιθέντες, ἔφασαν τὸν Περσέα ἐκ τῆς ἐουτῶν πόλιος γεγονέναι· τὸν γὰρ Δαναὸν καὶ τὸν Λυγκέα ἐόντας Χεμμίτας ἐκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενεηλογέοντες κατέβαινον ἐς τὸν Περσέα. 6 ἀπικόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἴγυπτον κατ' αἰτίνην τὴν καὶ Ἕλληνας λέγουσι, οἷσόντα ἐκ Λιβύης τὴν Γοργοῦς κεφαλὴν, ἔφασαν ἐλθεῖν καὶ παρὰ σφέας καὶ ἀναγνῶναι τοὺς συγγενέας πάντας· ἐκμεμαθηκότα δέ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον τὸ τῆς Χέμμιος οὔνομα, πεπυσμένον παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς. ἀγῶνα δὲ οἱ γυμνικὸν αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐπιτελέειν.

91. The Egyptians shun using Greek customs, and (generally speaking) the customs of all other peoples as well. Yet, though the rest are wary of this, there is a great city called Khemmis, in the Theban district, near the New City. In this city is a square temple of Perseus son of Danae, in a grove of palm trees. Before this temple stand great stone columns; and at the entrance, two great stone statues. In the outer court there is a shrine with an image of Perseus standing in it. The people of this Khemmis say that Perseus is seen often up and down this land, and often within the temple, and that the sandal he wears, which is four feet long, keeps turning up, and that when it does turn up, all Egypt prospers. This is what they say; and their doings in honor of Perseus are Greek, inasmuch as they celebrate games that include every form of contest, and offer animals and cloaks and skins as prizes. When I asked why Perseus appeared only to them, and why, unlike all other Egyptians, they celebrate games, they told me that Perseus was by lineage of their city; for Danaus and Lynceus, who travelled to Greece, were of Khemmis; and they traced descent from these down to Perseus. They told how he came to Khemmis, too, when he came to Egypt for the reason alleged by the Greeks as well — namely, to bring the Gorgon's head from Libya — and recognized all his relatives; and how he had heard the name of Khemmis from his mother before he came to Egypt. It was at his bidding, they said, that they celebrated the games.

92 1 ταῦτα μὲν πάντα οἱ κατύπερθε τῶν ἐλέων οἰκέοντες Αἰγύπτιοι νομίζουσι· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐν τοῖσι ἔλεσι κατοικημένοι τοῖσι μὲν αὐτοῖσι νόμοισι χρέωνται τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα

καὶ γυναικὶ μιῇ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν συνοικεῖ κατά περ Ἕλληνες, ἀτὰρ πρὸς εὐτελείην τῶν σιτίων τάδε σφι ἄλλα ἐξεύρηται. 2 ἐπεὰν πλήρης γένηται ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίση, φύεται ἐν τῷ ὕδατι κρίνεα πολλά, τὰ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι λωτόν· ταῦτ' ἐπεὰν δρέψωσι αὐαίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ λωτοῦ, τῇ μήκωνι ἐὼν ἐμφερές, πίσαντες ποιεῦνται ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἄρτους ὀπτοὺς πυρί. 3 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ ρίζα τοῦ λωτοῦ τούτου ἐδωδίμη καὶ ἐγγλύσσει ἐπιεικέως, ἐὼν στρογγύλον, μέγαθος κατὰ μῆλον. 4 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κρίνεα ρόδοισι ἐμφερέα, ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ γινόμενα καὶ ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν ὁ καρπὸς ἐν ἄλλῃ κάλυκι παραφυομένη ἐκ τῆς ρίζης γίνεται, κηρίῳ σφηκῶν ἰδέην ὁμοιότατον· ἐν τούτῳ τρωκτὰ ὅσον τε πυρὴν ἐλαίης ἐγγίνεται συχνά, τρώγεται δὲ καὶ ἀπαλὰ ταῦτα καὶ αὔα. 5 τὴν δὲ βύβλον τὴν ἐπέτειον γινομένην ἐπεὰν ἀνασπάσωσι ἐκ τῶν ἐλέων, τὰ μὲν ἄνω αὐτῆς ἀποτάμνοντες ἐς ἄλλο τι τρέπουσι, τὸ δὲ κάτω λελειμμένον ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πῆχυν τρώγουσι καὶ πωλέουσι· οἱ δὲ ἂν καὶ κάρτα βούλωνται χρηστῇ τῇ βύβλῳ χρᾶσθαι, ἐν κλιβάνῳ διαφανέει πνίξαντες οὕτω τρώγουσι. οἱ δὲ τινὲς αὐτῶν ζῶσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων μούνον, τοὺς ἐπεὰν λάβωσι καὶ ἐξέλωσι τὴν κοιλίην, αὐαίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον καὶ ἔπειτα αὔους ἐόντας σιτέονται.

92. All these are the customs of Egyptians who live above the marsh country. Those who inhabit the marshes have the same customs as the rest of Egyptians, even that each man has one wife just like Greeks. They have, besides, devised means to make their food less costly. When the river is in flood and flows over the plains, many lilies, which the Egyptians call lotus, grow in the water. They gather these and dry them in the sun; then they crush the poppy-like center of the plant and bake loaves of it. The root of this lotus is edible also, and of a sweetish taste; it is round, and the size of an apple. Other lilies grow in the river, too, that are like roses; the fruit of these is found in a calyx springing from the root by a separate stalk, and is most like a comb made by wasps; this produces many edible seeds as big as olive pits, which are eaten both fresh and dried. They also use the byblus which grows annually: it is gathered from the marshes, the top of it cut off and put to other uses, and the lower part, about twenty inches long, eaten or sold. Those who wish to use the byblus at its very best, roast it before eating in a red-hot oven.

Some live on fish alone. They catch the fish, take out the intestines, then dry them in the sun and eat them dried.

93 1 οἱ δὲ ἰχθύες οἱ ἀγελαῖοι ἐν μὲν τοῖσι ποταμοῖσι οὐ μάλα γίνονται, τρεφόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῇσι λίμνησι τοιάδε ποιεῦσι. ἐπεὰν σφεας ἐσίῃ οἷστρος κυῖσκεσθαι, ἀγεληδὸν ἐκπλέουσι ἐς θάλασσαν· ἡγέονται δὲ οἱ ἔρσενες ἀπορραίνοντες τοῦ θοροῦ, αἱ δὲ ἐπόμεναι ἀνακάπτουσι καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κυῖσκονται. 2 ἐπεὰν δὲ πλήρεις γένωνται ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, ἀναπλώουσι ὀπίσω ἐς ἥθεα τὰ ἐωυτῶν ἕκαστοι, ἡγέονται μέντοι γε οὐκέτι οἱ αὐτοί, ἀλλὰ τῶν θηλέων γίνεται ἡ ἡγεμονία· ἡγεύμεναι δὲ ἀγεληδὸν ποιεῦσι οἷόν περ ἐποίευν οἱ ἔρσενες· τῶν γὰρ ῥῶν ἀπορραίνουσι κατ' ὀλίγους τῶν κέγχρων, οἱ δὲ ἔρσενες καταπίνουσι ἐπόμενοι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ κέγχροι οὗτοι ἰχθύες. 3 ἐκ δὲ τῶν περιγινομένων καὶ μὴ καταπινομένων κέγχρων οἱ τρεφόμενοι ἰχθύες γίνονται. οἳ δ' ἂν αὐτῶν ἀλῶσι ἐκπλώνοντες ἐς θάλασσαν, φαίνονται τετριμμένοι τὰ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τῶν κεφαλῶν, οἳ δ' ἂν ὀπίσω ἀναπλώνοντες, τὰ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τετρίφαται. 4 πάσχουσι δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τόδε· ἐχόμενοι τῆς γῆς ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ καταπλώουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀναπλώνοντες ὀπίσω τῆς αὐτῆς ἀντέχονται, ἐγχριμπτόμενοι καὶ ψαύοντες ὥς μάλιστα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ἀμάρτοιεν τῆς ὁδοῦ διὰ τὸν ῥόον. 5 ἐπεὰν δὲ πληθύνεσθαι ἄρχηται ὁ Νεῖλος, τὰ τε κοῖλα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ τέλματα τὰ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πρῶτα ἄρχεται πίμπλασθαι διηθέοντος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ αὐτίκα τε πλέα γίνεται ταῦτα καὶ παραχρῆμα ἰχθύων σμικρῶν πίμπλαται πάντα. 6 κότεν δὲ οἰκὸς αὐτοὺς γίνεσθαι, ἐγὼ μοι δοκέω κατανοέειν τοῦτο· τοῦ προτέρου ἔτεος ἐπεὰν ἀπολίπη ὁ Νεῖλος, οἱ ἰχθύες ἐντεκόντες ῥὰ ἐς τὴν ἰλὺν ἅμα τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ὕδατι ἀπαλλάσσονται· ἐπεὰν δὲ περιελθόντος τοῦ χρόνου πάλιν ἐπέλθῃ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐκ τῶν ῥῶν τούτων παραντίκα γίνονται οἱ ἰχθύες [οὗτοι]. καὶ περὶ μὲν τοὺς ἰχθύας οὕτω ἔχει.

93. Fish that go in schools are seldom born in rivers; they are raised in the lakes, and this is how they behave: when the desire of spawning comes on them, they swim out to sea in schools, the males leading, and throwing out their milt, while the females come after and swallow and conceive from it. When the females have grown heavy in the sea, then all the fish swim back to their own haunts. But the same no longer lead; now the leadership goes to the females.

They go before in a school as the males had, and now and then throw off some of their eggs (which are like millet-seeds), which the males devour as they follow. These millet-seeds, or eggs, are fish. The fish that are reared come from the eggs that survive and are not devoured. Those fish that are caught while swimming seawards show bruises on the left side of their heads; those that are caught returning, on the right side. This happens because they keep close to the left bank as they swim seawards, and keep to the same bank also on their return, grazing it and keeping in contact with it as well as they can, I suppose lest the current make them miss their way. When the Nile begins to rise, hollow and marshy places near the river are the first to begin to fill, the water trickling through from the river, and as soon as they are flooded, they are suddenly full of little fishes. Where these probably come from, I believe that I can guess. When the Nile falls, the fish have dropped their eggs into the mud before they leave with the last of the water; and when in the course of time the flood comes again in the following year, from these eggs at once come the fish.

94 1 ἀλείφατι δὲ χρέωνται Αἰγυπτίων οἱ περὶ τὰ ἔλαια οἰκέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν σιλλικυπρίων τοῦ καρποῦ, τὸ καλεῦσι μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι κίκι, ποιεῦσι δὲ ὧδε. παρὰ τὰ χεῖλα τῶν τε ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν λιμνῶν σπείρουσι τὰ σιλλικύπρια 2 ταῦτα, τὰ ἐν Ἑλληνισι αὐτόματα ἄγρια φύεται· ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ σπειρόμενα καρπὸν φέρει πολλὸν μὲν δυσώδεα δέ· τοῦτον ἐπεὰν συλλέξωνται, οἳ μὲν κόψαντες ἀπιποῦσι, οἳ δὲ καὶ φρύξαντες ἀπέψουσιν, καὶ τὸ ἀπορρέον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συγκομίζονται. ἔστι δὲ πῖον καὶ οὐδὲν ἥσσον τοῦ ἐλαίου τῷ λύχνῳ προσηνές, ὁδμὴν δὲ βαρέαν παρέχεται.

94. So much, then, for the fish. The Egyptians who live around the marshes use an oil drawn from the castor-berry, which they call kiki. They sow this plant, which grows wild in Hellas, on the banks of the rivers and lakes; sown in Egypt, it produces abundant fruit, though malodorous; when they gather this, some bruise and press it, others boil after roasting it, and collect the liquid that comes from it. This is thick and useful as oil for lamps, and gives off a strong smell.

95 1 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς κώνωπας ἀφθόνους ἔοντας τάδε σφι ἔστι μεμηχανημένα. τοὺς μὲν τὰ ἄνω τῶν ἐλέων οἰκέοντας οἱ πύργοι

ὠφελέουσι, ἐς τοὺς ἀναβαίνοντες κοιμῶνται· οἱ γὰρ κώνωπες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων οὐκ οἰοί τε εἰσὶ ὑψοῦ πέτεσθαι. 2 τοῖσι δὲ περὶ τὰ ἔλαα οἰκέουσι τάδε ἀντὶ τῶν πύργων ἄλλα μεμηχάνηται· πᾶς ἀνὴρ αὐτῶν ἀμφίβληστρον ἔκτεται, τῷ τῆς μὲν ἡμέρης ἰχθὺς ἀγρεύει, τὴν δὲ νύκτα τάδε αὐτῷ χρᾶται· ἐν τῇ ἀναπαύεται κοίτῃ, περὶ ταύτην ἴστησι τὸ ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ ἔπειτα ἐνδὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸ κατεύδει. 3 οἱ δὲ κώνωπες, ἦν μὲν ἐν ἱματίῳ ἐνελιζάμενος εὖδῃ ἢ σινδόνι, διὰ τούτων δάκνουσι, διὰ δὲ τοῦ δικτύου οὐδὲ πειρῶνται ἀρχήν.

95. Against the mosquitos that abound, the following have been devised by them: those who dwell higher up than the marshy country are well served by the towers where they ascend to sleep, for the winds prevent the mosquitos from flying aloft; those living about the marshes have a different recourse, instead of the towers. Every one of them has a net, with which he catches fish by day, and at night he sets it around the bed where he rests, then creeps under it and sleeps. If he sleeps wrapped in a garment or cloth, the mosquitos bite through it; but through the net they absolutely do not even venture.

96 1 τὰ δὲ δὴ πλοῖα σφι, τοῖσι φορτηγέουσι, ἐστὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀκάνθης ποιούμενα, τῆς ἢ μορφή μὲν ἐστὶ ὁμοιοτάτῃ τῷ Κυρηναίῳ λωτῷ, τὸ δὲ δάκρυον κόμμι ἐστὶ. ἐκ ταύτης ὧν τῆς ἀκάνθης κοσμάμενοι ξύλα ὅσον τε διπήχεα πλινθηδὸν συντιθεῖσι ναυπηγέμενοι τρόπον τοιόνδε· 2 περὶ γόμφους πυκνοὺς καὶ μακροὺς περιείρουσι τὰ διπήχεα ξύλα· ἐπεὰν δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ναυπηγήσωνται, ζυγὰ ἐπιπολῆς τείνουσι αὐτῶν· νομεῦσι δὲ οὐδὲν χρέωνται· ἔσωθεν δὲ τὰς ἀρμονίας ἐν ὧν ἐπάκτωσαν τῇ βύβλῳ. 3 πηδάλιον δὲ ἐν ποιεῦνται, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τῆς τρόπιος διαβύνεται. ἰστῷ δὲ ἀκανθίνῳ χρέωνται, ἰστίοισι δὲ βυβλίνοισι. ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα ἀνὰ μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν οὐ δύναται πλέειν, ἦν μὴ λαμπρὸς ἄνεμος ἐπέχη, ἐκ γῆς δὲ παρέλκεται, κατὰ ῥόον δὲ κομίζεται ὧδε· 4 ἔστι ἐκ μυρίκης πεποιημένη θύρη, κατερράμμενη ῥίπῃ καλάμων, καὶ λίθος τετρημένος διτάλαντος μάλιστά κη σταθμόν· τούτων τὴν μὲν θύρην δεδεμένην κάλῳ ἔμπροσθε τοῦ πλοίου ἀπιδεῖ ἐπιφέρεισθαι, τὸν δὲ λίθον ἄλλῳ κάλῳ ὀπισθε. 5 ἡ μὲν δὴ θύρη τοῦ ῥόου ἐπίπτοντος χωρέει ταχέως καὶ ἔλκει τὴν βᾶριν (τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ οὖνομα ἐστὶ τοῖσι πλοίοισι τούτοις), ὁ δὲ λίθος ὀπισθε ἐπελκόμενος καὶ ἐὼν ἐν βυσσῷ κατιθύνει τὸν πλόον. ἔστι δὲ σφι τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα πλήθει πολλά, καὶ ἄγει ἔνια

πολλὰς χιλιάδας ταλάντων.

96. The boats in which they carry cargo are made of the acacia, which is most like the lotus of Cyrene in form, and its sap is gum. Of this tree they cut logs of four feet long and lay them like courses of bricks, and build the boat by fastening these four foot logs to long and close-set stakes; and having done so, they set crossbeams athwart and on the logs. They use no ribs. They caulk the seams within with byblus. There is one rudder, passing through a hole in the boat's keel. The mast is of acacia-wood and the sails of byblus. These boats cannot move upstream unless a brisk breeze continues; they are towed from the bank; but downstream they are managed thus: they have a raft made of tamarisk wood, fastened together with matting of reeds, and a pierced stone of about two talents' weight; the raft is let go to float down ahead of the boat, connected to it by a rope, and the stone is connected by a rope to the after part of the boat. So, driven by the current, the raft floats swiftly and tows the "baris" (which is the name of these boats,) and the stone dragging behind on the river bottom keeps the boat's course straight. There are many of these boats; some are of many thousand talents' burden.

97 1 ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐπέλθῃ ὁ Νεῖλος τὴν χώραν, αἱ πόλεις μόναι φαίνονται ὑπερέχουσαι, μάλιστα κη ἐμφορέες τῇσι ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ πόντῳ νήσοισι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τῆς Αἰγύπτου πέλαγος γίνεται, αἱ δὲ πόλεις μόναι ὑπερέχουσι. πορθμεύονται ὧν, ἐπεὰν τοῦτο γένηται, οὐκέτι κατὰ τὰ ῥέεθρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσου τοῦ πεδίου. 2 ἐς μὲν γε Μέμφιν ἐκ Ναυκράτιος ἀναπλώνοντι παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς πυραμίδας γίνεται ὁ πλόος· ἔστι δὲ οὐδ' οὗτος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ ὄξυ τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ παρὰ Κερκάσωρον πόλιν· ἐς δὲ Ναύκρατιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ Κανώβου διὰ πεδίου πλέων ἥξεις κατ' Ἀνθυλλάν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἀρχάνδρου καλυμμένην.

97. When the Nile overflows the land, only the towns are seen high and dry above the water, very like the islands in the Aegean sea. These alone stand out, the rest of Egypt being a sheet of water. So when this happens, folk are not ferried, as usual, in the course of the stream, but clean over the plain. Indeed, the boat going up from Naucratis to Memphis passes close by the pyramids themselves, though the course does not go by here, but by the Delta's point and

the town Cercasorus; but your voyage from the sea and Canobus to Naucratis will take you over the plain near the town of Anthylla and that which is called Arkhandrus' town.

98 1 τουτέων δὲ ἡ μὲν Ἀνθυλλα ἐοῦσα λογίμη πόλις ἐς ὑποδήματα ἐξαίρετος δίδεται τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου τῇ γυναικί (τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται ἐξ ὅσου ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος), 2 ἡ δὲ ἐτέρη πόλις δοκέει μοι τὸ οὔνομα ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαναοῦ γαμβροῦ Ἀρχάνδρου τοῦ Φθίου τοῦ Ἀχαιοῦ· καλέεται γὰρ δὴ Ἀρχάνδρου πόλις. εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλος τις Ἀρχανδρος, οὐ μέντοι γε Αἰγύπτιον τὸ οὔνομα.

98. Anthylla is a town of some reputation, and is especially assigned to the consort of the reigning king of Egypt, to provide her shoes. This has been done since Egypt has been under Persian dominion. The other town, I think, is named after Arkhandrus son of Phthius the Achaeon, and son-in-law of Danaus; for it is called Arkhandrus' town. It may be that there was another Arkhandrus; but the name is not Egyptian.

99 1 μέχρι μὲν τούτου ὄψις τε ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμη καὶ ἱστορίη ταῦτα λέγουσα ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Αἰγυπτίους ἔρχομαι λόγους ἐρέων κατὰ τὰ ἤκουον· προσέσται δὲ αὐτοῖσι τι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὀψιος. 2 Μῖνα τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα Αἰγύπτου οἱ ἱεεὺς ἔλεγον τοῦτο μὲν ἀπογεφυρῶσαι τὴν Μέμφιν. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πάντα ῥέειν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ψάμμινον πρὸς Λιβύης, τὸν δὲ Μῖνα ἄνωθεν, ὅσον τε ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἀπὸ Μέμφιος, τὸν πρὸς μεσαμβρίας ἀγκῶνα προσχώσαντα τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηρῆναι, τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ὀχετεῦσαι τὸ μέσον τῶν ὀρέων ῥέειν. 3 ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Περσέων ὁ ἀγκὼν οὗτος τοῦ Νεῖλου ὥς ἀπεργμένος ῥέει ἐν φυλακῇσι μεγάλῃσι ἔχεται, φρασσόμενος ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσει ῥήξας ὑπερβῆναι ὁ ποταμὸς ταύτῃ, κίνδυνος πάσῃ Μέμφι κατακλυσθῆναι ἐστὶ. 4 ὥς δὲ τῷ Μῖνι τούτῳ τῷ πρώτῳ γενομένῳ βασιλείᾳ χέρσον γεγονέναι τὸ ἀπεργμένον, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ πόλιν κτίσαι ταύτην ἣτις νῦν Μέμφις καλέεται· ἐστὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ Μέμφις ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ τῆς Αἰγύπτου· ἔξωθεν δὲ αὐτῆς περιορύζαι λίμνην ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς βορρην τε καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην (τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ αὐτὸς ὁ Νεῖλος ἀπέργει), τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρὸν ιδρύσασθαι ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατον.

99. So far, all I have said is the record of my own autopsy and judgment and inquiry. Henceforth I will record Egyptian chronicles, according to what I have heard, adding something of what I myself have seen. The priests told me that Min was the first king of Egypt, and that first he separated Memphis from the Nile by a dam. All the river had flowed close under the sandy mountains on the Libyan side, but Min made the southern bend of it, which begins about twelve and one half miles above Memphis, by damming the stream, thereby drying up the ancient channel, and carried the river by a channel so that it flowed midway between the hills. And to this day the Persians keep careful watch on this bend of the river, strengthening its dam every year to keep the current in; for were the Nile to burst its dikes and overflow here, all Memphis would be in danger of flooding. Then, when this first king Min had made dry land of what he thus cut off, he first founded in it that city which is now called Memphis (for even Memphis lies in the narrow part of Egypt), and outside of it he dug a lake from the river to its north and west (for the Nile itself bounds it on the east); and secondly, he built in it the great and most noteworthy temple of Hephaestus.

100 1 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον κατέλεγον οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐκ βύβλου ἄλλων βασιλέων τριηκοσίων καὶ τριήκοντα οὐνόματα. ἐν τοσαύτησι δὲ γενεῇσι ἀνθρώπων ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὲν Αἰθίοπες ἦσαν, μία δὲ γυνὴ ἐπιχωρὶή, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἄνδρες Αἰγύπτιοι. 2 τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ οὐνομα ἦν, ἣτις ἐβασίλευσε, τό περ τῇ Βαβυλωνίῃ, Νίτωκρις· τὴν ἔλεγον τιμωρέουσιν ἀδελφεῷ, τὸν Αἰγύπτιοι βασιλεύοντα σφέων ἀπέκτειναν, ἀποκτείναντες δὲ οὕτω ἐκείνη ἀπέδωκε τὴν βασιλείαν, τούτῳ τιμωρέουσιν πολλοὺς Αἰγυπτίων διαφθεῖραι δόλω. 3 ποιησαμένην γάρ μιν οἴκημα περίμηκες ὑπόγειον καινοῦν τῷ λόγῳ, νόφ δὲ ἄλλα μηχανᾶσθαι· καλέσασαν δὲ μιν Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς μάλιστα μεταίτιους τοῦ φόνου ἦδε πολλοὺς ἱστῖαν, δαιτυμένους δὲ ἐπεῖναι τὸν ποταμὸν δι' αὐλῶνος κρυπτοῦ μεγάλου. 4 ταύτης μὲν περὶ τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον, πλὴν ὅτι αὐτὴν μιν, ὥς τοῦτο ἐξέργαστο, ρίψαι ἐς οἴκημα σποδοῦ πλέον, ὅκως ἀτιμώρητος γένηται.

100. After him came three hundred and thirty kings, whose names the priests recited from a papyrus roll. In all these many generations there were eighteen Ethiopian kings, and one queen, native to the

country; the rest were all Egyptian men. The name of the queen was the same as that of the Babylonian princess, Nitocris. She, to avenge her brother (he was king of Egypt and was slain by his subjects, who then gave Nitocris the sovereignty) put many of the Egyptians to death by treachery. She built a spacious underground chamber; then, with the pretence of inaugurating it, but with quite another intent in her mind, she gave a great feast, inviting to it those Egyptians whom she knew to have had the most complicity in her brother's murder; and while they feasted, she let the river in upon them by a vast secret channel. This was all that the priests told of her, except that when she had done this she cast herself into a chamber full of hot ashes, to escape vengeance.

101 1 τῶν δὲ ἄλλων βασιλέων οὐ γὰρ ἔλεγον οὐδεμίαν ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν καὶ οὐδὲν εἶναι λαμπρότητος, πλὴν ἐνὸς τοῦ ἐσχάτου αὐτῶν Μοίριος· 2 τοῦτον δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι μνημόσυνα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὰ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον τετραμμένα προπύλαια, λίμνην τε ὀρύξαι, τῆς ἡ περιόδος ὅσων ἐστὶ σταδίων ὕστερον δηλώσω, πυραμίδας τε ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοδομῆσαι, τῶν τοῦ μεγάρου περὶ ὁμοῦ αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ ἐπιμνήσομαι· τοῦτον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδένα οὐδέν.

101. But of the other kings they related no achievement or act of great note, except of Moeris, the last of them. This Moeris was remembered as having built the northern forecourt of the temple of Hephaestus, and dug a lake, of as great a circumference as I shall later indicate; and built pyramids there also, the size of which I will mention when I speak of the lake. All this was Moeris' work, they said; of none of the rest had they anything to record.

102 1 παραμειψάμενος ὧν τούτους τοῦ ἐπὶ τούτοις γενομένου βασιλέως, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σέσωστρις, τούτου μνήμην ποιήσομαι· 2 τὸν ἔλεγον οἱ ἱερεῖς πρῶτον μὲν πλοίοις μακροῖς ὀρμηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου τοὺς παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν κατοικημένους καταστρέφεσθαι, ἐς ὃ πλέοντά μιν πρόσω ἀπικέσθαι ἐς θάλασσαν οὐκέτι πλωτὴν ὑπὸ βραχέων. 3 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπίκετο ἐς Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ τῶν ἱερέων τὴν φάτιν, πολλὴν στρατιὴν τῶν λαβῶν ἤλαυνε διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου, πᾶν ἔθνος τὸ ἐμποδὼν καταστρεφόμενος. 4 ὁτέοις μὲν νυν αὐτῶν ἀλκίμοις ἐνετύγχανε καὶ δεινῶς γλιχομένοις

περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, τούτοισι μὲν στήλας ἐνίστη ἐς τὰς χώρας διὰ γραμμάτων λεγούσας τό τε ἔωυτοῦ οὖνομα καὶ τῆς πάτρης, καὶ ὡς δυνάμι τῇ ἔωυτοῦ κατεστρέψατο σφέας· 5 ὅτεων δὲ ἀμαχητὶ καὶ εὐπετέως παρέλαβε τὰς πόλιας, τούτοισι δὲ ἐνέγραφε ἐν τῇσι στήλῃσι κατὰ ταῦτά καὶ τοῖσι ἀνδρηίοισι τῶν ἐθνέων γενομένοισι, καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰδοῖα γυναικὸς προσενέγραφε, δῆλα βουλόμενος ποιέειν ὡς εἶσαν ἀνάλκιδες.

102. Leaving the latter aside, then, I shall speak of the king who came after them, whose name was Sesostris. This king, the priests said, set out with a fleet of long ships from the Arabian Gulf and subjugated all those living by the Red Sea, until he came to a sea which was too shallow for his vessels. After returning from there back to Egypt, he gathered a great army (according to the account of the priests) and marched over the mainland, subjugating every nation to which he came. When those that he met were valiant men and strove hard for freedom, he set up pillars in their land, the inscription on which showed his own name and his country's, and how he had overcome them with his own power; but when the cities had made no resistance and been easily taken, then he put an inscription on the pillars just as he had done where the nations were brave; but he also drew on them the private parts of a woman, wishing to show clearly that the people were cowardly.

103 1 ταῦτα δὲ ποιέων διεξήιε τὴν ἡπειρον, ἐς ὃ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διαβάς τοὺς τε Σκύθας κατεστρέψατο καὶ τοὺς Θρήικας. ἐς τοὺτους δὲ μοι δοκεί καὶ προσώτατα ἀπικέσθαι ὁ Αἰγύπτιος στρατός· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ τούτων χώρα φαίνονται σταθεῖσαι αἱ στήλαι, τὸ δὲ προσωτέρω τούτων οὐκέτι. 2 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐπιστρέψας ὀπίσω ἦε, καὶ ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Φάσι ποταμῷ, οὐκ ἔχω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν εἴτε αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις ἀποδασάμενος τῆς ἔωυτοῦ στρατιῆς μόνιον ὅσον δὴ αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε τῆς χώρας οἰκήτορας, εἴτε τῶν τινες στρατιωτέων τῇ πλάνῃ αὐτοῦ ἀχθεσθέντες [περὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν] κατέμειναν.

103. He marched over the country doing this until he had crossed over from Asia to Europe and defeated the Scythians and Thracians. Thus far and no farther, I think, the Egyptian army went; for the pillars can be seen standing in their country, but in none beyond it.

From there, he turned around and went back home; and when he came to the Phasis river, that King, Sesostris, may have detached some part of his army and left it there to live in the country (for I cannot speak with exact knowledge), or it may be that some of his soldiers grew weary of his wanderings, and stayed by the Phasis.

104 1 φαίνονται μὲν γὰρ ἔόντες οἱ Κόλχοι Αἰγύπτιοι, νοήσας δὲ πρότερον αὐτὸς ἢ ἀκούσας ἄλλων λέγω. ὥς δέ μοι ἐν φροντίδι ἐγένετο, εἰρόμην ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Κόλχοι ἐμεμνέατο τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἢ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν Κόλχων· 2 νομίζειν δ' ἔφασαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῆς Σεσώστριος στρατιῆς εἶναι τοὺς Κόλχους. αὐτὸς δὲ εἶκασα τῇδε, καὶ ὅτι μελάγχροες εἰσὶ καὶ οὐλότριχες. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐς οὐδὲν ἀνήκει· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι· ἀλλὰ τοῖσιδε καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅτι μοῦνοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων Κόλχοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες περιτάμνονται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα. 3 Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Σύριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογέουσι παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι, Σύριοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Θερμῶδοντα καὶ Παρθένιον ποταμὸν καὶ Μάκρωνες οἱ τούτοις ἀστυγείτονες ἔόντες ἀπὸ Κόλχων φασὶ νεωστὶ μεμαθηκέναι. οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσὶ οἱ περιταμνόμενοι ἀνθρώπων μοῦνοι, καὶ οὗτοι Αἰγυπτίοις φαίνονται ποιεῦντες κατὰ ταῦτά. 4 αὐτῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Αἰθιόπων οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὁκότεροι παρὰ τῶν ἐτέρων ἐξέμαθον· ἀρχαῖον γὰρ δὴ τι φαίνεται ἔόν. ὥς δὲ ἐπιμισγόμενοι Αἰγύπτῳ ἐξέμαθον, μέγα μοι καὶ τότε τεκμήριον γίνεται· Φοινίκων ὁκόσοι τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπιμίσγονται, οὐκέτι Αἰγυπτίους μιμέονται [κατὰ τὰ αἰδοῖα]. ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων οὐ περιτάμνουσι τὰ αἰδοῖα.

104. For it is plain to see that the Colchians are Egyptians; and what I say, I myself noted before I heard it from others. When it occurred to me, I inquired of both peoples; and the Colchians remembered the Egyptians better than the Egyptians remembered the Colchians; the Egyptians said that they considered the Colchians part of Sesostris' army. I myself guessed it, partly because they are dark-skinned and woolly-haired; though that indeed counts for nothing, since other peoples are, too; but my better proof was that the Colchians and Egyptians and Ethiopians are the only nations that have from the first practised circumcision. The Phoenicians and the Syrians of Palestine acknowledge that they learned the custom from

the Egyptians, and the Syrians of the valleys of the Thermodon and the Parthenius, as well as their neighbors the Macrones, say that they learned it lately from the Colchians. These are the only nations that circumcise, and it is seen that they do just as the Egyptians. But as to the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I cannot say which nation learned it from the other; for it is evidently a very ancient custom. That the others learned it through traffic with Egypt, I consider clearly proved by this: that Phoenicians who traffic with Hellas cease to imitate the Egyptians in this matter and do not circumcise their children.

105 1 φέρε νῦν καὶ ἄλλο εἶπω περὶ τῶν Κόλχων, ὥς Αἰγυπτίοισι προσφερέες εἰσὶ· λίνον μῶνοι οὗτοί τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐργάζονται καὶ κατὰ ταυτά, καὶ ἡ ζόη πᾶσα καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα ἐμφερής ἐστι ἀλλήλοισι. λίνον δὲ τὸ μὲν Κολχικὸν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σαρδωνικὸν κέκληται, τὸ μέντοι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπικνεύμενον καλεῖται Αἰγύπτιον.

105. Listen to something else about the Colchians, in which they are like the Egyptians: they and the Egyptians alone work linen and have the same way of working it, a way peculiar to themselves; and they are alike in all their way of life, and in their speech. Linen has two names: the Colchian kind is called by the Greeks Sardonian ; that which comes from Egypt is called Egyptian.

106 1 αἱ δὲ στηλαὶ τὰς ἴστα κατὰ τὰς χώρας ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις, αἱ μὲν πλεῦνες οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιεῶσαι, ἐν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ αὐτὸς ὥρων ἐούσας καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ εἰρημένα ἐνεόντα καὶ γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα. 2 εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην δύο τύποι ἐν πέτρῃσι ἐγκεκολαμμένοι τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρός, τῇ τε ἐκ τῆς Ἐφεσίης ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔρχονται καὶ τῇ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σμύρνην. 3 ἐκατέρωθι δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐγγέγλυπται μέγαθος πέμπτης σπιθαμῆς, τῇ μὲν δεξιῇ χειρὶ ἔχων αἰχμὴν τῇ δὲ ἀριστερῇ τόξα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σκευὴν ὡσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ Αἰγυπτίην καὶ Αἰθιοπίδα ἔχει· 4 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὤμου ἐς τὸν ἕτερον ὦμον διὰ τῶν στηθέων γράμματα ἱρὰ Αἰγύπτια διήκει ἐγκεκολαμμένα, λέγοντα τάδε· “ἐγὼ τήνδε τὴν χώραν ὥμοισι τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι ἐκτησάμην.” ὅστις δὲ καὶ ὁκόθεν ἐστί, ἐνθαῦτα μὲν οὐ δηλοῖ, ἐτέρωθι δὲ δεδῆλωκε· 5 τὰ δὲ καὶ μετεξέτεροι τῶν θεησαμένων Μέμνονος εἰκόνα εἰκάζουσιν εἶναι, πολλὸν τῆς ἀληθείης ἀπολελειμμένοι.

106. As to the pillars that Sesostris, king of Egypt, set up in the countries, most of them are no longer to be seen. But I myself saw them in the Palestine district of Syria, with the aforesaid writing and the women's private parts on them. Also, there are in Ionia two figures of this man carved in rock, one on the road from Ephesus to Phocaea, and the other on that from Sardis to Smyrna. In both places, the figure is over twenty feet high, with a spear in his right hand and a bow in his left, and the rest of his equipment proportional; for it is both Egyptian and Ethiopian; and right across the breast from one shoulder to the other a text is cut in the Egyptian sacred characters, saying: "I myself won this land with the strength of my shoulders." There is nothing here to show who he is and whence he comes, but it is shown elsewhere. Some of those who have seen these figures guess they are Memnon, but they are far indeed from the truth.

107 1 τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Σέσωστρον ἀναχωρέοντα καὶ ἀνάγοντα πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, ἔλεγον οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐν Δάφνησι τῇσι Πηλουσίησι, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ, τῷ ἐπέτρεψε ὁ Σέσωστρις τὴν Αἴγυπτον, τοῦτον ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτὸν καλέσαντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τοὺς παῖδας περηνῆσαι ἔξωθεν τὴν οἰκίην ὕλη, περηνήσαντα δὲ ὑποπρῆσαι. 2 τὸν δὲ ὡς μαθεῖν τοῦτο, αὐτίκα συμβουλευέσθαι τῇ γυναικί· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτὸν ἅμα ἄγεσθαι· τὴν δὲ οἱ συμβουλευῆσαι τῶν παίδων ἐόντων ἔξ τούτων δύο ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν ἐκτείναντα γεφυρῶσαι τὸ καιόμενον, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνων ἐπιβαίνοντας ἐκσώζεσθαι. ταῦτα ποιῆσαι τὸν Σέσωστρον, καὶ δύο μὲν τῶν παίδων κατακαῆναι τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀποσωθῆναι ἅμα τῷ πατρί.

107. Now when this Egyptian Sesostris (so the priests said) reached Daphnae of Pelusium on his way home, leading many captives from the peoples whose lands he had subjugated, his brother, whom he had left in charge in Egypt, invited him and his sons to a banquet and then piled wood around the house and set it on fire. When Sesostris was aware of this, he at once consulted his wife, whom (it was said) he had with him; and she advised him to lay two of his six sons on the fire and make a bridge over the burning so that they could walk over the bodies of the two and escape. This Sesostris

did; two of his sons were thus burnt but the rest escaped alive with their father.

108 1 νοστήσας δὲ ὁ Σέσωστρις ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τισάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεόν, τῷ μὲν ὁμίλῳ τὸν ἐπηγάγετο τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, τοῦτῳ μὲν τάδε ἐχρήσατο· 2 τοὺς τέ οἱ λίθους τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως κομισθέντας ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρόν, ἐόντας μεγάθει περιμήκεας, οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐλκύσαντες, καὶ τὰς διώρυχας τὰς νῦν ἐούσας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάσας οὗτοι ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὥρυσσον, ἐποίευν τε οὐκ ἐκόντες Αἴγυπτον, τὸ πρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἵππασίμην καὶ ἀμαξομένην πᾶσαν, ἐνδεᾶ τούτων. 3 ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου Αἴγυπτος ἐοῦσα πεδιάς πᾶσα ἄνιππος καὶ ἀναμάξευτος γέγονε· αἷτια δὲ τούτων αἱ διώρυχες γεγόνασι ἐοῦσαι πολλαὶ καὶ παντοίους τρόπους ἔχουσαί. 4 κατέταμνε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τὴν χώραν ὁ βασιλεύς· ὅσοι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ἔκτηντο τὰς πόλεις ἀλλ' ἀναμέσους, οὗτοι, ὅκως τε ἀπίοι ὁ ποταμός, σπανίζοντες ὑδάτων πλατυτέροισι ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι πόμασι, ἐκ φρεάτων χρεώμενοι. τούτων μὲν δὴ εἵνεκα κατετμήθη ἡ Αἴγυπτος.

108. After returning to Egypt, and avenging himself on his brother, Sesostris found work for the multitude which he brought with him from the countries which he had subdued. It was these who dragged the great and long blocks of stone which were brought in this king's reign to the temple of Hephaestus; and it was they who were compelled to dig all the canals which are now in Egypt, and involuntarily made what had been a land of horses and carts empty of these. For from this time Egypt, although a level land, could use no horses or carts, because there were so many canals going every which way. The reason why the king thus intersected the country was this: those Egyptians whose towns were not on the Nile, but inland from it, lacked water whenever the flood left their land, and drank only brackish water from wells.

109 1 κατανεῖμαι δὲ τὴν χώραν Αἰγυπτίοισι ἅπασι τοῦτον ἔλεγον τὸν βασιλέα, κλῆρον ἴσον ἐκάστῳ τετράγωνον διδόντα, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὰς προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν ἐπιτελέειν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. 2 εἰ δὲ τινὸς τοῦ κλήρου ὁ ποταμός τι παρέλοιτο, ἐλθὼν ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐσήμαινε τὸ γεγενημένον· ὁ δὲ ἔπεμπε τοὺς ἐπισκεψομένους καὶ ἀναμετρήσοντας ὅσῳ ἐλάσσων ὁ χῶρος γέγονε,

ὅκως τοῦ λοιποῦ κατὰ λόγον τῆς τεταγμένης ἀποφορῆς τελέοι. 3 δοκέει δέ μοι ἐνθεῦτεν γεωμετρίῃ εὐρεθεῖσα ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπανελθεῖν· πόλον μὲν γὰρ καὶ γνώμονα καὶ τὰ δωδέκα μέρη τῆς ἡμέρης παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἔμαθον οἱ Ἕλληνες.

109. For this reason Egypt was intersected. This king also (they said) divided the country among all the Egyptians by giving each an equal parcel of land, and made this his source of revenue, assessing the payment of a yearly tax. And any man who was robbed by the river of part of his land could come to Sesostris and declare what had happened; then the king would send men to look into it and calculate the part by which the land was diminished, so that thereafter it should pay in proportion to the tax originally imposed. From this, in my opinion, the Greeks learned the art of measuring land; the sun-clock and the sundial, and the twelve divisions of the day, came to Hellas from Babylonia and not from Egypt.

110 1 βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ οὗτος μῦθος Αἰγύπτιος Αἰθιοπίας ἦρξε, μνημόσυνα δὲ ἐλίπετο πρὸ τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου ἀνδριάντας λιθίνους, δύο μὲν τριήκοντα πηχέων, ἑωυτόν τε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἐόντας τέσσερας εἴκοσι πηχέων ἕκαστον· 2 τῶν δὴ ὁ ἱρεὺς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα πολλῷ Δαρεῖον τὸν Πέρσην οὐ περιεῖδε ἰστάντα ἔμπροσθε ἀνδριάντα, φὰς οὐ οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ἔργα οἷά περ Σεσώστρι τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ· Σέσωστριν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τε καταστρέψασθαι ἔθνεα οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἐκείνου καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύθας, Δαρεῖον δὲ οὐ δυνασθῆναι Σκύθας ἐλεῖν· 3 οὐκὼν δίκαιον εἶναι ἰστάναι ἔμπροσθε τῶν ἐκείνου ἀναθημάτων μὴ οὐκ ὑπερβαλλόμενον τοῖσι ἔργοισι. Δαρεῖον μὲν νυν λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα συγγνώμην ποιήσασθαι.

110. Sesostris was the only Egyptian king who also ruled Ethiopia. To commemorate his name, he set before the temple of Hephaestus two stone statues, of himself and of his wife, each fifty feet high, and statues of his four sons, each thirty-three feet. Long afterwards, Darius the Persian would have set up his statue before these; but the priest of Hephaestus forbade him, saying that he had achieved nothing equal to the deeds of Sesostris the Egyptian; for Sesostris (he said) had subjugated the Scythians, besides as many nations as Darius had conquered, and Darius had not been able to

overcome the Scythians; therefore, it was not just that Darius should set his statue before the statues of Sesostris, whose achievements he had not equalled. Darius, it is said, let the priest have his way.

111 1 Σεσώστριος δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐκδέξασθαι ἔλεγον τὴν βασιλὴν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Φερῶν, τὸν ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν οὐδεμίαν στρατὴν, συνενειχθῆναι δὲ οἱ τυφλὸν γενέσθαι διὰ τοιόνδε πρῆγμα. τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελθόντος μέγιστα δὴ τότε ἐπ' ὀκτωκαίδεκα πήχεας, ὥς ὑπερέβαλε τὰς ἀρούρας, πνεύματος ἐμπεσόντος κυματὶς ὁ ποταμὸς ἐγένετο· 2 τὸν δὲ βασιλέα λέγουσι τοῦτον ἀτασθαλίῃ χρησάμενον, λαβόντα αἰχμὴν βαλεῖν ἐς μέσας τὰς δίνας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, μετὰ δὲ αὐτίκα καμόντα αὐτὸν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλωθῆναι. δέκα μὲν δὴ ἔτεα εἶναι μιν τυφλόν, ἑνδεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀπικέσθαι οἱ μαντήιον ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ὥς ἐξήκει τέ οἱ ὁ χρόνος τῆς ζημίας καὶ ἀναβλέψει γυναικὸς οὖρῳ νινάμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, ἣτις παρὰ τὸν ἐωυτῆς ἄνδρα μόνον πεφοίτηκε, ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἐοῦσα ἄπειρος. 3 καὶ τὸν πρώτης τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναικὸς πειρᾶσθαι, μετὰ δέ, ὥς οὐκ ἀνέλεπε, ἐπεξῆς πασέων πειρᾶσθαι· ἀναβλέψαντα δὲ συναγαγεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπειρήθη, πλὴν ἢ τῆς τῷ οὖρῳ νινάμενος ἀνέβλεψε, ἐς μίαν πόλιν, ἣ νῦν καλεῖται Ἐρυθρὴ βῶλος· ἐς ταύτην συναλίσαντα ὑποπρῆσαι πάσας σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλι· 4 τῆς δὲ νινάμενος τῷ οὖρῳ ἀνέβλεψε, ταύτην δὲ ἔσχε αὐτὸς γυναῖκα. ἀναθήματα δὲ ἀποφυγῶν τὴν πάθην τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἄλλα τε ἀνὰ τὰ ἱρὰ πάντα τὰ λόγιμα ἀνέθηκε καὶ τοῦ γε λόγον μάλιστα ἄξιον ἐστὶ ἔχειν, ἐς τοῦ Ἥλιου τὸ ἱρὸν ἀξιοθέητα ἀνέθηκε ἔργα, ὀβελοὺς δύο λιθίνους, ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐόντα ἐκάτερον λίθου, μῆκος μὲν ἐκάτερον πηχέων ἑκατόν, εὖρος δὲ ὀκτὼ πηχέων.

111. When Sesostris died, he was succeeded in the kingship (the priests said) by his son Pheros. This king waged no wars, and chanced to become blind, for the following reason: the Nile came down in such a flood as there had never been, rising to a height of thirty feet, and the water that flowed over the fields was roughened by a strong wind; then, it is said, the king was so audacious as to seize a spear and hurl it into the midst of the river eddies. Right after this, he came down with a disease of the eyes, and became blind. When he had been blind for ten years, an oracle from the city of Buto declared to him that the term of his punishment was drawing to an

end, and that he would regain his sight by washing his eyes with the urine of a woman who had never had intercourse with any man but her own husband. Pheros tried his own wife first; and, as he remained blind, all women, one after another. When he at last recovered his sight, he took all the women whom he had tried, except the one who had made him see again, and gathered them into one town, the one which is now called “Red Clay”; having concentrated them together there, he burnt them and the town; but the woman by whose means he had recovered his sight, he married. Most worthy of mention among the many offerings which he dedicated in all the noteworthy temples for his deliverance from blindness are the two marvellous stone obelisks which he set up in the temple of the Sun. Each of these is made of a single block, and is over one hundred and sixty-six feet high and thirteen feet thick.

112 1 τούτου δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλίην ἔλεγον ἄνδρα Μεμφίτην, τῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν οὖνομα Πρωτέα εἶναι· τοῦ νῦν τέμενος ἐστὶ ἐν Μέμφι κάρτα καλόν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένον, τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον κείμενον. 2 περιοικέουσι δὲ τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο Φοίνικες Τύριοι, καλέεται δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος ὁ συνάπας Τυρίων στρατόπεδον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Πρωτέος ἱρὸν τὸ καλέεται ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης· συμβάλλομαι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν εἶναι Ἑλένης τῆς Τυνδάρεω, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀκηκοὼς ὡς διαιτήθη Ἑλένη παρὰ Πρωτεί, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης ἐπώνυμον ἐστὶ· ὅσα γὰρ ἄλλα Ἀφροδίτης ἱρά ἐστι, οὐδαμῶς ξείνης ἐπικαλέεται.

112. Pheros was succeeded (they said) by a man of Memphis, whose name in the Greek tongue was Proteus. This Proteus has a very attractive and well-appointed temple precinct at Memphis, south of the temple of Hephaestus. Around the precinct live Phoenicians of Tyre, and the whole place is called the Camp of the Tyrians. There is in the precinct of Proteus a temple called the temple of the Stranger Aphrodite; I guess this is a temple of Helen, daughter of Tyndarus, partly because I have heard the story of Helen’s abiding with Proteus, and partly because it bears the name of the Foreign Aphrodite: for no other of Aphrodite’s temples is called by that name.

113 1 ἔλεγον δέ μοι οἱ ἱρέες ἱστορέοντι τὰ περὶ Ἑλένην γενέσθαι

ὤδε. Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρπάσαντα Ἑλένην ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· καί μιν, ὡς ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ, ἐξῶσται ἄνεμοι ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος, ἐνθεῦτεν δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἀνιῇ τὰ πνεύματα, ἀπικνέεται ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἐς τὸ νῦν Κανωβικὸν καλούμενον στόμα τοῦ Νεῖλου καὶ ἐς Ταριχεΐας. 2 ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος τὸ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ Ἡρακλέος ἱρόν, ἐς τὸ ἦν καταφυγὼν οἰκέτης ὅτεν ὢν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβάλληται στίγματα ἰρά, ἑωυτὸν διδοὺς τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἔξεστι τούτου ἄψασθαι. 3 ὁ νόμος οὗτος διατελεῖ ἐὼν ὁμοιος μέχρι ἐμεῦ τῷ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς· τοῦ ὢν δὴ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπιστεύεται θεράποντες πυθόμενοι τὸν περὶ τὸ ἱρόν ἔχοντα νόμον, ἰκέται δὲ ἰζόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ κατηγορεῖν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, βουλόμενοι βλάπτειν αὐτόν, πάντα λόγον ἐξηγεύμενοι ὡς εἶχε περὶ τὴν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὴν ἐς Μενέλεων ἀδικίην· κατηγορεῖν δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τε τοὺς ἰρέας καὶ τὸν στόματος τούτου φύλακον, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Θῶνις.

113. When I inquired of the priests, they told me that this was the story of Helen. After carrying off Helen from Sparta, Alexandrus sailed away for his own country; violent winds caught him in the Aegean and drove him into the Egyptian sea; and from there (as the wind did not let up) he came to Egypt, to the mouth of the Nile called the Canopic mouth, and to the Salters'. Now there was (and still is) on the coast a temple of Heracles; if a servant of any man takes refuge there and is branded with certain sacred marks, delivering himself to the god, he may not be touched. This law continues today the same as it has always been from the first. Hearing of the temple law, some of Alexandrus' servants ran away from him, threw themselves on the mercy of the god, and brought an accusation against Alexandrus meaning to injure him, telling the whole story of Helen and the wrong done Menelaus. They laid this accusation before the priests and the warden of the Nile mouth, whose name was Thonis.

114 1 ἀκούσας δὲ τούτων ὁ Θῶνις πέμπει τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Μέμφιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἀγγελίην λέγουσαν τάδε. 2 “ ἥκει ξεῖνος γένος μὲν Τευκρός, ἔργον δὲ ἀνόσιον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐξεργασμένος· ξεῖνου γὰρ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἐξαπατήσας τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτὴν τε ταύτην ἄγων ἥκει καὶ πολλὰ κάρτα χρήματα, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἐς γῆν ταύτην ἀπενειχθεῖς. κότερα δῆτα τοῦτον ἐῶμεν ἀσινέα ἐκπλέειν ἢ ἀπελώμεθα τὰ ἔχων

ἦλθε; “ 3 ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Πρωτεὺς λέγοντα τάδε · “ ἄνδρα τοῦτον, ὅστις κοτὲ ἐστὶ <ὁ> ἀνόσια ἐργασμένος ξεῖνον τὸν ἐωυτοῦ, συλλαβόντες ἀπάγετε παρ’ ἐμέ, ἵνα εἰδέω ὃ τι κοτὲ καὶ λέξει “.

114. When Thonis heard it, he sent this message the quickest way to Proteus at Memphis: “A stranger has come, a Trojan, who has committed an impiety in Hellas. After defrauding his guest-friend, he has come bringing the man’s wife and a very great deal of wealth, driven to your country by the wind. Are we to let him sail away untouched, or are we to take away what he has come with?” Proteus sent back this message: “Whoever this is who has acted impiously against his guest-friend, seize him and bring him to me, that I may know what he will say.”

115 1 ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θῶνις συλλαμβάνει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ κατίσχει, μετὰ δὲ αὐτόν τε τοῦτον ἀνήγαγε ἐς Μέμφιν καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἱκέτας. 2 ἀνακομισθέντων δὲ πάντων, εἰρώτα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὁ Πρωτεὺς τίς εἶη καὶ ὁκόθεν πλέοι. ὁ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὸ γένος κατέλεξε καὶ τῆς πάτρης εἶπε τὸ οὐνομα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν πλόον ἀπηγήσατο ὁκόθεν πλέοι. 3 μετὰ δὲ ὁ Πρωτεὺς εἰρώτα αὐτόν ὁκόθεν τὴν Ἑλένην λάβοι· πλανωμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ οὐ λέγοντος τὴν ἀληθείην, ἤλεγchon οἱ γενόμενοι ἱκέται, ἐξηγούμενοι πάντα λόγον τοῦ ἀδικήματος. 4 τέλος δὲ δὴ σφι λόγον τόνδε ἐκφαίνει ὁ Πρωτεὺς, λέγων ὅτι “ ἐγὼ εἰ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγεύμην μηδένα ξείνων κτείνειν, ὅσοι ὑπ’ ἀνέμων ἤδη ἀπολαμφθέντες ἦλθον ἐς χώραν τὴν ἐμήν, ἐγὼ ἂν σε ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἑλλήνος ἐτισάμην, ὅς, ὃ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ξεινίων τυχὼν ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον ἐργάσαι· παρὰ τοῦ σεωυτοῦ ξείνου τὴν γυναῖκα ἦλθες. καὶ μάλα ταῦτά τοι οὐκ ἤρκεσε, ἀλλ’ ἀναπτερώσας αὐτὴν οἷχεαι ἔχων ἐκκλέψας. 5 καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτά τοι μοῦνα ἤρκεσε, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰκία τοῦ ξείνου κεραΐσας ἤκεις. 6 νῦν ὦν ἐπειδὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἦγμαι μὴ ξεινοκτονέειν, γυναῖκα μὲν ταύτην καὶ τὰ χρήματα οὗ τοι προήσω ἀπάγεσθαι, ἀλλ’ αὐτὰ ἐγὼ τῷ Ἑλληνι ξείνῳ φυλάξω, ἐς ὃ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἐκεῖνος ἀπαγαγέσθαι ἐθέλῃ· αὐτὸν δέ σε καὶ τοὺς σοὺς συμπλόους τριῶν ἡμερέων προαγορεύω ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς γῆς ἐς ἄλλην τινὰ μετορμίζεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἅτε πολεμίους περιέψεσθαι “.

115. Hearing this, Thonis seized Alexandrus and detained his

ships there, and then brought him with Helen and all the wealth, and the suppliants too, to Memphis. When all had arrived, Proteus asked Alexandrus who he was and whence he sailed; Alexandrus told him his lineage and the name of his country, and about his voyage, whence he sailed. Then Proteus asked him where he had got Helen; when Alexandrus was evasive in his story and did not tell the truth, the men who had taken refuge with the temple confuted him, and related the whole story of the wrong. Finally, Proteus declared the following judgment to them, saying, "If I did not make it a point never to kill a stranger who has been caught by the wind and driven to my coasts, I would have punished you on behalf of the Greek, you most vile man. You committed the gravest impiety after you had had your guest-friend's hospitality: you had your guest-friend's wife. And as if this were not enough, you got her to fly with you and went off with her. And not just with her, either, but you plundered your guest-friend's wealth and brought it, too. Now, then, since I make it a point not to kill strangers, I shall not let you take away this woman and the wealth, but I shall watch them for the Greek stranger, until he come and take them away; but as for you and your sailors, I warn you to leave my country for another within three days, and if you do not, I will declare war on you."

116 1 Ἑλένης μὲν ταύτην ἄπιζιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες γενέσθαι· δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ Ὅμηρος τὸν λόγον τοῦτον πυθέσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐς τὴν ἐποποιίην εὐπρεπὴς ἦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῷ περ ἐχρήσατο, ἐκὼν [ἐκὼν : ἐς ὃ] μετῆκε αὐτόν, δηλώσας ὡς καὶ τοῦτον ἐπίσταιτο τὸν λόγον· 2 δῆλον δὲ κατὰ [γὰρ] ἐποίησε ἐν Ἰλιάδι (καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλῃ ἀνεπόδισε ἐωυτόν) πλάνην τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὡς ἀπηνείχθη ἄγων Ἑλένην τῇ τε δὴ ἄλλῃ πλαζόμενος καὶ ὡς ἐς Σιδῶνα τῆς Φοινίκης ἀπίκητο. 3 [ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν Διομήδεος ἀριστείῃ· λέγει δὲ τὰ ἔπεα ὧδε. ἐνθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποίκιλοι, ἔργα γυναικῶν Σιδονίων, τὰς αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδὴς ἤγαγε Σιδονίηθεν, ἐπιπλῶς εὐρέα πόντον, τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν Ἑλένην περ ἀνήγαγεν εὐπατέρειαν. [Ἰλ. Ζ 289-292] 4 ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσείῃ ἐν τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι. τοῖα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μητιόεντα, ἐσθλά, τὰ οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν Θῶνος παράκοιτις Αἰγυπτίῃ, τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν

ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά. [Οδ. δ 227-230] 5 καὶ τάδε ἕτερα
πρὸς Τηλέμαχον Μενέλεως λέγει. Αἰγύπτῳ μ' ἔτι δεῦρο θεοὶ
μεμαῶτα νέεσθαι ἔσχον, ἐπεὶ οὐ σφιν ἔρεξα τεληέσσας ἑκατόμβας.
[Οδ. δ 351-352] 6 ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἐπεσὶ δηλοῖ ὅτι ἠπίστατο τὴν ἐς
Αἴγυπτον Ἀλεξάνδρου πλάνην· ὁμοῦρᾷ γὰρ ἡ Συρίη Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ δὲ
Φοίνικες, τῶν ἐστὶ ἡ Σιδὼν, ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ οἰκεῖται].

116. This, the priests said, was how Helen came to Proteus. And, in my opinion, Homer knew this story, too; but seeing that it was not so well suited to epic poetry as the tale of which he made use, he rejected it, showing that he knew it. This is apparent from the passage in the Iliad (and nowhere else does he return to the story) where he relates the wanderings of Alexander, and shows how he and Helen were carried off course, and wandered to, among other places, Sidon in Phoenicia. This is in the story of the Prowess of Diomedes, where the verses run as follows: “There were the robes, all embroidered, The work of women of Sidon, whom godlike Alexandrus himself Brought from Sidon, crossing the broad sea, The same voyage on which he brought back Helen of noble descent. “ Hom. Il. 6.289-92 [He mentions it in the Odyssey also: “The daughter of Zeus had such ingenious drugs, Good ones, which she had from Thon’s wife, Polydamna, an Egyptian, Whose country’s fertile plains bear the most drugs, Many mixed for good, many for harm: “ Hom. Od. 4.227-30] and again Menelaus says to Telemachus: “I was eager to return here, but the gods still held me in Egypt, Since I had not sacrificed entire hecatombs to them. “ Hom. Od. 4. 351-2 In these verses the poet shows that he knew of Alexander’s wanderings to Egypt; for Syria borders on Egypt, and the Phoenicians, to whom Sidon belongs, dwell in Syria.

117 1 κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἔπεα καὶ τότε [τὸ χωρίον] οὐκ ἦκιστα
ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δηλοῖ ὅτι οὐκ Ὅμηρος τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεα ἐστὶ ἀλλ’
ἄλλου τινός. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Κυπρίοις εἴρηται ὡς τριταῖος ἐκ
Σπάρτης Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἄγων Ἑλένην, εὐαεὶ τε
πνεύματι χρησάμενος καὶ θαλάσσει λείῃ· ἐν δὲ Ἰλιάδι λέγει ὡς
ἐπλάζετο ἄγων αὐτήν. ὁμηρος μὲν νυν καὶ τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεα χαίρετω.

117. These verses and this passage prove most clearly that the Cyprian poems are not the work of Homer but of someone else. For

the Cyprian poems relate that Alexandrus reached Ilion with Helen in three days from Sparta, having a fair wind and a smooth sea; but according to the Iliad, he wandered from his course in bringing her.

118 1 εἰρομένου δέ μεν τοὺς ἱρέας εἰ μάταιον λόγον λέγουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες τὰ περὶ Ἴλιον γενέσθαι ἢ οὐ, ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα τάδε, ἱστορίησι φάμενοι εἰδέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ Μενέλεω. 2 ἔλθειν μὲν γὰρ μετὰ τὴν Ἑλένης ἀρπαγὴν ἐς τὴν Τευκρίδα γῆν Ἑλλήνων στρατιὴν πολλὴν βοηθεῦσαν Μενέλεω, ἐκβᾶσαν δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ἰδρυθεῖσαν τὴν στρατιὴν πέμπειν ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἀγγέλους, σὺν δέ σφι ἰέναι καὶ αὐτὸν Μενέλεω. 3 τοὺς δ' ἐπεῖτε ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπαιτεῖν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ οἱ οἶχeto κλέψας Ἀλέξανδρος, τῶν τε ἀδικημάτων δίκας αἰτεῖν· τοὺς δὲ Τευκροὺς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον λέγειν τότε καὶ μετέπειτα, καὶ ὀμνύντας καὶ ἄνωμοτί, μὴ μὲν ἔχειν Ἑλένην μηδὲ τὰ ἐπικαλούμενα χρήματα, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτὰ πάντα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αὐτοὶ δίκας ὑπέχειν τῶν Πρωτεὺς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος βασιλεὺς ἔχει. 4 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες καταγελαῖσθαι δοκέοντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὕτω δὴ ἐπολιόρκεον, ἐς ὃ ἐξεῖλον· ἐλοῦσι δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ὥς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο ἡ Ἑλένη, ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγου τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπυνθάνοντο, οὕτω δὴ πιστεύσαντες τῷ λόγῳ τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ Ἕλληνες αὐτὸν Μενέλεω ἀποστέλλουσι παρὰ Πρωτέα.

118. Enough, then, of Homer and the Cyprian poems. But, when I asked the priests whether the Greek account of what happened at Troy were idle or not, they gave me the following answer, saying that they had inquired and knew from Menelaus himself. After the rape of Helen, a great force of Greeks came to the Trojan land on Menelaus' behalf. After disembarking and disposing their forces, they sent messengers to Ilion, one of whom was Menelaus himself. When these were let inside the city walls, they demanded the restitution of Helen and of the property which Alexandrus had stolen from Menelaus and carried off, and they demanded reparation for the wrongs; but the Trojans gave the same testimony then and later, sworn and unsworn: that they did not have Helen or the property claimed, but all of that was in Egypt, and they could not justly make reparation for what Proteus the Egyptian had. But the Greeks, thinking that the Trojans were mocking them, laid siege to the city, until they took it; but there was no Helen there when they breached

the wall, but they heard the same account as before; so, crediting the original testimony, they sent Menelaus himself to Proteus.

119 1 ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Μενέλεως ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀναπλώσας ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, εἶπας τὴν ἀληθείην τῶν πρηγμάτων, καὶ ξεινίων ἤντησε μεγάλων καὶ Ἑλένην ἀπαθέα κακῶν ἀπέλαβε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ χρήματα πάντα. 2 τυχὼν μέντοι τούτων ἐγένετο Μενέλεως ἀνὴρ ἄδικος ἐς Αἰγυπτίους. ἀποπλέειν γὰρ ὀρμημένον αὐτὸν ἴσχον ἄπλοιοι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολλὸν τοιοῦτον ἦν, ἐπιτεχνᾶται πρῆγμα οὐκ ὅσιον· 3 λαβὼν γὰρ δύο παιδία ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔντομα σφέα ἐποίησε. μετὰ δὲ ὥς ἐπάιστος ἐγένετο τοῦτο ἐργασμένος, μισηθεὶς τε καὶ διωκόμενος οἶχετο φεύγων τῆσι νηυσὶ ἐπὶ Λιβύης· τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὅκου ἔτι ἐτράπετο οὐκ εἶχον εἰπεῖν Αἰγύπτιοι. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ἱστορίῃσι ἔφασαν ἐπίστασθαι, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἐωυτοῖσι γενόμενα ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγειν.

119. Menelaus then went to Egypt and up the river to Memphis; there, relating the truth of the matter, he met with great hospitality and got back Helen, who had not been harmed, and also all his wealth, besides. Yet, although getting this, Menelaus was guilty of injustice toward the Egyptians. For adverse weather detained him when he tried to sail away; after this continued for some time, he carried out something impious, taking two native children and sacrificing them. When it became known that he had done this, he fled with his ships straight to Libya, hated and hunted; and where he went from there, the Egyptians could not say. The priests told me that they had learned some of this by inquiry, but that they were sure of what had happened in their own country.

120 1 ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἱεεὺς ἔλεγον· ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ Ἑλένης λεχθέντι καὶ αὐτὸς προστίθεμαι, τάδε ἐπιλεγόμενος, εἰ ἦν Ἑλένη ἐν Ἰλίῳ, ἀποδοθῆναι ἂν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ἤτοι ἐκόντος γε ἢ ἀέκοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου. 2 οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὕτω γε φρενοβλαβῆς ἦν ὁ Πρίαμος οὐδὲ οἱ ἄλλοι < οἱ > προσήκοντες αὐτῷ, ὥστε τοῖσι σφετέροισι σώμασι καὶ τοῖσι τέκνοισι καὶ τῇ πόλι κινδυνεύειν ἐβούλοντο, ὅκως Ἀλέξανδρος Ἑλένη συνοικέη. 3 εἰ δέ τοι καὶ ἐν τοῖσι πρῶτοισι χρόνοισι ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων, ὁκότε συμμίσγοιεν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι, ἀπώλλυντο, αὐτοῦ δὲ Πριάμου οὐκ ἔστι ὅτε οὐ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ καὶ ἔτι πλέους τῶν παίδων

μάχης γινομένης ἀπέθνησκον, εἰ χρή τι τοῖσι ἐποποιοῖσι χρεώμενον λέγειν, τούτων δὲ τοιούτων συμβαινόντων ἐγὼ μὲν ἔλπομαι, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς Πριάμος συνοίκεε Ἑλένη, ἀποδοῦναι ἂν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Ἀχαιοῖσι, μέλλοντά γε δὴ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι. 4 οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡ βασιληὴ ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον περιήιε, ὥστε γέροντος Πριάμου ἐόντος ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ πρήγματα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ Ἐκτωρ καὶ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀνὴρ ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἐὼν ἔμελλε αὐτὴν Πριάμου ἀποθανόντος παραλάμψεσθαι, τὸν οὐ προσήκε ἀδικέοντι τῷ ἀδελφεῷ ἐπιτρέπειν, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλων κακῶν δι' αὐτὸν συμβαινόντων ἰδίῃ τε αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι πᾶσι Τρωσί. 5 ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ εἶχον Ἑλένην ἀποδοῦναι, οὐδὲ λέγουσι αὐτοῖσι τὴν ἀληθείην ἐπίστευον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ γνώμην ἀποφαίνομαι, τοῦ δαιμονίου παρασκευάζοντος, ὅκως πανωλεθρίῃ ἀπολόμενοι καταφανὲς τοῦτο τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι ποιήσωσι, ὥς τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλαι εἰσὶ καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τῇ ἐμοὶ δοκέει εἶρηται.

120. The Egyptians' priests said this, and I myself believe their story about Helen, for I reason thus: had Helen been in Ilium, then with or without the will of Alexandrus she would have been given back to the Greeks. For surely Priam was not so mad, or those nearest to him, as to consent to risk their own persons and their children and their city so that Alexandrus might cohabit with Helen. Even if it were conceded that they were so inclined in the first days, yet when not only many of the Trojans were slain in fighting against the Greeks, but Priam himself lost to death two or three or even more of his sons in every battle (if the poets are to be believed), in this turn of events, had Helen been Priam's own wife, I cannot but think that he would have restored her to the Greeks, if by so doing he could escape from the evils besetting him. Alexandrus was not even heir to the throne, in which case matters might have been in his hands since Priam was old, but Hector, who was an older and a better man than Alexandrus, was going to receive the royal power at Priam's death, and ought not have acquiesced in his brother's wrongdoing, especially when that brother was the cause of great calamity to Hector himself and all the rest of the Trojans. But since they did not have Helen there to give back, and since the Greeks would not believe them although they spoke the truth — I am convinced and

declare — the divine powers provided that the Trojans, perishing in utter destruction, should make this clear to all mankind: that retribution from the gods for terrible wrongdoing is also terrible. This is what I think, and I state it.

121 1 Πρωτεύς δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλῆϊν Ῥαμψίνιτον ἔλεγον, ὃς μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ προπύλαια τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένα τοῦ Ἥφαιστείου, ἀντίους δὲ τῶν προπυλαίων ἔστησε ἀνδριάντας δύο, ἐόντας τὸ μέγαθος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πηχέων, τῶν Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν μὲν πρὸς βορέῳ ἐστεῶτα καλέουσι θέρος, τὸν δὲ πρὸς νότον χειμῶνα· καὶ τὸν μὲν καλέουσι θέρος, τοῦτον μὲν προσκυνεύουσιν τε καὶ εὖ ποιέουσι, τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα καλούμενον τὰ ἔμπαλιν τούτων ἔρδουσι. [121A] πλοῦτον δὲ τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι ἀργύρου μέγαν, τὸν οὐδένα τῶν ὕστερον ἐπιτραφέντων βασιλέων δύνασθαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι οὐδ' ἐγγὺς ἐλθεῖν. βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ἀσφαλείῃ τὰ χρήματα θησαυρίζειν οἰκοδομέεσθαι οἶκημα λίθινον, τοῦ τῶν τοίχων ἓνα ἐς τὸ ἔξω μέρος τῆς οἰκίας ἔχειν. τὸν δὲ ἐργαζόμενον ἐπιβουλεύοντα τάδε μηχανᾶσθαι· τῶν λίθων παρασκευάσασθαι ἓνα ἐξαιρετὸν εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ τοίχου ῥηιδίως καὶ ὑπὸ δύο ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ενός. 2 ὥς δὲ ἐπετελέεσθαι τὸ οἶκημα, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα θησαυρίσαι τὰ χρήματα ἐν αὐτῷ· χρόνου δὲ περιόντος τὸν οἰκοδόμον περὶ τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου ἐόντα ἀνακαλέεσθαι τοὺς παῖδας (εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ δύο), τούτοις δὲ ἀπηγγέσθαι ὥς ἐκείνων προορῶν, ὅπως βίον ἄφθονον ἔχωσι, τεχνάσαιτο οἰκοδομέων τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ βασιλέως· σαφέως δὲ αὐτοῖσι πάντα ἐξηγησάμενον τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐξαίρεσιν τοῦ λίθου δοῦναι τὰ μέτρα αὐτοῦ, λέγοντα ὥς ταῦτα διαφυλάσσοντες ταμίαι τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων ἔσονται. 3 καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν ἔργου ἔχεσθαι, ἐπελθόντας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλῆα νυκτὸς καὶ τὸν λίθον ἐπὶ τῷ οἰκοδομήματι ἀνευρόντας ῥηιδίως μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ τῶν χρημάτων πολλὰ ἐξενεῖκασθαι. [121B] ὥς δὲ τυχεῖν τὸν βασιλέα ἀνοίξαντα τὸ οἶκημα, θωμάσαι ἰδόντα τῶν χρημάτων καταδεῖν τὰ ἀγγῆα, οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ὄντινα ἐπαιτιᾶται, τῶν τε σημάντρων ἐόντων σόων καὶ τοῦ οἰκήματος κεκλημμένου. ὥς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ δις καὶ τρίς ἀνοίξαντι αἰεὶ ἐλάσσω φαίνεσθαι τὰ χρήματα (τοὺς γὰρ κλέπτας οὐκ ἀνίεναι κεραῖζοντας), ποιῆσαί μιν τάδε· πάγας προστάξει ἐργάσασθαι καὶ ταύτας περὶ τὰ ἀγγῆα ἐν τοῖσι τὰ χρήματα ἐνῆν στῆσαι. 2 τῶν δὲ φωρῶν ὥσπερ ἐν

τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ἐλθόντων καὶ ἐσδύντος τοῦ ἐτέρου αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄγγος προσῆλθε, ἰθέως τῇ πάγῃ ἐνέχεσθαι. ὥς δὲ γινῶναι αὐτὸν ἐν οἴῳ κακῷ ἦν, ἰθέως καλέειν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν καὶ δηλοῦν αὐτῷ τὰ παρεόντα, καὶ κελεύειν τὴν ταχίστην ἐσδύντα ἀποταμεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὅπως μὴ αὐτὸς ὀφθεῖς καὶ γνωρισθεῖς ὃς εἴη προσαπολέσῃ κάκεινον. τῷ δὲ δόξαι εὖ λέγειν, καὶ ποιῆσαί μιν πεισθέντα ταῦτα, καὶ καταρμόσαντα τὸν λίθον ἀπιέναι ἐπ' οἴκου, φέροντα τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ. [121C] ὥς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, ἐσελθόντα τὸν βασιλέα ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἐκπεπλήχθαι ὀρῶντα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ φωρὸς ἐν τῇ πάγῃ ἄνευ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐόν, τὸ δὲ οἶκημα ἀσινὲς καὶ οὔτε ἔσοδον οὔτε ἔκδυσιν οὐδεμίαν ἔχον. ἀπορεύμενον δὲ μιν τάδε ποιῆσαι· τοῦ φωρὸς τὸν νέκυν κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κατακρεμάσαι, φυλάκους δὲ αὐτοῦ καταστήσαντα ἐντείλασθαί σφι, τὸν ἂν ἴδωνται ἀποκλαύσαντα ἢ κατοικτισάμενον, συλλαβόντας ἄγειν πρὸς ἑωυτόν. 2 ἀνακρεμαμένου δὲ τοῦ νέκυος τὴν μητέρα δεινῶς φέρειν, λόγους δὲ πρὸς τὸν περιέοντα παῖδα ποιευμένην προστάσσειν αὐτῷ ὅτε φ τρόπῳ δύναται μηχανᾶσθαι ὅπως τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ καταλύσας κομιεῖ· εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀμελήσει, διαπειλέειν αὐτὴν ὥς ἐλθοῦσα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μηνύσει αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τὰ χρήματα. [121D] ὥς δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐλαμβάνετο ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ περιέοντος παιδὸς καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε, ἐπιτεχνήσασθαι τοιάδε μιν· ὄνους κατασκευασάμενον καὶ ἀσκούς πλήσαντα οἴνου ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶν ὄνων καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλαύνειν αὐτούς· ὥς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας ἦν τὸν κρεμάμενον νέκυν, ἐπισπάσαντα τῶν ἀσκῶν δύο ἢ τρεῖς ποδεῶνας αὐτὸν λύειν ἀπαμμένους· 2 ὥς δὲ ἔρρεε ὁ οἶνος, τὴν κεφαλὴν μιν κόπτεσθαι μεγάλα βοῶντα ὥς οὐκ ἔχοντα πρὸς ὁκοῖον τῶν ὄνων πρῶτον τράπηται. τοὺς δὲ φυλάκους ὥς ἰδεῖν πολλὸν ῥέοντα τὸν οἶνον, συντρέχειν ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν ἀγγηῖα ἔχοντας, καὶ τὸν ἐκκεχυμένον οἶνον συγκομίζειν ἐν κέρδεϊ ποιευμένους· 3 τὸν δὲ διαλοιδορέεσθαι πᾶσι ὀργὴν προσποιούμενον, παραμυθευμένων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν φυλάκων χρόνῳ πρηῦνεσθαι προσποιέεσθαι καὶ ὑπείσθαι τῆς ὀργῆς, τέλος δὲ ἐξελάσαι αὐτὸν τοὺς ὄνους ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ κατασκευάζειν. 4 ὥς δὲ λόγους τε πλέους ἐγγίνεσθαι καὶ τινα καὶ σκῶψαι μιν καὶ ἐς γέλωτα προαγαγέσθαι, ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτοῖσι τῶν ἀσκῶν ἕνα· τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ εἶχον κατακλιθέντας πίνειν διανοέεσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνον παραλαμβάνειν καὶ κελεύειν μετ' ἑωυτῶν μέιναντα συμπίνειν· τὸν δὲ πεισθῆναι τε διὰ καὶ καταμεῖναι. 5 ὥς δὲ

μιν παρὰ τὴν πόσιν φιλοφρόνως ἡσπάζοντο, ἐπιδουῖναι αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἄλλον τῶν ἀσκῶν· δασιλέει δὲ τῷ ποτῷ χρησαμένους τοὺς φυλάκους ὑπερμεθυσθῆναι καὶ κρατηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου αὐτοῦ ἔνθα περ ἔπινον κατακοιμηθῆναι. 6 τὸν δέ, ὡς πρόσω ἦν τῆς νυκτός, τό τε σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ καταλῦσαι καὶ τῶν φυλάκων ἐπὶ λύμῃ πάντων ξυρῆσαι τὰς δεξιὰς παρηίδας, ἐπιθέντα δὲ τὸν νέκυν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀπελαύνειν ἐπ' οἴκου, ἐπιτελέσαντα τῇ μητρὶ τὰ προσταχθέντα. [121E] τὸν δὲ βασιλέα, ὡς αὐτῷ ἀπηγγέλθη τοῦ φωρὸς ὁ νέκυσ ἐκκεκλεμμένος, δεινὰ ποιέειν· πάντως δὲ βουλόμενον εὔρεθῆναι ὅστις κοτὲ εἴη ὁ ταῦτα μηχανώμενος, ποιῆσαι μιν τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά· 2 τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ κατίσαι ἐπ' οἰκήματος, ἐντειλάμενον πάντας τε ὁμοίως προσδέκεσθαι, καὶ πρὶν συγγενέσθαι, ἀναγκάζειν λέγειν αὐτῇ ὅ τι δὴ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἔργασται αὐτῷ σοφώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον· ὅς δ' ἂν ἀπηγήσῃται τὰ περὶ τὸν φῶρα γεγεννημένα, τοῦτον συλλαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ ἀπιέναι ἕξω. 3 ὡς δὲ τὴν παῖδα ποιέειν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς προσταχθέντα, τὸν φῶρα πυθόμενον τῶν εἵνεκα ταῦτα ἐπρήσσετο, βουλευθέντα πολυτροπίῃ τοῦ βασιλέος περιγενέσθαι ποιέειν τάδε· 4 νεκροῦ προσφάτου ἀποταμόντα ἐν τῷ ὦμῳ τὴν χεῖρα ἰέναι αὐτὸν ἔχοντα αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ἱματίῳ. ἐσελθόντα δὲ ὡς τοῦ βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ εἰρωτώμενον τά περ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀπηγήσασθαι ὡς ἀνοσιώτατον μὲν εἴη ἐργασμένος ὅτι τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἐν τῷ θησαυρῷ τοῦ βασιλέος ὑπὸ πάγης ἀλόντος ἀποτάμοι τὴν κεφαλὴν, σοφώτατον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς φυλάκους καταμεθύσας καταλύσειε τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ κρεμάμενον τὸν νέκυν. 5 τὴν δὲ ὡς ἤκουσε ἄπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ. τὸν δὲ φῶρα ἐν τῷ σκότειϊ προτεῖναι αὐτῇ τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν χεῖρα· τὴν δὲ ἐπιλαβομένην ἔχειν, νομίζουσιν αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τῆς χειρὸς ἀντέχεσθαι· τὸν δὲ φῶρα προέμενον αὐτῇ οἴχεσθαι διὰ θυρέων φεύγοντα. [121F] ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ἀνηνείχθη, ἐκπεπλήχθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πολυφροσύνῃ τε καὶ τόλμῃ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τέλος δὲ διανέμοντα ἐς πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι ἀδείην τε διδόντα καὶ μεγάλα ὑποδεκόμενον ἐλθόντι ἐς ὅσιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. 2 τὸν δὲ φῶρα πιστεύσαντα ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, Ῥαμψίνιτον δὲ μεγάλως θωμάσαι, καὶ οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην συνοικίσει ὡς πλεῖστα ἐπισταμένῳ ἀνθρώπων. Αἰγυπτίους μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων προκεκρίσθαι, ἐκείνον δὲ Αἰγυπτίων.

121. The next to reign after Proteus (they said) was Rhampsinitus.

The memorial of his name left by him was the western forecourt of the temple of Hephaestus; he set two statues here forty-one feet high; the northernmost of these the Egyptians call Summer, and the southernmost Winter; the one that they call Summer they worship and treat well, but do the opposite to the statue called Winter. 121A. This king (they told me) had great wealth in silver, so great that none of the succeeding kings could surpass or come near it. To store his treasure safely, he had a stone chamber built, one of its walls abutting on the outer side of his palace. But the builder of it shrewdly provided that one stone be so placed as to be easily removed by two men or even by one. So when the chamber was finished, the king stored his treasure in it, and as time went on, the builder, drawing near the end of his life, summoned his sons (he had two) and told them how he had provided for them, that they have an ample livelihood, by the art with which he had built the king's treasure-house; explaining clearly to them how to remove the stone, he gave the coordinates of it, and told them that if they kept these in mind, they would be the custodians of the king's riches. So when he was dead, his sons got to work at once: coming to the palace by night, they readily found and managed the stone in the building, and took away much of the treasure. 121B. When the king opened the building, he was amazed to see the containers lacking their treasure; yet he did not know whom to accuse, seeing that the seals were unbroken and the building shut fast. But when less treasure appeared the second and third times he opened the building (for the thieves did not stop plundering), he had traps made and placed around the containers in which his riches were stored. The thieves came just as before, and one of them crept in; when he came near the container, right away he was caught in the trap. When he saw the trouble he was in, he called to his brother right away and explained to him the problem, and told him to come in quickly and cut off his head, lest he be seen and recognized and destroy him, too. He seemed to have spoken rightly to the other, who did as he was persuaded and then, replacing the stone, went home, carrying his brother's head. 121C. When day came, the king went to the building, and was amazed to see in the trap the thief's body without a head, yet the building intact, with no way in or out. At a loss, he did as follows: he suspended the

thief's body from the wall and set guards over it, instructing them to seize and bring to him any whom they saw weeping or making lamentation. But the thief's mother, when the body had been hung up, was terribly stricken: she had words with her surviving son, and told him that he was somehow to think of some way to cut loose and bring her his brother's body, and if he did not obey, she threatened to go to the king and denounce him as having the treasure. 121D. So when his mother bitterly reproached the surviving son and for all that he said he could not dissuade her, he devised a plan: he harnessed asses and put skins full of wine on the asses, then set out driving them; and when he was near those who were guarding the hanging body, he pulled at the feet of two or three of the skins and loosed their fastenings; and as the wine ran out, he beat his head and cried aloud like one who did not know to which ass he should turn first, while the guards, when they saw the wine flowing freely, ran out into the road with cups and caught what was pouring out, thinking themselves in luck; feigning anger, the man cursed all; but as the guards addressed him peaceably, he pretended to be soothed and to relent in his anger, and finally drove his asses out of the road and put his harness in order. And after more words passed and one joked with him and got him to laugh, he gave them one of the skins: and they lay down there just as they were, disposed to drink, and included him and told him to stay and drink with them; and he consented and stayed. When they cheerily saluted him in their drinking, he gave them yet another of the skins; and the guards grew very drunk with the abundance of liquor, and lay down right there where they were drinking, overpowered by sleep; but he, when it was late at night, cut down the body of his brother and shaved the right cheek of each of the guards for the indignity, and loading the body on his asses, drove home, fulfilling his mother's commands. 121E. When the king learned that the body of the thief had been taken, he was beside himself and, obsessed with finding who it was who had managed this, did as follows — they say, but I do not believe it. He put his own daughter in a brothel, instructing her to accept all alike and, before having intercourse, to make each tell her the shrewdest and most impious thing he had done in his life; whoever told her the story of the thief, she was to seize and not let get out. The girl did as

her father told her, and the thief, learning why she was doing this, did as follows, wanting to get the better of the king by craft. He cut the arm off a fresh corpse at the shoulder, and went to the king's daughter, carrying it under his cloak, and when asked the same question as the rest, he said that his most impious act had been when he had cut the head off his brother who was caught in a trap in the king's treasury; and his shrewdest, that after making the guards drunk he had cut down his brother's hanging body. When she heard this, the princess grabbed for him; but in the darkness the thief let her have the arm of the corpse; and clutching it, she held on, believing that she had the arm of the other; but the thief, after giving it to her, was gone in a flash out the door. 121F. When this also came to the king's ears, he was astonished at the man's ingenuity and daring, and in the end, he sent a proclamation to every town, promising the thief immunity and a great reward if he would come into the king's presence. The thief trusted the king and came before him; Rhampsinitus was very admiring and gave him his daughter to marry on the grounds that he was the cleverest of men; for as the Egyptians (he said) surpassed all others in craft, so he surpassed the Egyptians.

122 1 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγον τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα ζῶν καταβῆναι κάτω ἐς τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Ἄϊδην νομίζουσι εἶναι, καὶ κεῖθι συγκυβεύειν τῇ Δήμητρι, καὶ τὰ μὲν νικᾶν αὐτὴν τὰ δὲ ἐσσοῦσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ μιν πάλιν ἀπικέσθαι δῶρον ἔχοντα παρ' αὐτῆς χειρόμακτρον χρύσειον. 2 ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥαμψινίτου καταβάσιος, ὡς πάλιν ἀπίκητο, ὁρτὴν δὴ ἀνάγειν Αἰγυπτίους ἔφασαν· τὴν καὶ ἐγὼ οἶδα ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐπιτελέοντας αὐτοὺς, οὐ μέντοι εἴ γε διὰ ταῦτα ὁρτάζουσι ἔχω λέγειν. 3 φᾶρος δὲ αὐτημερὸν ἐξυφάναντες οἱ ἱρέες κατ' ὧν ἔδησαν ἑνὸς ἐωυτῶν μήτρῃ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἀγαγόντες δὲ μιν ἔχοντα τὸ φᾶρος ἐς ὁδὸν φέρουσιν ἐς ἱρὸν Δήμητρος αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλάσσονται ὀπίσω· τὸν δὲ ἱρέα τοῦτον καταδεδεμένον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς λέγουσι ὑπὸ δύο λύκων ἄγεσθαι ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Δήμητρος ἀπέχον τῆς πόλιος εἴκοσι σταδίων, καὶ αὐτὶς ὀπίσω ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἀπάγει μιν τοὺς λύκους ἐς τὸν αὐτὸ χωρίον.

122. They said that later this king went down alive to what the Greeks call Hades and there played dice with Demeter, and after winning some and losing some, came back with a gift from her of a

golden hand towel. From the descent of Rhampsinitus, when he came back, they said that the Egyptians celebrate a festival, which I know that they celebrate to this day, but whether this is why they celebrate, I cannot say. On the day of the festival, the priests weave a cloth and bind it as a headband on the eyes of one of their number, whom they then lead, wearing the cloth, into a road that goes to the temple of Demeter; they themselves go back, but this priest with his eyes bandaged is guided (they say) by two wolves to Demeter's temple, a distance of three miles from the city, and led back again from the temple by the wolves to the same place.

123 1 τοῖσι μὲν νυν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγομένοισι χάσθω ὅτεω τὰ τοιαῦτα πιθανά ἐστι· ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑπόκειται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' ἐκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω. ἀρχηγετέειν δὲ τῶν κάτω Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι Δήμητρα καὶ Διόνυσον. 2 πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσὶ οἱ εἰπόντες, ὥς ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος ἐστί, τοῦ σώματος δὲ καταφθίνοντος ἐς ἄλλο ζῶον αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἐσδύεται, ἐπεὰν δὲ πάντα περιέλθῃ τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ πετεινά, αὐτὶς ἐς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα γινόμενον ἐσδύνει· τὴν περιήλυσιν δὲ αὐτῇ γίνεσθαι ἐν τρισχιλίοισι ἔτεσι. 3 τοῦτῳ τῷ λόγῳ εἰσὶ οἱ Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, οἱ μὲν πρότερον οἱ δὲ ὕστερον, ὥς ἰδίῳ ἐωυτῶν ἐόντι· τῶν ἐγὼ εἰδὼς τὰ οὐνόματα οὐ γράφω.

123. These Egyptian stories are for the benefit of whoever believes such tales: my rule in this history is that I record what is said by all as I have heard it. The Egyptians say that Demeter and Dionysus are the rulers of the lower world. The Egyptians were the first who maintained the following doctrine, too, that the human soul is immortal, and at the death of the body enters into some other living thing then coming to birth; and after passing through all creatures of land, sea, and air, it enters once more into a human body at birth, a cycle which it completes in three thousand years. There are Greeks who have used this doctrine, some earlier and some later, as if it were their own; I know their names, but do not record them.

124 1 μέχρι μὲν νυν Ῥαμψινίτου βασιλέος εἶναι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πᾶσαν εὐνομίην ἔλεγον καὶ εὐθηνέειν Αἴγυπτον μεγάλως, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεύσαντα σφέων Χέοπα ἐς πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐλάσαι. κατακλήσαντα γάρ μιν πάντα τὰ ἱρὰ πρῶτα μὲν σφέας θυσιέων

τουτέων ἀπέρξαι, μετὰ δὲ ἐργάζεσθαι ἐωυτῷ κελεύειν πάντας Αἰγυπτίους. 2 τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἀποδεδέχθαι ἐκ τῶν λιθοτομιέων τῶν ἐν τῷ Αραβίῳ ὄρεϊ, ἐκ τουτέων ἔλκειν λίθους μέχρι τοῦ Νείλου· διαπεραιωθέντας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν πλοίοισι τοὺς λίθους ἐτέροισι ἐπέταξε ἐκδέκεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλούμενον ὄρος, πρὸς τοῦτο ἔλκειν. 3 ἐργάζοντο δὲ κατὰ δέκα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ τὴν τρίμηνον ἐκάστην. χρόνον δὲ ἐγγενέσθαι τριβομένῳ τῷ λεῶν δέκα ἔτεα μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ κατ' ἥν εἶλκον τοὺς λίθους, τὴν ἔδειμαν ἔργον ἐὼν οὐ πολλῷ τεῶ ἔλασσον τῆς πυραμίδος. ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν· 4 τῆς μὲν γὰρ μῆκος εἰσὶ πέντε στάδιοι, εὖρος δὲ δέκα ὀργυαί, ὕψος δέ, τῇ ὑψηλοτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὐτῇ ἐωυτῆς, ὀκτὼ ὀργυαί, λίθου δὲ ξεστοῦ καὶ ζῶων ἐγγεγλυμμένων· ταύτης τε δὴ τὰ δέκα ἔτεα γενέσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου ἐπ' οὗ ἐστᾶσι αἱ πυραμίδες, τῶν ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκημάτων, τὰς ἐποιέετο θήκας ἐωυτῷ ἐν νήσῳ, διώρυχα τοῦ Νείλου ἐσαγαγών. 5 τῇ δὲ πυραμίδι αὐτῇ χρόνον γενέσθαι εἴκοσι ἔτεα ποιευμένη· τῆς ἐστὶ πανταχῇ μέτωπον ἕκαστον ὀκτὼ. πλέθρα ἐούσης τετραγώνου καὶ ὕψος ἴσον, λίθου δὲ ξεστοῦ τε καὶ ἁρμοσμένου τὰ μάλιστα· οὐδεὶς τῶν λίθων τριήκοντα ποδῶν ἐλάσσων.

124. They said that Egypt until the time of King Rhampsinitus was altogether well-governed and prospered greatly, but that Kheops, who was the next king, brought the people to utter misery. For first he closed all the temples, so that no one could sacrifice there; and next, he compelled all the Egyptians to work for him. To some, he assigned the task of dragging stones from the quarries in the Arabian mountains to the Nile; and after the stones were ferried across the river in boats, he organized others to receive and drag them to the mountains called Libyan. They worked in gangs of a hundred thousand men, each gang for three months. For ten years the people wore themselves out building the road over which the stones were dragged, work which was in my opinion not much lighter at all than the building of the pyramid (for the road is nearly a mile long and twenty yards wide, and elevated at its highest to a height of sixteen yards, and it is all of stone polished and carved with figures). The aforesaid ten years went to the building of this road and of the underground chambers in the hill where the pyramids stand; these, the king meant to be burial-places for himself, and surrounded them

with water, bringing in a channel from the Nile. The pyramid itself was twenty years in the making. Its base is square, each side eight hundred feet long, and its height is the same; the whole is of stone polished and most exactly fitted; there is no block of less than thirty feet in length.

125 1 ἐποιήθη δὲ ὧδε αὕτη ἡ πυραμὶς· ἀναβαθμῶν τρόπον, τὰς μετεξέτεροι κρόσσας οἱ δὲ βωμίδας ὀνομάζουσι, 2 τοιαύτην τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεῖτε ἐποίησαν αὐτήν, ἥϊρον τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους λίθους μηχανῇσι ξύλων βραχέων πεποιημένῃσι, χαμᾶθεν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον στοῖχον τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν ἀείροντες· 3 ὅκως δὲ ἀνίοι ὁ λίθος ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἐς ἐτέρην μηχανὴν ἐτίθετο ἐστεῶσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου στοίχου, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον εἴλκετο στοῖχον ἐπ' ἄλλης μηχανῆς· 4 ὅσοι γὰρ δὴ στοῖχοι ἦσαν τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, τοσαῦται καὶ μηχαναὶ ἦσαν, εἴτε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μηχανὴν ἐοῦσαν μίαν τε καὶ εὐβάστακτον μετεφόρεον ἐπὶ στοῖχον ἕκαστον, ὅκως τὸν λίθον ἐξέλοιεν· λελέχθω γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα, κατὰ περ λέγεται. 5 ἐξεποιήθη δ' ὧν τὰ ἀνώτατα αὐτῆς πρῶτα, μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐχόμενα τούτων ἐξεποίευν, τελευταῖα δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπίγαια καὶ τὰ κατωτάτω ἐξεποίησαν. 6 σεσήμανται δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων Αἰγυπτίων ἐν τῇ πυραμίδι ὅσα ἔς τε συρμαῖήν καὶ κρόμμυα καὶ σκόροδα ἀναισιμῶθη τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι· καὶ ὥς ἐμὲ εὖ μεμνησθαι τὰ ὁ ἐρμηνεύς μοι ἐπιλεγόμενος τὰ γράμματα ἔφη, ἑξακόσια καὶ χίλια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελέσθαι. 7 εἰ δ' ἔστι οὕτω ἔχοντα ταῦτα, κόσα οἶκος ἄλλα δεδαπανῆσθαι ἐστὶ ἔς τε σίδηρον τῷ ἐργάζοντο καὶ σιτία καὶ ἐσθῆτα τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι, ὁκότε χρόνον μὲν οἰκοδόμεον τὰ ἔργα τὸν εἰρημένον, ἄλλον δέ, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἐν τῷ τοὺς λίθους ἔταμνον καὶ ἦγον καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν ὄρυγμα ἐργάζοντο, οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον.

125. This pyramid was made like stairs, which some call steps and others, tiers. When this, its first form, was completed, the workmen used short wooden logs as levers to raise the rest of the stones ; they heaved up the blocks from the ground onto the first tier of steps; when the stone had been raised, it was set on another lever that stood on the first tier, and the lever again used to lift it from this tier to the next. It may be that there was a new lever on each tier of steps, or perhaps there was only one lever, quite portable, which they carried up to each tier in turn; I leave this uncertain, as both possibilities

were mentioned. But this is certain, that the upper part of the pyramid was finished off first, then the next below it, and last of all the base and the lowest part. There are writings on the pyramid in Egyptian characters indicating how much was spent on radishes and onions and garlic for the workmen; and I am sure that, when he read me the writing, the interpreter said that sixteen hundred talents of silver had been paid. Now if that is so, how much must have been spent on the iron with which they worked, and the workmen's food and clothing, considering that the time aforesaid was spent in building, while hewing and carrying the stone and digging out the underground parts was, as I suppose, a business of long duration.

126 1 ἐς τοῦτο δὲ ἐλθεῖν Χέοπα κακότητος ὥστε χρημάτων δεόμενον τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἐωυτοῦ κατίσαντα ἐπ' οἰκήματος προστάζει πρήσσεσθαι ἀργύριον ὁκόσον δὴ τι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε ἔλεγον. τὴν δὲ τὰ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ταχθέντα πρήσσεσθαι, ἰδίῃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν διανοηθῆναι μνημῖον καταλιπέσθαι, καὶ τοῦ ἐσιόντος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκάστου δέεσθαι ὅκως ἂν αὐτῇ ἓνα λίθον ἐν τοῖσι ἔργοισι δωρέοιτο. 2 ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν λίθων ἔφασαν τὴν πυραμίδα οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν ἐστηκυῖαν, ἔμπροσθε τῆς μεγάλης πυραμίδος, τῆς ἐστὶ τὸ κῶλον ἕκαστον ὅλου καὶ ἡμίσεος πλέθρου.

126. And so evil a man was Kheops that, needing money, he put his own daughter in a brothel and made her charge a fee (how much, they did not say). She did as her father told her, but was disposed to leave a memorial of her own, and asked of each coming to her that he give one stone; and of these stones they said the pyramid was built that stands midmost of the three, over against the great pyramid; each side of it measures one hundred and fifty feet.

127 1 βασιλεῦσαι δὲ τὸν Χέοπα τοῦτον Αἰγύπτιοι ἔλεγον πεντήκοντα ἔτα, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλῆην τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Χεφρήνα· καὶ τοῦτον δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ διαχρᾶσθαι τῷ ἑτέρῳ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ πυραμίδα ποιῆσαι, ἐς μὲν τὰ ἐκείνου μέτρα οὐκ ἀνήκουσαν· 2 ταῦτα γὰρ ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμετρήσαμεν· (οὔτε γὰρ ὕπεστι οἰκήματα ὑπὸ γῆν, οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διῶρυξ ἦκει ἐς αὐτὴν ὥσπερ ἐς τὴν ἑτέραν ρέουσα· δι' οἰκοδομημένου δὲ αὐλῶνος ἔσω νῆσον περιρρέει, ἐν τῇ αὐτὸν

λέγουσι κείσθαι Χέοπα)· 3 ὑποδείμας δὲ τὸν πρῶτον δόμον λίθου Αἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλου, τεσσαράκοντα πόδας ὑποβὰς τῆς ἐτέρης τὸν μέγαθος, ἐχομένην τῆς μεγάλης οἰκοδόμησε. ἐστᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ λόφου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφότεραι, μάλιστα ἐς ἑκατὸν πόδας ὑψηλοῦ. βασιλεῦσαι δὲ ἔλεγον Χεφρῆνα ἑξ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα.

127. The Egyptians said that this Kheops reigned for fifty years; at his death he was succeeded by his brother Khephren, who was in all respects like Kheops. Khephren also built a pyramid, smaller than his brother's. I have measured it myself. It has no underground chambers, nor is it entered like the other by a canal from the Nile, but the river comes in through a built passage and encircles an island, in which, they say, Kheops himself lies. This pyramid was built on the same scale as the other, except that it falls forty feet short of it in height; it stands near the great pyramid; the lowest layer of it is of variegated Ethiopian stone. Both of them stand on the same ridge, which is about a hundred feet high. Khephren, they said, reigned for fifty-six years.

128 1 ταῦτα ἔξ τε καὶ ἑκατὸν λογίζονται ἔτεα, ἐν τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι τε πᾶσαν εἶναι κακότητα καὶ τὰ ἱρὰ χρόνου τοσούτου κατακληισθέντα οὐκ ἀνοιχθῆναι. τούτους ὑπὸ μίσεος οὐ κάρτα θέλουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας καλέουσι ποιμένος Φιλίτιος, ὃς τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔνεμε κτήνεα κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία.

128. Thus, they reckon that for a hundred and six years Egypt was in great misery and the temples so long shut were never opened. The people hate the memory of these two kings so much that they do not much wish to name them, and call the pyramids after the shepherd Philitis, who then pastured his flocks in this place.

129 1 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι Αἰγύπτου Μυκερῖνον ἔλεγον Χέοπος παῖδα· τῷ τὰ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργα ἀπαδεῖν, τὸν δὲ τὰ τε ἱρὰ ἀνοίξαι καὶ τὸν λεῶν τετρυμένον ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀνεῖναι πρὸς ἔργα τε καὶ θυσίας, δίκας δὲ σφι πάντων βασιλέων δικαιοτάτα κρίνειν. 2 κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν νυν τὸ ἔργον ἀπάντων ὅσοι ἦδη βασιλέες ἐγένοντο Αἰγυπτίων αἰνέουσι μάλιστα τοῦτον. τὰ τε ἄλλα γάρ μιν κρίνειν εὖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ ἐπιμεφομένῳ ἐκ τῆς δίκης παρ' ἐωυτοῦ διδόντα ἄλλα ἀποπιμπλάναι αὐτοῦ τὸν θυμόν. 3 ἐόντι δὲ ἡπίῳ τῷ Μυκερίνῳ κατὰ τοὺς πολιήτας καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύοντι πρῶτον κακῶν ἄρξαι τὴν θυγατέρα ἀποθανοῦσαν αὐτοῦ, τὴν μοῦνόν οἱ εἶναι ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι τέκνον. τὸν δὲ ὑπεραλγῆσαντά τε τῷ περιεπεπτώκεε πρήγματι, καὶ βουλόμενον περισσότερόν τι τῶν ἄλλων θάψαι τὴν

θυγατέρα, ποιήσασθαι βοῦν ξυλίνην κοίλην, καὶ ἔπειτα καταχρυσώσαντά μιν ταύτην ἔσω ἐν αὐτῇ θάψαι ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν θυγατέρα.

129. The next king of Egypt, they said, was Kheops' son Mycerinus. Disliking his father's doings, he opened the temples and let the people, ground down to the depth of misery, go to their business and their sacrifices; and he was the most just judge among all the kings. This is why he is praised above all the rulers of Egypt; for not only were his judgments just, but Mycerinus would give any who were not satisfied with the judgment a present out of his own estate to compensate him for his loss. Though mild toward his people and conducting himself as he did, yet he suffered calamities, the first of which was the death of his daughter, the only child of his household. Deeply grieved over this misfortune, he wanted to give her a burial somewhat more sumptuous than ordinary; he therefore made a hollow cow's image of gilded wood and placed the body of his dead daughter therein.

130 1 αὕτη ὧν ἡ βοῦς γῇ οὐκ ἐκρύφθη, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν φανερή, ἐν Σαί μὲν πόλι ἐοῦσα, κειμένη δὲ ἐν τοῖσι βασιληίοισι ἐν οἰκίματι ἡσκημένῳ· θυμιήματα δὲ παρ' αὐτῇ παντοῖα καταγίζουσι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, νύκτα δὲ ἐκάστην πάννυχος λύχνος παρακαίεται. 2 ἀγχοῦ δὲ τῆς βοῦς ταύτης ἐν ἄλλῳ οἰκίματι εἰκόνες τῶν παλλακέων τῶν Μυκερίνου ἐστᾶσι, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ ἐν Σαί πόλι ἱρέες· ἐστᾶσι μὲν γὰρ ξύλιναι κολοσσοί, ἐοῦσαι ἀριθμὸν ὡς εἴκοσι μάλιστα· κη, γυμναὶ ἐργασμέναι· αἵτινες μέντοι εἰσί, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν πλὴν ἢ τὰ λεγόμενα.

130. This cow was not buried in the earth but was to be seen even in my time, in the town of Saïs, where it stood in a furnished room of the palace; incense of all kinds is offered daily before it, and a lamp burns by it all through every night. Near this cow in another chamber statues of Mycerinus' concubines stand, so the priests of Saïs said; and in fact there are about twenty colossal wooden figures there, made like naked women; but except what I was told, I cannot tell who these are.

131 1 οἱ δὲ τινὲς λέγουσι περὶ τῆς βοῦς ταύτης καὶ τῶν κολοσσῶν τόνδε τὸν λόγον, ὡς Μυκερίνος ἠράσθη τῆς ἐωυτοῦ θυγατρὸς καὶ

ἔπειτα ἐμίγη οἱ ἀκούσῃ· 2 μετὰ δὲ λέγουσι ὥς ἡ παῖς ἀπήγξατο ὑπὸ ἄχρους, ὁ δὲ μιν ἔθαψε ἐν τῇ βοῖ ταύτῃ, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῆς τῶν ἀμφιπόλων τῶν προδουσέων τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ πατρὶ ἀπέταμε τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ νῦν τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτέων εἶναι πεπονθυίας τά περ αἱ ζῶαι ἔπαθον. 3 ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι φληηρέοντες, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν κολοσσῶν· ταύτας γὰρ ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡρῶμεν ὅτι ὑπὸ χρόνου τὰς χεῖρας ἀποβεβλήκασι, αἱ ἐν ποσὶ αὐτέων ἐφαίνοντο ἐοῦσαι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμέ.

131. But some tell the following story about the cow and the statues: that Mycerinus conceived a passion for his own daughter and then had intercourse with her against her will; and they say that afterwards the girl strangled herself for grief, and that he buried her in this cow, but that her mother cut off the hands of the attendants who had betrayed the daughter to her father, and that now their statues are in the same condition as the living women were. But this I believe to be a silly story, especially about the hands of the figures. For in fact we ourselves saw that the hands have fallen off through age, and were lying at their feet even in my day.

132 1 ἡ δὲ βοῦς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατακέκρυπται φοινικέῳ εἵματι, τὸν αὐχένα δὲ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν φαίνει κεχρυσωμένα παχὲ κάρτα χρυσῷ· μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν κερέων ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλος μεμιμημένος ἔπεστι χρύσεος. 2 ἔστι δὲ ἡ βοῦς οὐκ ὀρθὴ ἀλλ' ἐν γούνασι κειμένη, μέγαθος δὲ ὅση περ μεγάλης βοῦς ζώῃ. ἐκφέρεται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτα, ἐπεὰν τύπτωνται Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενον θεὸν ὑπ' ἐμεῦ ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι· 3 τότε ὧν καὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκφέρουσι ἐς τὸ φῶς· φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν δεηθῆναι τοῦ πατρὸς Μυκερίνου ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἐν τῷ ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἅπαξ μιν τὸν ἥλιον κατιδεῖν.

132. As for the cow, it is covered with a purple robe, only the head and neck exposed, encrusted with a very thick layer of gold. Between the horns is the golden figure of the sun's orb. It does not stand, but kneels; it is as big as a live cow of great size. This image is carried out of the chamber once every year, whenever the Egyptians mourn the god whose name I omit in speaking of these matters: then the cow is brought out into the light; for they say that before she died she asked her father, Mycerinus, that she see the sun once a year.

133 1 μετὰ δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸ πάθος δεύτερα τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τάδε γενέσθαι· ἐλθεῖν οἱ μαντήιον ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ὡς μέλλοι ἐξ ἔτεα μοῦνον βιοῦς τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τελευτήσειν. 2 τὸν δὲ δεινὸν ποιησάμενον πέμψαι ἐς τὸ μαντήιον τῷ θεῷ ὀνειδισμα, ἀντιμεμφόμενον ὅτι ὁ μὲν αὐτοῦ πατὴρ καὶ πάτριος, ἀποκληίσαντες τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ θεῶν οὐ μεμνημένοι ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φθείροντες, ἐβίωσαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, αὐτὸς δ' εὐσεβὴς ἐὼν μέλλοι ταχέως οὕτω τελευτήσειν. 3 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χρηστηρίου αὐτῷ δεύτερα ἐλθεῖν λέγοντα τούτων εἵνεκα καὶ συνταχύνειν αὐτὸν τὸν βίον· οὐ γὰρ ποιῆσαί μιν τὸ χρεὸν ἦν ποιέειν· δεῖν γὰρ Αἴγυπτον κακοῦσθαι ἐπ' ἔτεα πεντήκοντά τε καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν δύο τοὺς πρὸ ἐκείνου γενομένους βασιλέας μαθεῖν τοῦτο, κεῖνον δὲ οὐ. 4 ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα τὸν Μυκερῖνον, ὡς κατακεκριμένων ἤδη οἱ τούτων, λύχνα ποιησάμενον πολλά, ὅπως γίνοιτο νύξ, ἀνάψαντα αὐτὰ πίνειν τε καὶ εὐπαθέειν, οὔτε ἡμέρης οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀνιέντα, ἐς τε τὰ ἔλαα καὶ τὰ ἄλσεα πλανώμενον καὶ ἵνα πυνθάνοιτο εἶναι ἐνηβητήρια ἐπιτηδεότατα. 5 ταῦτα δὲ ἐμχανᾶτο θέλων τὸ μαντήιον ψευδόμενον ἀποδέξαι, ἵνα οἱ δωδέκα ἔτεα ἀντὶ ἐξ ἐτέων γένηται, αἱ νύκτες ἡμέραι ποιούμεναι.

133. After what happened to his daughter, the following happened next to this king: an oracle came to him from the city of Buto, announcing that he had just six years to live and was to die in the seventh. The king took this badly, and sent back to the oracle a message of reproach, blaming the god that his father and his uncle, though they had shut up the temples, and disregarded the gods, and destroyed men, had lived for a long time, but that he who was pious was going to die so soon. But a second oracle came announcing that for this very reason his life was hastening to a close: he had done what was contrary to fate; Egypt should have been afflicted for a hundred and fifty years, and the two kings before him knew this, but not he. Hearing this, Mycerinus knew that his doom was fixed. Therefore, he had many lamps made, and would light these at nightfall and drink and enjoy himself, not letting up day or night, roaming to the marsh country and the groves and wherever he heard of the likeliest places of pleasure. This was his recourse, so that by turning night into day he might make his six years into twelve and so

prove the oracle false.

134 1 πυραμίδα δὲ οὗτος ἀπελίπετο πολλὸν ἐλάσσω τοῦ πατρός, εἴκοσι ποδῶν καταδέουσαν κῶλον ἕκαστον τριῶν πλέθρων, ἐούσης τετραγώνου, λίθου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἥμισυ Αἰθιοπικοῦ· τὴν δὴ μετεξέτεροι φασὶ Ἑλλήνων Ῥοδώπιος ἐταίρης γυναικὸς εἶναι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες. 2 οὐδὲ ὧν οὐδὲ εἰδότες μοι φαίνονται λέγειν οὗτοι ἥτις ἦν ἡ Ῥοδώπις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν οἱ πυραμίδα ἀνέθεσαν ποιήσασθαι τοιαύτην, ἐς τὴν τάλαντων χιλιάδες ἀναρίθμητοι ὥς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἀναισίμονται· πρὸς δὲ ὅτι κατὰ Ἀμασιν βασιλεύοντα ἦν ἀκμάζουσα Ῥοδώπις, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τοῦτον. 3 ἔτεσι γὰρ κάρτα πολλοῖσι ὕστερον τούτων τῶν βασιλέων τῶν τὰς πυραμίδας ταύτας ἦν λιπομένων Ῥοδώπις, γενεὴν μὲν ἀπὸ Θρηίκης, δούλη δὲ ἦν Ἰάδμονος τοῦ Ἡφαιστοπόλιος ἀνδρὸς Σαμίου, σύνδουλος δὲ Αἰσώπου τοῦ λογοποιῦ. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο, ὥς διέδεξε τῇδε οὐκ ἤκιστα· 4 ἐπεῖτε γὰρ πολλάκις κηρυσσόντων Δελφῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου ὃς βούλοιο ποινὴν τῆς Αἰσώπου ψυχῆς ἀνελέσθαι, ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐφάνη, Ἰάδμονος δὲ παιδὸς παῖς ἄλλος Ἰάδμων ἀνείλετο. οὕτω καὶ Αἴσωπος Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο.

134. This king, too, left a pyramid, but far smaller than his father's, each side twenty feet short of three hundred feet long, square at the base, and as much as half its height of Ethiopian stone. Some Greeks say that it was built by Rhodopis, the courtesan, but they are wrong; indeed, it is clear to me that they say this without even knowing who Rhodopis was (otherwise, they would never have credited her with the building of a pyramid on which what I may call an uncountable sum of money was spent), or that Rhodopis flourished in the reign of Amasis, not of Mycerinus; for very many years later than these kings who left the pyramids came Rhodopis, who was Thracian by birth, and a slave of Iadmon son of Hephaestopolis the Samian, and a fellow-slave of Aesop the story-writer. For he was owned by Iadmon, too, as the following made crystal clear: when the Delphians, obeying an oracle, issued many proclamations summoning anyone who wanted it to accept compensation for the killing of Aesop, no one accepted it except the son of Iadmon's son, another Iadmon; hence Aesop, too, was Iadmon's.

135 1 Ῥοδῶπις δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκητο Ἐάνθεω τοῦ Σαμίου κομίσαντος, ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ' ἐργασίην ἐλύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου Χαράξου τοῦ Σκαμανδρωνύμου παιδός, ἀδελφεοῦ δὲ Σαπφoῦς τῆς μουσοποιοῦ. 2 οὕτω δὴ δὴ ἡ Ῥοδῶπις ἐλευθερώθη, καὶ κατέμεινέ τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ κάρτα ἐπαφρόδιτος γενομένη μεγάλα ἐκτήσατο χρήματα ὥς ἂν εἶναι Ῥοδῶπι, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ὥς γε ἐς πυραμίδα τοιαύτην ἐξικέσθαι. 3 τῆς γὰρ τὴν δεκάτην τῶν χρημάτων ιδέσθαι ἐστὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ, οὐδὲν δεῖ μεγάλα οἱ χρήματα ἀναθεῖναι. ἐπεθύμησε γὰρ Ῥοδῶπις μνημῆιον ἐωυτῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταλιπέσθαι, ποίημα ποιησαμένη τοῦτο τὸ μὴ τυγχάνοι ἄλλῳ ἐξευρημένον καὶ ἀνακείμενον ἐν ἱρῷ, τοῦτο ἀναθεῖναι ἐς Δελφοὺς μνημόσυνον ἐωυτῆς. 4 τῆς ὧν δεκάτης τῶν χρημάτων ποιησαμένη ὀβελοὺς βουπόρους πολλοὺς σιδηρέους, ὅσον ἐνεχώρει ἡ δεκάτη οἱ, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφοὺς· οἱ καὶ νῦν ἔτι συννενέαται ὅπισθε μὲν τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸν Χῖοι ἀνέθεσαν, ἀντίον δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νηοῦ. 5 φιλέουσι δὲ κως ἐν τῇ Ναυκράτι ἐπαφρόδιτοι γίνεσθαι αἱ ἐταῖραι. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὕτη, τῆς περὶ λέγεται ὁδε ὁ λόγος, οὕτω δὴ τι κλεινὴ ἐγένετο ὥς καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες Ῥοδῶπιος τὸ οὔνομα ἐξέμαθον· τοῦτο δὲ ὕστερον ταύτης, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀρχιδίκη, αἰοίδιμος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐγένετο, ἥσσον δὲ τῆς ἐτέρης περιλυσχίνευτος. 6 Χάραξος δὲ ὥς λυσάμενος Ῥοδῶπιν ἀπενόστησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐν μέλει Σαπφῶ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμησέ μιν. Ῥοδῶπιος μὲν νυν περὶ πέπαυμαι.

135. Rhodopis came to Egypt to work, brought by Xanthes of Samos, but upon her arrival was freed for a lot of money by Kharaxus of Mytilene, son of Scamandronymus and brother of Sappho the poetess. Thus Rhodopis lived as a free woman in Egypt, where, as she was very alluring, she acquired a lot of money — sufficient for such a Rhodopis, so to speak, but not for such a pyramid. Seeing that to this day anyone who likes can calculate what one tenth of her worth was, she cannot be credited with great wealth. For Rhodopis desired to leave a memorial of herself in Greece, by having something made which no one else had thought of or dedicated in a temple and presenting this at Delphi to preserve her memory; so she spent one tenth of her substance on the manufacture of a great number of iron beef spits, as many as the tenth would pay

for, and sent them to Delphi; these lie in a heap to this day, behind the altar set up by the Chians and in front of the shrine itself. The courtesans of Naucratis seem to be peculiarly alluring, for the woman of whom this story is told became so famous that every Greek knew the name of Rhodopis, and later on a certain Archidice was the theme of song throughout Greece, although less celebrated than the other. Kharaxus, after giving Rhodopis her freedom, returned to Mytilene. He is bitterly attacked by Sappho in one of her poems. This is enough about Rhodopis.

136 1 μετὰ δὲ Μυκερῖνον γενέσθαι Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα ἔλεγον οἱ ἱερεῖς Ἄσυχιν, τὸν τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ποιῆσαι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια, ἐόντα πολλῶ τε κάλλιστα καὶ πολλῶ μέγιστα· ἔχει μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ πάντα προπύλαια τύπους τε ἐγγεγλυμμένους καὶ ἄλλην ὄψιν οἰκοδομημάτων μυρίην, ἐκεῖνα δὲ καὶ μακρῶ μάλιστα. 2 ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἔλεγον, ἀμιξίης εὐούσης πολλῆς χρημάτων, γενέσθαι νόμον Αἰγυπτίοισι, ἀποδεικνύντα ἐνέχυρον τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν νέκυν οὕτω λαμβάνειν τὸ χρέος· προστεθῆναι δὲ ἔτι τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ τόνδε, τὸν διδόντα τὸ χρέος καὶ ἀπάσης κρατέειν τῆς τοῦ λαμβάνοντος θήκης, τῷ δὲ ὑποτιθέντι τοῦτο τὸ ἐνέχυρον τήνδε ἐπεῖναι ζημίην μὴ βουλομένῳ ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρέος, μήτε αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ τελευτήσαντι εἶναι ταφῆς κυρῆσαι μήτ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ πατρῴῳ τάφῳ μήτ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί, μήτε ἄλλον μηδένα τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἀπογενόμενον θάψαι. 3 ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ βουλόμενον τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς πρότερον ἐωυτοῦ βασιλέας γενομένους Αἰγύπτου μνημόσυνον πυραμίδα λιπέσθαι ἐκ πλίνθων ποιήσαντα, ἐν τῇ γράμματα ἐν λίθῳ ἐγκεκολαμμένα τάδε λέγοντα ἐστί. 4 “ μὴ με κατονοσθῆς πρὸς τὰς λιθίνας πυραμίδας· προέχω γὰρ αὐτέων τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. κοντῷ γὰρ ὑποτύπτοντες ἐς λίμνην, ὃ τι πρόσσχοιτο τοῦ πηλοῦ τῷ κοντῷ, τοῦτο συλλέγοντες πλίνθους εἴρυσαν καὶ με τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ ἐξεποίησαν “. τοῦτον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι.

136. After Mycerinus, the priests said, Asukhis became king of Egypt. He built the eastern outer court of Hephaestus' temple; this is by far the finest and grandest of all the courts, for while all have carved figures and innumerable felicities of architecture, this court has far more than any. As not much money was in circulation during this king's reign, they told me, a law was made for the Egyptians

allowing a man to borrow on the security of his father's corpse; and the law also provided that the lender become master of the entire burial-vault of the borrower, and that the penalty for one giving this security, should he fail to repay the loan, was that he was not to be buried at his death either in that tomb of his fathers or in any other, nor was he to bury any relative of his there. Furthermore, in his desire to excel all who ruled Egypt before him, this king left a pyramid of brick to commemorate his name, on which is this writing, cut on a stone: "Do not think me less than pyramids of stone; for I excel them as much as Zeus does other gods; for they stuck a pole down into a marsh and collected what mud clung to the pole, made bricks of it, and thus built me." These were the acts of Asukhis.

137 1 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι ἄνδρα τυφλὸν ἐξ Ἀνύσιος πόλιος, τῷ οὖνομα Ἄνυσιν εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἐλάσαι ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον χειρὶ πολλῇ Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ Σαβακῶν τὸν Αἰθιόπων βασιλέα. 2 τὸν μὲν δὴ τυφλὸν τοῦτον οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα ἐς τὰ ἔλα, τὸν δὲ Αἰθίοπα βασιλεύειν Αἰγύπτου ἐπ' ἔτεα πεντήκοντα, ἐν τοῖσι αὐτὸν τάδε ἀποδέξασθαι· 3 ὅκως τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἀμάρτοι τι, κτείνειν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδένα ἐθέλειν, τὸν δὲ κατὰ μέγαθος τοῦ ἀδικήματος ἐκάστω δικάζειν ἐπιτάσσοντα χῶματα χοῦν πρὸς τῇ ἐσσιμῶν πόλι, ὅθεν ἕκαστος ἦν τῶν ἀδικεόντων. καὶ οὕτω ἔτι αἱ πόλεις ἐγένοντο ὑψηλότεραι· 4 τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐχώσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν τὰς διώρυχας ὀρυζάντων ἐπὶ Σεσώστριος βασιλέος, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος καὶ κάρτα ὑψηλαὶ ἐγένοντο. 5 ὑψηλέων δὲ καὶ ἑτερέων γενομένων ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ πολιῶν, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μάλιστα ἢ ἐν Βουβάστιπόλιν ἐξεχώσθη, ἐν τῇ καὶ ἱρόν ἐστι Βουβάστιος ἀξιαπληγέτατος· μέζω μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ πολυδαπανώτερα ἐστὶ ἱρά, ἡδονὴ δὲ ἰδέσθαι οὐδὲν τούτου μᾶλλον. ἢ δὲ Βούβαστις κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμις.

137. After him reigned a blind man called Anysis, of the town of that name. In his reign Egypt was invaded by Sabacos king of Ethiopia and a great army of Ethiopians. The blind man fled to the marshes, and the Ethiopian ruled Egypt for fifty years, during which he distinguished himself for the following: he would never put to death any Egyptian wrongdoer but sentenced all, according to the severity of their offenses, to raise embankments in their native towns.

Thus the towns came to stand yet higher than before; for after first being built on embankments made by the excavators of the canals in the reign of Sesostris, they were yet further raised in the reign of the Ethiopian. Of the towns in Egypt that were raised, in my opinion, Bubastis is especially prominent, where there is also a temple of Bubastis, a building most worthy of note. Other temples are greater and more costly, but none more pleasing to the eye than this. Bubastis is, in the Greek language, Artemis.

138 1 τὸ δ' ἱρὸν αὐτῆς ὧδε ἔχει. πλὴν τῆς ἐσόδου τὸ ἄλλο νῆσος ἐστὶ· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυχες ἐσέχουσι οὐ συμμίσγουσαι ἀλλήλησι, ἀλλ' ἄχρι τῆς ἐσόδου τοῦ ἱροῦ ἑκατέρη ἐσέχει, ἥ μὲν τῇ περιῤῥέουσα ἡ δὲ τῇ, εὗρος ἐοῦσα ἑκατέρη ἑκατὸν ποδῶν, δένδρεσι κατὰσκιος. 2 τὰ δὲ προπύλαια ὕψος μὲν δέκα ὀργυιέων ἐστί, τύποισι δὲ ἐξαπῆχεσι ἐσκευάδεται ἀξίοισι λόγου. ἐὼν δ' ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει τὸ ἱρὸν κατορθᾷται πάντοθεν περιόντι· ἅτε γὰρ τῆς πόλιος μὲν ἐκκεχωσμένης ὑποῦ, τοῦ δ' ἱροῦ οὐ κεκινημένου ὡς ἀρχῆθεν ἐποιήθη, ἔσοπτον ἐστί. 3 περιθέει δὲ αὐτὸ αἵμασι· ἐγγεγλυμμένη τύποισι, ἔστι δὲ ἔσωθεν ἄλσος δενδρέων μεγίστων πεφυτευμένον περὶ νηὸν μέγαν, ἐν τῇ δὴ τῷγαλμα ἐνι· εὗρος δὲ καὶ μῆκος τοῦ ἱροῦ πάντῃ σταδίου ἐστί. 4 κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἔσοδον ἐστρωμένη ἐστὶ ὁδὸς λίθου ἐπὶ σταδίους τρεῖς μάλιστά κη, διὰ τῆς ἀγορῆς φέρουσα ἐς τὸ πρὸς ἡῶ, εὗρος δὲ ὡς τεσσέρων πλέθρων· τῇ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῆς ὁδοῦ δένδρεα οὐρανομήκεα πέφυκε· φέρει δὲ ἐς Ἑρμέω ἱρόν. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχει.

138. Her temple is of this description: except for the entrance, it stands on an island; for two channels approach it from the Nile without mixing with one another, running as far as the entryway of the temple, the one and the other flowing around it, each a hundred feet wide and shaded by trees. The outer court is sixty feet high, adorned with notable figures ten feet high. The whole circumference of the city commands a view down into the temple in its midst; for the city's level has been raised, but that of the temple has been left as it was from the first, so that it can be seen into from above. A stone wall, cut with figures, runs around it; within is a grove of very tall trees growing around a great shrine where the image of the goddess is; the temple is a square, each side measuring an eighth of a mile. A

road, paved with stone, about three eighths of a mile long leads to the entrance, running eastward through the marketplace, towards the temple of Hermes; this road is about four hundred feet wide, and bordered by trees reaching to heaven. Such is this temple.

139 1 τέλος δὲ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ὧδε ἔλεγον γενέσθαι· ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοιγόνδε ἰδόντα αὐτὸν οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα· ἐδόκέε οἱ ἄνδρα ἐπιστάντα συμβουλεύειν τοὺς ἱρέας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συλλέξαντα πάντας μέσους διαταμεῖν. 2 ἰδόντα δὲ τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην λέγειν αὐτὸν ὡς πρόφασιν οἱ δοκέοι ταύτην τοὺς θεοὺς προδεικνύειν, ἵνα ἀσεβήσας περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ κακόν τι πρὸς θεῶν ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων λάβοι· οὐκὼν ποιήσειν ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ γάρ οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν χρόνον, ὁκόσον κεχρῆσθαι ἄρξαντα Αἰγύπτου ἐκχωρήσειν. 3 ἐν γὰρ τῇ Αἰθιοπίῃ ἐόντι αὐτῷ τὰ μαντήια, τοῖσι χρέωνται Αἰθίοπες, ἀνείλε ὡς δέοι αὐτὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῦσαι ἔτεα πεντήκοντα. ὡς ὢν ὁ χρόνος οὗτος ἐξῆι καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐπετάρασσε, ἐκὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὁ Σαβακῶς.

139. Now the departure of the Ethiopian (they said) came about in this way. After seeing in a dream one who stood over him and urged him to gather together all the Priests in Egypt and cut them in half, he fled from the country. Seeing this vision, he said, he supposed it to be a manifestation sent to him by the gods, so that he might commit sacrilege and so be punished by gods or men; he would not (he said) do so, but otherwise, for the time foretold for his rule over Egypt was now fulfilled, after which he was to depart: for when he was still in Ethiopia, the oracles that are consulted by the people of that country told him that he was fated to reign fifty years over Egypt. Seeing that this time was now completed and that he was troubled by what he saw in his dream, Sabacos departed from Egypt of his own volition.

140 1 ὡς δ' ἄρα οἴχεσθαι τὸν Αἰθίοπα ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, αὐτὶς τὸν τυφλὸν ἄρχειν ἐκ τῶν ἐλέων ἀπικόμενον, ἔνθα πεντήκοντα ἔτεα νῆσον χῶσας σποδῶ τε καὶ γῇ οἴκεε. ὅκως γάρ οἱ φοιτᾶν σῖτον ἄγοντας Αἰγυπτίων, ὡς ἐκάστοισι προστετάχθαι, σιγῇ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος, ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν κελεύειν σφέας καὶ σποδὸν κομίζειν. 2 ταύτην τὴν νῆσον οὐδεὶς πρότερον ἐδυνάσθη Ἀμυρταίου ἐξευρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἔτεα ἐπὶ πλέῳ ἢ ἐπτακόσια οὐκ οἰοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὴν ἀνευρεῖν οἱ πρότεροι γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς Ἀμυρταίου. οὕνομα δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ Ἑλβῶ,

μέγαθος δ' ἐστὶ πάντη δέκα σταδίων.

140. When the Ethiopian left Egypt, the blind man (it is said) was king once more, returning from the marshes where he had lived for fifty years on an island that he built of ashes and earth; for the Egyptians who were to bring him food without the Ethiopian's knowledge were instructed by the king to bring ashes whenever they came, to add to their gift. This island was never discovered before the time of Amyrtaeus; all the kings before him sought it in vain for more than seven hundred years. The name of it is Elbo, and it is over a mile long and of an equal breadth.

141 1 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι τὸν ἱρέα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Σεθῶν· τὸν ἐν ἀλογίῃσι ἔχειν παραχρησάμενον τῶν μαχίμων Αἰγυπτίων ὥς οὐδὲν δεησόμενον αὐτῶν, ἄλλα τε δὴ ἄτιμα ποιεῦντα ἐς αὐτούς, καὶ σφεας ἀπελέσθαι τὰς ἀρούρας· τοῖσι ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων δεδόσθαι ἐξαιρέτους ἐκάστῳ δυώδεκα ἀρούρας. 2 μετὰ δὲ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐλαύνειν στρατὸν μέγαν Σαναχάριβον βασιλέα Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων· οὐκὼν δὴ ἐθέλειν τοὺς μαχίμους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βοηθεῖν. 3 τὸν δ' ἱρέα ἐς ἀπορίην ἀπειλημένον ἐσελθόντα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον πρὸς τῷγαλμα ἀποδύρεσθαι οἷα κινδυνεύει παρθεῖν. ὀλοφυρόμενον δ' ἄρα μιν ἐπελθεῖν ὕπνον, καὶ οἱ δόξα ἐν τῇ ὄνῃ ἐπιστάντα τὸν θεὸν θαρσύνειν ὥς οὐδὲν πείσεται ἄχαρι ἀντιάζων τὸν Ἀραβίων στρατόν· αὐτὸς γάρ οἱ πέμψειν τιμωρούς. 4 τούτοισι δὴ μιν πίσυνον τοῖσι ἐνυπνίοισι, παραλαβόντα Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς βουλομένους οἱ ἔπεσθαι, στρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐν Πηλousίῳ· ταύτη γὰρ εἰσὶ αἱ ἐσβολαί· ἔπεσθαι δέ οἱ τῶν μαχίμων μὲν οὐδένα ἀνδρῶν, καπήλους δὲ καὶ χειρώνακτας καὶ ἀγοραίους ἀνθρώπους. 5 ἐνθαῦτα ἀπικομένοισι τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι αὐτοῖσι ἐπιχυθέντας νυκτὸς μῦς ἀρουραίους κατὰ μὲν φαγεῖν τοὺς φαρετρεῶνας αὐτῶν κατὰ δὲ τὰ τόξα, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἀσπίδων τὰ ὄχανα, ὥστε τῇ ὕστεραίῃ φευγόντων σφέων γυμνῶν πεσεῖν πολλούς. 6 καὶ νῦν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔστηκε ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου λίθινος, ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μὺν, λέγων διὰ γραμμάτων τάδε· “ ἐς ἐμέ τις ὀρέων εὐσεβῆς ἔστω “.

141. The next king was the priest of Hephaestus whose name was Sethos. He despised and had no regard for the warrior Egyptians, thinking he would never need them; besides otherwise dishonoring them, he took away the chosen lands which had been given to them,

twelve fields to each man, in the reign of former kings. So when presently king Sanacharib came against Egypt, with a great force of Arabians and Assyrians, the warrior Egyptians would not march against him. The priest, in this quandary, went into the temple shrine and there before the god's image bitterly lamented over what he expected to suffer. Sleep came on him while he was lamenting, and it seemed to him the god stood over him and told him to take heart, that he would come to no harm encountering the power of Arabia: "I shall send you champions," said the god. So he trusted the vision, and together with those Egyptians who would follow him camped at Pelusium, where the road comes into Egypt; and none of the warriors would go with him, but only merchants and craftsmen and traders. Their enemies came there, too, and during the night were overrun by a horde of field mice that gnawed quivers and bows and the handles of shields, with the result that many were killed fleeing unarmed the next day. And to this day a stone statue of the Egyptian king stands in Hephaestus' temple, with a mouse in his hand, and an inscription to this effect: "Look at me, and believe."

142 1 ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε τοῦ λόγου Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον, ἀποδεικνύντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸν ἱρέα τοῦτον τὸν τελευταῖον βασιλεύσαντα μίαν τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας γενεὰς ἀνθρώπων γενομένας, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃσι ἀρχιερέας καὶ βασιλέας ἐκατέρους τοσούτους γενομένους. 2 καίτοι τριηκόσiai μὲν ἀνδρῶν γενεαὶ δυνέεται μύρια ἕτεα· γενεαὶ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἕτεα ἐστί· μῆς δὲ καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτι τῶν ἐπιλοίπων γενεῶν, αἱ ἐπῆσαν τῇσι τριηκοσίῃσι, ἐστί τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια καὶ χίλια ἕτεα. 3 οὕτω ἐν μυρίοισι τε ἔτεσι καὶ χιλίοισι καὶ τριηκοσίοισι τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔλεγον θεὸν ἀνθρωποειδέα οὐδένα γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ πρότερον οὐδὲ ὕστερον ἐν τοῖσι ὑπολοίποισι Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῦσι γενομένοις ἔλεγον οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο. 4 ἐν τοίνυν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετράκις ἔλεγον ἐξ ἡθέων τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι· ἔνθα τε νῦν καταδύεται, ἐνθεῦτεν δις ἐπαντεῖλαι, καὶ ἔνθεν νῦν ἀνατέλλει, ἐνθαῦτα δις καταδύναι. καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ὑπὸ ταῦτα ἑτεροιωθῆναι, οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ σφί γινόμενα, οὔτε τὰ ἀμφὶ νούσους οὔτε τὰ κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους.

142. Thus far went the record given by the Egyptians and their priests; and they showed me that the time from the first king to that priest of Hephaestus, who was the last, covered three hundred and forty-one generations, and that in this time this also had been the number of their kings, and of their high priests. Now three hundred generations are ten thousand years, three generations being equal to a hundred. And over and above the three hundred, the remaining forty-one cover thirteen hundred and forty years. Thus the whole period is eleven thousand three hundred and forty years; in all of which time (they said) they had had no king who was a god in human form, nor had there been any such either before or after those years among the rest of the kings of Egypt. Four times in this period (so they told me) the sun rose contrary to experience; twice he came up where he now goes down, and twice went down where he now comes up; yet Egypt at these times underwent no change, either in the produce of the river and the land, or in the matter of sickness and death.

143 1 πρότερον δὲ Ἑκαταίῳ τῷ λογοποιῷ ἐν Θήβῃσι γενεηλογήσαντί τε ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἀναδήσαντι τὴν πατριὴν ἐς ἑκκαίδεκατον θεὸν ἐποίησαν οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Διὸς οἷόν τι καὶ ἐμοὶ οὐ γενεηλογήσαντι ἑμεωυτόν· 2 ἐσαγαγόντες ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἔσω ἐὸν μέγα ἐξηριθμέον δεικνύντες κολοσσούς ξυλίνους τοσοῦτους ὅσους περ εἶπον· ἀρχιερεὺς γὰρ ἕκαστος αὐτόθι ἰστᾷ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ζόης εἰκόνα ἑωυτοῦ· 3 ἀριθμέοντες ὧν καὶ δεικνύντες οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐμοὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν παῖδα πατρὸς ἑωυτῶν ἕκαστον ἐόντα, ἐκ τοῦ ἄγχιστα ἀποθανόντος τῆς εἰκόνος διεξιόντες διὰ πασέων, ἕως οὗ ἀπέδεξαν ἀπάσας αὐτάς. 4 Ἑκαταίῳ δὲ γενεηλογήσαντι ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἀναδήσαντι ἐς ἑκκαίδεκατον θεὸν ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριθμῇσι, οὐ δεκόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον· ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν δὲ ὧδε, φάμενοι ἕκαστον τῶν κολοσσῶν πύρῳμιν ἐκ πυρώμιος γεγονέναι, ἐς ὃ τοὺς πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίους ἀπέδεξαν κολοσσούς [πύρῳμιν ἐπονομαζόμενον], καὶ οὔτε ἐς θεὸν οὔτε ἐς ἥρωα ἀνέδησαν αὐτούς. πύρῳμις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν καλὸς κἀγαθός.

143. Hecataeus the historian was once at Thebes , where he made a genealogy for himself that had him descended from a god in the sixteenth generation. But the priests of Zeus did with him as they

also did with me (who had not traced my own lineage). They brought me into the great inner court of the temple and showed me wooden figures there which they counted to the total they had already given, for every high priest sets up a statue of himself there during his lifetime; pointing to these and counting, the priests showed me that each succeeded his father; they went through the whole line of figures, back to the earliest from that of the man who had most recently died. Thus, when Hecataeus had traced his descent and claimed that his sixteenth forefather was a god, the priests too traced a line of descent according to the method of their counting; for they would not be persuaded by him that a man could be descended from a god; they traced descent through the whole line of three hundred and forty-five figures, not connecting it with any ancestral god or hero, but declaring each figure to be a “Piromis” the son of a “Piromis”; in Greek, one who is in all respects a good man.

144 1 ἤδη ὦν τῶν αἰ εἰκόνες ἦσαν, τοιούτους ἀπεδείκνυσαν σφέας πάντας ἐόντας, θεῶν δὲ πολλὸν ἀπαλλαγμένους. 2 τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἄρχοντας, οὐκ ἐόντας ἅμα τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, καὶ τούτων αἰεὶ ἓνα τὸν κρατέοντα εἶναι· ὕστατον δὲ αὐτῆς βασιλεῦσαι ὦρον τὸν Ὀσίριος παῖδα, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἕλληνες ὀνομάζουσι· τοῦτον καταπαύσαντα Τυφῶνα βασιλεῦσαι ὕστατον Αἰγύπτου. Ὀσιρις δὲ ἐστὶ Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν.

144. Thus they showed that all those whose statues stood there had been good men, but quite unlike gods. Before these men, they said, the rulers of Egypt were gods, but none had been contemporary with the human priests. Of these gods one or another had in succession been supreme; the last of them to rule the country was Osiris' son Horus, whom the Greeks call Apollo; he deposed Typhon, and was the last divine king of Egypt. Osiris is, in the Greek language, Dionysus.

145 1 ἐν Ἑλληνισί μὲν νυν νεώτατοι τῶν θεῶν νομίζονται εἶναι Ἡρακλῆς τε καὶ Διόνυσος καὶ Πάν, παρ' Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ Πάν μὲν ἀρχαιότατος καὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ τῶν πρώτων λεγομένων θεῶν, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ τῶν δευτέρων τῶν δωδέκα λεγομένων εἶναι, Διόνυσος δὲ τῶν τρίτων, οἱ ἐκ τῶν δωδέκα θεῶν ἐγένοντο. 2 Ἡρακλεῖ μὲν δὴ ὅσα

αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ εἶναι ἔτα ἐς Ἄμασιν βασιλέα, δεδήλωταί μοι πρόσθε· Πανὶ δὲ ἔτι τούτων πλέονα λέγεται εἶναι, Διονύσῳ δ' ἐλάχιστα τούτων, καὶ τούτῳ πεντακισχίλια καὶ μύρια λογίζονται εἶναι ἐς Ἄμασιν βασιλέα. 3 καὶ ταῦτα Αἰγύπτιοι ἀτρεκέως φασί. ἐπίστασθαι, αἰεὶ τε λογιζόμενοι καὶ αἰεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτα. 4 Διονύσῳ μὲν νυν τῷ ἐκ Σεμέλης τῆς Κάδμου λεγομένῳ γενέσθαι κατὰ ἑξακόσια ἔτα καὶ χίλια μάλιστα ἐστὶ ἐς ἐμέ, Ἡρακλεῖ δὲ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης κατὰ εἰνακόσια ἔτα· Πανὶ δὲ τῷ ἐκ Πηνελόπης (ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ καὶ Ἑρμῇ λέγεται γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὁ Πάν) ἐλάσσῳ ἔτα ἐστὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν, κατὰ ὀκτακόσια μάλιστα ἐς ἐμέ.

145. Among the Greeks, Heracles, Dionysus, and Pan are held to be the youngest of the gods. But in Egypt, Pan is the most ancient of these and is one of the eight gods who are said to be the earliest of all; Heracles belongs to the second dynasty (that of the so-called twelve gods); and Dionysus to the third, which came after the twelve. How many years there were between Heracles and the reign of Amasis, I have already shown; Pan is said to be earlier still; the years between Dionysus and Amasis are the fewest, and they are reckoned by the Egyptians at fifteen thousand. The Egyptians claim to be sure of all this, since they have reckoned the years and chronicled them in writing. Now the Dionysus who was called the son of Semele, daughter of Cadmus, was about sixteen hundred years before my time, and Heracles son of Alcmenē about nine hundred years; and Pan the son of Penelope (for according to the Greeks Penelope and Hermes were the parents of Pan) was about eight hundred years before me, and thus of a later date than the Trojan war.

146 1 τούτων ὧν ἀμφοτέρων πάρεστι χρᾶσθαι τοῖσί τις πείσεται λεγομένοισι μᾶλλον· ἐμοὶ δ' ὧν ἡ περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμη ἀποδέδεκται. εἰ μὲν γὰρ φανεροὶ τε ἐγένοντο καὶ κατεγήρασαν καὶ οὗτοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, κατὰ περ Ἡρακλέης ὁ ἐξ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γενόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ Διόνυσος ὁ ἐκ Σεμέλης καὶ Πάν ὁ ἐκ Πηνελόπης γενόμενος, ἔφη ἂν τις καὶ τούτους ἄλλους ἄνδρας γενομένους ἔχειν τὰ ἐκείνων οὐνόματα τῶν προγεγονότων θεῶν. 2 νῦν δὲ Διόνυσόν τε λέγουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες ὡς αὐτίκα γενόμενον ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐνεβράβητο Ζεὺς καὶ ἦνευκε ἐς Νύσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου ἐοῦσαν ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπίῃ, καὶ Πανὸς γε πέρι οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν ὅκη ἐτράπετο γενόμενος. δῆλόν μοι

γέγονε ὅτι ὕστερον ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληγες τούτων τὰ οὐνόματα ἢ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν· ἀπ' οὗ δὲ ἐπύθοντο χρόνου, ἀπὸ τούτου γενεηλογέουσι αὐτῶν τὴν γένεσιν.

146. With regard to these two, Pan and Dionysus, one may follow whatever story one thinks most credible; but I give my own opinion concerning them here. Had Dionysus son of Semele and Pan son of Penelope appeared in Hellas and lived there to old age, like Heracles the son of Amphitryon, it might have been said that they too (like Heracles) were but men, named after the older Pan and Dionysus, the gods of antiquity; but as it is, the Greek story has it that no sooner was Dionysus born than Zeus sewed him up in his thigh and carried him away to Nysa in Ethiopia beyond Egypt; and as for Pan, the Greeks do not know what became of him after his birth. It is therefore plain to me that the Greeks learned the names of these two gods later than the names of all the others, and trace the birth of both to the time when they gained the knowledge.

147 1 ταῦτα μὲν νυν αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι· ὅσα δὲ οἱ τε ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι ὁμολογέοντες τοῖσι ἄλλοις κατὰ ταύτην τὴν χώραν γενέσθαι, ταῦτ' ἤδη φράσω· προσέσται δέ τι αὐτοῖσι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὄψιος. 2 ἐλευθερωθέντες Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ τὸν ἱρέα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου βασιλεύσαντα, οὐδένα γὰρ χρόνον οἰοί τε ἦσαν ἄνευ βασιλέος διαιτᾶσθαι, ἐστήσαντο δωδέκα βασιλέας, δωδέκα μοίρας δασάμενοι Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν. 3 οὗτοι ἐπιγαμίας ποιησάμενοι ἐβασίλευον νόμοις τοῖσιδε χρεώμενοι, μήτε καταίρειν ἀλλήλους μήτε πλέον τι διζῆσθαι ἔχειν τὸν ἕτερον τοῦ ἐτέρου, εἶναι τε φίλους τὰ μάλιστα. 4 τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα τοὺς νόμους τούτους ἐποιέοντο, ἰσχυρῶς περιστέλλοντες· ἐκέχρηστό σφι κατ' ἀρχὰς αὐτίκα ἐνισταμένοις ἐς τὰς τυραννίδας τὸν χαλκῆ φιάλῃ σπείσαντα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τοῦτον ἀπάσης βασιλεύσειν Αἰγύπτου· ἐς γὰρ δὴ τὰ πάντα ἱρὰ συνελέγοντο.

147. So far I have recorded what the Egyptians themselves say. I shall now relate what is recorded alike by Egyptians and foreigners, and shall add something of what I myself have seen. After the reign of the priest of Hephaestus the Egyptians were made free. But they could never live without a king, so they divided Egypt into twelve districts and set up twelve kings. These kings intermarried, and

agreed to be close friends, no one deposing another or seeking to possess more than another. The reason for this agreement, which they scrupulously kept, was this: no sooner were they established in their districts than an oracle was given them that whichever of them poured a libation from a bronze vessel in the temple of Hephaestus (where, as in all the temples, they used to assemble) would be king of all Egypt.

148 1 καὶ δὴ σφι μνημόσυνα ἔδοξε λιπέσθαι κοινῇ, δόξαν δέ σφι ἐποιήσαντο λαβύρινθον, ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος κατὰ Κροκοδείλων καλεομένην πόλιν μάλιστα κη κείμενον· τὸν ἐγὼ ἤδη εἶδον λόγου μέζω. 2 εἰ γάρ τις τὰ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων τείχεά τε καὶ ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν συλλογίσαιτο, ἐλάσσονος πόνου τε ἂν καὶ δαπάνης φανείη ἔόντα τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τούτου. καίτοι ἀξιόλογός γε καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐστὶ νηὶς καὶ ὁ ἐν Σάμῳ. 3 ἦσαν μὲν νυν καὶ αἱ πυραμίδες λόγου μέζονες, καὶ πολλῶν ἐκάστη αὐτέων Ἑλληνικῶν ἔργων καὶ μεγάλων ἀνταξίη, ὁ δὲ δὴ λαβύρινθος καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας ὑπερβάλλει· 4 τοῦ [γάρ] δωδέκα μὲν εἰσὶ αὐλαὶ κατὰστεγοι, ἀντίτυλοι ἀλλήλησι, ἕξ μὲν πρὸς βορέῳ ἕξ δὲ πρὸς νότον τετραμμέναι, συνεχέες· τοῖχος δὲ ἕξωθεν ὁ αὐτός σφεας περιέργει. οἰκήματα δ' ἔνεστι διπλᾶ, τὰ μὲν ὑπόγαια τὰ δὲ μετέωρα ἐπ' ἐκείνοισι, τρισχίλια ἀριθμόν, πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἐκάτερα. 5 τὰ μὲν νυν μετέωρα τῶν οἰκημάτων αὐτοῖ τε ὥρῳμεν διεξιόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ θεησάμενοι λέγομεν, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπόγαια λόγοισι ἐπυνθανόμεθα· οἱ γὰρ ἐπεστεῶτες τῶν Αἰγυπτίων δεικνύναι αὐτὰ οὐδαμῶς ἤθελον, φάμενοι θήκας αὐτόθι εἶναι τῶν τε ἀρχὴν τὸν λαβύρινθον τοῦτον οἰκοδομησαμένων βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν κροκοδείλων. 6 οὕτω τῶν μὲν κάτω περὶ οἰκημάτων ἀκοῇ παραλαβόντες λέγομεν, τὰ δὲ ἄνω μέζονα ἀνθρωπηίων ἔργων αὐτοῖ ὥρῳμεν· αἱ τε γὰρ διέξοδοι διὰ τῶν στεγέων καὶ οἱ ἐλιγμοὶ διὰ τῶν αὐλέων ἔοντες ποικιλώτατοι θῶμα μυρίον παρείχοντο ἕξ αὐλῆς τε ἐς τὰ οἰκήματα διεξιούσι καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐς παστάδας, ἐς στέγας τε ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν παστάδων καὶ ἐς αὐλὰς ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων. 7 ὀροφὴ δὲ πάντων τούτων λιθίνη κατὰ περ οἱ τοῖχοι, οἱ δὲ τοῖχοι τύπων ἐγγεγλυμμένων πλέοι, αὐλὴ δὲ ἐκάστη περίστυλος λίθου λευκοῦ ἀρμοσμένου τὰ μάλιστα. τῆς δὲ γωνίης τελευτῶντος τοῦ λαβυρίνθου ἔχεται πυραμὶς τεσσαρακοντόργυιος, ἐν τῇ ζῶα μεγάλα ἐγγέγλυπται· ὁδὸς δ' ἐς

αὐτὴν ὑπὸ γῆν πεποιήται.

148. Moreover, they decided to preserve the memory of their names by a common memorial, and so they made a labyrinth a little way beyond lake Moeris and near the place called the City of Crocodiles. I have seen it myself, and indeed words cannot describe it; if one were to collect the walls and evidence of other efforts of the Greeks, the sum would not amount to the labor and cost of this labyrinth. And yet the temple at Ephesus and the one on Samos are noteworthy. Though the pyramids beggar description and each one of them is a match for many great monuments built by Greeks, this maze surpasses even the pyramids. It has twelve roofed courts with doors facing each other: six face north and six south, in two continuous lines, all within one outer wall. There are also double sets of chambers, three thousand altogether, fifteen hundred above and the same number under ground. We ourselves viewed those that are above ground, and speak of what we have seen, but we learned through conversation about the underground chambers; the Egyptian caretakers would by no means show them, as they were, they said, the burial vaults of the kings who first built this labyrinth, and of the sacred crocodiles. Thus we can only speak from hearsay of the lower chambers; the upper we saw for ourselves, and they are creations greater than human. The exits of the chambers and the mazy passages hither and thither through the courts were an unending marvel to us as we passed from court to apartment and from apartment to colonnade, from colonnades again to more chambers and then into yet more courts. Over all this is a roof, made of stone like the walls, and the walls are covered with cut figures, and every court is set around with pillars of white stone very precisely fitted together. Near the corner where the labyrinth ends stands a pyramid two hundred and forty feet high, on which great figures are cut. A passage to this has been made underground.

149 ἡ τοῦ δὲ λαβυρίνθου τούτου ἐόντος τοιούτου θῶμα ἔτι μέζον παρέχεται ἢ Μοίριος καλεομένη λίμνη, παρ' ἣν ὁ λαβύρινθος οὗτος οἰκοδομήται· τῆς τὸ περίμετρον τῆς περιόδου εἰς ἑπτά στάδιοι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, σχοίνων ἐξήκοντα ἐόντων, ἴσοι καὶ αὐτῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. κεῖται δὲ μακρὴ ἡ λίμνη πρὸς βορρην τε καὶ νότον,

ἐοῦσα βάθος, τῇ βαθυτάτῃ αὐτῇ ἐωυτῆς, πεντηκοντόργυιος. 2 ὅτι δὲ χειροποίητος ἐστὶ καὶ ὀρυκτὴ, αὐτῇ δηλοῖ· ἐν γὰρ μέσῃ τῇ λίμνῃ μάλιστα κη ἐστᾶσι δύο πυραμίδες, τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπερέχουσαι πεντήκοντα ὀργυῖας ἑκατέρῃ, καὶ τὸ κατ' ὕδατος οἰκοδόμηται ἕτερον τοσοῦτον, καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρῃσι ἔπεστι κολοσσὸς λίθινος κατήμενος ἐν θρόνῳ. 3 οὕτω αἱ μὲν πυραμίδες εἰσὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυῖων, αἱ δ' ἑκατὸν ὀργυῖαι δίκαιαι εἰσὶ στάδιον ἐξάπλεθρον, ἐξαπέδου τε τῆς ὀργυῖς μετρεομένης καὶ τετραπήχεος, τῶν ποδῶν μὲν τετραπαλαίστων ἐόντων, τοῦ δὲ πήχεος ἐξαπαλαίστου. 4 τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ αὐθιγενὲς μὲν οὐκ ἔστι (ἄνυδρος γὰρ δὴ δεινῶς ἐστι ἡ ταύτη), ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου δὲ κατὰ διώρυχα ἐσῆκται, καὶ ἕξ μὲν μῆνας ἔσω ῥέει ἐς τὴν λίμνην, ἕξ δὲ μῆνας ἔξω ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον αὐτῆς. 5 καὶ ἐπεὰν μὲν ἐκρέῃ ἔξω, ἡ δὲ τότε τοὺς ἕξ μῆνας ἐς τὸ βασιλῆιον καταβάλλει ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἐκάστην τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐσίῃ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν, εἴκοσι μνέας.

149. Such is this labyrinth; and still more marvellous is lake Moeris, on which it stands. This lake has a circumference of four hundred and fifty miles, or sixty schoeni: as much as the whole seaboard of Egypt. Its length is from north to south; the deepest part has a depth of fifty fathoms. That it has been dug out and made by men's hands the lake shows for itself; for almost in the middle of it stand two pyramids, so built that fifty fathoms of each are below and fifty above the water; atop each is a colossal stone figure seated on a throne. Thus these pyramids are a hundred fathoms high; and a hundred fathoms equal a furlong of six hundred feet, the fathom measuring six feet or four cubits, the foot four spans and the cubit six spans. The water of the lake is not natural (for the country here is exceedingly arid) but brought by a channel from the Nile; six months it flows into the lake, and six back into the river. For the six months that it flows out of the lake, the daily take of fish brings a silver talent into the royal treasury, and twenty minae for each day of the flow into the lake.

150 1 ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ ὥς ἐς τὴν Σύρτιν τὴν ἐς Λιβύην ἐκδιδού ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὑπὸ γῆν, τετραμμένη τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος. 2 ἐπεῖτε δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος τούτου οὐκ ὥρων τὸν χοῦν οὐδαμοῦ ἐόντα, ἐπιμελὲς γὰρ

δή μοι ἦν, εἰρόμην τοὺς ἄγχιστα οἰκέοντας τῆς λίμνης ὅκου εἶη ὁ χοῦς ὁ ἐξορυχθεῖς. οἱ δὲ ἔφρασαν μοι ἵνα ἐξεφορήθῃ, καὶ εὐπετέως ἔπειθον· ἦδεα γὰρ λόγῳ καὶ ἐν Νίνῳ τῇ Ἀσσυρίων πόλει γενόμενον ἕτερον τοιοῦτον. 3 τὰ γὰρ Σαρδαναπάλλου τοῦ Νίνου βασιλέος ἐόντα μεγάλα χρήματα καὶ φυλασσόμενα ἐν θησαυροῖσι καταγαίοισι ἐπενόησαν κλῶπες ἐκφορῆσαι. ἐκ δὴ ὧν τῶν σφετέρων οἰκίων ἀρξάμενοι οἱ κλῶπες ὑπὸ γῆν σταθμεόμενοι ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα οἰκία ὠρυsson, τὸν δὲ χοῦν τὸν ἐκφορεόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος, ὅκως γένοιτο νύξ, ἐς τὸν Τίγρην ποταμὸν παραρρέοντα τὴν Νίνον ἐξεφόρεον, ἐς ὃ κατεργάσαντο ὃ τι ἐβούλοντο. 4 τοιοῦτον ἕτερον ἤκουσα καὶ κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λίμνης ὄρυγμα γενέσθαι, πλὴν οὐ νυκτὸς ἀλλὰ μετ' ἡμέρην ποιεύμενον· ὀρύσσοντας γὰρ τὸν χοῦν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον φορέειν· ὁ δὲ ὑπολαμβάνων ἔμελλε διαχέειν. ἡ μὲν νυν λίμνη αὕτη οὕτω λέγεται ὀρυχθῆναι·

150. Furthermore, the natives said that this lake drains underground into the Libyan Syrtis, and extends under the mountains that are above Memphis, having the inland country on its west. When I could not see anywhere the earth taken from the digging of this lake, since this was curious to me, I asked those who live nearest the lake where the stuff was that had been dug out. They told me where it had been carried, and I readily believed them, for I had heard of a similar thing happening in the Assyrian city of Ninus. Sardanapallus king of Ninus had great wealth, which he kept in an underground treasury. Some thieves plotted to carry it off; they surveyed their course and dug an underground way from their own house to the palace, carrying the earth taken out of the passage dug by night to the Tigris, which runs past Ninus, until at last they accomplished their end. This, I was told, had happened when the Egyptian lake was dug, except that the work went on not by night but by day. The Egyptians bore the earth dug out by them to the Nile, to be caught and scattered (as was to be expected) by the river. Thus is this lake said to have been dug.

151 1 τῶν δὲ δώδεκα βασιλέων δικαιοσύνη χρεωμένων, ἀνὰ χρόνον ὥς ἔθυσαν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τῇ ὑστάτῃ τῆς ὀρτῆς, μελλόντων κατασπείσειν, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐξήνικέ σφι φιάλας χρυσέας, τῇσί περ ἐώθεσαν σπένδειν, ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, ἔνδεκα δώδεκα

ἐοῦσι. 2 ἐνθαῦτα ὥς οὐκ εἶχε φιάλην ὁ ἔσχατος ἐστεῶς αὐτῶν Ψαμμήτιχος, περιελόμενος τὴν κυνέην ἐοῦσαν χαλκέην ὑπέσχε τε καὶ ἔσπενδε. κυνέας δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ἐφόρεόν τε βασιλέες καὶ ἐτύγγανον τότε ἔχοντες. 3 Ψαμμήτιχος μὲν νυν οὐδενὶ δολερῷ νόῳ χρεώμενος ὑπέσχε τὴν κυνέην· οἱ δὲ ἐν φρενὶ λαβόντες τό τε ποιηθὲν ἐκ Ψαμμητίχου καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὅτι ἐκέχρηστό σφι τὸν χαλκὴν σπείσαντα αὐτῶν φιάλη τοῦτον βασιλέα ἔσεσθαι μῦνον Αἰγύπτου, ἀναμνησθέντες τοῦ χρησμοῦ κτεῖναι μὲν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσαν Ψαμμήτιχον, ὥς ἀνεύρισκον βασανίζοντες ἐξ οὐδεμιῆς προνοίης αὐτὸν ποιήσαντα, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἔλα ἐδοξέ σφι διῶξαι ψιλώσαντας τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς δυνάμειος, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐλέων ὁρμώμενον μὴ ἐπιμίσγεσθαι τῇ ἄλλῃ Αἰγύπτῳ.

151. Now the twelve kings were just, and in time came to sacrifice in Hephaestus' temple. On the last day of the feast, as they were about to pour libations, the high priest brought out the golden vessels which they commonly used for this; but he counted wrongly and had only eleven for the twelve. So the last in line, Psammetichus, as he had no vessel, took off his bronze helmet and held it out and poured the libation with it. All the kings were accustomed to wear helmets, and were then helmeted; it was not in guile, then, that Psammetichus held out his headgear; but the rest perceived what Psammetichus had done, and remembered the oracle that promised the sovereignty of all Egypt to whoever poured a libation from a vessel of bronze; therefore, though they considered Psammetichus not deserving of death (for they examined him and found that he had acted without intent), they decided to strip him of most of his power and to chase him away into the marshes, and that he was not to concern himself with the rest of Egypt.

152 1 τὸν δὲ Ψαμμήτιχον τοῦτον πρότερον φεύγοντα τὸν Αἰθίοπα Σαβακῶν, ὃς οἱ τὸν πατέρα Νεκῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοῦτον φεύγοντα τότε ἐς Συρίην, ὥς ἀπαλλάχθῃ ἐκ τῆς ὄψιος τοῦ ὀνείρου ὁ Αἰθίοψ, κατήγαγον Αἰγυπτίων οὗτοι οἱ ἐκ νομοῦ τοῦ Σαῖτεω εἰσί. 2 μετὰ δὲ βασιλεύοντα τὸ δεύτερον πρὸς τῶν ἑνδεκα βασιλέων καταλαμβάνει μιν διὰ τὴν κυνέην φεύγειν ἐς τὰ ἔλα. 3 ἐπιστάμενος ὢν ὥς περιωρισμένος εἶη πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπενόεε τίσασθαι τοὺς διῶξαντας. πέμψαντι δὲ οἱ ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τῆς Λητοῦς, ἔνθα

δὴ Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐστὶ μαντήιον ἀψευδέστατον, ἦλθε χρησμὸς ὡς τίσις ἦξει ἀπὸ θαλάσσης χαλκέων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανέντων. 4 καὶ τῷ μὲν δὴ ἀπιστὶ μεγάλη ὑπεκέχυτο χαλκέους οἱ ἄνδρας ἦξιν ἐπικούρους. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἀναγκαίη κατέλαβε Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Κᾶρας ἄνδρας κατὰ λήϊν ἐκπλώσαντας ἀπενειχθῆναι ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἐκβάντας δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ὀπλισθέντας χαλκῷ ἀγγέλλει τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὰ ἔλαια ἀπικόμενος τῷ Ψαμμήτιχῳ, ὡς οὐκ ἰδὼν πρότερον χαλκῷ ἄνδρας ὀπλισθέντας, ὡς χάλκεοι ἄνδρες ἀπιγμένοι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεηλατεῦσι τὸ πεδῖον. 5 ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὸ χρηστήριον ἐπιτελεύμενον φίλα τε τοῖσι Ἴωσι καὶ Καρσὶ ποιέεται καὶ σφεας μεγάλα ὑπισχνεύμενος πείθει μετ' ἐωυτοῦ γενέσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἔπεισε, οὕτω ἅμα τοῖσι τὰ ἐωυτοῦ βουλομένοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐπικούροισι καταίρει τοὺς βασιλέας.

152. This Psammetichus had formerly been in exile in Syria, where he had fled from Sabacos the Ethiopian, who killed his father Necos; then, when the Ethiopian departed because of what he saw in a dream, the Egyptians of the district of Saïs brought him back from Syria. Psammetichus was king for the second time when he found himself driven away into the marshes by the eleven kings because of the helmet. Believing, therefore, that he had been abused by them, he meant to be avenged on those who had expelled him. He sent to inquire in the town of Buto, where the most infallible oracle in Egypt is; the oracle answered that he would have vengeance when he saw men of bronze coming from the sea. Psammetichus did not in the least believe that men of bronze would come to aid him. But after a short time, Ionians and Carians, voyaging for plunder, were forced to put in on the coast of Egypt, where they disembarked in their armor of bronze; and an Egyptian came into the marsh country and brought news to Psammetichus (for he had never before seen armored men) that men of bronze had come from the sea and were foraging in the plain. Psammetichus saw in this the fulfillment of the oracle; he made friends with the Ionians and Carians, and promised them great rewards if they would join him and, having won them over, deposed the eleven kings with these allies and those Egyptians who volunteered.

153 1 κρατήσας δὲ Αἰγύπτου πάσης ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος ἐποίησε τῷ

Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια ἐν Μέμφι τὰ πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τετραμμένα, αὐλήν τε τῷ Ἄπι, ἐν τῇ τρέφεται ἐπεὰν φανῇ ὁ Ἄπις, οἰκοδόμησε ἐναντίον τῶν προπυλαίων, πᾶσάν τε περίστυλον ἐοῦσαν καὶ τύπων πλέην· ἀντὶ δὲ κίωνων ὑπεστᾶσι κολοσσοὶ δυωδεκαπήχεες τῇ αὐλῇ. ὁ δὲ Ἄπις κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν ἐστὶ Ἐπαφος.

153. Having made himself master of all Egypt, he made the southern outer court of Hephaestus' temple at Memphis, and built facing this a court for Apis, where Apis is kept and fed whenever he appears; this court has an inner colonnade all around it and many cut figures; the roof is held up by great statues twenty feet high for pillars. Apis in Greek is Epaphus.

154 1 τοῖσι δὲ Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι Καρσὶ τοῖσι συγκατεργασαμένοισι αὐτῷ ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος δίδωσι χώρους ἐνοικῆσαι ἀντίους ἀλλήλων, τοῦ Νείλου τὸ μέσον ἔχοντος, τοῖσι οὐνόματα ἐτέθη Στρατόπεδα· τούτους τε δὴ σφι τοὺς χώρους δίδωσι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ὑπέσχετο πάντα ἀπέδωκε. 2 καὶ δὴ καὶ παῖδας παρέβαλε αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίους τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἐκμαθόντων τὴν γλῶσσαν οἱ νῦν ἐρμηνέες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γεγόνασι. 3 οἱ δὲ Ἴωνές τε καὶ οἱ Κᾶρες τούτους τοὺς χώρους οἴκησαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν· εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι οἱ χῶροι πρὸς θαλάσσης ὀλίγον ἔνερθε Βουβάστιος πόλιος, ἐπὶ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ καλομένῳ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου. τούτους μὲν δὴ χρόνῳ ὕστερον βασιλεὺς Ἀμασις ἐξαναστήσας ἐνθεῦτεν κατοίκησε ἐς Μέμφιν, φυλακὴν ἐσωτοῦ ποιεύμενος πρὸς Αἰγυπτίῳ. 4 τούτων δὲ οἰκισθέντων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ Ἕλληνες οὕτω ἐπιμισγόμενοι τούτοις τὰ περὶ Αἰγυπτον γινόμενα ἀπὸ Ψαμμήτιχου βασιλέος ἀρξάμενοι πάντα [καὶ τὰ ὕστερον] ἐπιστάμεθα ἀτρεκέως· πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν. 5 ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἐξάνεστησαν χώρων, ἐν τούτοις δὲ οἱ τε ὅλκοι τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὰ ἐρείπια τῶν οἰκημάτων τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ ἦσαν. Ψαμμήτιχος μὲν νυν οὕτω ἔσχε Αἰγυπτον.

154. To the Ionians and Carians who had helped him, Psammetichus gave places to live in called The Camps, opposite each other on either side of the Nile; and besides this, he paid them all that he had promised. Moreover, he put Egyptian boys in their hands to be taught Greek, and from these, who learned the language, are descended the present-day Egyptian interpreters. The Ionians and

Carians lived for a long time in these places, which are near the sea, on the arm of the Nile called the Pelusian, a little way below the town of Bubastis. Long afterwards, king Amasis removed them and settled them at Memphis to be his guard against the Egyptians. It is a result of our communication with these settlers in Egypt (the first of foreign speech to settle in that country) that we Greeks have exact knowledge of the history of Egypt from the reign of Psammetichus onwards. There still remained in my day, in the places out of which the Ionians and Carians were turned, the winches for their ships and the ruins of their houses. This is how Psammetichus got Egypt.

155 1 τοῦ < δε > δ ἐ < τοῦ > χρηστηρίου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολλὰ ἐπεμνήσθην ἤδη, καὶ δὴ λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀξίου ἐόντος ποιήσομαι. τὸ γὰρ χρηστήριον τοῦτο τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐστὶ μὲν Λητοῦς ἱρόν, ἐν πόλει δὲ μεγάλῃ ἰδρυμένον κατὰ τὸ Σεβεννυτικὸν καλεόμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου, ἀναπλέοντι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω. 2 οὖνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ὅκου τὸ χρηστήριον ἐστὶ Βουτώ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ὠνόμασταί μοι. ἱρόν δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Βουτοῖ ταύτῃ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ὃ γε νηὸς τῆς Λητοῦς, ἐν τῷ δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐνι, αὐτός τε τυγχάνει ἐὼν μέγας καὶ τὰ προπύλαια ἔχει ἐς ὕψος δέκα ὀργυιῶν. 3 τὸ δέ μοι τῶν φανερῶν ἦν θῶμα μέγιστον παρεχόμενον, φράσω· ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ Λητοῦς νηὸς ἐξ ἐνὸς λίθου πεποιημένος ἐς τε ὕψος καὶ ἐς μῆκος καὶ τοῖχος ἕκαστος τούτοισι ἴσος τεσσεράκοντα πηγέων τούτων ἕκαστον ἐστί, τὸ δὲ καταστέγασμα τῆς ὀροφῆς ἄλλος ἐπικείται λίθος, ἔχων τὴν παρωροφίδα τετράπηχυν.

155. I have often mentioned the Egyptian oracle, and shall give an account of this, as it deserves. This oracle is sacred to Leto, and is situated in a great city by the Sebennyitic arm of the Nile, on the way up from the sea. Buto is the name of the city where this oracle is; I have already mentioned it. In Buto there is a temple of Apollo and Artemis. The shrine of Leto where the oracle is, is itself very great, and its outer court is sixty feet high. But what caused me the most wonder among the things apparent there I shall mention. In this precinct is the shrine of Leto, the height and length of whose walls is all made of a single stone slab; each wall has an equal length and height; namely, seventy feet. Another slab makes the surface of the

roof, the cornice of which is seven feet broad.

156 1 οὕτω μὲν νυν ὁ νηὸς τῶν φανερῶν μοι τῶν περὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν ἐστὶ θωμαστότατον, τῶν δὲ δευτέρων νῆσος ἡ Χέμμις καλυμένη· 2 ἔστι μὲν ἐν λίμνῃ βαθέῃ καὶ πλατῇ κειμένη παρὰ τὸ ἐν Βουτοῖ ἱρὸν, λέγεται δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι αὕτη ἡ νῆσος πλωτή. αὐτὸς μὲν ἔγωγε οὔτε πλέουσιν οὔτε κινηθεῖσαν εἶδον, τέθηπα δὲ ἀκούων εἰ νῆσος ἀληθέως ἐστὶ πλωτή. 3 ἐν δὲ ὧν ταύτῃ νηὸς τε Ἀπόλλωνος μέγας ἐνὶ καὶ βωμοὶ τριφάσιοι ἐνιδρύονται, ἐμπεφύκασιν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ φοίνικες συχνοὶ καὶ ἄλλα δένδρεα καὶ καρποφόρα καὶ ἄφορα πολλά. 4 λόγον δὲ τόνδε ἐπιλέγοντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ εἶναι αὐτὴν πλωτὴν, ὥς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ οὐκ εἴσῃ πρότερον πλωτῇ Λητώ, ἐοῦσα τῶν ὀκτῶ θεῶν τῶν πρώτων γενομένων, οἰκέουσα δὲ ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλιν, ἵνα δὴ οἱ τὸ χρηστήριον τοῦτο ἐστί, Ἀπόλλωνα παρ' Ἴσιος παρακαταθήκην δεξαμένη διέσωσε κατακρύψασα ἐν τῇ νῦν πλωτῇ λεγομένη νήσῳ, ὅτε τὸ πᾶν διζήμενος ὁ Τυφὼν ἐπῆλθε, θέλων ἐξευρεῖν τοῦ Ὀσίριος τὸν παῖδα. 5 Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ καὶ Ἄρτεμιν Διονύσου καὶ Ἴσιος λέγουσι εἶναι παῖδας, Λητοῦν δὲ τροφὸν αὐτοῖσι καὶ σώτειραν γενέσθαι. Αἰγυπτιστὶ δὲ Ἀπόλλων μὲν Ὡρος, Δημήτηρ δὲ Ἴσις, Ἄρτεμις δὲ Βούβαστις. 6 ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου Αἰσχύλος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος ἥρπασε τὸ ἐγὼ φράσω, μόνος δὴ ποιητῶν τῶν προγενομένων· ἐποίησε γὰρ Ἄρτεμιν εἶναι θυγατέρα Δήμητρος. τὴν δὲ νῆσον διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι πλωτὴν. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι.

156. Thus, then, the shrine is the most marvellous of all the things that I saw in this temple; but of things of second rank, the most wondrous is the island called Khemmis. This lies in a deep and wide lake near the temple at Buto, and the Egyptians say that it floats. I never saw it float, or move at all, and I thought it a marvellous tale, that an island should truly float. However that may be, there is a great shrine of Apollo on it, and three altars stand there; many palm trees grow on the island, and other trees too, some yielding fruit and some not. This is the story that the Egyptians tell to explain why the island moves: that on this island that did not move before, Leto, one of the eight gods who first came to be, who was living at Buto where this oracle of hers is, taking charge of Apollo from Isis, hid him for safety in this island which is now said to float, when Typhon came

hunting through the world, keen to find the son of Osiris. Apollo and Artemis were (they say) children of Dionysus and Isis, and Leto was made their nurse and preserver; in Egyptian, Apollo is Horus, Demeter Isis, Artemis Bubastis. It was from this legend and no other that Aeschylus son of Euphorion took a notion which is in no poet before him: that Artemis was the daughter of Demeter. For this reason the island was made to float. So they say.

157 1 Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου τέσσερα καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, τῶν τὰ ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα Ἄζωτον τῆς Συρίας μεγάλην πόλιν προσκατήμενος ἐπολιόρκει, ἐς ὃ ἐξείλε. αὕτη δὲ ἡ Ἄζωτος ἀπασέων πολιῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον πολιορκεομένη ἀντέσχε τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

157. Psammetichus ruled Egypt for fifty-three years, twenty-nine of which he spent before Azotus, a great city in Syria, besieging it until he took it. Azotus held out against a siege longer than any city of which we know.

158 1 Ψαμμητίχου δὲ Νεκῶς παῖς ἐγένετο καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου, ὃς τῇ διώρυχι ἐπεχείρησε πρῶτος τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν φερούσῃ, τὴν Δαρεῖος ὁ Πέρσης δευτέρα διώρυξε· τῆς μῆκος ἐστὶ πλόος ἡμέραι τέσσερες, εὖρος δὲ ὠρύχθη ὥστε τριήρας δύο πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρευμένας. 2 ἦκται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτήν· ἦκται δὲ κατύπερθε ὀλίγον Βουβάστιος πόλιος παρὰ Πάτουμον τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλιν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. ὁρύρκεται δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου τὰ πρὸς Ἀραβίην ἔχοντα· ἔχεται δὲ κατύπερθε τοῦ πεδίου τὸ κατὰ Μέμφιν τεῖνον ὄρος, ἐν τῷ αἱ λιθοτομίαι ἔννεισι· 3 τοῦ ὧν δὴ ὄρεος τούτου παρὰ τὴν ὑπώρεαν ἦκται ἡ διώρυξ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης μακρὴ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ, καὶ ἔπειτα τείνει ἐς διασφάγας, φέρουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρεος πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον. 4 τῇ δὲ ἐλάχιστον ἐστὶ καὶ συντομώτατον ἐκ τῆς βορηῆς θαλάσσης ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν νοτίην καὶ Ἐρυθρὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην καλεομένην, ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου ὄρεος τοῦ οὐρίζοντος Αἰγυπτὸν τε καὶ Συρίην, ἀπὸ τούτου εἰσὶ στάδιοι ἀπαρτὶ χίλιοι ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον. 5 τοῦτο μὲν τὸ συντομώτατον, ἡ δὲ διώρυξ πολλῶ μακροτέρῃ, ὅσῳ σκολιωτέρῃ ἐστὶ· τὴν ἐπὶ Νεκῶ βασιλέος ὀρύσσοντες Αἰγυπτίων ἀπώλοντο δωδέκα μυριάδες. Νεκῶς μὲν νυν μεταξὺ ὀρύσσων

ἐπαύσατο μαντηίου ἐμποδίου γενομένου τοιοῦδε, τῷ βαρβάρῳ αὐτὸν προεργάζεσθαι. βαρβάρους δὲ πάντας οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τοὺς μὴ σφίσι ὁμογλώσσους.

158. Psammetichus had a son, Necos, who became king of Egypt. It was he who began building the canal into the Red Sea, which was finished by Darius the Persian. This is four days' voyage in length, and it was dug wide enough for two triremes to move in it rowed abreast. It is fed by the Nile, and is carried from a little above Bubastis by the Arabian town of Patumus; it issues into the Red Sea. Digging began in the part of the Egyptian plain nearest to Arabia; the mountains that extend to Memphis (the mountains where the stone quarries are) come close to this plain; the canal is led along the foothills of these mountains in a long reach from west to east; passing then into a ravine, it bears southward out of the hill country towards the Arabian Gulf. Now the shortest and most direct passage from the northern to the southern or Red Sea is from the Casian promontory, the boundary between Egypt and Syria, to the Arabian Gulf, and this is a distance of one hundred and twenty five miles, neither more nor less; this is the most direct route, but the canal is far longer, inasmuch as it is more crooked. In Necos' reign, a hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians died digging it. Necos stopped work, stayed by a prophetic utterance that he was toiling beforehand for the barbarian. The Egyptians call all men of other languages barbarians.

159 1 παυσάμενος δὲ τῆς διώρυχος ὁ Νεκῶς ἐτράπετο πρὸς στρατίας, καὶ τριήρεις αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ βορρῇ θαλάσῃ ἐποιήθησαν, αἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ, τῶν ἔτι οἱ ὅλκοι ἐπίδηλοι. 2 καὶ ταύτησί τε ἐχρᾶτο ἐν τῷ δέοντι καὶ Σύροισι περὶ ὁ Νεκῶς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδῶλῳ ἐνίκησε, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Κάδουτιν πόλιν τῆς Συρίας ἐοῦσαν μεγάλην εἶλε. 3 ἐν τῇ δὲ ἐσθῆτι ἔτυχε ταῦτα κατεργασάμενος, ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι πέμψας ἑς Βραγχίδας τὰς Μιλησίων. μετὰ δέ, ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτεα τὰ πάντα ἄρξας, τελευτᾷ, τῷ παιδὶ Ψάμμι παραδοὺς τὴν ἀρχήν.

159. Necos, then, stopped work on the canal and engaged in preparations for war; some of his ships of war were built on the northern sea, and some in the Arabian Gulf, by the Red Sea coast: the winches for landing these can still be seen. He used these ships when

needed, and with his land army met and defeated the Syrians at Magdolus, taking the great Syrian city of Cadytis after the battle. He sent to Branchidae of Miletus and dedicated there to Apollo the garments in which he won these victories. Then he died after a reign of sixteen years, and his son Psammis reigned in his place.

160 1 ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ψάμμιν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου ἀπίκοντο Ἑλείων ἄγγελοι, αὐχέοντες δικαιοτάτα καὶ κάλλιστα τιθέναι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δοκέοντες παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδ' ἂν τοὺς σοφωτάτους ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίους οὐδὲν ἐπεξευρεῖν· 2 ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἱ Ἑλεῖοι ἔλεγον τῶν εἵνεκα ἀπίκοντο, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος συγκαλέεται Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς λεγομένους εἶναι σοφωτάτους. συνελθόντες δὲ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐπυνθάνοντο τῶν Ἑλείων λεγόντων ἅπαντα τὰ κατήκει σφέας ποιεῖν περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα· ἀπηγησάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα ἔφασαν ἥκειν ἐπιμαθησόμενοι εἴ τι ἔχοιεν Αἰγύπτιοι τούτων δικαιοτέρον ἐπεξευρεῖν. 3 οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι ἐπειρώτων τοὺς Ἑλείους εἰ σφι οἱ πολιῆται ἐναγωνίζονται. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν καὶ σφέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὁμοίως τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐξεῖναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι. 4 οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἔφασαν σφέας οὕτω τιθέντας παντὸς τοῦ δικαίου ἡμαρτηκέнай. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ εἶναι μηχανὴν ὅκως οὐ τῷ ἀστῷ ἀγωνιζομένῳ προσθήσονται, ἀδικέοντες τὸν ξεῖνον. ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ βούλονται δικαίως τιθέναι καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα ἀπικοῖατο ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ξείνοισι ἀγωνιστῆσι ἐκέλευον τὸν ἀγῶνα τιθέναι, Ἑλείων δὲ μηδενὶ εἶναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι Ἑλείοισι ὑπεθήκαντο.

160. While this Psammis was king of Egypt, he was visited by ambassadors from Elis, the Eleans boasting that they had arranged the Olympic games with all the justice and fairness in the world, and claiming that even the Egyptians, although the wisest of all men, could not do better. When the Eleans came to Egypt and announced why they had come, Psammis assembled the Egyptians reputed to be wisest. These assembled and learned all that the Eleans were to do regarding the games; after explaining this, the Eleans said that they had come to learn whether the Egyptians could discover any juster way. The Egyptians deliberated, and then asked the Eleans if their own citizens took part in the contests. The Eleans answered that they did: all Greeks from Elis or elsewhere might contend. Then the

Egyptians said that in establishing this rule they fell short of complete fairness: “For there is no way that you will not favor your own townsfolk in the contest and wrong the stranger; if you wish in fact to make just rules and have come to Egypt for that reason, you should admit only strangers to the contest, and not Eleans.” Such was the counsel of the Egyptians to the Eleans.

161 1 ψάμμιος δὲ ἔξ ἔτεα μούνον βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου καὶ στρατευσαμένου ἐς Αἰθιοπίν καὶ μεταυτίκα τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέξατο Ἀπρίης ὁ Ψάμμιος· 2 ὃς μετὰ Ψαμμήτιχον τὸν ἐωυτοῦ προπάτορα ἐγένετο εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων, ἐπ’ ἔτεα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἄρξας, ἐν τοῖσι ἐπὶ τε Σιδῶνα στρατὸν ἤλασε καὶ ἐναυμάχησε τῷ Τυρίῳ. 3 ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔδεε κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγένετο ἀπὸ προφάσιος τὴν ἐγὼ μεζόνως μὲν ἐν τοῖσι Λιβυκοῖσι λόγοισι ἀπηγήσομαι, μετρίως δ’ ἐν τῷ παρεόντι. 4 ἀποπέμψας γὰρ στράτευμα ὁ Ἀπρίης ἐπὶ Κυρηναίους μεγαλωστὶ προσέπταισε, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι ἀπέστησαν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ, δοκέοντες τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐκ προνοίης αὐτοὺς ἀποπέμψαι ἐς φαινόμενον κακόν, ἵνα δὴ σφέων φθορὴ γένηται, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀσφαλέστερον ἄρχοι. ταῦτα δὲ δεινὰ ποιεύμενοι οὗτοί τε οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων φίλοι ἀπέστησαν ἐκ τῆς ἰθῆς.

161. Psammis reigned over Egypt for only six years; he invaded Ethiopia, and immediately thereafter died, and Apries the son of Psammis reigned in his place. He was more fortunate than any former king (except his great-grandfather Psammetichus) during his rule of twenty-five years, during which he sent an army against Sidon and fought at sea with the king of Tyre. But when it was fated that evil should overtake him, the cause of it was something that I will now deal with briefly, and at greater length in the Libyan part of this history. Apries sent a great force against Cyrene and suffered a great defeat. The Egyptians blamed him for this and rebelled against him; for they thought that Apries had knowingly sent his men to their doom, so that after their perishing in this way he might be the more secure in his rule over the rest of the Egyptians. Bitterly angered by this, those who returned home and the friends of the slain openly revolted.

162 1 πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀπρίης ταῦτα πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἄμασιν καταπαύσοντα λόγοισι. ὁ δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἀπικόμενος κατελάμβανε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖν, λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ὀπισθε στάς περιέθηκέ οἱ κυνέην, καὶ περιτιθεὶς ἔφη ἐπὶ βασιληίῃ περιτιθέναι. 2 καὶ τῷ οὐ κως ἀκούσιον ἐγένετο τὸ ποιεῦμενον, ὥς διεδείκνυε. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ἐστήσαντό μιν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἀπεστεῶτες, παρεσκευάζετο ὥς ἐλὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην. 3 πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπρίης ἔπεμπε ἐπ' Ἄμασιν ἄνδρα δόκιμον τῶν περὶ ἐωυτὸν Αἰγυπτίων, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Πατάρβημις, ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ ζῶντα Ἄμασιν ἀγαγεῖν παρ' ἐωυτόν. ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενος τὸν Ἄμασιν ἐκάλεε ὁ Πατάρβημις, ὁ Ἄμασις, ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐπ' ἵππου κατήμενος, ἐπαείρας ἀπεματάισε, καὶ τοῦτό μιν ἐκέλευε Ἀπρίῃ ἀπάγειν. 4 ὁμως δὲ αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦν τὸν Πατάρβημιν βασιλέος μεταπεμπομένου ἰέναι πρὸς αὐτόν· τὸν δὲ αὐτῷ ὑποκρίνεσθαι ὥς ταῦτα πάλοι παρεσκευάζετο ποιεῖν, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐ μέμψεσθαι Ἀπρίην· παρέσεσθαι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἄλλους ἄξειν. 5 τὸν δὲ Πατάρβημιν ἔκ τε τῶν λεγομένων οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον ὁρῶντα σπουδῇ ἀπιέναι, βουλόμενον τὴν ταχίστην βασιλείῃ δηλῶσαι τὰ πρησόμενα. ὥς δὲ ἀπικέσθαι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀπρίην οὐκ ἄγοντα τὸν Ἄμασιν, οὐδένα λόγον αὐτῷ δόντα ἀλλὰ περιθύμως ἔχοντα περιταμεῖν προστάζει αὐτοῦ τά τε ὧτα καὶ τὴν ῥῖνα. 6 ἰδόμενοι δ' οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, οἳ ἔτι τὰ ἐκείνου ἐφρόνεον, ἄνδρα τὸν δοκιμώτατον ἐωυτῶν οὕτω αἰσχυρῶς λύμῃ διακείμενον, οὐδένα δὴ χρόνον ἐπισχόντες ἀπιστέατο πρὸς τοὺς ἐτέρους καὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀμάσι.

162. Hearing of this, Apries sent Amasis to dissuade them. When Amasis came up with the Egyptians, he exhorted them to desist; but as he spoke an Egyptian came behind him and put a helmet on his head, saying it was the token of royalty. And Amasis showed that this was not displeasing to him, for after being made king by the rebel Egyptians he prepared to march against Apries. When Apries heard of it, he sent against Amasis an esteemed Egyptian named Patarbemis, one of his own court, instructing him to take the rebel alive and bring him into his presence. When Patarbemis came and summoned Amasis, Amasis (who was on horseback) rose up and farted, telling the messenger to take that back to Apries. But when in

spite of this Patarbemis insisted that Amasis obey the king's summons and go to him, Amasis answered that he had long been preparing to do just that, and Apries would find him above reproach, for he would present himself, and bring others. Hearing this, Patarbemis could not mistake Amasis; he saw his preparations and hastened to depart, the more quickly to make known to the king what was going on. When Apries saw him return without Amasis, he did not stop to reflect, but in his rage and fury had Patarbemis' ears and nose cut off. The rest of the Egyptians, who were until now Apries' friends, seeing this outrage done to the man who was most prominent among them, changed sides without delay and offered themselves to Amasis.

163 1 πυθόμενος δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπρίης ὥπλιζε τοὺς ἐπικούρους καὶ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους· εἶχε δὲ περὶ ἐωυτὸν Κᾱράς τε καὶ Ἰωνας ἄνδρας ἐπικούρους τρισμυρίους· ἦν δὲ οἱ τὰ βασιλῆα ἐν Σαῖ πόλι, μεγάλα ἐόντα καὶ ἀξιοθέητα. 2 καὶ οἱ τε περὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἦσαν καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄμασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους· ἔν τε δὴ Μωμέμφι πόλι ἐγένοντο ἀμφοτέρω καὶ πειρήσεσθαι ἔμελλον ἀλλήλων.

163. Learning of this, too, Apries armed his guard and marched against the Egyptians; he had a bodyguard of Carians and Ionians, thirty thousand of them, and his royal palace was in the city of Saïs, a great and marvellous palace. Apries' men marched against the Egyptians, and so did Amasis' men against the foreigners. So they both came to Momemphis and were going to make trial of one another.

164 1 ἔστι δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἐπτὰ γένη, καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι κεκλέαται, οἱ δὲ βουκόλοι οἱ δὲ συβῶται, οἱ δὲ κάπηλοι, οἱ δὲ ἐρμηνέες, οἱ δὲ κυβερνήται. γένη μὲν Αἰγυπτίων τοσαῦτα ἐστί, οὐνόματα δὲ σφί κέεται ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνέων. 2 οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι αὐτῶν καλέονται μὲν Καλασίριές τε καὶ Ἑρμοτύβιες, ἐκ νομῶν δὲ τῶνδε εἰσὶ· κατὰ γὰρ δὴ νομοὺς Αἴγυπτος ἅπανα διαραίρηται.

164. The Egyptians are divided into seven classes: priests, warriors, cowherds, swineherds, merchants, interpreters, and pilots. There are this many classes, each named after its occupation. The warriors are divided into Kalasiries and Hermotubies, and they

belong to the following districts (for all divisions in Egypt are made according to districts).

165 1 Ἑρμοτυβίων μὲν οἶδε εἰσὶ νομοί, Βουσιρίτης, Σαΐτης, Χεμμίτης, Παπρημίτης, νῆσος ἡ Προσωπίτις καλεομένη, Ναθῶ τὸ ἥμισυ. ἐκ μὲν τούτων τῶν νομῶν Ἑρμοτύβιες εἰσὶ, γενόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγένοντο, ἑκκαίδεκα μυριάδες. καὶ τούτων βανασίης οὐδεὶς δεδάηκε οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀνέωνται ἐς τὸ μάχιμον.

165. The Hermotubies are from the districts of Busiris, Saïs, Khemmis, and Papremis, the island called Prosopitis, and half of Natho — from all of these; their number, at its greatest, attained to a hundred and sixty thousand. None of these has learned any common trade; they are free to follow the profession of arms alone.

166 1 καλασιρίων δὲ οἶδε ἄλλοι νομοί εἰσι, Θηβαῖος, Βουβαστίτης, Αφθίτης, Τανίτης, Μενδήσιος, Σεβεννύτης, Ἀθριβίτης, Φαρβαῖθίτης, Θμουῖτης, Ὀνουφίτης, Ἀνύτιος, Μυεκφορίτης· οὗτος ὁ νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ οἰκείει ἀντίον Βουβάστιος πόλιος. 2 οὗτοι δὲ οἱ νομοὶ Καλασιρίων εἰσὶ, γενόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγένοντο, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν. οὐδὲ τούτοισι ἔξεστι τέχνην ἐπασκῆσαι οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐπασκέουσι μούνα, παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδεκόμενος.

166. The Kalasiries are from the districts of Thebes, Bubastis, Aphthis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennys, Athribis, Pharbaïthis, Thmuis, Onuphis, Anytis, Myecphoris (this last is in an island opposite the city of Bubastis) — from all of these; their number, at its greatest, attained to two hundred and fifty thousand men. These too may practise no trade but war, which is their hereditary calling.

167 1 εἰ μὲν νυν καὶ τοῦτο παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως κρῖναι, ὁρέων καὶ Θρήικας καὶ Σκύθας καὶ Πέρσας καὶ Λυδοὺς καὶ σχεδὸν πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀποτιμωτέρους τῶν ἄλλων ἡγημένους πολιητέων τοὺς τὰς τέχνας μανθάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους τούτων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπαλλαγμένους τῶν χειρωναξίων γενναίους νομιζομένους εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνειμένους· 2 μεμαθήκασι δ' ὧν τοῦτο πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ μάλιστα Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἥκιστα δὲ Κορίνθιοι ὄνονται τοὺς χειροτέχνας.

167. Now whether this, too, the Greeks have learned from the

Egyptians, I cannot confidently judge. I know that in Thrace and Scythia and Persia and Lydia and nearly all foreign countries, those who learn trades are held in less esteem than the rest of the people, and those who have least to do with artisans' work, especially men who are free to practise the art of war, are highly honored. This much is certain: that this opinion, which is held by all Greeks and particularly by the Lacedaemonians, is of foreign origin. It is in Corinth that artisans are held in least contempt.

168 1 γέρεα δέ σφι ἦν τάδε ἐξαραιρημένα μούνουσι Αἰγυπτίων πάρεξ τῶν ἱρέων, ἄρουραι ἐξαίρετοι δυνώδεκα ἐκάστῳ ἀτελέες. ἡ δὲ ἄρουρα ἑκατὸν πηγέων ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίων πάντῃ, ὁ δὲ Αἰγύπιος πῆχυς τυγχάνει ἴσος ἐὼν τῷ Σαμίῳ. 2 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασιν ἦν ἐξαραιρημένα, τάδε δὲ ἐν περιτροπῇ ἐκαρποῦντο καὶ οὐδαμὰ ὧστοί. Καλασιρίων χίλιοι καὶ Ἑρμοτυβίων ἐδορυφόρεον ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστοι τὸν βασιλέα· τούτοισι ὧν τάδε πάρεξ τῶν ἀρουρέων ἄλλα ἐδίδοδο ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη, ὁποῦ σίτου σταθμὸς πέντε μνέαι ἐκάστῳ, κρεῶν βοέων δύο μνέαι, οἶνου τέσσερες ἀρυστήρες. ταῦτα τοῖσι αἰεὶ δορυφορέουσι ἐδίδοδο.

168. The warriors were the only Egyptians, except the priests, who had special privileges: for each of them an untaxed plot of twelve acres was set apart. This acre is a square of a hundred Egyptian cubits each way, the Egyptian cubit being equal to the Samian. These lands were set apart for all; it was never the same men who cultivated them, but each in turn. A thousand Kalasiries and as many Hermotubies were the king's annual bodyguard. These men, besides their lands, each received a daily provision of five minae's weight of roast grain, two minae of beef, and four cups of wine. These were the gifts received by each bodyguard.

169 1 ἐπεῖτε δὲ συνιόντες ὃ τε Ἀπρίης ἄγων τοὺς ἐπικούρους καὶ ὁ Ἄμασις πάντας Αἰγυπτίους ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μώμεμφιν πόλιν, συνέβαλον· καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο μὲν εὖ οἱ ξεῖνοι, πλήθει δὲ πολλῶ ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσσώθησαν. 2 Ἀπρίεω δὲ λέγεται εἶναι ἥδε διάνοια, μὴδ' ἂν θεὸν μιν μηδένα δύνασθαι παῦσαι τῆς βασιληίης· οὕτω ἀσφαλέως ἐωυτῷ ἰδρῦσθαι ἐδόκεε. καὶ δὴ τότε συμβαλὼν ἐσσώθη καὶ ζωγρηθεὶς ἀπήχθη ἐς Σάιν πόλιν, ἐς τὰ ἐωυτοῦ οἰκία πρότερον ἐόντα, τότε δὲ Ἀμάσιος ἤδη βασιληία. 3

ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τέως μὲν ἐτρέφετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιλῆίοισι, καὶ μιν Ἄμασις εὖ περιεῖτε· τέλος δὲ μεμφομένων Αἰγυπτίων ὥς οὐ ποιεοὶ δίκαια τρέφων τὸν σφίσι τε καὶ ἐωυτῷ ἔχθιστον, οὕτω δὴ παραδιδοῖ τὸν Ἀπρίην τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι. οἳ δὲ μιν ἀπέπνιξαν καὶ ἔπειτα ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇσι πατρῶϊσι ταφῇσι· 4 αἱ δὲ εἰσὶ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ μεγάρου, ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός. ἔθαψαν δὲ Σαῖται πάντας τοὺς ἐκ νομοῦ τούτου γενομένους βασιλέας ἔσω ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ. 5 καὶ γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος σῆμα ἐκαστέρῳ μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ μεγάρου ἢ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπρίεω καὶ τῶν τούτου προπατόρων, ἔστι μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, παστὰς λιθίνη μεγάλη καὶ ἡσκημένη στύλοισι τε φοίνικας τὰ δένδρεα μεμιμημένοισι καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δαπάνῃ· ἔσω δὲ ἐν τῇ παστάδι διξὰ θυρώματα ἔστηκε, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι θυρώμασι ἡ θήκη ἐστί.

169. When Apries with his guards and Amasis with the whole force of Egyptians came to the town of Momemphis, they engaged; and though the foreigners fought well, they were vastly outnumbered, and therefore were beaten. Apries, they say, supposed that not even a god could depose him from his throne, so firmly did he think he was established; and now, defeated in battle and taken captive, he was brought to Saïs, to the royal dwelling which belonged to him once but now belonged to Amasis. There, he was kept alive for a while in the palace and well treated by Amasis. But presently the Egyptians complained that there was no justice in keeping alive one who was their own and their king's bitterest enemy; whereupon Amasis gave Apries up to them, and they strangled him and then buried him in the burial-place of his fathers. This is in the temple of Athena, very near to the sanctuary, on the left of the entrance. The people of Saïs buried within the temple precinct all kings who were natives of their district. The tomb of Amasis is farther from the sanctuary than the tomb of Apries and his ancestors; yet it, too, is within the temple court; it is a great colonnade of stone, richly adorned, the pillars made in the form of palm trees. In this colonnade are two portals, and the place where the coffin lies is within their doors.

170 1 εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ ταφαὶ τοῦ οὐκ ὄσιον ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ἐξαγορεύειν τὸ οὖνομα ἐν Σαί, ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίης,

ὀπισθε τοῦ νηοῦ, παντὸς τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐχόμεναι τοίχου. 2 καὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένει ὀβελοὶ ἐστᾶσι μεγάλοι λίθινοι, λίμνη τε ἐστὶ ἐχομένη λιθίνῃ κρηπιδὶ κεκοσμημένη καὶ ἐργασμένη εὖ κύκλῳ καὶ μέγαθος, ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκεε, ὅση περ ἢ ἐν Δήλῳ ἢ τροχοειδὲς καλεομένη.

170. There is also at Saïs the burial-place of one whose name I think it impious to mention in speaking of such a matter; it is in the temple of Athena, behind and close to the length of the wall of the shrine. Moreover, great stone obelisks stand in the precinct; and there is a lake nearby, adorned with a stone margin and made in a complete circle; it is, as it seemed to me, the size of the lake at Delos which they call the Round Pond.

171 1 ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ ταύτῃ τὰ δείκνυα τῶν παθέων αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ποιεῦσι, τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι. περὶ μὲν νυν τούτων εἰδοῖται μοι ἐπὶ πλέον ὥς ἕκαστα αὐτῶν ἔχει, εὖστομα κείσθω. 2 καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τελετῆς περὶ, τὴν οἱ Ἕλληνες θεσμοφóρια καλέουσι, καὶ ταύτης μοι περὶ εὖστομα κείσθω, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς ὁσίῃ ἐστὶ λέγειν· 3 αἱ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρες ἦσαν αἱ τὴν τελετὴν ταύτην ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγαγοῦσαι καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγίωτιδας γυναῖκας· μετὰ δὲ ἐξαναστάσης πάσης Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐξapάwλετο ἡ τελετή, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες Πελοποννησίων καὶ οὐκ ἐξαναστάντες Ἀρκάδες διέσωζον αὐτὴν μόνοι.

171. On this lake they enact by night the story of the god's sufferings, a rite which the Egyptians call the Mysteries. I could say more about this, for I know the truth, but let me preserve a discreet silence. Let me preserve a discreet silence, too, concerning that rite of Demeter which the Greeks call Thesmophoria, except as much of it as I am not forbidden to mention. The daughters of Danaus were those who brought this rite out of Egypt and taught it to the Pelasgian women; afterwards, when the people of the Peloponnese were driven out by the Dorians, it was lost, except in so far as it was preserved by the Arcadians, the Peloponnesian people which was not driven out but left in its home.

172 1 Ἀπρίεω δὲ ᾧδε καταραιομένην ἐβασίλευσε Ἄμασις, νομοῦ μὲν Σαῖτεω ἐών, ἐκ τῆς δὲ ἦν πόλις, οὐνομά οἱ ἐστὶ Σιούφ. 2 τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα κατῶνοντο τὸν Ἄμασιν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ μοίρῃ μεγάλῃ ἦγον ἅτε δὴ δημότην τὸ πρὶν ἐόντα καὶ οἰκίης οὐκ

ἐπιφανέος· μετὰ δὲ σοφίῃ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἄμασις, οὐκ ἀγνωμοσύνη προσηγάγετο. 3 ἦν οἱ ἄλλα τε ἀγαθὰ μυρία, ἐν δὲ καὶ ποδανιπτήρ χρύσεος, ἐν τῷ αὐτός τε ὁ Ἄμασις καὶ οἱ δαιτυμόνες οἱ πάντες τοὺς πόδας ἐκάστοτε ἐναπενίζοντο· τοῦτον κατ' ὧν κόψας ἄγαλμα δαίμονος ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐποίησατο, καὶ ἵδρυσε τῆς πόλιος ὅκου ἦν ἐπιτηδεότατον· οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι φοιτέοντες πρὸς τῷ ἀγάλματι ἐσέβοντο μέγας. 4 μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἄμασις τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἀστῶν ποιούμενον, συγκαλέσας Αἰγυπτίους ἐξέφηνε φᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ποδανιπτήρος τῷ ἀγάλματι γεγονέναι, ἐς τὸν πρότερον μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐνεμέειν τε καὶ ἐνουρέειν καὶ πόδας ἐναπονίζεσθαι, τότε δὲ μέγας σέβεσθαι. 5 ἦδη ὧν ἔφη λέγων ὁμοίως αὐτὸς τῷ ποδανιπτήρι πεπρηγέσθαι· εἰ γὰρ πρότερον εἶναι δημότης, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ παρεόντι εἶναι αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς· καὶ τιμᾶν τε καὶ προμηθέεσθαι ἐωυτοῦ ἐκέλευε. τοιοῦτω μὲν τρόπῳ προσηγάγετο τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὥστε δικαιοῦν δουλεύειν.

172. After Apries was deposed, Amasis became king; he was from a town called Siuph in the district of Saïs. Now at first he was scorned and held in low regard by the Egyptians on the ground that he was a common man and of no high family; but presently he won them over by being shrewd and not arrogant. He had among his countless treasures a golden washbowl, in which he and all those who ate with him were accustomed to clean their feet. This he broke in pieces and out of it made a god's image, which he set in a most conspicuous spot in the city; and the Egyptians came frequently to this image and held it in great reverence. When Amasis learned what the townsfolk were doing, he called the Egyptians together and told them that the image had been made out of the washbowl, in which Egyptians had once vomited and urinated and cleaned their feet, but which now they greatly revered. "Now then," he said, "I have fared like the washbowl, since if before I was a common man, still, I am your king now." And he told them to honor and show respect for him.

173 1 ἐχρᾶτο δὲ καταστάσι πρηγμάτων τοιῆδε· τὸ μὲν ὀρθριον μέχρι ὅτευ πληθούσης ἀγορῆς προθύμως ἐπρησσε τὰ προσφερόμενα πρήγματα, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐπινέ τε καὶ κατέσκαπτε τοὺς συμπότας καὶ ἦν μάταιός τε καὶ παιγνιήμων. 2 ἀχθεσθέντες δὲ τούτοις οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ ἐνουθέτεον αὐτὸν τοιάδε λέγοντες. “ ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐκ ὀρθῶς,

σεωυτοῦ προέστηκας, ἐς τὸ ἄγαν φαῦλον προάγων σεωυτόν. σὲ γὰρ ἐχρῆν ἐν θρόνῳ σεμνῷ σεμνὸν θωκέοντα δι' ἡμέρης πρήσσειν τὰ πρήγματα, καὶ οὕτω Αἰγύπτιοί τ' ἂν ἠπιστέατο ὥς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου ἄρχονται, καὶ ἄμεινον σὺ ἂν ἤκουες· νῦν δὲ ποιέεις οὐδαμῶς βασιλικά “· 3 ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε αὐτούς. “ τὰ τόξα οἱ ἐκτημένοι, ἐπεὰν μὲν δέωνται χρᾶσθαι, ἐντανύουσι· εἰ γὰρ δὴ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐντεταμένα εἴη, ἐκραγεῖν ἂν, ὥστε ἐς τὸ δέον οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν αὐτοῖσι χρᾶσθαι. 4 οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου κατάστασις· εἰ ἐθέλοι κατεσπουδάσθαι αἰεὶ μηδὲ ἐς παιγνίην τὸ μέρος ἐωυτόν ἀνιέναι, λάθοι ἂν ἥτοι μανεῖς ἢ ὅ γε ἀπόπληκτος γενόμενος· τὰ ἐγὼ ἐπιστάμενος μέρος ἐκατέρῳ νέμω “· ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς φίλους ἀμείψατο.

173. The following was how he scheduled his affairs: in the morning, until the the hour when the marketplace filled, he readily conducted whatever business was brought to him; the rest of the day, he drank and joked at the expense of his companions and was idle and playful. But this displeased his friends, who admonished him thus: “O King, you do not conduct yourself well by indulging too much in vulgarity. You, a celebrated man, ought to conduct your business throughout the day, sitting on a celebrated throne; and thus the Egyptians would know that they are governed by a great man, and you would be better spoken of; as it is, what you do is by no means kingly.” But he answered them like this: “Men that have bows string them when they must use them, and unstring them when they have used them; were bows kept strung forever, they would break, and so could not be used when needed. Such, too, is the nature of man. Were one to be always at serious work and not permit oneself a bit of relaxation, he would go mad or idiotic before he knew it; I am well aware of that, and give each of the two its turn.” Such was his answer to his friends.

174 1 λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἄμασις, καὶ ὅτε ἦν ιδιώτης, ὥς φιλοπότης ἦν καὶ φιλοσκώμμων καὶ οὐδαμῶς κατεσπουδασμένος ἀνὴρ· ὅκως δέ μιν ἐπιλείποι πίνοντά τε καὶ εὐπαθέοντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα, κλέπτεσκε ἂν περιῶν· οἱ δ' ἂν μιν φάμενοι ἔχειν τὰ σφέτερα χρήματα ἀρνεύμενον ἄγεσκον ἐπὶ μαντήιον, ὅκου ἐκάστοισι εἶη. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἠλίσκετο ὑπὸ τῶν μαντηίων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπέφευγε. 2 ἐπεῖτε δὲ καὶ

ἐβασίλευσε, ἐποίησε τοιάδε· ὅσοι μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν θεῶν ἀπέλυσαν μὴ φῶρα εἶναι, τούτων μὲν τῶν ἱρῶν οὔτε ἐπεμέλετο οὔτε ἐς ἐπισκευὴν ἐδίδου οὐδέν, οὐδὲ φοιτέων ἔθνε ὥς οὐδενὸς ἐοῦσι ἀξίοισι ψευδέα τε μαντήια ἐκτεμένοισι· ὅσοι δὲ μιν κατέδησαν φῶρα εἶναι, τούτων δὲ ὥς ἀληθέων θεῶν ἐόντων καὶ ἀψευδέα μαντήια παρεχομένων τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεμέλετο.

174. It is said that even when Amasis was a private man he was fond of drinking and joking and was not at all a sober man; and that when his drinking and pleasure-seeking cost him the bare necessities, he would go around stealing. Then when he contradicted those who said that he had their possessions, they would bring him to whatever place of divination was nearby, and sometimes the oracles declared him guilty and sometimes they acquitted him. When he became king, he did not take care of the shrines of the gods who had acquitted him of theft, or give them anything for maintenance, or make it his practice to sacrifice there, for he knew them to be worthless and their oracles false; but he took scrupulous care of the gods who had declared his guilt, considering them to be gods in very deed and their oracles infallible.

175 1 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν Σαί τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ προπύλαια θωμάσια οἷα ἐξεποίησε, πολλὸν πάντας ὑπερβαλόμενος τῷ τε ὕψει καὶ τῷ μεγάθει, ὅσων τε τὸ μέγαθος λίθων ἐστὶ καὶ ὁκοίων τεῶν· τοῦτο δὲ κολοσσοὺς μεγάλους καὶ ἀνδρόσφιγγας περιμήκεας ἀνέθηκε, λίθους τε ἄλλους ἐς ἐπισκευὴν ὑπερφυέας τὸ μέγαθος ἐκόμισε. 2 ἡγάγετο δὲ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Μέμφιν ἐουσέων λιθοτομιέων, τοὺς δὲ ὑπερμεγάθειας ἐξ Ἑλεφαντίνης πόλιος πλόον καὶ εἴκοσι ἡμερέων ἀπεχούσης ἀπὸ Σάιος. 3 τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἦκιστα αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μάλιστα θωμάζω, ἔστι τόδε· οἶκημα μουνόλιθον ἐκόμισε ἐξ Ἑλεφαντίνης πόλιος, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκόμιζον μὲν ἐπ' ἔτεα τρία, δισχίλιοι δὲ οἱ προσετετάχατο ἄνδρες ἀγωγέες, καὶ οὗτοι ἅπαντες ἦσαν κυβερνήται. τῆς δὲ στέγης ταύτης τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἔξωθεν ἐστὶ εἷς τε καὶ εἴκοσι πήχες, εὖρος δὲ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα, ὕψος δὲ ὀκτώ. 4 ταῦτα μὲν τὰ μέτρα ἔξωθεν τῆς στέγης τῆς μουνολίθου ἐστί, ἀτὰρ ἔσωθεν τὸ μῆκος ὀκτωκαίδεκα πηχέων καὶ πυγόνος..., τὸ δὲ ὕψος πέντε πηχέων ἐστί. αὕτη τοῦ ἱεροῦ κέεται παρὰ τὴν ἔσοδον· 5 ἔσω γάρ μιν ἐς τὸ ἱρόν φασι τῶνδε εἵνεκα οὐκ ἐσελκύσαι· τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς

ἐλκομένης τῆς στέγης ἀναστενάξαι, οἷά τε χρόνου ἐγγεγονότος πολλοῦ καὶ ἀχθόμενον τῷ ἔργῳ, τὸν δὲ Ἄμασιν ἐνθύμιον ποιησάμενον οὐκ ἔαν ἔτι προσωτέρῳ ἐλκύσαι. ἦδη δὲ τινὲς λέγουσι ὡς ἄνθρωπος διεφθάρη ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῶν τις αὐτὴν μοχλευόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου οὐκ ἐσελκυσθῆναι.

175. Amasis made a marvellous outer court for the temple of Athena at Saïs, far surpassing all in its height and size, and in the size and quality of the stone blocks; moreover, he set up huge images and vast man-headed sphinxes, and brought enormous blocks of stone besides for the building. Some of these he brought from the stone quarries of Memphis; the largest came from the city of Elephantine, twenty days' journey distant by river from Saïs. But what I admire most of his works is this: he brought from Elephantine a shrine made of one single block of stone; its transport took three years and two thousand men had the carriage of it, all of them pilots. This chamber is thirty-five feet long, twenty-three feet wide, thirteen feet high. These are the external dimensions of the chamber which is made of one block; its internal dimensions are: thirty-one feet long, twenty feet wide, eight feet high. It stands at the entrance of the temple; it was not dragged within (so they say) because while it was being drawn the chief builder complained aloud of the great expense of time and his loathing of the work, and Amasis taking this to heart would not let it be drawn further. Some also say that a man, one of those who heaved up the shrine, was crushed by it, and therefore it was not dragged within.

176 1 ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἱεροῖσι ὁ Ἄμασις πᾶσι τοῖσι ἐλλογίμοις ἔργα τὸ μέγαθος ἀξιοθέητα, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἐν Μέμφι τὸν ὑπτιον κείμενον κολοσσὸν τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου ἔμπροσθε, τοῦ πόδες πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα εἰσὶ τὸ μῆκος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ βάθρῳ ἐστᾶσι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐόντος λίθου δύο κολοσσοί, εἴκοσι ποδῶν τὸ μέγαθος ἑὼν ἑκάτερος, ὃ μὲν ἔνθεν ὃ δ' ἔνθεν τοῦ μεγάλου. 2 ἔστι δὲ λίθινος ἕτερος τοσοῦτος καὶ ἐν Σαί, κείμενος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ ἐν Μέμφι. τῇ Ἰσι τε τὸ ἐν Μέμφι ἱερὸν Ἄμασις ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξοικοδομήσας, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιοθεητότατον.

176. Furthermore, Amasis dedicated, besides monuments of marvellous size in all the other temples of note, the huge image that

lies supine before Hephaestus' temple at Memphis; this image is seventy-five feet in length; there stand on the same base, on either side of the great image, two huge statues hewn from the same block, each of them twenty feet high. There is at Saïs another stone figure of like size, supine as is the figure at Memphis. It was Amasis, too, who built the great and most marvellous temple of Isis at Memphis.

177 1 ἐπ' Ἀμάσιος δὲ βασιλέος λέγεται Αἴγυπτος μάλιστα δὴ τότε εὐδαιμονῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ χώρῃ γινόμενα καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, καὶ πόλιν ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τὰς ἀπάσας τότε δισμυρίας τὰς οἰκομένας. 2 νόμον τε Αἰγυπτίοισι τόνδε Ἄμασις ἐστὶ ὁ καταστήσας, ἀποδεικνύει ἔτεος ἐκάστου τῷ νομάρχῃ πάντα τινὰ Αἰγυπτίων ὅθεν βιοῦται· μὴ δὲ ποιεῦντα ταῦτα μηδὲ ἀποφαίνοντα δικαίην ζόην ἰθύνεσθαι θανάτῳ. Σόλων δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος λαβὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῦτον τὸν νόμον Ἀθηναίοισι ἔθετο· τῷ ἐκείνῳ ἐς αἰεὶ χρέωνται ἐόντι ἀμώμῳ νόμῳ.

177. It is said that in the reign of Amasis Egypt attained to its greatest prosperity, in respect of what the river did for the land and the land for its people: and that the number of inhabited cities in the country was twenty thousand. It was Amasis also who made the law that every Egyptian declare his means of livelihood to the ruler of his district annually, and that omitting to do so or to prove that one had a legitimate livelihood be punishable with death. Solon the Athenian got this law from Egypt and established it among his people; may they always have it, for it is a perfect law.

178 1 φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Ἄμασις ἄλλα τε ἐς Ἑλλήνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσι ἀπικνευμένοις ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικῆσαι· τοῖσι δὲ μὴ βουλομένοις αὐτῶν οἰκέειν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ναυτιλλομένοις ἔδωκε χώρους ἐνιδρύσασθαι βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένεα θεοῖσι. 2 τὸ μὲν νυν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος, καὶ ὀνομαστότατον ἐὼν καὶ χρησιμώτατον, καλούμενον δὲ Ἑλλήνιον, αἶδε αἱ πόλεις εἰς αἱ ἰδρυμέναι κοινῇ, Ἰώνων μὲν Χίος καὶ Τέως καὶ Φώκαια καὶ Κλαζομεναί, Δωριέων δὲ Ῥόδος καὶ Κνίδος καὶ Ἀλικαρνησὸς καὶ Φάσηλις, Αἰολέων δὲ ἡ Μυτιληναίων μούνη. 3 τουτέων μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ τέμενος, καὶ προστάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίου αὐταὶ αἱ πόλεις εἰς αἱ παρέχουσαι· ὅσαι δὲ ἄλλαι πόλεις μεταποιεῦνται, οὐδὲν σφι μετεὸν μεταποιεῦνται. χωρὶς

δὲ Αἰγινῆται ἐπὶ ἐωυτῶν ἰδρύσαντο τέμενος Διός, καὶ ἄλλο Σάμιοι Ἥρης καὶ Μιλήσιοι Ἀπόλλωνος.

178. Amasis became a philhellene, and besides other services which he did for some of the Greeks, he gave those who came to Egypt the city of Naucratis to live in; and to those who travelled to the country without wanting to settle there, he gave lands where they might set up altars and make holy places for their gods. Of these the greatest and most famous and most visited precinct is that which is called the Hellenion, founded jointly by the Ionian cities of Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae, the Dorian cities of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis, and one Aeolian city, Mytilene. It is to these that the precinct belongs, and these are the cities that furnish overseers of the trading port; if any other cities advance claims, they claim what does not belong to them. The Aeginetans made a precinct of their own, sacred to Zeus; and so did the Samians for Hera and the Milesians for Apollo.

179 ἢ δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν μούνη Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτου· εἰ δέ τις ἐς τῶν τι ἄλλο στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου ἀπίκειτο, χρῆν ὁμοσαι μὴ μὲν ἐκόντα ἐλθεῖν, ἀπομόσαντα δὲ τῇ νηὶ αὐτῇ πλέειν ἐς τὸ Κανωβικόν· ἢ εἰ μή γε οἷά τε εἶη πρὸς ἀνέμους ἀντίους πλέειν, τὰ φορτία ἔδεε περιάγειν ἐν βάρισι περὶ τὸ Δέλτα, μέχρι οὗ ἀπίκειτο ἐς Ναύκρατιν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ναύκρατις ἐτετίμητο.

179. Naucratis was in the past the only trading port in Egypt. Whoever came to any other mouth of the Nile had to swear that he had not come intentionally, and had then to take his ship and sail to the Canobic mouth; or if he could not sail against contrary winds, he had to carry his cargo in barges around the Delta until he came to Naucratis. In such esteem was Naucratis held.

180 ἁμφικτυόνων δὲ μισθωσάντων τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι νῦν ἔοντα νηὸν τριηκοσίων ταλάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι (ὁ γὰρ πρότερον ἐὼν αὐτόθι αὐτόματος κατεκάη), τοὺς Δελφοὺς δὴ ἐπέβαλλε τεταρτημόριον τοῦ μισθώματος παρασχεῖν. 2 πλανώμενοι δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ περὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐδωτίναζον, ποιεῦντες δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἠνεύκοντο· Ἄμασις μὲν γάρ σφι ἔδωκε χίλια στυπητρῆς τάλαντα, οἱ δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντες Ἑλλήνες εἴκοσι μνέας.

180. When the Amphictyons paid three hundred talents to have

the temple that now stands at Delphi finished (as that which was formerly there burnt down by accident), it was the Delphians' lot to pay a fourth of the cost. They went about from city to city collecting gifts, and got most from Egypt; for Amasis gave them a thousand talents' weight of astringent earth, and the Greek settlers in Egypt twenty minae.

181 1 Κυρηναίοισι δὲ Ἄμασις φιλότητά τε καὶ συμμαχίην συνεθήκατο, ἐδικαίωσε δὲ καὶ γῆμαι αὐτόθεν, εἴτ' ἐπιθυμήσας Ἑλληνίδος γυναικὸς εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως φιλότητος Κυρηναίων εἵνεκα· 2 γαμέει δὲ ὧν οἱ μὲν λέγουσι Βάττου οἱ δ' Ἀρκεσίλειω θυγατέρα, οἱ δὲ Κριτοβούλου ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Λαδίκη· τῇ ἐπεῖτε συγκλίνοιτο ὁ Ἄμασις, μίσγεσθαι οὐκ οἶός τε ἐγίνετο, τῇσι δὲ ἄλλησι γυναιξὶ ἐχρᾶτο. 3 ἐπεῖτε δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, εἶπε ὁ Ἄμασις πρὸς τὴν Λαδίκην ταύτην καλεομένην, “ὦ γύναι, κατὰ με ἐφάρμαζας, καὶ ἔστι τοι οὐδεμία μηχανὴ μὴ οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι κάκιστα γυναικῶν πασέων “. 4 ἡ δὲ Λαδίκη, ἐπεῖτε οἱ ἀρνευμένη οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πρηνύτερος ὁ Ἄμασις, εὐχεται ἐν τῷ νόῳ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, ἣν οἱ ὑπ' ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα μιχθῇ ὁ Ἄμασις, τοῦτο γάρ οἱ κακοῦ εἶναι μῆχος, ἄγαλμά οἱ ἀποπέμψειν ἐς Κυρήνην. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτίκα οἱ ἐμίχθη ὁ Ἄμασις. καὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἦδη, ὁκοτε ἔλθοι Ἄμασις πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐμίσγετο, καὶ κάρτα μιν ἔστερξε μετὰ τοῦτο. 5 ἡ δὲ Λαδίκη ἀπέδωκε τὴν εὐχὴν τῇ θεῷ· ποιησαμένη γὰρ ἄγαλμα ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Κυρήνην, τὸ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν σόον, ἔξω τετραμμένον τοῦ Κυρηναίων ἄστεος. ταύτην τὴν Λαδίκην, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε Καμβύσης Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτῆς ἥτις εἶη, ἀπέπεμψε ἀσινέα ἐς Κυρήνην.

181. Amasis made friends and allies of the people of Cyrene. And he decided to marry from there, either because he had his heart set on a Greek wife, or for the sake of the Corcyreans' friendship; in any case, he married a certain Ladice, said by some to be the daughter of Battus, of Arcesilaus by others, and by others again of Critobulus, an esteemed citizen of the place. But whenever Amasis lay with her, he became unable to have intercourse, though he managed with every other woman; and when this happened repeatedly, Amasis said to the woman called Ladice, "Woman, you have cast a spell on me, and there is no way that you shall avoid perishing the most wretchedly of all women." So Ladice, when the king did not relent at all although

she denied it, vowed in her heart to Aphrodite that, if Amasis could have intercourse with her that night, since that would remedy the problem, she would send a statue to Cyrene to her. And after the prayer, immediately, Amasis did have intercourse with her. And whenever Amasis came to her thereafter, he had intercourse, and he was very fond of her after this. Ladice paid her vow to the goddess; she had an image made and sent it to Cyrene, where it stood safe until my time, facing outside the city. Cambyses, when he had conquered Egypt and learned who Ladice was, sent her away to Cyrene unharmed.

182 1 ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀναθήματα ὁ Ἄμασις ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς Κυρήνην ἄγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον Ἀθηναίης καὶ εἰκόνας ἑωυτοῦ γραφῇ εἰκασμένην, τοῦτο δὲ τῇ ἐν Λίνδῳ Ἀθηναίῃ δύο τε ἀγάλματα λίθινα καὶ θώρηκα λίνεον ἀξιοθέητον, τοῦτο δ' ἐς Σάμον τῇ Ἥρῃ εἰκόνας ἑωυτοῦ διφασίας ξυλίνας, αἱ ἐν τῷ νηῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἰδρύατο ἔτι καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, ὀπισθε τῶν θυρέων. 2 ἐς μὲν νυν Σάμον ἀνέθηκε κατὰ ξεινίην τὴν ἑωυτοῦ τε καὶ Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Αἰάκεος, ἐς δὲ Λίνδον ξεινίης μὲν οὐδεμιῆς εἵνεκεν, ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Λίνδῳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίης λέγεται τὰς Δαναοῦ θυγατέρας ἰδρύσασθαι προσσχούσας, ὅτε ἀπεδίδρησκον τοὺς Αἰγύπτου παῖδας. ταῦτα μὲν ἀνέθηκε ὁ Ἄμασις, εἶλε δὲ Κύπρον πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων καὶ κατεστρέψατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν.

182. Moreover, Amasis dedicated offerings in Hellas. He gave to Cyrene a gilt image of Athena and a painted picture of himself; to Athena of Lindus, two stone images and a marvellous linen breast-plate; and to Hera in Samos, two wooden statues of himself that were still standing in my time behind the doors in the great shrine. The offerings in Samos were dedicated because of the friendship between Amasis and Polycrates, son of Aeaces; what he gave to Lindus was not out of friendship for anyone, but because the temple of Athena in Lindus is said to have been founded by the daughters of Danaus, when they landed there in their flight from the sons of Egyptus. Such were Amasis' offerings. Moreover, he was the first conqueror of Cyprus, which he made tributary to himself.

Βιβλίο Γ – Θάλεια. Book III.

1 1 Ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἄμασιν Καμβύσης ὁ Κύρου ἐστρατεύετο, ἄγων καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἤρχε καὶ Ἑλλήνων Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας, δι' αἰτίην τοιήνδε· πέμψας Καμβύσης ἐς Αἴγυπτον κήρυκα αἶτεε Ἄμασιν θυγατέρα, αἶτεε δὲ ἐκ [συμ]βουλῆς ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου, ὃς μεμφόμενος Ἄμασιν ἔπρηξε ταῦτα ὅτι μιν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱητρῶν ἀποσπάσας ἀπὸ γυναικός τε καὶ τέκνων ἔκδοτον ἐποίησε ἐς Πέρσας, ὅτε Κῦρος πέμψας παρὰ Ἄμασιν αἶτεε ἱητρὸν ὀφθαλμῶν ὃς εἶη ἄριστος τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. 2 Ταῦτα δὴ ἐπιμεμφόμενος ὁ Αἰγύπιος ἐνήγε τῇ συμβουλῇ κελεύων αἰτέειν τὸν Καμβύσεια Ἄμασιν θυγατέρα, ἵνα ἢ δοὺς ἀνιῶτο ἢ μὴ δοὺς Καμβύσει ἀπέχθοιτο. Ὁ δὲ Ἄμασις τῇ δυνάμει τῶν Περσέων ἀχθόμενος καὶ ἀρρώδεων οὐκ εἶχε οὔτε δοῦναι οὔτε ἀρνήσασθαι· εὖ γὰρ ἠπίστατο ὅτι οὐκ ὥς γυναικᾶ μιν ἔμελλε Καμβύσης ἔξειν ἀλλ' ὥς παλλακὴν. 3 Ταῦτα δὴ ἐκλογιζόμενος ἐποίησε τάδε· ἦν Ἀπρίεω τοῦ προτέρου βασιλέος θυγάτηρ κάρτα μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐειδής, μούνη τοῦ οἴκου λελειμμένη, οὐνομα δέ οἱ ἦν Νίτητις· ταύτην δὴ τὴν παιῖδα ὁ Ἄμασις κοσμήσας ἐσθῆτί τε καὶ χρυσῷ ἀποπέμπει ἐς Πέρσας ὥς ἐωυτοῦ θυγατέρα. 4 μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ὥς μιν ἡσπάζετο πατρώθεν ὀνομάζων, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ παις “ὦ βασιλεῦ, διαβεβλημένος ὑπὸ Ἀμάσιος οὐ μαθάνεις. ὃς ἐμὲ σοὶ κόσμῳ ἀσκήσας ἀπέπεμψε ὥς ἐωυτοῦ θυγατέρα διδούς, ἐοῦσαν τῇ ἀληθείῃ Ἀπρίεω, τὸν ἐκεῖνος ἐόντα ἐωυτοῦ δεσπότεν μετ' Αἰγυπτίων ἐπαναστὰς ἐφόνευσε „ 5 Τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἔπος καὶ αὕτη ἡ αἰτίη ἐγγενομένη ἤγαγε Καμβύσεια τὸν Κύρου μεγάλως θυμωθέντα ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον.

1. Cyrus' son Cambyses was leading an army of his subjects, Ionian and Aeolian Greeks among them, against this Amasis for the following reason. Cambyses had sent a herald to Egypt asking Amasis for his daughter; he asked on the advice of an Egyptian, who advised it out of resentment against Amasis, that out of all the Egyptian physicians Amasis had dragged him away from his wife and children and sent him up to Persia when Cyrus sent to Amasis asking for the best eye-doctor in Egypt. Out of resentment, the Egyptian by his advice induced Cambyses to ask Amasis for his daughter, so that Amasis would either be wretched if he gave her, or

hated by Cambyses if he did not. Amasis, intimidated by the power of Persia and frightened, could neither give his daughter nor refuse her; for he knew well that Cambyses was not going to take her as his wife but as his concubine. After considering the matter, he did as follows. There was a daughter of the former king Apries, all that was left of that family, quite tall and pretty, and her name was Nitetis; this girl Amasis adorned with clothes and gold and sent to Cambyses as his own daughter. But after a time, as he embraced her addressing her as the daughter of Amasis, the girl said to him, "O King, you do not understand how you have been made a fool of by Amasis, who dressed me in finery and sent me to you as his own daughter, when I am in fact the daughter of Apries, the ruler Amasis revolted from with the Egyptians and killed." This speech and this crime that occurred turned Cyrus' son Cambyses, furiously angry, against Egypt. So the Persians say.

2 1 Οὕτω μὲν νυν λέγουσι Πέρσαι. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ οἰκηιοῦνται Καμβύσεα, φάμενοί μιν ἐκ ταύτης δὴ τῆς Ἀπρίεω θυγατρὸς γενέσθαι· Κύρον γὰρ εἶναι τὸν πέμψαντα παρὰ Ἄμασιν ἐπὶ τὴν θυγατέρα, ἀλλ' οὐ Καμβύσεα. Λέγοντες δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγουσι. 2 Οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ λέληθε αὐτοὺς (εἰ γὰρ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι, τὰ Περσέων νόμιμα ἐπιστέεται καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι) ὅτι πρῶτα μὲν νόθον οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ βασιλεῦσαι γνησίου παρεόντος, αὗτις δὲ ὅτι Κασσανδάνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεω θυγατρὸς ἦν παῖς Καμβύσης, ἀνδρὸς Ἀχαιμενίδεω, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίης. Ἀλλὰ παρατρέπουσι τὸν λόγον προσποιούμενοι τῇ Κύρου οἰκίῃ συγγενεὲς εἶναι. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὧδε ἔχει.

2. But the Egyptians, who say that Cambyses was the son of this daughter of Apries, claim him as one of theirs; they say that it was Cyrus who asked Amasis for his daughter, and not Cambyses. But what they say is false. They are certainly not unaware (for if any understand the customs of the Persians the Egyptians do) firstly, that it is not their custom for illegitimate offspring to rule when there are legitimate offspring; and secondly, that Cambyses was the son of Cassandane, the daughter of Pharnaspes, who was an Achaemenid, and not of the Egyptian woman. But they falsify the story, pretending to be related to the house of Cyrus. That is the truth of the matter.

3 1 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁδε λόγος, ἔμοι μὲν οὐ πιθανός, ὥς τῶν Περσίδων γυναικῶν ἐσελθοῦσά τις παρὰ τὰς Κύρου γυναῖκας, ὥς εἶδε τῇ Κασσανδάνῃ παρεστεῶτα τέκνα εὐεidéα τε καὶ μεγάλα, πολλῷ ἔχρᾱτο τῷ ἐπαίνῳ ὑπερθωμάζουσα, ἡ δὲ Κασσανδάνῃ ἐοῦσα τοῦ Κύρου γυνὴ εἶπε τάδε· 2 “Τοιῶνδε μέντοι ἐμὲ παίδων μητέρα ἐοῦσαν Κῦρος ἐν ἀτιμίῃ ἔχει, τὴν δὲ ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου ἐπίκτητον ἐν τιμῇ τίθεται. Ὡς τὴν μὲν ἀχθομένην τῇ Νιτήτι εἰπεῖν ταῦτα, τῶν δὲ οἱ παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτερον εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεια· 3 “Τοιγάρ τοι ὦ μήτερ, ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ γένωμαι ἀνὴρ, Αἰγύπτου τὰ μὲν ἄνω κάτω θήσω, τὰ δὲ κάτω ἄνω. Ὡς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ἔτα ὥς δέκα κου γεγονότα, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν θώματι γενέσθαι· τὸν δὲ διαμνημονεύοντα οὕτω δὴ, ἐπεῖτε ἀνδρώθῃ καὶ ἔσχῃ τὴν βασιλίην, ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον στρατήην.

3. The following story, incredible to me, is also told: that one of the Persian women who came to visit Cyrus’ wives, and saw the tall and attractive children who stood by Cassandane, expressed her admiration in extravagant terms. Then Cassandane, Cyrus’ wife, said, “Although I am the mother of such children, Cyrus dishonors me and honors his new woman from Egypt.” So she spoke in her bitterness against Nitetis; and Cambyeses, the eldest of her sons, said, “Then, mother, when I am grown up, I will turn all Egypt upside down.” When he said this, he was about ten years old, and the women were amazed; but he kept it in mind, and it was thus that when he grew up and became king, he made the campaign against Egypt.

4 1 Συνήνεικε δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι τοιόνδε πρῆγμα γενέσθαι ἐς τὴν ἐπιστράτευσιν ταύτην· ἦν τῶν ἐπικούρων [τῶν] Ἀμάσιος ἀνὴρ γένος μὲν Ἀλικαρνησσεύς, οὐνομα δὲ οἱ Φάνης, καὶ γνώμην ἱκανὸς καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἄλκιμος. 2 Οὗτος ὁ Φάνης μεμφόμενός κού τι Ἀμάσι ἐκδιδρῆσκει πλοίῳ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, βουλόμενος Καμβύση ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους. Οἷα δὲ ἔοντα αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖσι ἐπικούροισι λόγου οὐ σμικροῦ ἐπιστάμενόν τε τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἀτρεκέστατα, μεταδιώκει ὁ Ἀμασις σπουδὴν ποιεῦμενος ἐλεῖν, μεταδιώκει δὲ τῶν εὐνούχων τὸν πιστότατον ἀποστείλας τριήρεϊ κατ’ αὐτόν, ὃς αἰρέει μιν ἐν Λυκίῃ, ἐλὼν δὲ οὐκ ἀνήγαγε ἐς Αἴγυπτον· σοφίῃ γάρ μιν περιῆλθε ὁ Φάνης. 3 Καταμεθύσας γὰρ τοὺς φυλάκους ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς Πέρσας.

Ὅρμημένῳ δὲ στρατεύεσθαι Καμβύσῃ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἔλασιν, ὅκως τὴν ἄνυδρον διεκπερᾷ, ἐπελθὼν φράζει μὲν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ Ἀμάσιος πρήγματα, ἐξηγέται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἔλασιν, ὧδε παραινέων, πέμψαντα παρὰ τὸν Ἀραβίων βασιλέα δέεσθαι τὴν διέξοδόν οἱ ἀσφαλέα παρασχεῖν.

4. It so happened, too, that something else occurred contributing to this campaign. There was among Amasis' mercenaries a man who was a Halicarnassian by birth, a clever man and a good soldier, whose name was Phanes. This Phanes had some grudge against Amasis, and fled from Egypt aboard ship, hoping to talk to Cambyses. Since he was a man much admired among the mercenaries and had an exact knowledge of all Egyptian matters, Amasis was anxious to catch him, and sent a trireme with his most trusted eunuch to pursue him. This eunuch caught him in Lycia but never brought him back to Egypt, for Phanes was too clever for him. He made his guards drunk and so escaped to Persia. There he found Cambyses prepared to set out against Egypt, but in doubt as to his march, how he should cross the waterless desert; so Phanes showed him what was Amasis' condition and how he should march; as to this, he advised Cambyses to send and ask the king of the Arabians for a safe passage.

5 1 Μούνη δὲ ταύτη εἰσὶ φανεραὶ ἐσβολαὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἀπὸ γὰρ Φοινίκης μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Καδύτιος πόλιος [ἧ] ἐστὶ Σύρων τῶν Παλαιστίνων καλεομένων· 2 ἀπὸ δὲ Καδύτιος ἐούσης πόλιος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει, Σαρδίων οὐ πολλῷ ἐλάσσονος, ἀπὸ ταύτης τὰ ἐμπόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέχρι Ἰηνύσου πόλιος ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰηνύσου αὖτις Σύρων μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἣν δὴ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει ἐς θάλασσαν· 3 ἀπὸ δὲ Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, ἐν τῇ δὴ λόγος τὸν Τυφῶ κεκρύφθαι, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤδη Αἴγυπτος. Τὸ δὴ μεταξὺ Ἰηνύσου πόλιος καὶ Κασίου τε ὄρεος καὶ τῆς Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, ἐὼν τοῦτο οὐκ ὀλίγον χωρίον ἀλλὰ ὅσον τε ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδόν, ἄνυδρον ἐστὶ δεινῶς.

5. Now the only apparent way of entry into Egypt is this. The road runs from Phoenicia as far as the borders of the city of Cadytis, which belongs to the so-called Syrians of Palestine. From Cadytis (which, as I judge, is a city not much smaller than Sardis) to the city

of Ienysus the seaports belong to the Arabians; then they are Syrian again from Ienysus as far as the Serbonian marsh, beside which the Casian promontory stretches seawards; from this Serbonian marsh, where Typho is supposed to have been hidden, the country is Egypt. Now between Ienysus and the Casian mountain and the Serbonian marsh there lies a wide territory for as much as three days' journey, terribly arid.

6 1 Τὸ δὲ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ναυτιλλομένων ἐννενώκασι, τοῦτο ἔρχομαι φράσω. Ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάσης καὶ πρὸς ἐκ Φοινίκης κέραμος ἐσάγεται πλήρης οἴνου δις τοῦ ἔτους ἐκάστου, καὶ ἐν κεράμιον οἴνηρὸν ἀριθμῷ κεινὸν οὐκ ἔστι ὥς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ιδέσθαι. 2 Κοῦ δῆτα, εἶποι τις ἄν, ταῦτα ἀναισιμοῦται; Ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω. Δεῖ τὸν μὲν δήμαρχον ἕκαστον ἐκ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ πόλιος συλλέξαντα πάντα τὸν κέραμον ἄγειν ἐς Μέμφιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ Μέμφιος ἐς ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἄνδρα τῆς Συρίας κομίζειν πλῆσαντας ὕδατος. Οὕτω ὁ ἐπιφοιτῶν κέραμος καὶ ἐξαيرهόμενος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπὶ τὸν παλαιὸν κομίζεται ἐς Συρίην.

6. I am going to mention something now which few of those who sail to Egypt know. Earthen jars full of wine are brought into Egypt twice a year from all Greece and Phoenicia besides: yet one might safely say there is not a single empty wine jar anywhere in the country. What then (one may ask) becomes of them? I shall explain this too. Each governor of a district must gather in all the earthen pots from his own township and take them to Memphis, and the people of Memphis must fill them with water and carry them to those arid lands of Syria; so the earthen pottery that is brought to Egypt and unloaded or emptied there is carried to Syria to join the stock that has already been taken there.

7 1 Οὕτω μὲν νυν Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἱ τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτην παρασκευάσαντες ἐς Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ δὴ τὰ εἰρημένα σάξαντες ὕδατι, ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα παρέλαβον Αἴγυπτον. 2 Τότε δὲ οὐκ ἐόντος κω ὕδατος ἐτοίμου, Καμβύσης πυθόμενος τοῦ Ἀλικαρνησσέος ξείνου, πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Ἀράβιον ἀγγέλους καὶ δεηθεὶς τῆς ἀσφαλείης ἔτυχε, πίστις δούς τε καὶ δεξάμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ.

7. Now as soon as the Persians took possession of Egypt, they became the caretakers of the entryway into it, having it provisioned

with water in the way I have described. But at this time there was as yet no ready supply of water; and so Cambyses, hearing what was said by the stranger from Halicarnassus, sent messengers to the Arabian and asked and obtained safe conduct, giving to him and receiving from him pledges.

8 1 Σέβονται δὲ Ἀράβιοι πίστις ἀνθρώπων ὅμοια τοῖσι μάλιστα. Ποιεῦνται δὲ αὐτὰς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· τῶν βουλομένων τὰ πιστὰ ποιέεσθαι ἄλλος ἀνὴρ, ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ἐστεώς, λίθῳ ὀξεί τὸ ἔσω τῶν χειρῶν παρὰ τοὺς δακτύλους τοὺς μεγάλους ἐπιτάμνει τῶν ποιευμένων τὰς πίστις, καὶ ἔπειτα λαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἱματίου ἑκατέρου κροκύδα ἀλείφει τῷ αἵματι ἐν μέσῳ κειμένους λίθους ἑπτὰ· τοῦτο δὲ ποιέων ἐπικαλεῖ τε τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην. 2 Ἐπιτελέσαντος δὲ τούτου ταῦτα, ὁ τὰς πίστις ποιησάμενος τοῖσι φίλοισι παρεγγυᾷ τὸν ξεῖνον ἢ καὶ τὸν ἀστόν, ἣν πρὸς ἀστόν ποιεῖται· οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς πίστις δικαιοῦσι σέβεσθαι. 3 Διόνυσον δὲ θεῶν μόνον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην ἡγέονται εἶναι, καὶ τῶν τριχῶν τὴν κουρὴν κείρεσθαι φασὶ κατὰ περ αὐτὸν τὸν Διόνυσον κεκάρθαι· κείρονται δὲ περιτρόχαλα, ὑποξυρῶντες τοὺς κροτάφους. Ὀνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον Ὀροτάλτ, τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην Ἀλιλάτ.

8. There are no men who respect pledges more than the Arabians. This is how they give them: a man stands between the two pledging parties, and with a sharp stone cuts the palms of their hands, near the thumb; then he takes a piece of wood from the cloak of each and smears with their blood seven stones that lie between them, meanwhile calling on Dionysus and the Heavenly Aphrodite; after this is done, the one who has given his pledge commends the stranger (or his countryman if the other be one) to his friends, and his friends hold themselves bound to honor the pledge. They believe in no other gods except Dionysus and the Heavenly Aphrodite; and they say that they wear their hair as Dionysus does his, cutting it round the head and shaving the temples. They call Dionysus, Orotalt; and Aphrodite, Alilat.

9 1 Ἐπεὶ ὢν τὴν πίστιν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι παρὰ Καμβύσειω ἀπιγμένοισι ἐποιήσατο ὁ Ἀράβιος, ἐμηχανᾶτο τοιαύδε· ἀσκούς καμήλων πλήσας, ὕδατος ἐπέσαξε ἐπὶ τὰς ζωὰς τῶν καμήλων πάσας,

τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἄνυδρον καὶ ὑπέμενε ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Καμβύσεω στρατόν. 2 Οὗτος μὲν ὁ πιθανώτερος τῶν λόγων εἴρηται, δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥσσον πιθανόν,, ἐπεὶ γε δὴ λέγεται, ῥηθῆναι. Ποταμός ἐστι μέγας ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίῃ τῷ οὖνομα Κόρυς, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην θάλασσαν· 3 Ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ ὢν τοῦ ποταμοῦ λέγεται τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀραβίων, ῥαψάμενον [τῶν] ὁμοβοέων καὶ [τῶν] ἄλλων δερμάτων ὀχετὸν μήκει ἐξικνεύμενον ἐς τὴν ἄνυδρον, ἀγαγεῖν διὰ δὴ τούτων τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐν δὲ τῇ, ἀνύδρῳ μεγάλας δεξαμενάς ὀρύξασθαι, ἵνα δεκόμεναι τὸ ὕδωρ σώζωσι 4 (ὁδὸς δ' ἐστὶ δωδέκα ἡμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἄνυδρον), ἄγειν δέ μιν δι' ὀχετῶν [τριῶν] ἐς τριζὰ χωρία.

9. When, then, the Arabian had made the pledge to the messengers who had come from Cambyses, he devised the following expedient: he filled camel-skins with water and loaded all his camels with these; then he drove them into the waterless land and there awaited Cambyses' army. This is the most credible of the stories told; but I must relate the less credible tale also, since they tell it. There is a great river in Arabia called Corys, emptying into the sea called Red. From this river (it is said) the king of the Arabians brought water by an aqueduct made of sewn oxhides and other hides and extensive enough to reach to the dry country; and he had great tanks dug in that country to try to receive and keep the water. It is a twelve days' journey from the river to that desert. By three aqueducts (they say) he brought the water to three different places.

10 1 Ἐν δὲ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ καλεομένῳ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου ἐστρατοπεδεύετο Ψαμμήνιτος ὁ Ἀμάσιος παῖς ὑπομένων Καμβύσεα. 2 Ἀμασιν γὰρ οὐ κατέλαβε ζῶντα Καμβύσης ἐλάσας ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλὰ βασιλεύσας ὁ Ἀμασις τέσσερα καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτα ἀπέθανε, ἐν τοῖσι οὐδέν οἱ μέγα ἀνάρσιον πρῆγμα συνηεῖχθη. Ἀποθανὼν δὲ καὶ ταριχευθεὶς ἐτάφη ἐν τῇσι ταφῇσι [τῇσι] ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ, τὰς αὐτὸς οἰκοδομήσατο. 3 Ἐπὶ Ψαμμηνίτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου φάσμα Αἰγυπτίοισι μέγιστον δὴ ἐγένετο· Ὑσθησαν γὰρ Θῆβαι αἱ Αἰγύπτιαι, οὔτε πρότερον οὐδαμὰ ὑσθεῖσαι οὔτε ὕστερον τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, ὥς λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Θηβαῖοι. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὕεται τὰ ἄνω τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παράπαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ὕσθησαν αἱ Θῆβαι ψακάδι.

10. Psammenitus, son of Amasis, was encamped by the mouth of the Nile called Pelusian, awaiting Cambyses. For when Cambyses marched against Egypt, he found Amasis no longer alive; he had died after reigning forty-four years, during which he had suffered no great misfortune; and being dead he was embalmed and laid in the burial-place built for him in the temple. While his son Psammenitus was king of Egypt, the people saw an extraordinary thing, namely, rain at Thebes of Egypt, where, as the Thebans themselves say, there had never been rain before, nor since to my lifetime; for indeed there is no rain at all in the upper parts of Egypt; but at that time a drizzle of rain fell at Thebes .

11 1 Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπεῖτε διεξέλασαντες τὴν ἄνυδρον ἴζοντο πέλας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὥς συμβαλέοντες, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἐπίκουροι οἱ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, ἐόντες ἄνδρες Ἑλληνές τε καὶ Κᾶρες, μεμφόμενοι τῷ Φάνῃ ὅτι στρατὸν ἤγαγε ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἀλλόθροον, μηχανῶνται πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιόνδε· 2 ἦσαν τῷ Φάνῃ παῖδες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καταλελειμμένοι, τοὺς ἀγαγόντες ἐς τὸ στρατοπέδον καὶ ἐς ὄψιν τοῦ πατρὸς κρητῆρα ἐν μέσῳ ἔστησαν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων, μετὰ δὲ ἀγινέοντες κατὰ ἓνα ἕκαστον τῶν παίδων ἔσφαζον ἐς τὸν κρητῆρα. 3 Διὰ πάντων δὲ διεξελθόντες τῶν παίδων οἶνόν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐσεφόρεον ἐς αὐτόν, ἐμπιόντες δὲ τοῦ αἵματος πάντες οἱ ἐπίκουροι οὕτω δὴ συνέβαλον. Μάχης δὲ γενομένης καρτερῆς καὶ πεσόντων [ἐξ] ἀμφοτέρων [τῶν στρατοπέδων] πλήθει πολλῶν ἐτράποντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι.

11. When the Persians had crossed the waterless country and encamped near the Egyptians intending to engage them, the Egyptian mercenaries, Greeks and Carians, devised a plan to punish Phanes, angered at him for leading a foreign army into Egypt. Phanes had left sons in Egypt; these they brought to the camp, into their father's sight, and set a great bowl between the two armies; then they brought the sons one by one and cut their throats over the bowl. When all the sons had been slaughtered, they poured wine and water into the bowl, and the mercenaries drank this and then gave battle. The fighting was fierce, and many of both armies fell; but at last the Egyptians were routed.

12 1 Θῶμα δὲ μέγα εἶδον πυθόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων· τῶν

γὰρ ὁστέων περικεχυμένων χωρὶς ἐκατέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ πεσόντων (χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ τῶν Περσέων ἔκειτο τὰ ὀστέα, ὡς ἐχωρίσθη κατ' ἀρχάς, ἐτέρωθι δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων), αἱ μὲν τῶν Περσέων κεφαλαὶ εἰσι ἀσθενέες οὕτω ὥστε, εἰ θέλεις ψήφῳ μούνη βαλεῖν, διατετρανέεις, αἱ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὕτω δὴ τι ἰσχυραί, μόγις ἂν λίθῳ παίσας διαρρήξαις. 2 Αἷτιον δὲ τούτου τόδε ἔλεγον, καὶ ἐμέ γ' εὐπετέως ἔπειθον, ὅτι Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν αὐτίκα ἀπὸ παιδίων ἀρξάμενοι ξυρῶνται τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον παχύνεται τὸ ὀστέον. 3 Τὸν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ μὴ φαλακροῦσθαι αἷτιόν ἐστιν· Αἰγυπτίων γὰρ ἂν τις ἐλαχίστους ἴδοιτο φαλακροὺς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. 4 Τούτοις μὲν δὴ τοῦτο ἐστὶ αἷτιον ἰσχυρὰς φορέειν τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσῃσι ὅτι ἀσθενέας φορέουσι τὰς κεφαλὰς, αἷτιον τόδε· σκιητροφέουσι ἐξ ἀρχῆς πῖλους τιάρας φορέοντες. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν τοιαῦτα [έόντα εἶδον]. Εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὅμοια τούτοις ἐν Παπρήμῃ τῶν ἅμα Ἀχαιμένει τῷ Δαρείου διαφθαρέντων ὑπὸ Ἰνάρῳ τοῦ Λίβυος.

12. I saw a strange thing on the site of the battle, of which the people of the country had told me. The bones of those killed on either side in this fight lying scattered separately (for the Persian bones lay in one place and the Egyptian in another, where the armies had first separately stood), the skulls of the Persians are so brittle that if you throw no more than a pebble it will pierce them, but the Egyptian skulls are so strong that a blow of a stone will hardly crack them. And this, the people said (which for my own part I readily believed), is the explanation of it: the Egyptians shave their heads from childhood, and the bone thickens by exposure to the sun. This also is the reason why they do not grow bald; for nowhere can one see so few bald heads as in Egypt. Their skulls then are strong for this reason; while the Persian skulls are weak because they cover their heads throughout their lives with the felt hats (called tiaras) which they wear. Such is the truth of the matter. I saw too the skulls of those Persians at Papremis who were killed with Darius' son Achaemenes by Inaros the Libyan, and they were like the others.

13 1 Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὡς ἐτράποντο, ἔφευγον οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ. Κατεληθέντων δὲ ἐς Μέμφιν, ἔπεμπε ἀνὰ ποταμὸν Καμβύσης νέα Μυτιληναίην κήρυκα ἄγουσαν ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν, ἐς

ὁμολογίην προκαλεόμενος Αἰγυπτίους. 2 Οἱ δὲ ἐπεῖτε τὴν νέα εἶδον ἐσελθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, ἐκχυθέντες ἄλεες ἐκ τοῦ τείχεος τὴν τε νέα διέφθειραν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας κρεουργηδὸν διασπάσαντες ἐφόρεον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. 3 Καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν μετὰ τοῦτο πολιορκεύμενοι χρόνῳ παρέστησαν, οἱ δὲ προσεχές Λίβυες δείσαντες τὰ περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον γεγονότα παρέδωσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς ἀμαχητὶ καὶ φόρον τε ἐτάξαντο καὶ δῶρα ἔπεμπον. Ὡς δὲ Κυρηναῖοι καὶ Βαρκαῖοι, δείσαντες ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ Λίβυες, [ἕτερα] τοιαῦτα ἐποίησαν. 4 Καμβύσης δὲ τὰ μὲν παρὰ Λιβύων ἐλθόντα δῶρα φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο· τὰ δὲ παρὰ Κυρηναίων ἀπικόμενα μεμφθεῖς, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέει, ὅτι ἦν ὀλίγα· (ἔπεμψαν γὰρ δὴ πεντακοσίας μνέας ἀργυρίου οἱ Κυρηναῖοι)· ταύτας δρασσόμενος αὐτοχειρίῃ διέσπειρε τῇ στρατιῇ.

13. After their rout in the battle the Egyptians fled in disorder; and when they had been overtaken in Memphis, Cambyses sent a Persian herald up the river aboard a Mytilenean boat to invite the Egyptians to an accord. But when they saw the boat coming to Memphis, they sallied out all together from their walls, destroyed the boat, dismembered the crew (like butchers) and carried them within the walls. So the Egyptians were besieged, and after a long while surrendered; but the neighboring Libyans, frightened by what had happened in Egypt, surrendered without a fight, laying tribute on themselves and sending gifts; and so too did the people of Cyrene and Barca, frightened like the Libyans. Cambyses received in all kindness the gifts of the Libyans; but he seized what came from Cyrene and, displeased, I think, because it was so little — for the Cyrenaeans had sent five hundred silver minae — cast it with his own hands among his army.

14 1 Ἡμέρη δὲ δεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἧς παρέλαβε τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Μέμφι Καμβύσης, κατίσας ἐς τὸ προάστειον ἐπὶ λύμῃ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ψαμμήνιτον, βασιλεύσαντα μῆνας ἕξ, τοῦτον κατίσας σὺν ἄλλοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι διεπειρᾶτο αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ποιέων τοιάδε· 2 στείλας αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐσθῆτι δουλῇ ἐξέπεμπε ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἔχουσιν ὑδρήιον, συνέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἄλλας παρθένους ἀπολέξας ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων, ὁμοίως ἐσταλμένας τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως. 3 Ὡς δὲ βοῇ τε καὶ κλαυθμῷ παρήρισαν αἱ παρθένοι παρὰ τοὺς πατέρας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἀντεβόων τε καὶ ἀντέκλαιον ὀρῶντες τὰ τέκνα

κεκακωμένα, ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος προῖδὼν καὶ μαθὼν ἔκυψε ἐς τὴν γῆν. 4 Παρελθουσέων δὲ τῶν ὑδροφόρων, δευτέρᾳ οἱ τὸν παῖδα ἔπεμπε μετ' ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων δισχιλίων τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην ἔχόντων, τοὺς τε αὐχένας κάλῳ δεδεμένους καὶ τὰ στόματα ἐγκεχαλινωμένους· 5 ἦγοντο δὲ ποιὴν τίσοντες Μυτιληναίων τοῖσι ἐν Μέμφι ἀπολομένοισι σὺν τῇ νηί. Ταῦτα γὰρ ἐδίκασαν οἱ βασιλῆιοι δικασταί, ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἐκάστου δέκα Αἰγυπτίων τῶν πρώτων ἀνταπόλλυσθαι. 6 Ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν παρεξίοντας καὶ μαθὼν τὸν παῖδα ἡγεόμενον ἐπὶ θάνατον, τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων τῶν περικατημένων αὐτὸν κλαιόντων καὶ δεινὰ ποιούντων, τὸν ἐποίησε τὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ. 7 Παρελθόντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, συνήνεικε ὥστε τῶν συμποτέων οἱ ἄνδρα ἀπηλικέστερον, ἐκπεπτωκότα ἐκ τῶν ἐόντων ἔχοντά τε οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ ὅσα πτωχὸς καὶ προσαιτέοντα τὴν στρατιήν, παριέναι Ψαμμήνιτόν τε τὸν Ἀμάσιος καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ κατημένους Αἰγυπτίων. Ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος ὥς εἶδε, ἀνακλαύσας μέγα καὶ καλέσας ὀνομαστὶ τὸν ἐταῖρον ἐπλήξατο τὴν κεφαλὴν. 8 Ἦσαν δ' ἄρα αὐτοῦ φύλακοι, οἱ τὸ ποιούμενον πᾶν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐπ' ἐκάστη ἐξόδῳ Καμβύσῃ ἐσήμαινον. Θωμάσας δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης τὰ ποιούμενα, πέμψας ἄγγελον εἰρώτα αὐτὸν λέγων τάδε. 9 “Δεσπότης σε Καμβύσης, Ψαμμήνιτε, εἰρωτᾷ δι' ὃ τι δὴ τὴν μὲν θυγατέρα ὀρέων κεκακωμένην καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐπὶ θάνατον στείχοντα οὔτε ἀνέβωσας οὔτε ἀπέκλυσας, τὸν δὲ πτωχὸν οὐδὲν σοὶ προσήκοντα, ὥς ἄλλων πυθάνεται, ἐτίμησας, „ Ὅ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. 10 “ὦ παῖ Κύρου, τὰ μὲν οἰκῆα ἦν μέζω κακὰ ἢ ὥστε ἀνακλαίειν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐταίρου πένθος ἄξιον ἦν δακρύων, ὃς ἐκ πολλῶν τε καὶ εὐδαιμόνων ἐκπεσὼν ἐς πτωχηίην ἀπίκται ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ „ Καὶ ταῦτα ὥς ἀπενειχθέντα ὑπὸ τούτου εὖ δοκέειν σφι εἰρῆσθαι, 11 ὥς [δὲ] λέγεται ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων, δακρύειν μὲν Κροῖσον (ἐτετεύχεε γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἐπισπόμενος Καμβύσῃ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτος), δακρύειν δὲ Περσέων τοὺς παρεόντας· αὐτῷ τε Καμβύσῃ ἐσελθεῖν οἶκτον τινά, καὶ αὐτίκα κελεύειν τὸν τέ οἱ παῖδα ἐκ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων σώζειν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ προαστείου ἀναστήσαντας ἄγειν παρ' ἑωυτόν.

14. On the tenth day after the surrender of the walled city of Memphis, Cambyses took Psammenitus king of Egypt, who had reigned for six months, and confined him in the outer part of the city

with other Egyptians, to insult him; having confined him there, he tried Psammenitus' spirit, as I shall show. He dressed the daughter of the king as a slave and sent her out with a pitcher to fetch water, together with other girls from the families of the leading men, dressed like the daughter of the king. So when the girls went out before their fathers' eyes crying and lamenting, all the rest answered with cries and weeping, seeing their children abused; but Psammenitus, having seen with his own eyes and learned all, bowed himself to the ground. After the water-carriers had passed by, Cambyses next made Psammenitus' son go out before him with two thousand Egyptians of the same age, all with ropes bound round their necks and bridle-bits in their mouths; they were led out to be punished for those Mytileneans who had perished with their boat at Memphis; for such was the judgment of the royal judges, that every man's death be paid for by the deaths of ten noble Egyptians. When Psammenitus saw them passing and perceived that his son was being led out to die, and all the Egyptians who sat with him wept and showed their affliction, he did as he had done at the sight of his daughter. After these too had gone out, it happened that there was one of his companions, a man past his prime, who had lost all his possessions, and had only what a poor man might have, and begged of the army; this man now went out before Psammenitus son of Amasis and the Egyptians confined in the outer part of the city. When Psammenitus saw him, he broke into loud weeping, striking his head and calling on his companion by name. Now there were men set to watch Psammenitus, who told Cambyses all that he did as each went forth. Wondering at what the king did, Cambyses made this inquiry of him by a messenger: "Psammenitus, Lord Cambyses wants to know why, seeing your daughter abused and your son going to his death, you did not cry out or weep, yet you showed such feeling for the beggar, who (as Cambyses learns from others) is not one of your kindred?" So the messenger inquired. Psammenitus answered: "Son of Cyrus, my private grief was too great for weeping; but the unhappiness of my companion deserves tears — a man fallen from abundance and prosperity to beggary come to the threshold of old age." When the messenger reported this, Cambyses and his court, it is said, thought the answer good. And, the Egyptians

say, Croesus wept (for it happened that he too had come with Cambyses to Egypt) and the Persians that were there wept; Cambyses himself felt some pity, and he ordered that Psammenitus' son be spared from those that were to be executed, and that Psammenitus himself be brought in from the outer part of the city and brought before him.

15 1 Τὸν μὲν δὴ παῖδα εὗρον αὐτοῦ οἱ μετιόντες οὐκέτι περιέοντα ἀλλὰ πρῶτον κατακοπέντα, αὐτὸν δὲ Ψαμμήνιτον ἀναστήσαντες ἦγον παρὰ Καμβύσεα· 2 ἔνθα τοῦ λοιποῦ διαιτᾷτο ἔχων οὐδὲν βίαιον. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἠπιστήθη μὴ πολυπρηγμονέειν, ἀπέλαβε ἂν Αἴγυπτον ὥστε ἐπιτροπεύειν αὐτῆς, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν ἐώθασι Πέρσαι τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς παῖδας· τῶν, εἰ καὶ σφέων ἀποστέωσι, ὅμως τοῖσι γε παισὶ αὐτῶν ἀποδιδούσι τὴν ἀρχήν. 3 Πολλοῖσι μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλοισι ἐστὶ σταθμώσασθαι ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτω νενομίκασι ποιεῖν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷ τε Ἰνάρῳ παιδὶ Θαννύρα, ὃς ἀπέλαβε τὴν οἱ ὁ πατὴρ εἶχε ἀρχήν, καὶ τῷ Ἀμυρταίου Πausίρι· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἀπέλαβε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχήν. Καίτοι Ἰνάρῳ γε καὶ Ἀμυρταίου οὐδαμοὶ κω Πέρσας κακὰ πλέω ἐργάσαντο. 4 Νῦν δὲ μηχανώμενος κακὰ ὁ Ψαμμήνιτος ἔλαβε τὸν μισθόν· ἀπιστὰς γὰρ Αἰγυπτίους ἦλω· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐπάιστος ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω, αἷμα ταύρου πίων ἀπέθανε παραχρῆμα. Οὕτω δὴ οὗτος ἐτελεύτησε.

15. Those that went for him found that the son was no longer alive, but had been the first to be slaughtered; but they brought Psammenitus up and led him to Cambyses; and there he lived, and no violence was done him for the rest of his life. And if he had known how to mind his own business, he would have regained Egypt to govern; for the Persians are inclined to honor kings' sons; even though kings revolt from them, they give back to their sons the sovereign power. There are many instances showing that it is their custom so to do, and notably the giving back of his father's sovereign power to Thannyras son of Inaros, and also to Pausiris son of Amyrtaeus; yet none ever did the Persians more harm than Inaros and Amyrtaeus. But as it was, Psammenitus plotted evil and got his reward; for he was caught raising a revolt among the Egyptians; and when Cambyses heard of it, Psammenitus drank bull's blood and died. Such was his end.

16 1 Καμβύσης δὲ ἐκ Μέμφιος ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάιν πόλιν, βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐποίησε. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ἐσῆλθε ἐς τὰ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος οἰκία, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε ἐκ τῆς ταφῆς τὸν Ἀμάσιος νέκυν ἐκφέρειν ἔξω· ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιτελέα ἐγένετο, μαστιγοῦν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἀποτίλλειν καὶ κεντοῦν τε καὶ ἄλλα πάντα λυμαίνεσθαι. 2 ἐπεῖτε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔκαμον ποιεῦντες (ὁ γὰρ δὴ νεκρὸς ἄτε τεταριχευμένος ἀντεῖχε τε καὶ οὐδὲν διεχέετο), ἐκέλευσέ μιν ὁ Καμβύσης κατακαῦσαι, ἐντελλόμενος οὐκ ὅσια· Πέρσαι γὰρ θεὸν νομίζουσι εἶναι πῦρ. 3 τὸ ὧν κατακαίειν γε τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδαμῶς ἐν νόμῳ οὐδετέροισι ἐστί, Πέρσῃσι μὲν δι' ὃ περ εἴρηται, θεῷ οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι λέγοντες νέμειν νεκρὸν ἀνθρώπου· Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ νενόμισται πῦρ θηρίον εἶναι ἔμψυχον, πάντα δὲ αὐτὸ κατεσθίειν τὰ περ ἂν λάβῃ, πλησθὲν δὲ αὐτὸ τῆς βορῆς συναποθνήσκειν τῷ κατεσθιομένῳ. 4 οὐκὼν θηρίοισι νόμος οὐδαμῶς σφι ἐστί τὸν νέκυν διδόναι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ταριχεύουσι, ἵνα μὴ κείμενος ὑπὸ εὐλέων καταβρωθῇ. οὕτω οὐδετέροισι νομιζόμενα ἐνετέλλετο ποιεῖν ὁ Καμβύσης. 5 ὥς μέντοι, Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι, οὐκ Ἄμασις ἦν ὁ ταῦτα παθὼν, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος τις τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔχων τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην Ἀμάσι, τῷ λυμαινόμενοι Πέρσαι ἐδόκεον Ἀμάσι λυμαίνεσθαι. 6 λέγουσι γὰρ ὥς πυθόμενος ἐκ μαντηίου ὁ Ἄμασις τὰ περὶ ἐωυτὸν ἀποθανόντα μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀκεόμενος τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον τὸν μαστιγωθέντα ἀποθανόντα ἔθαψε ἐπὶ τῇσι θύρῃσι ἐντὸς τῆς ἐωυτοῦ θήκης, ἐωυτὸν δὲ ἐνετείλατο τῷ παιδί ἐν μυχῷ τῆς θήκης ὥς μάλιστα θεῖναι. 7 αἱ μὲν νυν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος ἐντολαὶ αὗται αἱ ἐς τὴν ταφὴν τε καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχουσαι οὐ μοι δοκεῖν ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι, ἄλλως δ' αὐτὰ Αἰγύπτιοι σεμνοῦν.

16. From Memphis Cambyses went to the city Sais, anxious to do exactly what he did do. Entering the house of Amasis, he had the body of Amasis carried outside from its place of burial; and when this had been done, he gave orders to scourge it and pull out the hair and pierce it with goads, and to desecrate it in every way. When they were weary of doing this (for the body, being embalmed, remained whole and did not fall to pieces), Cambyses gave orders to burn it, a sacrilegious command; for the Persians hold fire to be a god; therefore neither nation thinks it right to burn the dead, the Persians for the reason given, as they say it is wrong to give the dead body of

a man to a god; while the Egyptians believe fire to be a living beast that devours all that it catches, and when sated with its meal dies together with that on which it feeds. Now it is by no means their custom to give the dead to beasts; and this is why they embalm the corpse, that it may not lie and feed worms. Thus what Cambyeses commanded was contrary to the custom of both peoples. The Egyptians say, however, that it was not Amasis to whom this was done, but another Egyptian of the same age as Amasis, whom the Persians abused thinking that they were abusing Amasis. For their story is that Amasis learned from an oracle what was to be done to him after his death, and so to escape this fate buried this dead man, the one that was scourged, near the door inside his own vault, and ordered his son that he himself should be laid in the farthest corner of the vault. I think that these commands of Amasis, regarding the burial-place and the man, were never given at all, and that the Egyptians believe in them in vain.

17 1 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐβουλεύσατο τριφασίας στρατηίας, ἐπὶ τε Καρχηδονίους καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀμμωνίους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας, οἰκημένους δὲ Λιβύης ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσῃ· 2 βουλευομένων δέ οἱ ἔδοξε ἐπὶ μὲν Καρχηδονίους τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ἀποστέλλειν, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀμμωνίους τοῦ πεζοῦ ἀποκρίναντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας κατόπτας πρῶτον, ὁψομένους τε τὴν ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι Αἰθίοσι λεγομένην εἶναι ἡλίου τράπεζαν εἰ ἔστι ἀληθές, καὶ πρὸς ταύτῃ τὰ ἄλλα κατοψομένους, δῶρα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ φέροντας τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν.

17. After this Cambyeses planned three expeditions, against the Carchedonians, against the Ammonians, and against the “long-lived” Ethiopians, who inhabit that part of Libya that is on the southern sea. He decided after consideration to send his fleet against the Carthaginians and a part of his land army against the Ammonians; to Ethiopia he would first send spies, to see what truth there was in the story of a Table of the Sun in that country, and to spy out all else besides, under the pretext of bringing gifts for the Ethiopian king.

18 1 Ἡ δὲ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου τοιήδε τις λέγεται εἶναι, λειμὼν ἔστι ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐπίπλεος κρεῶν ἐφθῶν πάντων τῶν τετραπόδων, ἐς τὸν τὰς μὲν νύκτας ἐπιτηδεύοντας τιθέναι τὰ κρέα τοὺς ἐν τέλει

ἐκάστοτε ἐόντας τῶν ἀστῶν, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας δαίνυσθαι προσιόντα τὸν βουλόμενον. φάναι δὲ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ταῦτα τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἀναδιδόναι ἐκάστοτε.

18. Now the Table of the Sun is said to be something of this kind: there is a meadow outside the city, filled with the boiled flesh of all four-footed things; here during the night the men of authority among the townsmen are careful to set out the meat, and all day whoever wishes comes and feasts on it. These meats, say the people of the country, are ever produced by the earth of itself. Such is the story of the Sun's Table.

19 1 Ἡ μὲν δὴ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου καλεομένη λέγεται εἶναι τοιήδε. Καμβύση δὲ ὥς ἔδοξε πέμπειν τοὺς κατασκόπους, αὐτίκα μετεπέμπετο ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς ἐπισταμένους τὴν Αἰθιοπίδα γλῶσσαν. 2 ἐν ᾧ δὲ τούτους μετήσαν, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκέλευε ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα πλέειν τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατόν. Φοίνικες δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν ποιήσιν ταῦτα· ὀρκίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι ἐνδεδέσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποιέειν ὅσια ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐωυτῶν στρατευόμενοι. Φοινίκων δὲ οὐ βουλομένων οἱ λοιποὶ οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι ἐγίνοντο. 3 Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν νυν οὕτω δουλοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων· Καμβύσης γὰρ βίην οὐκ ἐδικαίου προσφέρειν Φοίνιξι, ὅτι σφέας τε αὐτοὺς ἐδεδώκεσαν Πέρσησι καὶ πᾶς ἐκ Φοινίκων ἡρτητο ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός. δόντες δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι σφέας αὐτοὺς Πέρσησι ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον.

19. When Cambyses determined to send the spies, he sent for those Fish-eaters from the city of Elephantine who understood the Ethiopian language. While they were fetching them, he ordered his fleet to sail against Carthage. But the Phoenicians said they would not do it; for they were bound, they said, by strong oaths, and if they sailed against their own progeny they would be doing an impious thing; and the Phoenicians being unwilling, the rest were inadequate fighters. Thus the Carthaginians escaped being enslaved by the Persians; for Cambyses would not use force with the Phoenicians, seeing that they had willingly surrendered to the Persians, and the whole fleet drew its strength from them. The Cyprians too had come of their own accord to aid the Persians against Egypt.

20 1 Ἐπεῖτε δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ ἐκ τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης ἀπίκοντο οἱ

Ἰχθυοφάγοι, ἔπεμπε αὐτοὺς ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρῆν καὶ δῶρα φέροντας πορφύρεόν τε εἶμα καὶ χρύσειον στρεπτόν περιανχένιον καὶ ψέλια καὶ μύρου ἀλάβαστρον καὶ φοινικίου οἴνου κάδον. οἱ δὲ Αἰθίοπες οὗτοι, ἐς τοὺς ἀπέπεμπε ὁ Καμβύσης, λέγονται εἶναι μέγιστοι καὶ κάλλιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων. 2 νόμοισι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοισι χρᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς κεχωρισμένοισι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὴν βασιλιήν τοιῷδε· τὸν ἂν τῶν ἀστῶν κρίνωσι μέγιστόν τε εἶναι καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέγαθος ἔχειν τὴν ἰσχύν, τοῦτον ἀξιούσι βασιλεύειν.

20. When the Fish-eaters arrived from Elephantine at Cambyses' summons, he sent them to Ethiopia, with orders what to say, and bearing as gifts a red cloak and a twisted gold necklace and bracelets and an alabaster box of incense and an earthenware jar of palm wine. These Ethiopians, to whom Cambyses sent them, are said to be the tallest and most handsome of all men. Their way of choosing kings is different from that of all others, as (it is said) are all their laws; they consider that man worthy to be their king whom they judge to be tallest and to have strength proportional to his stature.

21 1 Ἐς τοὺτους δὴ ὧν τοὺς ἀνδρας ὡς ἀπίκοντο οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, διδόντες τὰ δῶρα τῷ, βασιλεί αὐτῶν ἔλεγον τάδε. “βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσέων Καμβύσης, βουλόμενος φίλος καὶ ξεῖνός τοι γενέσθαι, ἡμέας τε ἀπέπεμψε ἐς λόγους τοι ἐλθεῖν κελεύων, καὶ δῶρα ταῦτά τοι διδοῖ τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἥδεται χρεώμενος,,. 2 ὁ δὲ Αἰθίοψ μαθὼν ὅτι κατόπται ἤκοιεν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε. “οὔτε ὁ Περσέων βασιλεὺς δῶρα ὑμέας ἔπεμψε φέροντας προτιμῶν πολλοῦ ἔμοι ξεῖνος γενέσθαι, οὔτε ὑμεῖς λέγετε ἀληθεῖα (ἤκετε γὰρ κατόπται τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς), οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ δίκαιος. εἰ γὰρ ἦν δίκαιος, οὔτ’ ἂν ἐπεθύμησε χώρας ἄλλης ἢ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ, οὔτ’ ἂν ἐς δουλοσύνην ἀνθρώπους ἦγε ὑπ’ ὧν μηδὲν ἡδίκηται. νῦν δὲ αὐτῷ τόξον τόδε διδόντες τάδε ἔπεα λέγετε,,. 3 βασιλεὺς ὁ Αἰθιόπων συμβουλευεὶ τῷ Περσέων βασιλεί, ἐπεὰν οὕτω εὐπετέως ἔλκωσι τὰ τόξα Πέρσαι ἐόντα μεγάθει τοσαῦτα, τότε ἐπ’ Αἰθίοπας τοὺς μακροβίους πλήθει ὑπερβαλλόμενον στρατεύεσθαι· μέχρι δὲ τούτου θεοῖσι εἰδέναι χάριν, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον τρέπουσι Αἰθιόπων παισὶ γῆν ἄλλην προσκτᾶσθαι τῇ ἐωυτῶν,,.

21. When the Fish-eaters arrived among these men, they gave the

gifts to their king and said: “Cambyses, the king of the Persians, wishing to become your friend and ally, sent us with orders to address ourselves to you; and he offers you as gifts these things which he enjoys using himself.” But the Ethiopian, perceiving that they had come as spies, spoke thus to them: “It is not because he values my friendship that the Persian King sends you with gifts, nor do you speak the truth (for you have come to spy on my realm), nor is that man just; for were he just, he would not have coveted a land other than his own, nor would he try to lead into slavery men by whom he has not been injured. Now, give him this bow, and this message: ‘The King of the Ethiopians advises the King of the Persians to bring overwhelming odds to attack the long-lived Ethiopians when the Persians can draw a bow of this length as easily as I do; but until then, to thank the gods who do not incite the sons of the Ethiopians to add other land to their own.’”

22 1 Ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἀνεῖς τὸ τόξον παρέδωκε τοῖσι ἤκουσι. λαβὼν δὲ τὸ εἶμα τὸ πορφύρεον εἰρώτα ὃ τι εἶη καὶ ὅπως πεποιημένον· εἰπόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὴν ἀληθεῖν περὶ τῆς πορφύρης καὶ τῆς βαφῆς, δολεροὺς μὲν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔφη εἶναι, δολερά δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ εἴματα. 2 δεύτερα δὲ τὸν χρυσὸν εἰρώτα τὸν στρεπτὸν τὸν περιουχένιον καὶ τὰ ψέλια· ἐξηγεομένων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῦ, γελάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ νομίσας εἶναι σφέα πέδας εἶπε ὡς παρ’ ἐωυτοῖσι εἰσὶ ῥωμαλεώτεραι τουτέων πέδαι. 3 τρίτον δὲ εἰρώτα τὸ μύρον· εἰπόντων δὲ τῆς ποιήσιος πέρι καὶ ἀλείψιος, τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τὸν καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἵματος εἶπε. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸν οἶνον ἀπίκητο καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ τὴν ποίησιν, ὑπερησθεὶς τῷ πόματι ἐπέειρετο ὃ τι τε σιτέεται ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ χρόνον ὁκόσον μακρότατον ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ζῶει. 4 οἱ δὲ σιτέεσθαι μὲν τὸν ἄρτον εἶπον, ἐξηγησάμενοι τῶν πυρῶν τὴν φύσιν, ὀγδώκοντα δὲ ἔτεα ζῆς πλήρωμα ἀνδρὶ μακρότατον προκεῖσθαι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Αἰθίοψ ἔφη οὐδὲν θωμάζειν εἰ σιτεόμενοι κόπρον ἔτεα ὀλίγα ζώουσι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν τοσαῦτα δύνασθαι ζῶειν σφέας, εἰ μὴ τῷ πόματι ἀνέφερον, φράζων τοῖσι Ἰχθυοφάγοις τὸν οἶνον· τούτῳ γὰρ ἐωυτοὺς ὑπὸ Περσέων ἐσσοῦσθαι.

22. So speaking he unstrung the bow and gave it to the men who had come. Then, taking the red cloak, he asked what it was and how

it was made; and when the Fish-eaters told him the truth about the color and the process of dyeing, he said that both the men and their garments were full of deceit. Next he inquired about the twisted gold necklace and the bracelets; and when the Fish-eaters told him how they were made, the king smiled, and, thinking them to be fetters, said: "We have stronger chains than these." Thirdly he inquired about the incense; and when they described making and applying it, he made the same reply as about the cloak. But when he came to the wine and asked about its making, he was vastly pleased with the drink, and asked further what food their king ate, and what was the greatest age to which a Persian lived. They told him their king ate bread, showing him how wheat grew; and said that the full age to which a man might hope to live was eighty years. Then, said the Ethiopian, it was no wonder that they lived so few years, if they ate dung; they would not even have been able to live that many unless they were refreshed by the drink — signifying to the Fish-eaters the wine — for in this, he said, the Persians excelled the Ethiopians.

23 1 Ἀντειρομένων δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῆς ζῆς καὶ διαίτης πέρι, ἔτεα μὲν ἐς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπικνέεσθαι, ὑπερβάλλειν δὲ τινὰς καὶ ταῦτα, σίτησιν δὲ εἶναι κρέα τε ἐφθὰ καὶ πόμα γάλα. 2 θῶμα δὲ ποιευμένων τῶν κατασκοπῶν περὶ τῶν ἐτέων, ἐπὶ κρήνην σφι ἡγήσασθαι, ἀπ' ἧς λουόμενοι λιπαρώτεροι ἐγίνοντο, κατὰ περ εἰ ἐλαίου εἶη· ὅζειν δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὡς εἰ ἴων. 3 ἀσθενὲς δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς κρήνης ταύτης οὕτω δὴ τι ἔλεγον εἶναι οἱ κατάσκοποι ὥστε μηδὲν οἶόν τ' εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέειν, μήτε ξύλον μήτε τῶν ὅσα ξύλου ἐστὶ ἐλαφρότερα, ἀλλὰ πάντα σφέα χωρέειν ἐς βυσσόν. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τοῦτο εἴ σφι ἐστὶ ἀληθῆως οἶόν τι λέγεται, διὰ τοῦτο ἂν εἶεν, τούτῳ τὰ πάντα χρεώμενοι, μακρόβιοι. 4 ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης δὲ ἀπαλλασσομένων, ἀγαγεῖν σφεας ἐς δεσμοτήριον ἀνδρῶν, ἔνθα τοὺς πάντας ἐν πέδησι χρυσέησι δεδέσθαι. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι Αἰθίοψι πάντων ὁ χαλκὸς σπανιώτατον καὶ τιμιώτατον. θεησάμενοι δὲ καὶ τὸ δεσμοτήριον, ἐθεήσαντο καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένην τράπεζαν.

23. The Fish-eaters then in turn asking of the Ethiopian length of life and diet, he said that most of them attained to a hundred and twenty years, and some even to more; their food was boiled meat and

their drink milk. The spies showed wonder at the tale of years; whereupon he led them, it is said, to a spring, by washing in which they grew sleeker, as though it were of oil; and it smelled of violets. So light, the spies said, was this water, that nothing would float on it, neither wood nor anything lighter than wood, but all sank to the bottom. If this water is truly such as they say, it is likely that their constant use of it makes the people long-lived. When they left the spring, the king led them to a prison where all the men were bound with fetters of gold. Among these Ethiopians there is nothing so scarce and so precious as bronze. Then, having seen the prison, they saw what is called the Table of the Sun.

24 1 Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τελευταίας ἐθεήσαντο τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν, αἱ λέγονται σκευάζεσθαι ἐξ ὑέλου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· 2 ἐπεὰν τὸν νεκρὸν ἰσχήνωσι, εἴτε δὴ κατὰ περ Αἰγύπτιοι εἴτε ἄλλως κως, γυψώσαντες ἅπαντα αὐτὸν γραφῇ κοσμέουσι, ἐξομοιεῦντες τὸ εἶδος ἐς τὸ δυνατόν, ἔπειτα δέ οἱ περιστᾶσι στήλην ἐξ ὑέλου πεποιημένην κοίλην· ἥ δέ σφι πολλὴ καὶ εὐεργὸς ὀρύσσεται. 3 ἐν μέσῃ δὲ τῇ στήλῃ ἐνεὼν διαφαίνεται ὁ νέκυς, οὔτε ὁδμὴν οὐδεμίαν ἄχαριν παρεχόμενος οὔτε ἄλλο ἀεικὲς οὐδέν, καὶ ἔχει πάντα φανερά ὁμοίως αὐτῷ τῷ νέκυϊ. 4 ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν δὴ ἔχουσι τὴν στήλην ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοις οἱ μάλιστα προσήκοντες, πάντων ἀπαρχόμενοι καὶ θυσίας οἱ προσάγοντες· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκομίσαντες ἰστᾶσι περὶ τὴν πόλιν.

24. Last after this they viewed the Ethiopian coffins; these are said to be made of alabaster, as I shall describe: they cause the dead body to shrink, either as the Egyptians do or in some other way, then cover it with gypsum and paint it all as far as possible in the likeness of the living man; then they set it within a hollow pillar of alabaster, which they dig in abundance from the ground, and it is easily worked; the body can be seen in the pillar through the alabaster, no evil stench nor anything unpleasant proceeding from it, and showing clearly all its parts, as if it were the man himself. The nearest of kin keep the pillar in their house for a year, giving it of the first-fruits and offering it sacrifices; after which they bring the pillars out and set them round about the city.

25 1 Θεησάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα οἱ κατάσκοποι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω. ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ ταῦτα τούτων, αὐτίκα ὁ Καμβύσης ὀργὴν

ποιησάμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας, οὔτε παρασκευὴν σίτου οὐδεμίαν παραγγείλας, οὔτε λόγον ἐωυτῷ δοὺς ὅτι ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα γῆς ἔμελλε στρατεύεσθαι· 2 οἷα δὲ ἐμμανὴς τε ἐὼν καὶ οὐ φρενήρης, ὡς ἤκουε τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, ἐστρατεύετο, Ἑλλήνων μὲν τοὺς παρεόντας αὐτοῦ τάξας ὑπομένειν, τὸν δὲ πεζὸν πάντα ἅμα ἀγόμενος. 3 ἐπεῖτε δὲ στρατευόμενος ἐγένετο ἐν Θήβησι, ἀπέκρινε τοῦ στρατοῦ ὡς πέντε μυριάδας, καὶ τούτοισι μὲν ἐνετέλλετο Ἀμμωνίους ἐξανδραποδισαμένους τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἐμπρῆσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν ἄγων στρατὸν ἦε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας. 4 πρὶν δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος διεληλυθέναι τὴν στρατιήν, αὐτίκα πάντα αὐτοὺς τὰ εἶχον σιτίων ἐχόμενα ἐπελελοίπεε, μετὰ δὲ τὰ σιτία καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐπέλιπε κατεσθιόμενα. 5 εἰ μὲν νυν μαθὼν ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐγνωσιμάχεε καὶ ἀπῆγε ὀπίσω τὸν στρατὸν, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇθεν γενομένη ἁμαρτάδι ἣν ἂν ἀνὴρ σοφός· νῦν δὲ οὐδένα λόγον ποιεύμενος ἦε αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω. 6 οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἕως μὲν τι εἶχον ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαμβάνειν, ποιηφαγέοντες διέζωον, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον ἀπίκοντο, δεινὸν ἔργον αὐτῶν τινες ἐργάσαντο· ἐκ δεκάδος γὰρ ἓνα σφέων αὐτῶν ἀποκληρώσαντες κατέφαγον. 7 πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης, δεῖσας τὴν ἀλληλοφαγίην, ἀπείς τὸν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας στόλον ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Θήβας πολλοὺς ἀπολέσας τοῦ στρατοῦ· ἐκ Θηβέων δὲ καταβὰς ἐς Μέμφιν τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀπῆκε ἀποπλέειν.

25. Having seen everything, the spies departed again. When they reported all this, Cambyses was angry, and marched at once against the Ethiopians, neither giving directions for any provision of food nor considering that he was about to lead his army to the ends of the earth; being not in his right mind but mad, however, he marched at once on hearing from the Fish-eaters, ordering the Greeks who were with him to await him where they were, and taking with him all his land army. When he came in his march to Thebes, he detached about fifty thousand men from his army, and directed them to enslave the Ammonians and burn the oracle of Zeus; and he himself went on towards Ethiopia with the rest of his host. But before his army had accomplished the fifth part of their journey they had come to an end of all there was in the way of provision, and after the food was gone, they ate the beasts of burden until there was none of these left either.

Now had Cambyses, when he perceived this, changed his mind and led his army back again, he would have been a wise man at last after his first fault; but as it was, he went ever forward, taking account of nothing. While his soldiers could get anything from the earth, they kept themselves alive by eating grass; but when they came to the sandy desert, some did a terrible thing, taking by lot one man out of ten and eating him. Hearing this, Cambyses feared their becoming cannibals, and so gave up his expedition against the Ethiopians and marched back to Thebes, with the loss of many of his army; from Thebes he came down to Memphis, and sent the Greeks to sail away.

26 1 Ὁ μὲν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας στόλος οὕτω ἔπρηξε· οἱ δ' αὐτῶν ἐπ' Ἀμμωνίους ἀποσταλέντες στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπεῖτε ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ τῶν Θηβέων ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες ἀγωγούς, ἀπικόμενοι μὲν φανεροί εἰσι ἐς Ὅασιν πόλιν, τὴν ἔχουσι μὲν Σάμιοι τῆς Αἰσχριωνῆς φυλῆς λεγόμενοι εἶναι, ἀπέχουσι δὲ ἑπτὰ ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Θηβέων διὰ ψάμμου· ὀνομάζεται δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος κατὰ Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Μακάρων νῆσος. 2 ἐς μὲν δὴ τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον λέγεται ἀπικέσθαι τὸν στρατὸν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δέ, ὅτι μὴ αὐτοὶ Ἀμμώνιοι καὶ οἱ τούτων ἀκούσαντες, ἄλλοι οὐδένης οὐδὲν ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τοὺς Ἀμμωνίους ἀπίκοντο οὔτε ὀπίσω ἐνόστησαν. 3 λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τὰδε ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀμμωνίων· ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῆς Ὀάσιος ταύτης ἰέναι διὰ τῆς ψάμμου ἐπὶ σφέας, γενέσθαι τε αὐτοὺς μεταξύ κου μάλιστα αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῆς Ὀάσιος, ἄριστον αἰρεομένοισι αὐτοῖσι ἐπιπνεῦσαι νότον μέγαν τε καὶ ἐξαίσιον, φορέοντα δὲ θίνας τῆς ψάμμου καταχῶσαι σφέας, καὶ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἀφανισθῆναι. Ἀμμώνιοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι γενέσθαι περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς ταύτης.

26. So fared the expedition against Ethiopia. As for those who were sent to march against the Ammonians, they set out and journeyed from Thebes with guides; and it is known that they came to the city of Oasis, inhabited by Samians said to be of the Aeschrionian tribe, seven days' march from Thebes across sandy desert; this place is called, in the Greek language, Islands of the Blest. Thus far, it is said, the army came; after that, except for the Ammonians themselves and those who heard from them, no man can say anything of them; for they neither reached the Ammonians nor returned back. But this is what the Ammonians themselves say: when

the Persians were crossing the sand from Oasis to attack them, and were about midway between their country and Oasis, while they were breakfasting a great and violent south wind arose, which buried them in the masses of sand which it bore; and so they disappeared from sight. Such is the Ammonian tale about this army.

27 1 Ἀπιγμένον δὲ Καμβύσεω ἐς Μέμφιν ἐφάνη Αἰγυπτίοισι ὁ Ἄπις, τὸν Ἕλληνες Ἐπαφον καλέουσι· ἐπιφανέος δὲ τούτου γενομένου αὐτίκα οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι εἴματα ἐφόρεον τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ἦσαν ἐν θαλίῃσι. 2 ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ποιεῦντας ὁ Καμβύσης, πάγχυ σφέας καταδόξας ἐωυτοῦ κακῶς πρήξαντος χαρμόσυνα ταῦτα ποιέειν, ἐκάλεε τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους τῆς Μέμφιος, ἀπικομένους δὲ ἐς ὄψιν εἶρετο ὃ τι πρότερον μὲν ἐόντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Μέμφι ἐποίεον τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτιοι, τότε δὲ ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς παρείη τῆς στρατιῆς πληθὸς τι ἀποβαλὼν. 3 οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον ὥς σφι θεὸς εἶη φανείς διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ ἐωθὼς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, καὶ ὥς ἐπεὰν φανῇ τότε πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι κεχαρηκότες ὀρτάζοιεν. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Καμβύσης ἔφη ψευδεσθαι σφέας καὶ ὥς ψευδομένους θανάτῳ ἐξημίον.

27. When Cambyses was back at Memphis, there appeared in Egypt that Apis whom the Greeks call Epaphus; at whose epiphany the Egyptians put on their best clothing and held a festival. Seeing the Egyptians so doing, Cambyses was fully persuaded that these signs of joy were for his misfortunes, and summoned the rulers of Memphis; when they came before him, he asked them why the Egyptians behaved so at the moment he returned with so many of his army lost, though they had done nothing like it when he was before at Memphis. The rulers told him that a god, wont to appear after long intervals of time, had now appeared to them; and that all Egypt rejoiced and made holiday whenever he so appeared. At this Cambyses said that they lied, and he punished them with death for their lie.

28 1 Ἀποκτείνας δὲ τούτους δεύτερα τοὺς ἱρέας ἐκάλεε ἐς ὄψιν· λεγόντων δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα τῶν ἱρέων, οὐ λήσειν ἔφη αὐτὸν εἰ θεὸς τις χειροῇθης ἀπιγμένος εἶη Αἰγυπτίοισι. τοσαῦτα δὲ εἶπας ἀπάγειν ἐκέλευε τὸν Ἄπιν τοὺς ἱρέας. οἱ μὲν δὴ μετήισαν ἄζοντες. 2 ὁ δὲ Ἄπις οὗτος ὁ Ἐπαφος γίνεται μόσχος ἐκ βοός, ἥτις οὐκέτι οἷη τε γίνεται ἐς γαστέρα ἄλλον βάλλεσθαι γόνον. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ λέγουσι

σέλας ἐπὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατίσχειν, καὶ μιν ἐκ τούτου τίκτειν τὸν Ἄπιν. 3 ἔχει δὲ ὁ μόσχος οὗτος ὁ Ἄπις καλεόμενος σημήια τοιάδε ἐὼν μέλας, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ μετώπῳ λευκόν τι τρίγωνον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ νώτου αἰετὸν εἰκασμένον, ἐν δὲ τῇ οὐρῇ τὰς τρίχας διπλᾶς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῇ γλώσσει κάνθαρον.

28. Having put them to death, he next summoned the priests before him. When they gave him the same account, he said that if a tame god had come to the Egyptians he would know it; and with no more words he bade the priests bring Apis. So they went to fetch and bring him. This Apis, or Epaphus, is a calf born of a cow that can never conceive again. By what the Egyptians say, the cow is made pregnant by a light from heaven, and thereafter gives birth to Apis. The marks of this calf called Apis are these: he is black, and has on his forehead a three-cornered white spot, and the likeness of an eagle on his back; the hairs of the tail are double, and there is a knot under the tongue.

29 1 Ὡς δὲ ἤγαγον τὸν Ἄπιν οἱ ἱερεῖς, ὁ Καμβύσης, οἷα ἐὼν ὑπομαργότερος, σπασάμενος τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον, θέλων τύψαι τὴν γαστέρα τοῦ Ἄπιος παίει τὸν μηρόν· γελάσας δὲ εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖας 2 “ὦ κακαὶ κεφαλαί, τοιοῦτοι θεοὶ γίνονται, ἔναιμοί τε καὶ σαρκώδεις καὶ ἐπαῖοντες σιδηρίων; ἄξιος μὲν γε Αἰγυπτίων οὗτός γε ὁ θεός, ἀτάρ τοι ὑμεῖς γε οὐ χαίροντες γέλῳτα ἐμὲ θήσεσθε,, ταῦτα εἶπας ἐνετείλατο τοῖσι ταῦτα πρήσσουσι τοὺς μὲν ἱερεῖας ἀπομαστιγῶσαι, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν ἄν λάβῳσι ὀρτάζοντα κτείνειν. 3 ὀρτὴ μὲν δὴ διελέλυτο Αἰγυπτίοισι, οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς ἐδικαιεῦντο, ὁ δὲ Ἄπις πεπληγμένος τὸν μηρόν ἔφθινε ἐν τῷ ἰρῷ κατακείμενος. καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτήσαντα ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος ἔθαψαν οἱ ἱερεῖς λάθρῃ Καμβύσεω.

29. When the priests led Apis in, Cambyases — for he was all but mad — drew his dagger and, meaning to stab the calf in the belly, stuck the thigh; then laughing he said to the priests: “Simpletons, are these your gods, creatures of flesh and blood that can feel weapons of iron? That is a god worthy of the Egyptians. But for you, you shall suffer for making me your laughing-stock.” So saying he bade those, whose business it was, to scourge the priests well, and to kill any other Egyptian whom they found holiday-making. So the Egyptian

festival ended, and the priests were punished, and Apis lay in the temple and died of the wound in the thigh. When he was dead of the wound, the priests buried him without Cambyses' knowledge.

30 1 Καμβύσης δέ, ὡς λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι, αὐτίκα διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἀδίκημα ἐμάνη, ἐὼν οὐδὲ πρότερον φρενήρης. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τῶν κακῶν ἐξεργάσατο τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σμέρδιν ἐόντα πατὸς καὶ μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς, τὸν ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Πέρσας φθόνῳ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ὅτι τὸ τόξον μούνος Περσέων ὅσον τε ἐπὶ δύο δακτύλους εἴρυσσε, τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ἤνεικαν οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Περσέων οὐδεὶς οἴος τε ἐγένετο. 2 ἀποικομένου ὦν ἐς Πέρσας τοῦ Σμέρδιος ὄψιν εἶδε ὁ Καμβύσης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοιήνδε· ἔδοξέ οἱ ἄγγελον ἐλθόντα ἐκ Περσέων ἀγγέλλειν ὡς ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ βασιληίῳ ἰζόμενος Σμέρδης τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ψαύσειε. 3 πρὸς ὦν ταῦτα δεῖσας περὶ ἐωυτοῦ μή μιν ἀποκτείνας ὁ ἀδελφεὸς ἄρχῃ, πέμπει Πρηξάσπεα ἐς Πέρσας, ὃς ἦν οἱ ἀνὴρ Περσέων πιστότατος, ἀποκτενέοντά μιν. ὁ δὲ ἀναβάς ἐς Σοῦσα ἀπέκτεινε Σμέρδιν, οἱ μὲν λέγουσι ἐπ' ἄγρην ἐξαγαγόντα, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν προαγαγόντα καταποντῶσαι.

30. But Cambyses, the Egyptians say, owing to this wrongful act immediately went mad, although even before he had not been sensible. His first evil act was to destroy his full brother Smerdis, whom he had sent away from Egypt to Persia out of jealousy, because Smerdis alone could draw the bow brought from the Ethiopian by the Fish-eaters as far as two fingerbreadths, but no other Persian could draw it. Smerdis having gone to Persia, Cambyses saw in a dream a vision, in which it seemed to him that a messenger came from Persia and told him that Smerdis sitting on the royal throne touched heaven with his head. Fearing therefore for himself, lest his brother might slay him and so be king, he sent Prexaspes, the most trusted of his Persians, to Persia to kill him. Prexaspes went up to Susa and killed Smerdis; some say that he took Smerdis out hunting, others that he brought him to the Red Sea and there drowned him.

31 1 Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ λέγουσι Καμβύση τῶν κακῶν ἄρξαι τοῦτο· δεύτερα δὲ ἐξεργάσατο τὴν ἀδελφεὴν ἐσπομένην οἱ ἐς Αἴγυπτον, τῇ καὶ συνοίκεε καὶ ἦν οἱ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφεή. 2 ἔγχευε δὲ αὐτὴν

ὧδε· οὐδαμῶς γὰρ ἐώθεσαν πρότερον τῇσι ἀδελφεῇσι συνοικεῖν Πέρσαι. ἡράσθη μῆς τῶν ἀδελφεῶν Καμβύσης, καὶ ἔπειτα βουλόμενος αὐτὴν γῆμαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐωθότα ἐπενόεε ποιήσιν, εἵρετο καλέσας τοὺς βασιληῖους δικαστὰς εἴ τις ἐστὶ κελεύων νόμος τὸν βουλόμενον ἀδελφεῇ συνοικεῖν. 3 οἱ δὲ βασιλῆιοι δικασταὶ κεκριμένοι ἄνδρες γίνονται Περσέων, ἐς οὗ ἀποθάνωσι ἢ σφι παρευρεθῇ τι ἄδικον, μέχρι τούτου· οὗτοι δὲ τοῖσι πέρσῃσι δίκας δικάζουσι καὶ ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν πατρίων θεσμῶν γίνονται, καὶ πάντα ἐς τούτους ἀνακέεται. 4 εἰρομένου ὧν τοῦ Καμβύσεω, ὑπεκρίνοντο αὐτῷ οὗτοι καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἀσφαλέα, φάμενοι νόμον οὐδένα ἐξευρίσκειν ὃς κελεύει ἀδελφεῇ συνοικεῖν ἀδελφεόν, ἄλλον μέντοι ἐξευρηκέναι νόμον, τῷ βασιλεύοντι Περσέων ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν τὸ ἂν βούληται. 5 οὕτω οὔτε τὸν νόμον ἔλυσαν δεῖσαντες Καμβύσεα, ἵνα τε μὴ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλωνται τὸν νόμον περιστέλλοντες, παρεξεῦρον ἄλλον νόμον σύμμαχον τῷ θέλοντι γαμέειν ἀδελφεάς. 6 τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Καμβύσης ἔγχε τὴν ἐρωμένην, μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἔσχε ἄλλην ἀδελφεήν. τούτων δῆτα τὴν νεωτέραν ἐπισπομένην οἱ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον κτείνει.

31. This, they say, was the first of Cambyses' evil acts; next, he destroyed his full sister, who had come with him to Egypt, and whom he had taken to wife. He married her in this way (for before this, it had by no means been customary for Persians to marry their sisters): Cambyses was infatuated with one of his sisters and when he wanted to marry her, because his intention was contrary to usage, he summoned the royal judges and inquired whether there were any law enjoining one, that so desired, to marry his sister. These royal judges are men chosen out from the Persians to function until they die or are detected in some injustice; it is they who decide suits in Persia and interpret the laws of the land; all matters are referred to them. These then replied to Cambyses with an answer which was both just and prudent, namely, that they could find no law enjoining a brother to marry his sister; but that they had found a law permitting the King of Persia to do whatever he liked. Thus, although they feared Cambyses they did not break the law, and, to save themselves from death for keeping it, they found another law abetting one who wished to marry sisters. So Cambyses married the object of his desire; yet not long

afterwards he took another sister as well. It was the younger of these who had come with him to Egypt, and whom he now killed.

32 1 Ἀμφὶ δὲ τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτῆς διζὸς ὥσπερ περὶ Σμέρδιος λέγεται λόγος. Ἕλληνες μὲν λέγουσι Καμβύσεα συμβαλεῖν σκύμνον λέοντος σκύλακι κυνός, θεωρεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ταύτην, νικωμένου δὲ τοῦ σκύλακος ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ ἄλλον σκύλακα ἀπορρήξαντα τὸν δεσμὸν παραγενέσθαι οἱ, δύο δὲ γενομένους οὕτω δὴ τοὺς σκύλακας ἐπικρατῆσαι τοῦ σκύμνου. 2 καὶ τὸν μὲν Καμβύσεα ἥδεσθαι θεώμενον, τὴν δὲ παρημένην δακρύειν. Καμβύσεα δὲ μαθόντα τοῦτο ἐπειρέσθαι δι' ὃ τι δακρύει, τὴν δὲ εἰπεῖν ὡς ἰδοῦσα τὸν σκύλακα τῷ ἀδελφεῷ τιμωρήσαντα δακρῦσει, μνησθεῖσά τε Σμέρδιος καὶ μαθοῦσα ὡς ἐκείνῳ οὐκ εἶη ὁ τιμωρήσων. 3 Ἕλληνες μὲν δὴ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος φασὶ αὐτὴν ἀπολέσθαι ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὡς τραπέζῃ παρακατημένων λαβοῦσαν θρίδακα τὴν γυναῖκα περιτίλαι καὶ ἐπανεیرهσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα κότερον περιτετιλμένη ἢ θρίδαξ ἢ δασέα εἶη καλλίων, καὶ τὸν φάναι δασέαν, τὴν δ' εἰπεῖν 4 “ταύτην μέντοι κοτὲ σὺ τὴν θρίδακα ἐμμήσαο τὸν Κύρου οἶκον ἀποσιλώσας, τὸν δὲ θυμωθέντα ἐμπεδηῆσαι αὐτῇ ἐχούσῃ ἐν γαστρὶ, καὶ μιν ἐκτρώσασαν ἀποθανεῖν.

32. There are two tales of her death, as there are of the death of Smerdis. The Greeks say that Cambyses had set a lion cub to fight a puppy, and that this woman was watching too; and that as the puppy was losing, its brother broke its leash and came to help, and the two dogs together got the better of the cub. Cambyses, they say, was pleased with the sight, but the woman wept as she sat by. Cambyses perceiving it asked why she wept, and she said that when she saw the puppy help its brother she had wept, recalling Smerdis and knowing that there would be no avenger for him. For saying this, according to the Greek story, she was killed by Cambyses. But the Egyptian tale is that as the two sat at table the woman took a lettuce and plucked off the leaves, then asked her husband whether he preferred the look of it with or without leaves. “With the leaves,” he said; whereupon she answered: “Yet you have stripped Cyrus’ house as bare as this lettuce.” Angered at this, they say, he sprang upon her, who was great with child, and she miscarried and died of the hurt he gave her.

33 1 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς οἰκηίους ὁ Καμβύσης ἐξεμάνη, εἶτε δὴ διὰ

τὸν Ἄπιν εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως, οἷα πολλὰ ἔωθε ἀνθρώπους κακὰ καταλαμβάνειν· καὶ γὰρ τινὰ ἐκ γενεῆς νοῦσον μεγάλην λέγεται ἔχειν ὁ Καμβύσης, τὴν ἱρὴν ὀνομάζουσι τινές. οὐ νῦν τοι ἀεικὲς οὐδὲν ἦν τοῦ σώματος νοῦσον μεγάλην νοσέοντος μηδὲ τὰς φρένας ὑγιαίνειν.

33. Such were Cambyses' mad acts to his own household, whether they were done because of Apis or grew from some of the many troubles that are wont to beset men; for indeed he is said to have been afflicted from his birth with that grievous disease which some call "sacred." It is not unlikely then that when his body was grievously afflicted his mind too should be diseased.

34 1 Τάδε δ' ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Πέρσας ἐξεμάνη. λέγεται γὰρ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς Πρηξάσπεα, τὸν ἐτίμα τε μάλιστα καὶ οἱ τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐφόρεε οὗτος, τούτου τε ὁ παῖς οἰνοχόος ἦν τῷ Καμβύσῃ, τιμὴ δὲ καὶ αὕτη οὐ σμικρὴ· εἰπεῖν δὲ λέγεται τάδε. 2 "Πρηξασπες, κοῖδόν με τινὰ νομίζουσι Πέρσαι εἶναι ἄνδρα τίνας τε λόγους περὶ ἐμέο ποιεῦνται;,, τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν "ὦ δέσποτα, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα μεγάλως ἐπαινέαι, τῇ δὲ φιλοινίῃ σε φασὶ πλεόνως προσκεῖσθαι;,. 3 τὸν μὲν δὴ λέγειν ταῦτα περὶ Περσέων, τὸν δὲ θυμωθέντα τοιαύδε ἀμείβεσθαι. "νῦν ἄρα με φασὶ Πέρσαι οἶνῳ προσκείμενον παραφρονέειν καὶ οὐκ εἶναι νοήμονα· οὐδ' ἄρα σφέων οἱ πρότεροι λόγοι ἦσαν ἀληθές;,. 4 πρότερον γὰρ δὴ ἄρα, Περσέων οἱ συνέδρων ἐόντων καὶ Κροΐσου, εἶρετο Καμβύσης κοῖός τις δοκέοι ἀνὴρ εἶναι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τελέσαι Κῦρον, οἱ δὲ ἀμείβοντο ὡς εἴη ἀμείνων τοῦ πατρός· τά τε γὰρ ἐκείνου πάντα ἔχειν αὐτὸν καὶ προσεκτῆσθαι Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. 5 Πέρσαι μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Κροῖσος δὲ παρεὼν τε καὶ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ κρίσι εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Καμβύσεα τάδε. "ἐμοὶ μὲν νυν, ὦ παῖ Κύρου, οὐ δοκέεις ὁμοῖος εἶναι τῷ πατρί· οὐ γάρ κώ τοι ἐστὶ υἱὸς οἷον σε ἐκεῖνος κατελίπετο;,. ἦσθη τε ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Καμβύσης καὶ ἐπαίνεε τὴν Κροΐσου κρίσιν.

34. I will now relate his mad dealings with the rest of Persia. He said, as they report, to Prexaspes — whom he held in particular honor, who brought him all his messages, whose son held the very honorable office of Cambyses' cup-bearer — thus, I say, he spoke to Prexaspes: "What manner of man, Prexaspes, do the Persians think me to be, and how do they speak of me?" "Sire," said Prexaspes, "for

all else they greatly praise you, but they say that you love wine too well.” So he reported of the Persians. The king angrily replied: “If the Persians now say that it is my fondness for wine that drives me to frenzy and madness, then it would seem that their former saying also was a lie.” For it is said that before this, while some Persians and Croesus were sitting with him, Cambyses asked what manner of man they thought him to be in comparison with Cyrus his father; and they answered, “Cambyses was the better man; for he had all of Cyrus’ possessions and had won Egypt and the sea besides.” So said the Persians; but Croesus, who was present, and was dissatisfied with their judgment, spoke thus to Cambyses: “To me, son of Cyrus, you do not seem to be the equal of your father; for you have as yet no son such as he left after him in you.” This pleased Cambyses, and he praised Croesus’ judgment.

35 1 Τούτων δὴ ὧν ἐπιμνησθέντα ὀργῇ λέγειν πρὸς τὸν Πρηξάσπεα “σύ νυν μάθε εἰ λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀληθέα εἴτε αὐτοὶ λέγοντες ταῦτα παραφρονέουσι· 2 εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ σοῦ τοῦδε ἔστεῶτος ἐν τοῖσι προθύροισι βαλὼν τύχοιμι μέσης τῆς καρδίας, Πέρσαι φανέονται λέγοντες οὐδέν· ἦν δὲ ἀμάρτω, φάναι Πέρσας τε λέγειν ἀληθέα καὶ με μὴ σωφρονέειν,· 3 ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντα καὶ διατείναντα τὸ τόξον βαλεῖν τὸν παῖδα, πεσόντος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀνασχίζειν αὐτὸν κελεύειν καὶ σκέψασθαι τὸ βλῆμα· ὥς δὲ ἐν τῇ καρδίῃ εὐρεθῆναι ἐνεόντα τὸν οἰστόν, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παιδὸς γελάσαντα καὶ περιχαρέα γενόμενον 4 “Πρήξασπες, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ τε οὐ μαίνομαι Πέρσαι τε παραφρονέουσι, δῆλὰ τοι γέγονε. νῦν δέ μοι εἰπέ, τίνα εἶδες ἤδη πάντων ἀνθρώπων οὕτω ἐπίσκοπα τοξεύοντα,· Πρηξάσπεα δὲ ὀρῶντα ἄνδρα οὐ φρενήρεα καὶ περὶ ἑωυτῷ δειμαίνοντα εἰπεῖν “δέσποτα, οὐδ’ ἂν αὐτὸν ἔγωγε δοκέω τὸν θεὸν οὕτω ἂν καλῶς βαλεῖν,· 5 τότε μὲν ταῦτα ἐξεργάσατο, ἐτέρωθι δὲ Περσέων ὁμοίους τοῖσι πρότοισι δυνάδεκα ἐπ’ οὐδεμιῇ αἰτίῃ ἀξιοχρέω ἑλὼν ζῶοντας ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν κατῶρυξε.

35. Remembering this, then, he said to Prexaspes in his anger: “Judge then if the Persians speak the truth, or rather are themselves out of their minds when they speak of me so. Yonder stands your son in the porch; now if I shoot and pierce his heart, that will prove the Persians to be wrong; if I miss, then say that they are right and that I

am out of my senses.” So saying, he strung his bow and hit the boy, and gave orders to open the fallen body and examine the wound: and the arrow being found in the heart, Cambyses laughed in great glee and said to the boy’s father: “It is plain, Prexaspes, that I am in my right mind and the Persians mad; now tell me: what man in the world did you ever see that shot so true to the mark?” Prexaspes, it is said, replied (for he saw that Cambyses was mad, and he feared for his own life), “Master, I think that not even the god himself could shoot so true.” Thus did Cambyses then; at another time he took twelve Persians, equal to the noblest in the land, convicted them of some minor offense, and buried them alive up to the neck.

36 1 Ταῦτα δὲ μιν ποιεῦντα ἐδικαίωσε Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς νουθετῆσαι τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ πάντα ἡλικίῃ καὶ θυμῷ ἐπίτραπε, ἀλλ’ ἴσχε καὶ καταλάμβανε σεωυτόν· ἀγαθόν τι πρόνοον εἶναι, σοφὸν δὲ ἢ προμηθίῃ. σὺ δὲ κτείνεις μὲν ἄνδρας σεωυτοῦ πολιήτας ἐπ’ οὐδεμιῇ αἰτίῃ ἀξιοχρέω ἐλών, κτείνεις δὲ παῖδας. 2 ἦν δὲ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ποιήης, ὅρα ὅπως μὴ σευ ἀποστήσονται Πέρσαι. ἐμοὶ δὲ πατὴρ σὸς Κῦρος ἐνετέλλετο πολλὰ κελεύων σε νουθετέειν καὶ ὑποτίθεσθαι ὅ τι ἂν εὐρίσκω ἀγαθόν,· ὁ μὲν δὴ εὐνοίην φαίνων συνεβούλευέ οἱ ταῦτα· ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. 3 “σὺ καὶ ἐμοὶ τολμᾷς συμβουλευεῖν, ὃς χρηστῶς μὲν τὴν σεωυτοῦ πατρίδα ἐπετρόπευσας, εὖ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἐμῷ συνεβούλευσας, κελεύων αὐτὸν Ἀράξεια ποταμὸν διαβάντα ἰέναι ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας, βουλομένων ἐκείνων διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν σεωυτὸν ὤλεσας τῆς σεωυτοῦ πατρίδος κακῶς προστάς, ἀπὸ δὲ ὤλεσας Κῦρον πειθόμενον σοί, ἀλλ’ οὔτι χαίρων, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ πάλοι ἐς σὲ προφάσιός τευ ἐδεόμην ἐπιλαβέσθαι,· 4 ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας ἐλάμβανε τὸ τόξον ὥς κατατοξεύσων αὐτόν, Κροῖσος δὲ ἀναδραμὼν ἔθεε ἔξω. ὁ δὲ ἐπεῖτε τοξεῦσαι οὐκ εἶχε, ἐνετείλατο τοῖσι θεράπουσι λαβόντας μιν ἀποκτεῖναι. 5 οἱ δὲ θεράποντες ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ κατακρύπτουσι τὸν Κροῖσον ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ ὥστε, εἰ μὲν μεταμελήσῃ τῷ Καμβύσῃ καὶ ἐπιζητέῃ τὸν Κροῖσον, οἱ δὲ ἐκφάναντες αὐτὸν δῶρα λάμψονται ζωάγρια Κροῖσου, ἦν δὲ μὴ μεταμέλῃται μηδὲ ποθέῃ μιν, τότε καταχρᾶσθαι. 6 ἐπόθησέ τε δὴ ὁ Καμβύσης τὸν Κροῖσον οὐ πολλῷ μετέπειτα χρόνῳ ὕστερον, καὶ οἱ θεράποντες μαθόντες τοῦτο ἐπηγγέλλοντο αὐτῷ ὥς περιεῖη.

Καμβύσης δὲ Κροίσῳ μὲν συνήδεσθαι ἔφη περιέοντι, ἐκείνους μέντοι τοὺς περιποιήσαντας οὐ καταπροΐξεσθαι ἀλλ' ἀποκτενέειν· καὶ ἐποίησε ταῦτα.

36. For these acts Croesus the Lydian thought fit to take him to task, and addressed him thus: “Sire, do not sacrifice everything to youth and temper, but restrain and control yourself; prudence is a good thing, forethought is wise. But you kill men of your own country whom you have convicted of some minor offense, and you kill boys. If you do so often, beware lest the Persians revolt from you. As for me, your father Cyrus earnestly begged me to counsel you and to give you such advice as I think to be good.” Croesus gave him this counsel out of goodwill; but Cambyzes answered: “It is very well that you should even dare to counsel me; you, who governed your own country so well, and gave fine advice to my father — telling him, when the Massagetae were willing to cross over into our lands, to pass the Araxes and attack them; thus you worked your own ruin by misgoverning your country and Cyrus’, who trusted you. But you shall regret it; I have long waited for an occasion to deal with you.” With that Cambyzes took his bow to shoot him dead; but Croesus leapt up and ran out; and Cambyzes, being unable to shoot him, ordered his attendants to catch and kill him. They, knowing Cambyzes’ mood, hid Croesus; intending to reveal him and receive gifts for saving his life, if Cambyzes should repent and ask for Croesus, but if he should not repent nor wish Croesus back, then to kill the Lydian. Not long after this Cambyzes did wish Croesus back, and the attendants, understanding this, told him that Croesus was alive still. Cambyzes said that he was glad of it; but that they, who had saved Croesus, should not escape with impunity, but be killed; and this was done.

37 1 Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐξεμαίνετο, μένων ἐν Μέμφι καὶ θήκας τε παλαιᾶς ἀνοίγων καὶ σκεπτόμενος τοὺς νεκρούς. 2 ὥς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρὸν ἦλθε καὶ πολλὰ τῷ ἀγάλματι κατεγέλασε. ἔστι γὰρ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τῶγαλμα τοῖσι Φοινικηίοισι Παταῖκοισι ἐμφερέστατον, τοὺς οἱ Φοίνικες ἐν τῇσι πύρρῃσι τῶν τριηρέων περιάγουσι. ὃς δὲ τούτους μὴ ὀπωπε, ὧδε σημανέω· πυγμαίου ἀνδρὸς μίμησις ἐστί. 3 ἐσῆλθε δὲ

καὶ ἐς τῶν Καβεῖρων τὸ ἱρόν, ἐς τὸ οὐ θεμιτόν ἐστι ἐσιέναι ἄλλον γε ἢ τὸν ἱερά· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἐνέπρησε πολλὰ κατασκώψας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὅμοια τοῖσι τοῦ Ἥφαιστου· τούτου δὲ σφέας παῖδας λέγουσι εἶναι.

37. Cambyses committed many such mad acts against the Persians and his allies; he stayed at Memphis, and there opened ancient coffins and examined the dead bodies. Thus too he entered the temple of Hephaestus and jeered at the image there. This image of Hephaestus is most like the Phoenician Pataici, which the Phoenicians carry on the prows of their triremes. I will describe it for anyone who has not seen these figures: it is the likeness of a dwarf. Also he entered the temple of the Cabeiri, into which no one may enter save the priest; the images here he even burnt, with bitter mockery. These also are like the images of Hephaestus, and are said to be his sons.

38 1 Πανταχῇ ὧν μοι δῆλα ἐστὶ ὅτι ἐμάνη μεγάλως ὁ Καμβύσης· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἱροῖσιν τε καὶ νομαίοισι ἐπεχείρησε καταγελᾶν. εἰ γὰρ τις προθείη πᾶσι ἀνθρώποισι ἐκλέξασθαι κελεύων νόμους τοὺς καλλίστους ἐκ τῶν πάντων νόμων, διασκεψάμενοι ἂν ἐλοίετο ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἐωυτῶν· οὕτω νομίζουσι πολλόν τι καλλίστους τοὺς ἐωυτῶν νόμους ἕκαστοι εἶναι. 2 οὕκων οἰκός ἐστι ἄλλον γε ἢ μαινόμενον ἄνδρα γέλωτα τὰ τοιαῦτα τίθεσθαι· ὥς δὲ οὕτω νενομίκασιν τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους πάντες ἄνθρωποι, πολλοῖσιν τε καὶ ἄλλοις τεκμηρίοις πάρεστι σταθμώσασθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε. 3 Δαρεῖος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ἀρχῆς καλέσας Ἑλλήνων τοὺς παρεόντας εἶρετο ἐπὶ κόσῳ ἂν χρήματι βουλοίετο τοὺς πατέρας ἀποθνήσκοντας κατασιτέεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔφασαν ἔρδειν ἂν τοῦτο. 4 Δαρεῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καλέσας Ἰνδῶν τοὺς καλεομένους Καλλατίας, οἱ τοὺς γονέας κατεσθίουσι, εἶρετο, παρεόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ δι' ἑρμηνέος μανθανόντων τὰ λεγόμενα, ἐπὶ τίνι χρήματι δεξαίετον ἂν τελευτῶντας τοὺς πατέρας κατακαίειν πυρί· οἱ δὲ ἀμβώσαντες μέγα εὐφημέειν μιν ἐκέλευον. οὕτω μὲν νυν ταῦτα νενόμισται, καὶ ὁρθῶς μοι δοκεῖ Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι νόμον πάντων βασιλεία φήσας εἶναι.

38. I hold it then in every way proved that Cambyses was quite insane; or he would never have set himself to deride religion and custom. For if it were proposed to all nations to choose which

seemed best of all customs, each, after examination, would place its own first; so well is each convinced that its own are by far the best. It is not therefore to be supposed that anyone, except a madman, would turn such things to ridicule. I will give this one proof among many from which it may be inferred that all men hold this belief about their customs. When Darius was king, he summoned the Greeks who were with him and asked them for what price they would eat their fathers' dead bodies. They answered that there was no price for which they would do it. Then Darius summoned those Indians who are called Callatiae, who eat their parents, and asked them (the Greeks being present and understanding through interpreters what was said) what would make them willing to burn their fathers at death. The Indians cried aloud, that he should not speak of so horrid an act. So firmly rooted are these beliefs; and it is, I think, rightly said in Pindar's poem that custom is lord of all.

39 1 Καμβύσεω δὲ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατευομένου ἐποιήσαντο καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι στρατιήν ἐπὶ Σάμον τε καὶ Πολυκράτεα τὸν Αἰάκεος· ὃς ἔσχε Σάμον ἐπαναστάς, 2 καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τριχῇ δασάμενος τὴν πόλιν.. τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι Πανταγνώτῳ καὶ Συλοσῶντι ἔνειμε, μετὰ δὲ τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας τὸν δὲ νεώτερον Συλοσῶντα ἐξελάσας ἔσχε πᾶσαν Σάμον, σχὼν δὲ ξεινίην Ἀμάσι τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεί συνεθήκατο, πέμπων τε δῶρα καὶ δεκόμενος ἄλλα παρ' ἐκείνου. 3 ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὀλίγῳ αὐτίκα τοῦ Πολυκράτεος τὰ πρήγματα ἠϋξέτο καὶ ἦν βεβωμένα ἀνά τε τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα· ὅκου γὰρ ἰθὺσειε στρατεύεσθαι, πάντα οἱ ἐχώρει εὐτυχέως. ἑκτὸ δὲ πεντηκοντέρους τε ἑκατὸν καὶ χιλίους τοξότας, ἔφερε δὲ καὶ ἦγε πάντας διακρίνων οὐδένα· 4 τῷ γὰρ φίλῳ ἔφη χαριεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἀποδιδούς τὰ ἔλαβε ἢ ἀρχὴν μηδὲ λαβών. συχνὰς μὲν δὴ τῶν νήσων ἀραιρήκεε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ἄστεα· ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Λεσβίους πανστρατιῇ βοηθέοντας Μιλησίοισι ναυμαχίῃ κρατήσας εἶλε, οἱ τὴν τάφρον περὶ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Σάμῳ πᾶσαν δεδεμένοι ὠρυζαν.

39. While Cambyses was attacking Egypt, the Lacedaemonians too were making war upon Samos and upon Aeaces' son Polycrates, who had revolted and won Samos. And first, dividing the city into three parts, he gave a share in the government to his brothers

Pantagnotus and Syloson; but presently he put one of them to death, banished the younger, Syloson, and so made himself lord of all Samos; then he made a treaty with Amasis king of Egypt, sending to him and receiving from him gifts. Very soon after this, Polycrates grew to such power that he was famous in Ionia and all other Greek lands; for all his military affairs succeeded. He had a hundred fifty-oared ships, and a thousand archers. And he pillaged every place, indiscriminately; for he said that he would get more thanks if he gave a friend back what he had taken than if he never took it at all. He had taken many of the islands, and many of the mainland cities. Among others, he conquered the Lesbians; they had brought all their force to aid the Milesians, and Polycrates defeated them in a sea-fight; it was they who, being his captives, dug all the trench around the acropolis of Samos.

40 1 Καί κως τὸν Ἀμασιν εὐτυχέων μεγάλως ὁ Πολυκράτης οὐκ ἐλάνθανε, ἀλλὰ οἱ τοῦτ' ἦν ἐπιμελές. πολλῶ δὲ ἔτι πλεῦνός οἱ εὐτυχίης γινομένης γράψας ἐς βυβλίον τάδε ἐπέστειλε ἐς Σάμον. “Ἀμασις Πολυκράτει ὧδε λέγει. 2 ἡδὺ μὲν πυνθάνεσθαι ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ ξεῖνον εὖ πρήσσοντα· ἐμοὶ δὲ αἱ σαὶ μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι, τὸ θεῖον ἐπισταμένῳ ὥς ἔστι φθονερόν· καί κως βούλομαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν ἄν κήδωμαι τὸ μὲν τι εὐτυχεῖν τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ δὲ προσπταῖειν, καὶ οὕτω διαφέρειν τὸν αἰῶνα ἐναλλάξ πρήσσων ἢ εὐτυχεῖν τὰ πάντα. 3 οὐδένα γάρ κω λόγῳ οἶδα ἀκούσας ὅστις ἐς τέλος οὐ κακῶς ἐτελεύτησε πρόρριζος, εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα. σύ νυν ἐμοὶ πειθόμενος ποιήσον πρὸς τὰς εὐτυχίας τοιάδε· 4 φροντίσας τὸ ἄν εὖρης ἐόν τοι πλείστου ἄξιον καὶ ἐπ' ᾧ σὺ ἀπολομένῳ μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλγήσεις, τοῦτο ἀπόβαλε οὕτω ὅκως μηκέτι ἤξει ἐς ἀνθρώπους· ἦν τε μὴ ἐναλλάξ ἤδη τῷπὸ τούτου αἱ εὐτυχίαι τοι τῆσι πάθησι προσπίπτωσι, τρόπῳ τῷ ἐξ ἐμεῦ ὑποκειμένῳ ἀκέο,,.

40. Now Amasis was somehow aware of Polycrates' great good fortune; and as this continued to increase greatly, he wrote this letter and sent it to Samos: “Amasis addresses Polycrates as follows. It is pleasant to learn that a friend and ally is doing well. But I do not like these great successes of yours; for I know the gods, how jealous they are, and I desire somehow that both I and those for whom I care

succeed in some affairs, fail in others, and thus pass life faring differently by turns, rather than succeed at everything. For from all I have heard I know of no man whom continual good fortune did not bring in the end to evil, and utter destruction. Therefore if you will be ruled by me do this regarding your successes: consider what you hold most precious and what you will be sorriest to lose, and cast it away so that it shall never again be seen among men; then, if after this the successes that come to you are not mixed with mischances, strive to mend the matter as I have counselled you.”

41 1 Ταῦτα ἐπιλεξάμενος ὁ Πολυκράτης καὶ νόῳ λαβὼν ὥς οἱ εὖ ὑπετίθετο Ἄμασις, ἐδίζητο ἐπ’ ᾧ ἂν μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσθηεῖη ἀπολομένῳ τῶν κειμηλίων, διζήμενος δὲ εὔρισκε τόδε. ἦν οἱ σφρηγὶς τὴν ἐφόρει χρυσόδετος, σμαράγδου μὲν λίθου ἐοῦσα, ἔργον δὲ ἦν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Τηλεκλέος Σαμίου. 2 ἐπεὶ ὧν ταύτην οἱ ἐδόκεε ἀποβαλεῖν, ἐποίηε τοιάδε· πεντηκόντερον πληρώσας ἀνδρῶν ἐσέβη ἐς αὐτήν, μετὰ δὲ ἀναγαγεῖν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος· ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου ἐκὰς ἐγένετο, περιελόμενος τὴν σφρηγίδα πάντων ὁρώντων τῶν συμπλόνων ῥίπτει ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἀπέπλεε, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰ οἰκία συμφορῇ ἤχρᾱτο.

41. Reading this, and perceiving that Amasis’ advice was good, Polycrates considered which of his treasures it would most grieve his soul to lose, and came to this conclusion: he wore a seal set in gold, an emerald, crafted by Theodorus son of Telecles of Samos; being resolved to cast this away, he embarked in a fifty-oared ship with its crew, and told them to put out to sea; and when he was far from the island, he took off the seal-ring in sight of all that were on the ship and cast it into the sea. This done, he sailed back and went to his house, where he grieved for the loss.

42 1 Πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἕκτη ἡμέρη ἀπὸ τούτων τάδε οἱ συνήνεκε γενέσθαι. ἀνὴρ ἁλιεὺς λαβὼν ἰχθὺν μέγαν τε καὶ καλὸν ἤξιον μιν Πολυκράτει δῶρον δοθῆναι· φέρων δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας Πολυκράτει ἔφη ἐθέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς ὅπιν, χωρήσαντος δὲ οἱ τούτου ἔλεγε διδούς τὸν ἰχθύν 2 “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ τόνδε ἐλὼν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσα φέρειν ἐς ἀγορὴν, καίπερ ἐὼν ἀποχειροβίτος, ἀλλὰ μοι ἐδόκεε σεῦ τε εἶναι ἄξιος καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς· σοὶ δὴ μιν φέρων δίδωμι,·. ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς τοῖσι ἔπεσι ἀμείβεται τοῖσιδε. “κάρτα τε εὖ ἐποίησας καὶ χάρις διπλῇ τῶν

τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ δώρου, καὶ σε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέομεν,,. 3 ὁ μὲν δὴ ἄλιεὺς μέγα ποιεύμενος ταῦτα ἦε ἐς τὰ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἰχθὺν τάμνοντες οἱ θεράποντες εὐρίσκουσι ἐν τῇ νηδύι αὐτοῦ ἐνεοῦσαν τὴν Πολυκράτεος σφρηγίδα. 4 ὥς δὲ εἰδόν τε καὶ ἔλαβον τάχιστα, ἔφερον κεχαρηκότες παρὰ τὸν Πολυκράτα, διδόντες δέ οἱ τὴν σφρηγίδα ἔλεγον ὅτεω τρόπῳ εὐρέθη. τὸν δὲ ὥς ἐσῆλθε θεῖον εἶναι τὸ πρῆγμα, γράφει ἐς βυβλίον πάντα τὰ ποιήσαντά μιν οἷα καταλελάβηκε, γράψας δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐπέθηκε.

42. But on the fifth or sixth day from this it happened that a fisherman, who had taken a fine and great fish, and desired to make a gift of it to Polycrates, brought it to the door and said that he wished to see Polycrates. This being granted, he gave the fish, saying: "O King, when I caught this fish, I thought best not to take it to market, although I am a man who lives by his hands, but it seemed to me worthy of you and your greatness; and so I bring and offer it to you." Polycrates was pleased with what the fisherman said; "You have done very well," he answered, "and I give you double thanks, for your words and for the gift; and I invite you to dine with me." Proud of this honor, the fisherman went home; but the servants, cutting up the fish, found in its belly Polycrates' seal-ring. As soon as they saw and seized it, they brought it with joy to Polycrates, and giving the ring to him told him how it had been found. Polycrates saw the hand of heaven in this matter; he wrote a letter and sent it to Egypt, telling all that he had done, and what had happened to him.

43 1 Ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἄμασις τὸ βυβλίον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἦκον, ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐκκομίσαι τε ἀδύνατον εἶη ἀνθρώπῳ ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τοῦ μέλλοντος γίνεσθαι πρήγματος, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εὖ τελευτήσιν μέλλοι Πολυκράτης εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἀποβάλλει εὐρίσκει. 2 πέμψας δέ οἱ κήρυκα ἐς Σάμον διαλύεσθαι ἔφη τὴν ξεινίην. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκεν ταῦτα ἐποίηε, ἵνα μὴ συντυχίς δεινῆς τε καὶ μεγάλης Πολυκράτα καταλαβούσης αὐτὸς ἀλγήσειε τὴν ψυχὴν ὥς περὶ ξείνου ἀνδρός.

43. When Amasis had read Polycrates' letter, he perceived that no man could save another from his destiny, and that Polycrates, being so continually fortunate that he even found what he cast away, must come to an evil end. So he sent a herald to Samos to renounce his

friendship, determined that when some great and terrible mischance overtook Polycrates he himself might not have to sadden his heart for a friend.

44 1 Ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ ὢν τὸν Πολυκράτεα εὐτυχέοντα τὰ πάντα ἐστρατεύοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπικαλεσαμένων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ κτισάντων Σαμίων. πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα λάθρῃ Σαμίων Πολυκράτης παρὰ Καμβύσεια τὸν Κύρου συλλέγοντα στρατὸν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, ἐδεήθη ὅπως ἂν καὶ παρ' ἐωυτὸν πέμψας ἐς Σάμον δέοιτο στρατοῦ. 2 Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας τούτων προθύμως ἔπεμψε ἐς Σάμον δεόμενος Πολυκράτεος στρατὸν ναυτικὸν ἅμα πέμψαι ἐωυτῷ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. ὁ δὲ ἐπιλέξας τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς ὑπόπτευε μάλιστα ἐς ἐπανάστασιν ἀπέπεμπε τεσσεράκοντα τριήρεσι, ἐντειλάμενος Καμβύσῃ ὀπίσω τούτους μὴ ἀποπέμπειν.

44. It was against this ever-victorious Polycrates that the Lacedaemonians now made war, invited by the Samians who afterwards founded Cydonia in Crete. Polycrates had without the knowledge of his subjects sent a herald to Cambyses, son of Cyrus, then raising an army against Egypt, inviting Cambyses to send to Samos too and request men from him. At this message Cambyses very readily sent to Samos, asking Polycrates to send a fleet to aid him against Egypt. Polycrates chose those men whom he most suspected of planning a rebellion against him, and sent them in forty triremes, directing Cambyses not to send the men back.

45 1 Οἱ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέντας Σαμίων ὑπὸ Πολυκράτεος οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ' ἐπεῖτε ἐγένοντο ἐν Καρπάθῳ πλέοντες, δοῦναι σφίσι λόγον, καὶ σφι ἀδεῖν τὸ προσωτέρω μηκέτι πλέειν· οἱ δὲ λέγουσι ἀπικομένους τε ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ φυλασσομένους ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτοὺς ἀποδρῆναι. 2 καταπλέουσι δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμον Πολυκράτης νηυσὶ ἀντιάσας ἐς μάχην κατέστη· νικήσαντες δὲ οἱ κατιόντες ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὴν νῆσον, πεζομαχήσαντες δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐσώθησαν, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἔπλεον ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. 3 εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου νικῆσαι Πολυκράτεα, λέγοντες ἐμοὶ δοκέειν οὐκ ὀρθῶς· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔδει σφέας Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπικαλέεσθαι, εἴ περ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ Πολυκράτεα παραστήσασθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοισι οὐδὲ λόγος αἰρέει, τῷ ἐπίκουρῳ τε μισθωτοὶ καὶ τοξόται οἰκῆιοι ἦσαν πλήθει πολλοί, τοῦτον ὑπὸ τῶν

κατιόντων Σαμίων ἐόντων ὀλίγων ἐσσωθῆναι. 4 τῶν δ' ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ἐόντων πολιητέων τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὁ Πολυκράτης ἐς τοὺς νεωσοίκους συνειλήσας εἶχε ἐτοίμους, ἦν ἄρα προδιδῶσι οὗτοι πρὸς τοὺς κατιόντας, ὑποπρῆσαι αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι νεωσοίκοισι.

45. Some say that these Samians who were sent never came to Egypt, but that when they had sailed as far as Carpathus discussed the matter among themselves and decided to sail no further; others say that they did come to Egypt and there escaped from the guard that was set over them. But as they sailed back to Samos, Polycrates' ships met and engaged them; and the returning Samians were victorious and landed on the island, but were there beaten in a land battle, and so sailed to Lacedaemon. There are those who say that the Samians from Egypt defeated Polycrates; but to my thinking this is untrue; for they need not have invited the Lacedaemonians if in fact they had been able to master Polycrates by themselves. Besides, it is not even reasonable to suppose that he, who had a great army of hired soldiers and bowmen of his own, was beaten by a few men like the returning Samians. Polycrates took the children and wives of the townsmen who were subject to him and shut them up in the boathouses, with intent to burn them and the boathouses too if their men should desert to the returned Samians.

46 1 Ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ ἐξελασθέντες Σαμίων ὑπὸ Πολυκράτεος ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην, καταστάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔλεγον πολλὰ οἷα κάρτα δεόμενοι· οἱ δὲ σφι τῇ πρώτῃ καταστάσει ὑπεκρίναντο τὰ μὲν πρῶτα λεχθέντα ἐπιλελῆσθαι, τὰ δὲ ὕστατα οὐ συνιέναι. 2 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δεύτερα καταστάντες ἄλλο μὲν εἶπον οὐδέν, θύλακον δὲ φέροντες ἔφασαν τὸν θύλακον ἀλφίτων δέεσθαι. οἱ δὲ σφι ὑπεκρίναντο τῷ θυλάκῳ περιεργάσθαι· βοηθεῖν δ' ὧν ἔδοξε αὐτοῖσι.

46. When the Samians who were expelled by Polycrates came to Sparta, they came before the ruling men and made a long speech to show the greatness of their need. But the Spartans at their first sitting answered that they had forgotten the beginning of the speech and could not understand its end. After this the Samians came a second time with a sack, and said nothing but this: "The sack wants flour." To this the Spartans replied that they were over-wordy with "the

sack”; but they did resolve to help them.

47 1 Καὶ ἔπειτα παρασκευασάμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ Σάμον, ὥς μὲν Σάμιοι λέγουσι, εὐεργεσίας ἐκτίνοντες, ὅτι σφι πρότεροι αὐτοὶ νηυσὶ ἐβοήθησαν ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους· ὥς δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, οὐκ οὕτω τιμωρῆσαι δεομένοισι Σαμίοις ἐστρατεύοντο ὥς τίσασθαι βουλόμενοι τοῦ κρητῆρος τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, τὸν ἥγον Κροίσῳ, καὶ τοῦ θώρηκος, τὸν αὐτοῖσι Ἄμασις ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψε δῶρον. 2 καὶ γὰρ θώρηκα ἐλήϊσαντο τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτεϊ ἢ τὸν κρητῆρα οἱ Σάμιοι, ἐόντα μὲν λίνεον καὶ ζῶων ἐνυφασμένων συχνῶν, κεκοσμημένον δὲ χρυσῷ καὶ εἰρίοις ἀπὸ ξύλου· 3 τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα θωμάσαι ἄξιον, ἀρπεδὸν ἐκάστη τοῦ θώρηκος ποιεῖ· ἐοῦσα γὰρ λεπτὴ ἔχει ἀρπεδόνας ἐν ἐωυτῇ τριηκοσίας καὶ ἐξήκοντα, πάσας φανεράς. τοιοῦτος ἕτερος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸν ἐν Λίνδῳ ἀνέθηκε τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ Ἄμασις.

47. The Lacedaemonians then equipped and sent an army to Samos, returning a favor, as the Samians say, because they first sent a fleet to help the Lacedaemonians against Messenia; but the Lacedaemonians say that they sent this army less to aid the Samians in their need than to avenge the robbery of the bowl which they had been carrying to Croesus and the breastplate which Amasis King of Egypt had sent them as a gift. This breastplate had been stolen by the Samians in the year before they took the bowl; it was of linen, decked with gold and cotton embroidery, and embroidered with many figures; but what makes it worthy of wonder is that each thread of the breastplate, fine as each is, is made up of three hundred and sixty strands, each plainly seen. It is the exact counterpart of that one which Amasis dedicated to Athena in Lindus.

48 1 Συνεπελάβοντο δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμον ὥστε γενέσθαι καὶ Κορίνθιοι προθύμως· ὕβρισμα γὰρ καὶ ἐς τοὺτους εἶχε ἐκ τῶν Σαμίων γενόμενον γενεῇ πρότερον τοῦ στρατεύματος τούτου, κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦ κρητῆρος τῇ ἀρπαγῇ γεγονός. 2 Κερκυραίων γὰρ παῖδας τριηκοσίους ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου ἐς Σάρδεις ἀπέπεμψε παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα ἐπ’ ἐκτομῇ· προσσχόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμον τῶν ἀγόντων τοὺς παῖδας Κορινθίων, πυθόμενοι οἱ Σάμιοι τὸν λόγον, ἐπ’ οἷσι ἀγοίατο ἐς Σάρδεις, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς παῖδας ἐδίδαξαν ἱροῦ ἄψασθαι Ἀρτέμιδος· 3

μετὰ δὲ οὐ περιορῶντες ἀπέλκειν τοὺς ἰκέτας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, σιτίων δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἐργόντων Κορινθίων, ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Σάμιοι ὀρτήν, τῇ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρέωνται κατὰ ταῦτά. νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐπιγενομένης, ὅσον χρόνον ἰκέτευον οἱ παῖδες, ἵστασαν χοροὺς παρθένων τε καὶ ἡθέων, ἱστάντες δὲ τοὺς χοροὺς τρωκτὰ σησάμου τε καὶ μέλιτος ἐποιήσαντο νόμον φέρεσθαι, ἵνα ἀρπάζοντες οἱ τῶν Κερκυραίων παῖδες ἔχοιεν τροφήν. 4 ἐς τοῦτο δὲ τότε ἐγίνετο, ἐς ὃ οἱ Κορίνθιοι τῶν παιδῶν οἱ φύλακοι οἴχοντο ἀπολιπόντες· τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἀπήγαγον ἐς Κέρκυραν οἱ Σάμιοι.

48. The Corinthians also enthusiastically helped to further the expedition against Samos. For an outrage had been done them by the Samians a generation before this expedition, about the time of the robbery of the bowl. Periander son of Cypselus sent to Alyattes at Sardis three hundred boys, sons of notable men in Corcyra, to be made eunuchs. The Corinthians who brought the boys put in at Samos; and when the Samians heard why the boys were brought, first they instructed them to take sanctuary in the temple of Artemis, then they would not allow the suppliants to be dragged from the temple; and when the Corinthians tried to starve the boys out, the Samians held a festival which they still celebrate in the same fashion; throughout the time that the boys were seeking asylum, they held nightly dances of young men and women to which it was made a custom to bring cakes of sesame and honey, so that the Corcyraean boys might snatch these and have food. This continued to be done until the Corinthian guards left their charge and departed; then the Samians took the boys back to Corcyra.

49 1 Εἰ μὲν νυν Περιάνδρου τελευτήσαντος τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι φίλα ἦν πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἂν συνελάβοντο τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμον ταύτης εἵνεκεν τῆς αἰτίας. νῦν δὲ αἰεὶ ἐπεῖτε ἔκτισαν τὴν νῆσον εἰσὶ ἀλλήλοισι διάφοροι, ἐόντες ἐωυτοῖσι... 2 τούτων ὧν εἵνεκεν ἀπεμνησικάκεον τοῖσι Σαμίοισι οἱ Κορίνθιοι. ἀπέπεμπε δὲ ἐς Σάρδεις ἐπ' ἐκτομῇ Περιάνδρου τῶν πρώτων Κερκυραίων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς παῖδας τιμωρέμενος· πρότεροι γὰρ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἥρξαν ἐς αὐτὸν πρῆγμα ἀτάσθαλον ποιήσαντες.

49. If after the death of Periander, the Corinthians had been friendly towards the Corcyraeans, they would not have taken part in

the expedition against Samos for this reason. But as it was, ever since the island was colonized, they have been at odds with each other, despite their kinship. For these reasons then the Corinthians bore a grudge against the Samians. Periander chose the sons of the notable Corcyraeans and sent them to Sardis to be made eunuchs as an act of vengeance; for the Corcyraeans had first begun the quarrel by committing a terrible crime against him.

50 1 Ἐπεῖτε γὰρ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ γυναῖκα Μέλισσαν Περίανδρος ἀπέκτεινε, συμφορὴν τοιήνδε οἱ ἄλλην συνέβη πρὸς τῇ γεγонуίῃ γενέσθαι. ἦσαν οἱ ἐκ Μελίσσης δύο παῖδες, ἡλικίην ὃ μὲν ἑπτακαίδεκα ὃ δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεα γεγονώς. 2 τούτους ὁ μητροπάτωρ Προκλῆς ἐὼν Ἐπιδαύρου τύραννος μεταπεμψάμενος παρ' ἑωυτὸν ἐφιλοφρονέετο, ὡς οἶκος ἦν θυγατρὸς ἐόντας τῆς ἑωυτοῦ παιδᾶς. ἐπεῖτε δὲ σφέας ἀπεπέμπετο, εἶπε προπέμπων αὐτούς 3 “ἄρα ἴστε, ὧ παῖδες, ὅς ὑμέων τὴν μητέρα ἀπέκτεινε;,, τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος αὐτῶν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο· ὁ δὲ νεώτερος, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Λυκόφρων, ἤλγησε ἀκούσας οὕτω ὥστε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον ἄτε φονέα τῆς μητρὸς τὸν πατέρα οὔτε προσεῖπε, διαλεγομένῳ τε οὔτε προσδιελέγετο ἱστορέοντί τε λόγον οὐδένα ἐδίδου. τέλος δέ μιν περιθύμως ἔχων ὁ Περίανδρος ἐξελαύνει ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων.

50. For after killing his own wife Melissa, Periander suffered yet another calamity on top of what he had already suffered. He had two sons by Melissa, one seventeen and one eighteen years old. Their mother's father, Procles, the sovereign of Epidaurus, sent for the boys and treated them affectionately, as was natural, seeing that they were his own daughter's sons. When they left him, he said as he sent them forth: “Do you know, boys, who killed your mother?” The elder of them paid no attention to these words; but the younger, whose name was Lycophron, was struck with such horror when he heard them that when he came to Corinth he would not speak to his father, his mother's murderer, nor would he answer him when addressed nor reply to his questions. At last Periander was so angry that he drove the boy from his house.

51 1 Ἐξελάσας δὲ τοῦτον ἱστόρει τὸν πρεσβύτερον τά σφι ὁ μητροπάτωρ διελέχθη. ὁ δὲ οἱ ἀπηγέετο ὡς σφέας φιλοφρόνως

ἐδέξατο· ἐκείνου δὲ τοῦ ἔπεος τό σφι ὁ Προκλῆς ἀποστέλλων εἶπε, ἄτε οὐ νόφ λαβών, οὐκ ἐμέμνητο. Περίανδρος δὲ οὐδεμίαν μηχανὴν ἔφη εἶναι μὴ οὐ σφι ἐκεῖνον ὑποθέσθαι τι, ἐλιπάρεε τε ἱστορέων· ὁ δὲ ἀναμνησθεὶς εἶπε καὶ τοῦτο. 2 Περίανδρος δὲ νόφ λαβών [καὶ τοῦτο] καὶ μαλακὸν ἐνδιδόναι βουλόμενος οὐδέν, τῇ ὁ ἐξελασθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παῖς δίαίταν ἐποιέετο, ἐς τούτους πέμπων ἄγγελον ἀπηγόρευε μὴ μιν δέκεσθαι οἰκίοισι. 3 ὁ δὲ ὅκως ἀπελαυνόμενος ἔλθοι ἐς ἄλλην οἰκίην, ἀπηλαύνετ' ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης, ἀπειλείοντός τε τοῦ Περίανδρου τοῖσι δεξαμένοισι καὶ ἐξέργειν κελεύοντος· ἀπελαυνόμενος δ' ἂν ἦε ἐπ' ἐτέρην τῶν ἐταίρων· οἱ δὲ ἄτε Περίανδρου ἐόντα παῖδα καίπερ δειμαίνοντες ὁμῶς ἐδέκοντο.

51. Having driven this one away, he asked the elder son what their grandfather had said to them. The boy told him that Procles had treated them kindly, but did not mention what he had said at parting; for he had paid no attention. Periander said that by no means could Procles not have dropped some hint, and interrogated him persistently; until the boy remembered, and told him. And Periander, comprehending, and wishing to show no weakness, sent a message to those with whom his banished son was living and forbade them to keep him. So when the boy, driven out, would go to another house, he would be driven from this also, since Periander threatened all who received him and ordered them to shut him out; so when driven forth, he would go to some other house of his friends, and they, although he was the son of Periander, and although they were afraid, nonetheless took him in.

52 1 Τέλος δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο, ὃς ἂν ἡ οἰκίοισι ὑποδέξηται μιν ἢ προσδιαλεχθῇ, ἱρὴν ζημίην τοῦτον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὀφείλειν, ὅσῃν δὴ εἶπας. 2 πρὸς ὧν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα οὔτε τίς οἱ διαλέγεσθαι οὔτε οἰκίοισι δέκεσθαι ἤθελε· πρὸς δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐδικαίου πειρᾶσθαι ἀπειρημένου, ἀλλὰ διακαρτερέων ἐν τῇσι στοῇσι ἐκαλινδέετο. 3 τετάρτη δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἰδὼν μιν ὁ Περίανδρος ἀλουσίησί τε καὶ ἀσιτίησι συμπεπτωκότα οἴκτειρε· ὑπεῖς δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ἦε ἄσπον καὶ ἔλεγε “ὦ παῖ, κότερα τούτων αἰρετώτερα ἐστί, ταῦτα τὸ νῦν ἔχων πρήσσεις, ἢ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ νῦν ἐγὼ ἔχω, ταῦτα ἐόντα τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιτήδεον παραλαμβάνειν, 4 ὃς ἐὼν ἐμός τε παῖς καὶ Κορίνθου τῆς εὐδαίμονος βασιλεὺς ἀλήτην βίον

εἶλεν, ἀντιστατέων τε καὶ ὀργῇ χρεώμενος ἐς τὸν σε ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν. εἰ γάρ τις συμφορὴ ἐν αὐτοῖσι γέγονε, ἐξ ἧς ὑποψίην ἐς ἐμὲ ἔχεις, ἐμοί τε αὕτη γέγονε καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτῆς τὸ πλεῦν μέτοχος εἰμί, ὅσῳ αὐτός σφρα ἐξεργασάμην. 5 σὺ δὲ μαθὼν ὅσῳ φθονέσθαι κρέσσον ἐστὶ ἢ οἰκτείρεσθαι, ἅμα τε ὁκοῖόν τι ἐς τοὺς τοκέας καὶ ἐς τοὺς κρέσσονας τεθυμῶσθαι, ἅπιθι ἐς τὰ οἰκία,. 6 Περίανδρος μὲν τοῦτοις αὐτὸν κατελάμβανε· ὁ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἀμείβεται τὸν πατέρα, ἔφη δέ μιν ἱρὴν ζημίην ὀφείλειν τῷ θεῷ ἐωυτῷ ἐς λόγους ἀπικόμενον. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος ὡς ἄπορόν τι τὸ κακὸν εἶη τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἀνίκητον, ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν μιν ἀποπέμπεται στείλας πλοῖον ἐς Κέρκυραν· ἐπεκράτεε γὰρ καὶ ταύτης· 7 ἀποστείλας δὲ τοῦτον ὁ Περίανδρος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν πενθερὸν Προκλέα ὡς τῶν παρεόντων οἱ πρηγμάτων ἐόντα αἰτιώτατον, καὶ εἶλε μὲν τὴν Ἐπίδauρον, εἶλε δὲ αὐτὸν Προκλέα καὶ ἐζώγρησε.

52. In the end Periander made a proclamation, that whoever sheltered the boy in his house or spoke to him, would owe a fine to Apollo, and he set the amount. In view of this proclamation no one wished to address or receive the boy into his house; and besides, the boy himself did not think it right to attempt what was forbidden, but accepting it slept in the open. On the fourth day, when Periander saw him starved and unwashed, he took pity on him, and his anger being softened, he came near and said: "My son, which is preferable — to follow your present way of life, or by being well-disposed toward your father to inherit my power and the goods which I now possess? Though my son and a prince of prosperous Corinth, you prefer the life of a vagrant, by opposing and being angry with me with whom you least ought to be. For if something has happened as a result of which you have a suspicion about me, it has happened to my disadvantage and I bear the brunt of it, inasmuch as I am the cause. But bearing in mind how much better it is to be envied than to be pitied, and at the same time what sort of thing it is to be angry with your parents and with those that are stronger than you, come back to the house." With these words Periander tried to move his son, but he said nothing else to his father, only told him that because he had conversed with him he owed the fine to Apollo. When Periander saw that his son's stubbornness could not be got around or overcome, he

sent him away out of his sight in a ship to Corcyra; for Corcyra too was subject to him. And when he had sent him away, he sent an army against Procles his father-in-law, since he was most to blame for his present troubles; and he took Epidaurus, captured Procles, and imprisoned him.

53 1 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνοντος ὃ τε Περίανδρος παρηβήκεε καὶ συνεγινώσκετο ἑωυτῷ οὐκέτι εἶναι δυνατὸς τὰ πρήγματα ἐπορᾶν τε καὶ διέπειν, πέμψας ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀπεκάλεε τὸν Λυκόφρονα ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν παίδων οὐκ ἔν ὥρᾳ, ἀλλὰ οἱ κατεφαίνετο εἶναι νωθέστερος. 2 ὁ δὲ Λυκόφρων οὐδὲ ἀνακρίσιος ἠξίωσε τὸν φέροντα τὴν ἀγγελίην. Περίανδρος δὲ περιεχόμενος τοῦ νενήϊω δεύτερα ἀπέστειλε ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὴν ἀδελφεήν, ἑωυτοῦ δὲ θυγατέρα, δοκέων μιν μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἂν πείθεσθαι. 3 ἀπικομένης δὲ ταύτης καὶ λεγούσης, “ὦ παῖ, βούλει τὴν τε τυραννίδα ἐς ἄλλους πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς διαφορηθέντα μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὸς σφεα ἀπελθὼν ἔχειν; ἅπιθι ἐς τὰ οἰκία, παῦσαι σεωυτὸν ζημιῶν. 4 φιλοτιμίῃ κτῆμα σκαιόν. μὴ τῷ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰῶ. πολλοὶ τῶν δικαίων τὰ ἐπιεικέστερα προτιθεῖσι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἤδη τὰ μητρώια διζήμενοι τὰ πατρώια ἀπέβαλον. τυραννὶς χρῆμα σφαλερόν, πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρασταὶ εἰσι, ὁ δὲ γέρων τε ἤδη καὶ παρηβηκῶς· μὴ δῶς τὰ σεωυτοῦ ἀγαθὰ ἄλλοις, 5 ἥ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπαγωγότατα διδαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ ὑποκρινάμενος ἔφη οὐδαμὰ ἥξειν ἐς Κόρινθον, ἔστ' ἂν πυνθάνηται περιέοντα τὸν πατέρα. 6 ἀπαγγειλάσης δὲ ταύτης ταῦτα, τὸ τρίτον Περίανδρος κήρυκα πέμπει βουλόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς Κέρκυραν ἵκειν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἐκέλευε ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικόμενον διάδοχον γίνεσθαι τῆς τυραννίδος. 7 κατανέσαντος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῦ παιδός, ὁ μὲν Περίανδρος ἐστέλλετο ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, ὁ δὲ παῖς οἱ ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τούτων ἕκαστα, ἵνα μὴ σφι Περίανδρός ἐς τὴν χώραν ἀπίκηται, κτείνουσι τὸν νενήϊσκον. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν Περίανδρος Κερκυραίους ἐτιμωρέετο.

53. As time went on, Periander, now grown past his prime and aware that he could no longer oversee and direct all his affairs, sent to Corcyra inviting Lycophron to be sovereign; for he saw no hope in his eldest son, who seemed to him to be slow-witted. Lycophron did not dignify the invitation with a reply. Then Periander, pressing the

young man, sent to him (as the next best way) his daughter, the boy's sister, thinking that he would listen to her. She came and said, "Child, would you want the power to fall to others, and our father's house destroyed, rather than to return and have it yourself? Come home and stop punishing yourself. Pride is an unhappy possession. Do not cure evil by evil. Many place the more becoming thing before the just; and many pursuing their mother's business have lost their father's. Power is a slippery thing; many want it, and our father is now old and past his prime; do not lose what is yours to others." So she spoke communicating their father's inducements. But he answered that he would never come to Corinth as long as he knew his father was alive. When she brought this answer back, Periander sent a third messenger, through whom he proposed that he should go to Corcyra, and that the boy should return to Corinth and be the heir of his power. The son consented to this; Periander got ready to go to Corcyra and Lycophron to go to Corinth; but when the Corcyraeans learned of all these matters, they put the young man to death so that Periander would not come to their country. It was for this that Periander desired vengeance on the Corcyraeans.

54 1 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ὥς ἀπίκοντο, ἐπολιόρκεον Σάμον· προσβαλόντες δὲ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ μὲν πρὸς θαλάσση ἐστεῶτος πύργου κατὰ τὸ προάστειον τῆς πόλιος ἐπέβησαν, μετὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ βοηθήσαντος Πολυκράτεος χειρὶ πολλῇ ἀπηλάσθησαν. 2 κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐπάνω πύργον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ῥάχιος τοῦ ὄρεος ἐπεόντα ἐπεξῆλθον οἳ τε ἐπίκουροι καὶ αὐτῶν Σαμίων συχνοί, δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ἔφευγον ὀπίσω, οἳ δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἔκτεινον.

54. The Lacedaemonians then came with a great army, and besieged Samos. They advanced to the wall and entered the tower that stands by the seaside in the outer part of the city; but then Polycrates himself attacked them with a great force and drove them out. The mercenaries and many of the Samians themselves sallied out near the upper tower on the ridge of the hill and withstood the Lacedaemonian advance for a little while; then they fled back, with the Lacedaemonians pursuing and destroying them.

55 1 Εἰ μὲν νυν οἱ παρεόντες Λακεδαιμονίων ὅμοιοι ἐγένοντο

ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην Ἀρχίη τε καὶ Λυκώπη, αἰρέθη ἄν Σάμος· Ἀρχίης γὰρ καὶ Λυκώπης μούνοι συνεσπεσόντες φεύγουσι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τοῖσι Σαμίοις καὶ ἀποκλησιθέντες τῆς ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ ἀπέθανον ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ Σαμίων. 2 τρίτῳ δὲ ἀπ' Ἀρχίω τούτου γεγονότι ἄλλῳ Ἀρχίῃ τῷ Σαμίῳ τοῦ Ἀρχίω αὐτὸς ἐν Πιτάνῃ συνεγενόμην (δήμου γὰρ τούτου ἦν), ὃς ξείνων πάντων μάλιστα ἐτίμα τε Σαμίους καὶ οἱ τῷ πατρὶ ἔφη Σάμιον τοῦνομα τεθῆναι, ὅτι οἱ ὁ πατὴρ Ἀρχίης ἐν Σάμῳ ἀριστεύσας ἐτελεύτησε· τιμᾶν δὲ Σαμίους ἔφη, διότι ταφῆναί οἱ τὸν πάππον δημοσίῃ ὑπὸ Σαμίων.

55. Had all the Lacedaemonians there that day been like Archias and Lycopas, Samos would have been taken. These two alone entered the fortress along with the fleeing crowd of Samians, and were cut off and killed in the city of Samos. I myself have met in his native town of Pitana another Archias son of Samius, and grandson of the Archias mentioned above, who honored the Samians more than any other of his guest-friends, and told me that his father had borne the name Samius because he was the son of that Archias who was killed fighting bravely at Samos. The reason that he honored the Samians, he said, was that they had given his grandfather a public funeral.

56 1 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὥς σφι τεσσεράκοντα ἐγεγόνεσαν ἡμέραι πολιορκέουσι Σάμον ἐς τὸ πρόσω τε οὐδὲν προεκόπτετο τῶν πρηγμάτων, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Πελοπόννησον. 2 ὥς δὲ ὁ ματαιότερος λόγος ὄρμηται, λέγεται Πολυκράτεα ἐπιχώριον νόμισμα κόψαντα πολλὸν μολύβδου καταχρυσώσαντα δοῦναι σφι, τοὺς δὲ δεξαμένους οὕτω δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. ταύτην πρώτην στρατηίην ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δωριέες ἐποιήσαντο.

56. So when the Lacedaemonians had besieged Samos for forty days with no success, they went away to the Peloponnesus. There is a foolish tale abroad that Polycrates bribed them to depart by making and giving them a great number of gilded lead coins, as a native currency. This was the first expedition to Asia made by Dorians of Lacedaemon.

57 1 Οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα στρατευσάμενοι Σαμίων, ἐπεὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολιπεῖν ἔμελλον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπέπλεον ἐς Σίφνον, 2 χρημάτων γὰρ ἐδέοντο, τὰ δὲ τῶν Σιφνίων πρήγματα

ἤκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, καὶ νησιωτέων μάλιστα ἐπλούτεον, ἅτε ἐόντων αὐτοῖσι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ χρυσέων καὶ ἀργυρέων μετάλλων, οὕτω ὥστε ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης τῶν γινομένων αὐτόθεν χρημάτων θησαυρὸς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀνάκειται ὅμοια τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοισι· αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ γινόμενα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκάστῳ χρήματα διενέμοντο. 3 ὅτε ὦν ἐποιεῦντο τὸν θησαυρόν, ἐχρέωντο τῷ χρηστηρίῳ εἰ αὐτοῖσι τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ οἶα τε ἐστὶ πολλὸν χρόνον παραμένειν· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἐχρησέ σφι τάδε.

57. When the Lacedaemonians were about to abandon them, the Samians who had brought an army against Polycrates sailed away too, and went to Siphnus; for they were in need of money; and the Siphnians were at this time very prosperous and the richest of the islanders, because of the gold and silver mines on the island. They were so wealthy that the treasure dedicated by them at Delphi, which is as rich as any there, was made from a tenth of their income; and they divided among themselves each year's income. Now when they were putting together the treasure they inquired of the oracle if their present prosperity was likely to last long; whereupon the priestess gave them this answer: ““When the prytaneum on Siphnus becomes white And white-browed the market, then indeed a shrewd man is wanted Beware a wooden force and a red herald.” “ At this time the market-place and town-hall of Siphnus were adorned with Parian marble.

58 1 Τοῦτον τὸν χρησμόν οὐκ οἶοί τε ἦσαν γινῶναι οὔτε τότε εὐθὺς οὔτε τῶν Σαμίων ἀπιγμένων. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ τάχιστα πρὸς τὴν Σίφνον προσῖσχον οἱ Σάμιοι, ἔπεμπον τῶν νεῶν μίαν πρέσβεας ἄγουσαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. 2 τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἅπασαι αἱ νέες ἦσαν μιληλιφές, καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἡ Πυθίη προηγόρευε τοῖσι Σιφνίοισι, φυλάσασθαι τὸν ξύλινον λόχον κελεύουσα καὶ κήρυκα ἐρυθρόν. 3 ἀπικόμενοι ὦν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐδέοντο τῶν Σιφνίων δέκα τάλαντά σφι χρῆσαι· οὐ φασκόντων δὲ χρῆσιν τῶν Σιφνίων αὐτοῖσι, οἱ Σάμιοι τοὺς χώρους αὐτῶν ἐπόρθεον. 4 πυθόμενοι δὲ εὐθὺς ἦκον οἱ Σίφνιοι βοηθέοντες καὶ συμβαλόντες αὐτοῖσι ἐσώθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἀπεκλήσθησαν τοῦ ἄστεος ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων, καὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἔπρηξαν.

58. They could not understand this oracle either when it was

spoken or at the time of the Samians' coming. As soon as the Samians put in at Siphnus, they sent ambassadors to the town in one of their ships; now in ancient times all ships were painted with vermilion; and this was what was meant by the warning given by the priestess to the Siphnians, to beware a wooden force and a red herald. The messengers, then, demanded from the Siphnians a loan of ten talents; when the Siphnians refused them, the Samians set about ravaging their lands. Hearing this the Siphnians came out at once to drive them off, but they were defeated in battle, and many of them were cut off from their town by the Samians; who presently exacted from them a hundred talents.

59 1 Παρὰ δὲ Ἑρμιονέων νῆσον ἀντὶ χρημάτων παρέλαβον Ὑδρέην τὴν ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ αὐτὴν Τροιζηνίοισι παρακατέθεντο· αὐτοὶ δὲ Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ ἔκτισαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο πλέοντες ἀλλὰ Ζακυνθίους ἐξελῶντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου. 2 ἔμειναν δ' ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ εὐδαιμόνησαν ἐπ' ἕτεα πέντε, ὥστε τὰ ἱρὰ τὰ ἐν Κυδωνίᾳ ἔόντα νῦν οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες [καὶ τὸν τῆς Δικτύνης νηόν]. 3 ἔκτω δὲ ἔτει Αἰγινῆται αὐτοὺς ναυμαχίᾳ νικήσαντες ἠνδραποδίσαντο μετὰ Κρητῶν, καὶ τῶν νεῶν καπρίους ἔχουσέων τὰς πρῶρας ἠκρωτηρίασαν καὶ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ ἱρόν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐν Αἰγίνῃ. 4 ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίησαν ἔγκοτον ἔχοντες Σαμίοισι Αἰγινῆται· πρότεροι γὰρ Σάμιοι ἐπ' Ἀμφικράτεος βασιλεύοντος ἐν Σάμῳ στρατευσάμενοι ἐπ' Αἶγιναν μέγала κακὰ ἐποίησαν Αἰγινήτας καὶ ἔπαθον ὑπ' ἐκείνων. ἡ μὲν αἰτία αὕτη.

59. Then the Samians took from the men of Hermione, instead of money, the island Hydrea which is near to the Peloponnesus, and gave it to men of Troezen for safekeeping; they themselves settled at Cydonia in Crete, though their voyage had been made with no such intent, but rather to drive Zacynthians out of the island. Here they stayed and prospered for five years; indeed, the temples now at Cydonia and the shrine of Dictyna are the Samians' work; but in the sixth year Aeginetans and Cretans came and defeated them in a sea-fight and made slaves of them; moreover they cut off the ships' prows, that were shaped like boars' heads, and dedicated them in the temple of Athena in Aegina. The Aeginetans did this out of a grudge against the Samians; for previously the Samians, in the days when

Amphicrates was king of Samos, sailing in force against Aegina, had hurt the Aeginetans and been hurt by them. This was the cause.

60 1 Ἐμήκυνα δὲ περὶ Σαμίων μᾶλλον, ὅτι σφι τρία ἐστὶ μέγιστα ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐξεργασμένα, ὁρεός τε ὑψηλοῦ ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιάς, τούτου ὄρυγμα κάτωθεν ἀρξάμενον, ἀμφίστομον. 2 τὸ μὲν μῆκος τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἑπτὰ στάδιοι εἰσὶ, τὸ δὲ ὕψος καὶ εὖρος ὀκτὼ ἐκάτερον πόδες. διὰ παντὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ὄρυγμα εἰκοσίπηχυ βάθος ὀρώρυκται, τρίπουν δὲ τὸ εὖρος, δι' οὗ τὸ ὕδωρ ὀχετευόμενον διὰ τῶν σωλήνων παραγίνεται ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀγόμενον ἀπὸ μεγάλης πηγῆς. 3 ἀρχιτέκτων δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος τούτου ἐγένετο Μεγαρεὺς Εὐπαλίνος Ναυστρόφου. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐν τῶν τριῶν ἐστὶ, δεύτερον δὲ περὶ λιμένα χῶμα ἐν θαλάσσῃ, βάθος καὶ εἴκοσι ὀργυιέων· μῆκος δὲ τοῦ χώματος μέζον δύο σταδίων. 4 τρίτον δὲ σφι ἐξέργασται νηὸς μέγιστος πάντων νηῶν τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτων πρῶτος ἐγένετο Ροῖκος Φιλέω ἐπιχώριος. τούτων εἵνεκεν μᾶλλον τι περὶ Σαμίων ἐμήκυνα.

60. I have written at such length of the Samians, because the three greatest works of all the Greeks were engineered by them. The first of these is the tunnel with a mouth at either end driven through the base of a hill nine hundred feet high; the whole tunnel is forty-two hundred feet long, eight feet high and eight feet wide; and throughout the whole of its length there runs a channel thirty feet deep and three feet wide, through which the water coming from an abundant spring is carried by pipes to the city of Samos. The designer of this work was Eupalinus son of Naustrophus, a Megarian. This is one of the three works; the second is a breakwater in the sea enclosing the harbor, sunk one hundred and twenty feet, and more than twelve hundred feet in length. The third Samian work is the temple, which is the greatest of all the temples of which we know; its first builder was Rhoecus son of Philes, a Samian. It is for this cause that I have expounded at more than ordinary length of Samos.

61 1 Καμβύση δὲ τῷ Κύρου χρονίζοντι περὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ παραφρονήσαντι ἐπανιστέεται ἄνδρες Μάγοι δύο ἀδελφεοί, τῶν τὸν ἕτερον καταλελοίπεε τῶν οἰκίων μελεδωνὸν ὁ Καμβύσης. οὗτος δὴ ὢν οἱ ἐπανεστη μαθὼν τε τὸν Σμέρδιος θάνατον ὡς κρύπτοιο γενόμενος, καὶ ὡς ὀλίγοι εἶησαν οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτὸν Περσέων, οἱ

δὲ πολλοὶ περιέοντα μιν εἰδείσαν. 2 πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευσας τάδε ἐπεχείρησε τοῖσι βασιλῆιοις. ἦν οἱ ἀδελφεός, τὸν εἰπά οἱ συνεπαναστῆναι, οἰκῶς μάλιστα τὸ εἶδος Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου, τὸν ὁ Καμβύσης ἐόντα ἐωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὸν ἀπέκτεινε· ἦν τε δὴ ὁμοῖος εἶδος τῷ Σμέρδι καὶ δὴ καὶ οὖνομα τῷ αὐτῷ εἶχε Σμέρδιν. 3 τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἀναγνῶσας ὁ Μάγος Πατιζεῖθης ὥς οἱ αὐτὸς πάντα διαπρήξει, εἶσε ἄγων ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον. ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο κήρυκας τῇ τε ἄλλῃ διέπεμπε καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον προερέοντα τῷ στρατῷ ὥς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου ἀκουστέα εἶη τοῦ λοιποῦ ἄλλ' οὐ Καμβύσεω.

61. Now after Cambyses, son of Cyrus, had lost his mind, while he was still in Egypt, two Magus brothers rebelled against him. One of them had been left by Cambyses as steward of his house; this man now revolted from him, perceiving that the death of Smerdis was kept secret, and that few knew of it, most believing him to be still alive. Therefore he plotted to gain the royal power: he had a brother, his partner, as I said, in rebellion; this brother was in appearance very like Cyrus' son Smerdis, whom Cambyses, his brother, had killed; nor was he like him in appearance only, but he bore the same name too, Smerdis. Patizeithes the Magus persuaded this man that he would manage everything for him; he brought his brother and set him on the royal throne; then he sent heralds to all parts, one of whom was to go to Egypt and proclaim to the army that henceforth they must obey not Cambyses but Smerdis, the son of Cyrus.

62 1 Οἱ τε δὴ ὧν ἄλλοι κήρυκες προηγόρευον ταῦτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ταχθείς, εὗρισκε γὰρ Καμβύσεα καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐόντα τῆς Συρίας ἐν Ἀγβατάνοις, προηγόρευε στὰς ἐς μέσον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἐκ τοῦ Μάγου. 2 Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ κήρυκος καὶ ἐλπίσας μιν λέγειν ἀληθεᾶ αὐτὸς τε προδεδόσθαι ἐκ Πρηξάσπεος (πεμφθέντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὥς ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν οὐ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα), βλέψας ἐς τὸν Πρηξάσπεα εἶπε “Πρήξασπες, οὕτω μοι διεπρήξαο τό τοι προσέθηκα πρῆγμα;,, 3 ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀληθεᾶ, ὅπως κοτὲ σοὶ Σμέρδις ἀδελφεὸς σὸς ἐπανεστῆκε, οὐδὲ ὅπως τι ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς νεῖκός τοι ἔσται ἢ μέγα ἢ σμικρόν· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς, ποιήσας τὰ σύ με ἐκέλευες, ἔθανά μιν χερσὶ τῇσι ἐμεωυτοῦ. 4 εἰ μὲν νυν οἱ τεθνεῶτες ἀνεστᾶσι, προσδέκεό τοι καὶ Ἀστυάγεα τὸν Μῆδον ἐπαναστήσεσθαι· εἰ δ' ἔστι

ὥσπερ πρὸ τοῦ, οὐ μή τί τοι ἔκ γε ἐκείνου νεώτερον ἀναβλάστη. νῦν
ὧν μοι δοκεί μεταδιώξαντας τὸν κήρυκα ἐξετάζειν εἰρωτεύοντας
παρ' ὅτευ ἦκων προαγορεύει ἡμῖν Σμέρδιος βασιλέος ἀκούειν,,.

62. So this proclamation was made everywhere. The herald appointed to go to Egypt, finding Cambyses and his army at Ecbatana in Syria, came out before them all and proclaimed the message given him by the Magus. When Cambyses heard what the herald said, he supposed that it was the truth, and that Prexaspes, when sent to kill Smerdis, had not done it but had played Cambyses false; and he said, fixing his eyes on Prexaspes, "Is it thus, Prexaspes, that you carried out my instructions?" "No," said Prexaspes, "this is not true, sire, that your brother Smerdis has rebelled against you; he cannot have any quarrel with you, small or great; I myself did as you instructed, and I buried him with my own hands. If then the dead can rise, you may expect to see Astyages the Mede rise up against you; but if things are as usual, assuredly no harm to you will arise from Smerdis. Now then this is my opinion, that we pursue this herald and interrogate him, to learn from whom he comes with his proclamation that we must obey Smerdis as our king."

63 1 Ταῦτα εἶπαντος Πρηξάσπεος, ἤρесе γὰρ Καμβύση, αὐτίκα μεταδίωντος γενόμενος ὁ κῆρυξ ἦκε· ἀπιγμένον δέ μιν εἶρετο ὁ Πρηξάσπης τάδε. "ὦνθρωπε, φῆς γὰρ ἦκειν παρὰ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου ἄγγελος· νῦν ὧν εἶπας τὴν ἀληθείην ἄπιθι χαίρων, κότερα αὐτός τοι Σμέρδις φαινόμενος ἐς ὅσιν ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα ἢ τῶν τις ἐκείνου ὑπηρετέων,," 2 ὁδὲ εἶπε "ἐγὼ Σμέρδιν μὲν τὸν Κύρου, ἐξ ὅτευ βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης ἤλασε ἐς Αἴγυπτον, οὐκῶ ὅπωπα· ὁ δέ μοι Μάγος τὸν Καμβύσης ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων ἀπέδεξε, οὗτος ταῦτα ἐνετείλατο, φὰς Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενον εἶπαι πρὸς ὑμέας,," 3 ὁ μὲν δὴ σφι ἔλεγε οὐδὲν ἐπικατεγυσμένους, Καμβύσης δὲ εἶπε "Πρήξασπες, σὺ μὲν οἶα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ποιήσας τὸ κελευόμενον αἰτίην ἐκπέφευγας· ἐμοὶ δὲ τίς ἂν εἴη Περσέων ὁ ἐπανεστεῶς ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Σμέρδιος οὐνόματος,," ὁ δὲ εἶπε 4 "ἐγὼ μοι δοκέω συνιέναι τὸ γεγονὸς τοῦτο, ὃ βασιλεῦ· οἱ Μάγοι εἰσὶ τοι οἱ ἐπανεστεῶτες, τόν τε ἔλλipes μελεδωνὸν τῶν οἰκίων, Πατιζειῆης, καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀδελφεὸς Σμέρδις,,"

63. Cambyses liked Prexaspes' advice; the herald was pursued at once and brought; and when he came, Prexaspes put this question to him: "Fellow, you say that your message is from Cyrus' son Smerdis;

tell me this now, and you may go away unpunished: was it Smerdis who appeared to you and gave you this charge, or was it one of his servants?" "Since King Cambyses marched to Egypt," answered the herald, "I have never seen Smerdis the son of Cyrus; the Magus whom Cambyses made overseer of his house gave me the message, saying that it was the will of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, that I should make it known to you." So spoke the herald, telling the whole truth; and Cambyses said, "Prexaspes, having done what you were told like a good man you are free of blame; but who can this Persian be who rebels against me and usurps the name of Smerdis?" Prexaspes replied, "I think, sire, that I understand what has been done here; the rebels are the Magi, Patizeithes whom you left steward of your house, and his brother Smerdis."

64 1 Ἐνθαῦτα ἀκούσαντα Καμβύσεα τὸ Σμέρδιος οὖνομα ἔτυψε ἡ ἀληθείη τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου· ὃς ἐδόκεε ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι τινά οἱ ὡς Σμέρδις ἰζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ψαύσειε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. 2 μαθὼν δὲ ὡς μάτην ἀπολωλεκῶς εἶη τὸν ἀδελφεόν, ἀπέκλαιε Σμέρδιν· ἀποκλαύσας δὲ καὶ περιημεκτήσας τῇ ἀπάσῃ συμφορῇ ἀναθρώσκει ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Σοῦσα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Μάγον. 3 καὶ οἱ ἀναθρώσκοντι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τοῦ κολεοῦ τοῦ ξίφεος ὁ μύκης ἀποπίπτει, γυμνωθὲν δὲ τὸ ξίφος παίει τὸν μηρόν· τρωματισθεὶς δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τῇ αὐτὸς πρότερον τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θεὸν Ἄπιν ἐπληξε, ὡς οἱ καιρὴν ἔδοξε τετύφθαι, εἶρετο ὁ Καμβύσης ὃ τι τῇ πόλι οὖνομα εἶη· οἱ δὲ εἶπαν ὅτι Ἀγβάτανα. 4 τῷ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον ἐκέχρηστο ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ἐν Ἀγβατάνοισι τελευτήσιν τὸν βίον. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐν τοῖσι Μηδικοῖσι Ἀγβατάνοισι ἐδόκεε τελευτήσιν γηραίος, ἐν τοῖσι οἱ ἦν τὰ πάντα πρήγματα· τὸ δὲ χρηστήριον ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Συρίῃ Ἀγβατάνοισι ἔλεγε ἄρα. 5 καὶ δὴ ὡς τότε ἐπειρόμενος ἐπύθετο τῆς πόλιος τὸ οὖνομα, ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορῆς τῆς τε ἐκ τοῦ Μάγου ἐκπεπληγμένος καὶ τοῦ τρώματος ἐσωφρόνησε, συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ θεοπρόπιον εἶπε "ἐνθαῦτα Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου ἐστὶ πεπρωμένον τελευτᾶν,·.

64. The truth of the words and of a dream struck Cambyses the moment he heard the name Smerdis; for he had dreamt that a message had come to him that Smerdis sitting on the royal throne

touched heaven with his head; and perceiving that he had killed his brother without cause, he wept bitterly for Smerdis. Having wept, and grieved by all his misfortune, he sprang upon his horse, with intent to march at once to Susa against the Magus. As he sprang upon his horse, the cap fell off the sheath of his sword, and the naked blade pierced his thigh, wounding him in the same place where he had once wounded the Egyptian god Apis; and believing the wound to be mortal, Cambyses asked what was the name of the town where he was. They told him it was Ecbatana. Now a prophecy had before this come to him from Buto, that he would end his life at Ecbatana; Cambyses supposed this to signify that he would die in old age at the Median Ecbatana, his capital city; but as the event proved, the oracle prophesied his death at Ecbatana of Syria. So when he now inquired and learned the name of the town, the shock of his wound, and of the misfortune that came to him from the Magus, brought him to his senses; he understood the prophecy and said: "Here Cambyses son of Cyrus is to die."

65 1 Τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα. ἡμέρησι δὲ ὕστερον ὥς εἴκοσι μεταπεμψάμενος Περσέων τῶν παρεόντων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. "ὦ Πέρσαι, καταλελάβηκέ με, τὸ πάντων μάλιστα ἔκρυπτον πρηγμάτων, τοῦτο ἐς ὑμέας ἐκφῆναι. 2 ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐὼν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ εἶδον ὅσιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, τὴν μηδαμὰ ὄφελον ἰδεῖν· ἐδόκεον δέ μοι ἄγγελον ἐλθόντα ἐξ οἴκου ἀγγέλλειν ὥς Σμέρδης ἰζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ψαύσειε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. 3 δείσας δὲ μὴ ἀπαιρεθῆω τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸς τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ, ἐποίησα ταχύτερα ἢ σοφώτερα· ἐν τῇ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄρα τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι ἀποτρέπειν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ μάταιος Πρηξάσπεα ἀποπέμψω ἐς Σοῦσα ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν. ἐξεργασθέντος δὲ κακοῦ τοσοῦτου ἀδεῶς διαιτώμην, οὐδαμὰ ἐπιλεξάμενος μὴ κοτέ τίς μοι Σμέρδιος ὑπαραιρημένου ἄλλος ἐπανασταίῃ ἀνθρώπων. 4 παντὸς δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι ἀμαρτῶν ἀδελφεοκτόνος τε οὐδὲν δέον γέγονα καὶ τῆς βασιληΐης οὐδὲν ἥσσον ἐστέρημα· Σμέρδης γὰρ δὴ ἦν ὁ Μάγος τὸν μοι ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε ἐν τῇ ὄψι ἐπαναστήσεσθαι. 5 τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔργον ἐξεργασταί μοι, καὶ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου μηκέτι ὑμῖν ἐόντα λογίζεσθε· οἱ δὲ ὑμῖν Μάγοι κρατεοῦσι τῶν βασιλῆϊων, τὸν τε ἔλιπον ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων καὶ ὁ ἐκείνου ἀδελφεὸς Σμέρδης. τὸν

μέν νυν μάλιστα χρῆν ἐμεῦ αἰσχρὰ πρὸς τῶν Μάγων πεπονθότος τιμωρέειν ἐμοί, οὗτος μὲν ἀνοσίῳ μόρῳ τετελεύτηκε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐωυτοῦ οἰκηιοτάτων· 6 τούτου δὲ μηκέτι ἐόντος, δεύτερα τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν ὃ Πέρσαι γίνεται μοι ἀναγκαιότατον ἐντέλλεσθαι τὰ θέλω μοι γενέσθαι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον· καὶ δὴ ὑμῖν τάδε ἐπισκίπτω θεοὺς τοὺς βασιλῆιους ἐπικαλέων καὶ πᾶσι ὑμῖν καὶ μάλιστα Ἀχαιμενιδέων τοῖσι παρεούσι, μὴ περιδεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίην αὐτῖς ἐς Μήδους περιελθοῦσαν, ἀλλ’ εἴτε δόλῳ ἔχουσι αὐτὴν κτησάμενοι, δόλῳ ἀπαιρεθῆναι ὑπὸ ὑμέων, εἴτε καὶ σθένει τεῷ κατεργασάμενοι, σθένει κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν ἀνασώσασθαι. 7 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ποιεῦσι ὑμῖν γῇ τε καρπὸν ἐκφέροι καὶ γυναιῖκές τε καὶ ποῖμναι τίκτοιεν, ἐοῦσι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐλευθέροισι· μὴ δὲ ἀνασωσαμένοισι τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴδ’ ἐπιχειρήσασι ἀνασώζειν τὰ ἐναντία τούτοισι ἀρῶμαι ὑμῖν γενέσθαι, καὶ πρὸς ἔτι τούτοισι τὸ τέλος Περσέων ἐκάστω ἐπιγενέσθαι οἷον ἐμοὶ ἐπιγέγονε,, ἅμα τε εἵπας ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπέκλαιε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ πρῆξιν.

65. At this time he said no more. But about twenty days later, he sent for the most prominent of the Persians that were about him, and thus addressed them: “Persians, I have to make known to you something which I kept most strictly concealed. When I was in Egypt I had a dream, which I wish I had not had; it seemed to me that a messenger came from home to tell me that Smerdis sitting on the royal throne touched heaven with his head. Then I feared that my brother would take away my sovereignty from me, and I acted with more haste than wisdom; for it is not in the power of human nature to run away from what is to be; but I, blind as I was, sent Prexaspes to Susa to kill Smerdis. When that great wrong was done I lived without fear, for I never thought that when Smerdis was removed another man might rise against me. But I mistook altogether what was to be; I have killed my brother when there was no need, and I have lost my kingdom none the less; for it was the Magus Smerdis that the divinity forewarned in the dream would revolt. Now he has been done for by me, and I would have you believe that Smerdis Cyrus’ son no longer lives; the Magi rule the kingdom, the one that I left caretaker of my house, and his brother Smerdis. So then, the man is dead of an unholy destiny at the hands of his relations who ought to have been

my avenger for the disgrace I have suffered from the Magi; and as he is no longer alive, necessity constrains me to charge you, men of Persia, in his place, with the last desire of my life. In the name of the gods of my royal house I charge all of you, but chiefly those Achaemenids that are here, not to let the sovereignty fall again into Median hands; if they have it after getting it by trickery, take it back through trickery of your own; if they have got it away by force, then by force all the stronger get it back. And if you do this, may your land bring forth fruit, and your women and your flocks and herds be blessed with offspring, remaining free for all time; but if you do not get the kingdom back or attempt to get it back, then I pray things turn out the opposite for you, and on top of this, that every Persian meet an end such as mine.” With that Cambyses wept bitterly for all that had happened to him.

66 1 Πέρσαι δὲ ὡς τὸν βασιλέα εἶδον ἀνακλαύσαντα πάντες τὰ τε ἐσθῆτος ἐχόμενα εἶχον, ταῦτα κατηρέικοντο καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἀφθόνῳ διεχρέωντο. 2 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὡς ἐσφακέλισέ τε τὸ ὀστέον καὶ ὁ μὴρὸς τάχιστα ἐσάπη, ἀπήνεικε Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου, βασιλεύσαντα μὲν τὰ πάντα ἑπτὰ ἔτεα καὶ πέντε μῆνας, ἄπαιδα δὲ τὸ παράπαν ἐόντα ἔρσηνος καὶ θήλεος γόνου. 3 Περσέων δὲ τοῖσι παρευοῦσι ἀπιστίῃ πολλὴ ὑπεκέχυτο τοὺς Μάγους ἔχειν τὰ πρήγματα, ἀλλ’ ἠπιστέατο ἐπὶ διαβολῇ εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεα τὰ εἶπε περὶ τοῦ Σμέρδιος θανάτου, ἵνα οἱ ἐκπολεμωθῇ πᾶν τὸ Περσικόν.

66. When the Persians saw their king weep, they all tore the clothing which they wore and wailed loud and long. But when after this the bone rotted and the thigh rapidly putrefied, it carried off Cambyses son of Cyrus, who had reigned in all seven years and five months, but was altogether childless, without male or female issue. To the Persians who were present it was quite incredible that the Magi were masters of the kingdom; they believed that Cambyses’ intent was to deceive them with his story of Smerdis’ death, so that all Persia might be embroiled in a war against him.

67 1 Οὗτοι μὲν νυν ἠπιστέατο Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου βασιλέα ἐνεστεῶτα· δεινῶς γὰρ καὶ ὁ Πρηξάσπης ἔξαρνος ἦν μὴ μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι Σμέρδιν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν οἱ ἀσφαλὲς Καμβύσεω τετελευτηκότος φάναι τὸν Κύρου υἱὸν ἀπολωλέκεναι αὐτοχειρίῃ. 2 ὁ

δὲ δὴ Μάγος τελευτήσαντος Καμβύσεω ἀδεῶς ἐβασίλευσε, ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ὁμωνύμου Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, μῆνας ἑπτὰ τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους Καμβύση ἐς τὰ ὀκτῶ ἔτεα τῆς πληρώσιος· 3 ἐν τοῖσι ἀπεδέξατο ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους πάντας εὐεργεσίας μεγάλας, ὥστε ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ πόθον ἔχειν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ πάρεξ αὐτῶν Περσέων. διαπέμψας γὰρ ὁ Μάγος ἐς πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ἤρχε προεῖπε ἀτελεῖν εἶναι στρατηγίας καὶ φόρου ἐπ' ἔτεα τρία.

67. So they believed that it was Cyrus' son Smerdis who had been made king. For Prexaspes stoutly denied that he had killed Smerdis, since now that Cambyses was dead, it was not safe for him to say that he had slain the son of Cyrus with his own hands. Cambyses being dead, the Magus, pretending to be the Smerdis of like name, Cyrus' son, reigned without fear for the seven months by which Cambyses had fallen short of reigning eight years. In this time he benefitted all his subjects to such an extent that after his death all the Asiatics except the Persians wished him back; for he sent to every nation he ruled and proclaimed an exemption for three years from military service and from tribute.

68 1 Προεῖπε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα αὐτίκα ἐνιστάμενος ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν, ὀγδόῳ δὲ μηνὶ ἐγένετο κατάδηλος τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Ὀτάνης ἦν Φαρνάσπεω μὲν παῖς, γένει δὲ καὶ χρήμασι ὅμοιος τῷ πρώτῳ Περσέων. 2 οὗτος ὁ Ὀτάνης πρῶτος ὑπώπτευσεν τὸν Μάγον ὡς οὐκ εἶναι ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις ἀλλ' ὅς περ ἦν, τῇδε συμβαλλόμενος, ὅτι τε οὐκ ἐξεφοίτα ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐκάλεε ἐς ὄψιν ἑαυτῷ οὐδένα τῶν λογίμων Περσέων· 3 ὑποπτεύσας δὲ μιν ἐποίει τάδε. ἔσχε αὐτοῦ Καμβύσης θυγατέρα, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Φαιδύμη· τὴν αὐτὴν δὴ ταύτην εἶχε τότε ὁ Μάγος καὶ ταύτῃ τε συνοίκεε καὶ τῇσι ἄλλῃσι πάσῃσι τῇσι τοῦ Καμβύσεω γυναιξί. πέμπων δὲ ὧν ὁ Ὀτάνης παρὰ ταύτην τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπυνθάνετο παρ' ὅτεφ ἀνθρώπων κοιμῶτο, εἶτε μετὰ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου εἶτε μετὰ ἄλλου τευ. 4 ἡ δὲ οἱ ἀντέπεμπε φαιμένη οὐ γινώσκειν· οὔτε γὰρ τὸν Κύρου Σμέρδιν ιδέσθαι οὐδαμὰ οὔτε ὅστις εἶναι ὁ συνοικέων αὐτῇ εἰδέναι. ἔπεμπε δεύτερα ὁ Ὀτάνης λέγων “εἰ μὴ αὐτὴ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου γινώσκεις, σὺ δὲ παρὰ Ἀτόσσης πύθου ὅτεφ τούτῳ συνοικέει αὐτὴ τε ἐκείνη καὶ σὺ· πάντως γὰρ δὴ κου τόν γε ἑαυτῆς ἀδελφεὸν γινώσκει,., ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ἢ θυγάτηρ 5 “οὔτε Ἀτόσση δύναμαι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν οὔτε

ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν ιδέσθαι τῶν συγκατημενέων γυναικῶν. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ τάχιστα οὗτος ὄνθρωπος, ὅστις κοτὲ ἐστί, παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλὴν, διέσπειρε ἡμέας ἄλλην ἄλλη τάξας,.

68. Such was his proclamation at the beginning of his reign; but in the eighth month he was exposed in the following manner. There was one Otanes, son of Pharnaspes, as well-born and rich a man as any Persian. This Otanes was the first to guess that the Magus was not Cyrus' son Smerdis and who, in fact, he was; the reason was, that he never left the acropolis nor summoned any notable Persian into his presence. And having formed this suspicion Otanes did as follows: Cambyses had taken his daughter, whose name was Phaedyme; this same girl the Magus had now and he lived with her and with all Cambyses' other wives. Otanes sent to this daughter, asking at what man's side she lay, with Smerdis, Cyrus' son, or with some other? She sent back a message that she did not know; for (she said) she had never seen Cyrus' son Smerdis, nor did she know who her bedfellow was. Then Otanes sent a second message, to this effect: "If you do not know Cyrus' son Smerdis yourself, then find out from Atossa who it is that she and you are living with; for surely she knows her own brother." To this his daughter replied: "I cannot communicate with Atossa, nor can I see any other of the women of the household; for no sooner had this man, whoever he is, made himself king, than he sent us to live apart, each in her own appointed place."

69 1 Ἀκούοντι δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Ὀτάνῃ μᾶλλον κατεφαίνετο τὸ πρῆγμα. τρίτην δὲ ἀγγελίην ἐσπέμπει παρ' αὐτὴν λέγουσαν ταῦτα. 2 "ὦ θύγατερ, δεῖ σε γεγονυῖαν εὖ κίνδυνον ἀναλαβέσθαι τὸν ἂν ὁ πατὴρ ὑποδύνειν κελεύῃ. εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ ἐστί ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδης ἀλλὰ τὸν καταδοκέω ἐγώ, οὗτοι μιν σοί τε συγκοιμώμενον καὶ τὸ Περσέων κράτος ἔχοντα δεῖ χαίροντα ἀπαλλάσσειν, ἀλλὰ δοῦναι δίκην. 3 νῦν ὣν ποιήσον τάδε· ἐπεὰν σοὶ συνενῶν καὶ μάθῃς αὐτὸν κατυπνωμένον, ἄφασον αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄντα· καὶ ἢν μὲν φαίνεται ἔχων ὄντα, νόμιζε σεωυτὴν Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου συνοικεῖν, ἢν δὲ μὴ ἔχων, σὺ δὲ τῷ Μάγῳ Σμέρδι,. 4 ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ Φαιδύμη φασμένη κινδυνεύσειν μεγάλως, ἢν ποιῇ ταῦτα· εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ τυγχάνει τὰ ὄντα ἔχων, ἐπίλαμπτος δὲ ἀφάσσουσα ἔσται, εὖ εἰδέναι ὥς αἰστώσει μιν· ὅμως μέντοι ποιήσειν ταῦτα. 5 ἡ μὲν δὴ ὑπεδέξατο

ταῦτα τῷ πατρὶ κατεργάσεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Μάγου τούτου τοῦ Σμέρδιος Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω ἄρχων τὰ ὦτα ἀπέταμε ἐπ' αἰτίῃ δὴ τινι οὐ σμικρῇ. 6 ἡ ὧν δὴ Φαιδύμη αὕτη, ἡ τοῦ Ὀτάνεω θυγάτηρ, πάντα ἐπιτελέουσα τὰ ὑπεδέξατο τῷ πατρί, ἐπεῖτε αὐτῆς μέρος ἐγένετο τῆς ἀπίξιος παρὰ τὸν Μάγον (ἐν περιτροπῇ γὰρ δὴ αἱ γυναῖκες φοιτέουσι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι), ἐλθοῦσα παρ' αὐτὸν ἠῦδε, ὑπνωμένου δὲ καρτερῶς τοῦ Μάγου ἤφασε τὰ ὦτα. μαθοῦσα δὲ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀλλ' εὐπετέως οὐκ ἔχοντα τὸν ἄνδρα ὦτα, ὥς ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγγέγονε, πέμψασα ἐσήμηνε τῷ πατρὶ τὰ γενόμενα.

69. When Otanes heard that, he saw more clearly how the matter stood; and he sent her this third message: "Daughter, your noble birth obliges you to run any risk that your father commands you to face. If this man is not Smerdis son of Cyrus but who I think he is, then he must not get away with sleeping with you and sitting on the throne of Persia, but be punished. Now, then, when he lies with you and you see that he is sleeping, feel his ears; if he has ears, rest assured that you are living with Smerdis son of Cyrus; but if he has none, it is Smerdis the Magus." Phaedyme answered by messenger that she would run a very great risk by so doing; for if it should turn out that he had no ears, and she were caught feeling for them, he would surely kill her; nevertheless she would do it. So she promised to do this for her father. Cyrus son of Cambyses during his reign cut off the ears of this Magus Smerdis for some grave reason. So Phaedyme, daughter of Otanes, performed her promise to her father. When it was her turn to go to the Magus (for their wives go in sequence to the Persians), she came to his bed and felt for the Magus' ears while he slumbered deeply; and having with no great difficulty assured herself that he had no ears, she sent and told this to her father as soon as it was morning.

70 1 Ὁ δὲ Ὀτάνης παραλαβὼν Ἀσπαθίνην καὶ Γοβρύην, Περσέων τε πρώτους ἐόντας καὶ ἐωυτῶ ἐπιτηδεοτάτους ἐς πίστιν, ἀπηγῆσατο πᾶν τὸ πρῆγμα· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄρα ὑπώπτευν οὕτω τοῦτο ἔχειν, ἀνενείκαντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀτάνεω τοὺς λόγους ἐδέξαντο, 2 καὶ ἐδοξέ σφι ἕκαστον ἄνδρα Περσέων προσεταιρίσασθαι τοῦτον ὅτε πιστεύει μάλιστα. Ὀτάνης μὲν νυν ἐσάγεται Ἰνταφρένεα, Γοβρύης δὲ Μεγάβυζον, Ἀσπαθίνης δὲ Ὑδάρνεα. 3 γεγονότων δὲ τούτων ἐξ

παραγίνεται ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος ἐκ Περσέων ἦκων· τούτων γὰρ δὴ ἦν οἱ ὁ πατήρ ὕπαρχος. ἐπεὶ ὧν οὗτος ἀπίκετο, τοῖσι ἐξ τῶν Περσέων ἔδοξε καὶ Δαρεῖον προσεταιρίσασθαι.

70. Otanes then took aside two Persians of the highest rank whom he thought worthiest of trust, Aspathines and Gobryas, and told them the whole story. These, it would seem, had themselves suspected that it was so; and now they readily believed what Otanes revealed to them. They resolved that each should take into his confidence that Persian whom he most trusted; Otanes brought in Intaphrenes, Gobryas brought Megabyzus, and Aspathines Hydarnes. When they were six, Darius, whose father, Hystaspes, was a subordinate governor of the Persians, arrived at Susa. When he came, then, the six Persians resolved to include Darius too.

71 1 Συνελθόντες δὲ οὗτοι ἐόντες ἐπὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφίσι πίστις καὶ λόγους. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐς Δαρεῖον ἀπίκετο γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. 2 “ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἐδόκειον μὲν αὐτὸς μόνος ἐπίστασθαι, ὅτι τε ὁ Μάγος εἶη ὁ βασιλεύων καὶ Σμέρδης ὁ Κύρου τετελεύτηκε· καὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου εἵνεκεν ἦκω σπουδῇ ὥς συστήσων ἐπὶ τῷ Μάγῳ θάνατον. ἐπεῖτε δὲ συνήνεικε ὥστε καὶ ὑμέας εἰδέναι καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐμέ, ποιεῖν αὐτίκα μοι δοκεῖ καὶ μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον,, 3 εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ὀτάνης “ὦ παῖ Ὑστάσπεος, εἷς τε πατὴρ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἐκφαίνειν ἔοικας σεαυτὸν ἐόντα τοῦ πατὴρος οὐδὲν ἦσσω· τὴν μέντοι ἐπιχείρησιν ταύτην μὴ οὕτω συντάχυνε ἀβούλως, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸ σωφρονέστερον αὐτὴν λάμβανε· δεῖ γὰρ πλεῖνας γενομένους οὕτω ἐπιχειρεῖν,, 4 λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα Δαρεῖος “ἄνδρες οἱ παρεόντες, τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἐξ Ὀτάνεω εἰ χρήσεσθε, ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ἀπολέεσθε κάκιστα· ἐξοίσει γάρ τις πρὸς τὸν Μάγον, ἰδίῃ περιβαλλόμενος ἐν τῷ κέρδει. 5 μάλιστα μὲν νυνὶ ὠφείλετε ἐπ’ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ὑμῖν ἀναφέρειν ἐς πλεῖνας ἐδόκεε καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑπερέθεσθε, ἢ ποιῶμεν σήμερον ἢ ἴστε ὑμῖν ὅτι ἦν ὑπερπέση ἢ νῦν ἡμέρη, ὥς οὐκ ἄλλος φθὰς ἐμεῦ κατήγορος ἔσται, ἀλλὰ σφεα αὐτὸς ἐγὼ κατερῶ πρὸς τὸν Μάγον,,

71. The seven then met and gave each other tokens of good faith and spoke together; and when it was Darius’ turn to declare his mind, he spoke as follows: “I thought that I alone knew that it was the Magus who was king and that Smerdis son of Cyrus was dead; and it

was for this reason that I made haste to come, that I might effect the Magus' death; but since it turns out that you know too and not only I, I think that we should act at once and not put it off." Otanes replied, "son of Hystaspes, you have a good father and seem likely yourself to be in no way inferior to your father; do not hurry this undertaking without thinking, but take it up more prudently; there must be more of us to try it." To this Darius answered: "You gentlemen who are here, if you do as Otanes says, know that you will die horribly; for someone will inform the Magus, looking to enrich himself alone. You ought to have done it by yourselves; but since you decided to confide in others and have included me, let us either act today or else understand that if the present day passes, nobody else will betray you before I do, for I shall myself betray you to the Magus."

72 1 Λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα Ὀτάνης, ἐπειδὴ ὥρα σπερχόμενον Δαρεῖον, “ἐπεῖτε ἡμέας συνταχύνειν ἀναγκάζεις καὶ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι οὐκ ἔῤ, ἴθι ἐξηγέο αὐτὸς ὅτεω τρόπῳ πάριμεν ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα καὶ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτοῖσι. φυλακὰς γὰρ δὴ διεστεώσας οἰδὰς κου καὶ αὐτὸς, εἰ μὴ ἰδὼν, ἀλλ’ ἀκούσας· τὰς τέῳ τρόπῳ περήσομεν;,, ἀμείβεται Δαρεῖος τοῖσιδε. 2 “Ὀτάνη, ἥ πολλὰ ἐστὶ τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οὐκ οἶα τε δηλῶσαι, ἔργῳ δέ· ἄλλα δ’ ἐστὶ τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οἶα τε, ἔργον δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν λαμπρὸν γίνεται. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἴστε φυλακὰς τὰς κατεστεώσας ἐούσας οὐδὲν χαλεπὰς παρελθεῖν. 3 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἡμέων ἐόντων τοιῶνδε οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ παρήσει, τὰ μὲν κου καταιδεόμενος ἡμέας, τὰ δὲ κου καὶ δειμαίνων· τοῦτο δὲ ἔχω αὐτὸς σκῆψιν εὐπρεπεστάτην τῇ πάριμεν, φὰς ἄρτι τε ἦκειν ἐκ Περσέων καὶ βούλεσθαι τι ἔπος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς σημῆναι τῷ βασιλεί. 4 ἐνθα γάρ τι δεῖ ψεῦδος λέγεσθαι, λεγέσθω. τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ γλιχόμεθα οἱ τε ψευδόμενοι καὶ οἱ τῇ ἀληθείῃ διαχρεώμενοι. οἱ μὲν γε ψεύδονται τότε ἐπεὰν τι μέλλωσι τοῖσι ψεύδεσι πείσαντες κερδήσεσθαι, οἱ δ’ ἀληθίζονται ἵνα τῇ ἀληθείῃ ἐπισπάσωνται κέρδος καὶ τι μᾶλλον σφι ἐπιτράπηται. οὕτω οὐ ταῦτ’ ἀσκέοντες τῶντοῦ περιεχόμεθα. 5 εἰ δὲ μηδὲν κερδήσεσθαι μέλλοιεν, ὁμοίως ἂν ὃ τε ἀληθιζόμενος ψευδῆς εἴη καὶ ὁ ψευδόμενος ἀληθής. ὃς ἂν μὲν νυν τῶν πυλουργῶν ἐκὼν παριῇ, αὐτῷ οἱ ἄμεινον ἐς χρόνον ἔσται· ὃς δ’ ἂν ἀντιβαίνειν πειρᾶται, δεικνύσθω ἐνθαῦτα ἐὼν πολέμιος, καὶ ἔπειτα ὡσάμενοι ἔσω ἔργου ἐχώμεθα;,,

72. To this Otanes replied, seeing Darius' vehemence, "Since you force us to hurry and will tolerate no delay, tell us now yourself how we shall pass into the palace and attack them. For you know yourself, I suppose, if not because you have seen them then you have heard, that guards are stationed all around; how shall we go past the guards?" "Otanes," answered Darius, "there are many things that cannot be described in words, but in deed; and there are other things that can be described in words, but nothing illustrious comes of them. You know well that the guards who are set are easy to go by. There is no one who will not allow us to pass, from respect or from fear, because of who we are; and further, I have myself the best pretext for entering, for I shall say that I have just arrived from Persia and have a message for the king from my father. When it is necessary to lie, lie. For we want the same thing, liars and those who tell the truth; some lie to win credence and advantage by lies, while others tell the truth in order to obtain some advantage by the truth and to be more trusted; thus we approach the same ends by different means. If the hope of advantage were taken away, the truth-teller would be as ready to lie as the liar to tell the truth. Now if any of the watchmen willingly let us pass, it will be better for him later. But if any tries to withstand us, let us note him as an enemy, and so thrust ourselves in and begin our work."

73 1 Λέγει Γοβρύης μετὰ ταῦτα "ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἡμῖν κότε κάλλιον παρέξει ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἢ εἰ γε μὴ οἰοί τε ἐσόμεθα αὐτὴν ἀναλαβεῖν, ἀποθανεῖν; ὅτε γε ἀρχόμεθα μὲν ἐόντες Πέρσαι ὑπὸ Μήδου ἀνδρὸς Μάγου, καὶ τούτου ὧτα οὐκ ἔχοντος. 2 ὅσοι τε ὑμέων Καμβύση νοσέοντι παρεγένοντο, πάντως κου μέμνησθε τὰ ἐπέσκηψε Πέρσῃσι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον μὴ πειρωμένοισι ἀνακτᾶσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν· τὰ τότε οὐκ ἐνεδεκόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαβολῇ ἐδοκέομεν εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεια. 3 νῦν ὧν τίθεμαι ψῆφον πείθεσθαι Δαρείῳ καὶ μὴ διαλύεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου τοῦδε ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν Μάγον ἰθὺς, ταῦτα εἶπε Γοβρύης, καὶ πάντες ταύτῃ αἶνεον.

73. Then Gobryas said, "Friends, when shall we have a better chance to win back the kingship, or, if we cannot, to die, since we who are Persians are ruled by a Mede, a Magus, and he a man that has no ears? Those of you that were with Cambyzes at his death-bed

of course remember the curse which he pronounced as he died on the Persians if they should not try to get back the kingship, although we did not believe Cambyses then, but thought that he spoke to deceive us. Now therefore my vote is that we follow Darius' plan, and not quit this council to do anything else but attack the Magus at once." So spoke Gobryas; and they all consented to what he said.

74 1 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐβουλευόντο, ἐγένετο κατὰ συντυχίην τάδε. τοῖσι Μάγοισι ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι Πρηξάσπεα φίλον προσθέσθαι, ὅτι τε ἐπεπόνθεε πρὸς Καμβύσειω ἀνάρσια, ὅς οἱ τὸν παῖδα τοξεύσας ἀπολωλέκεε, καὶ διότι μόνος ἠπίστατο τὸν Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θάνατον αὐτοχειρὶ μιν ἀπολέσας, πρὸς δ' ἔτι ἔόντα ἐν αἴνῃ μεγίστη τὸν Πρηξάσπεα ἐν Πέρσῃσι. 2 τούτων δὴ μιν εἵνεκεν καλέσαντες φίλον προσεκτῶντο πίστι τε λαβόντες καὶ ὀρκίοις, ἧ μὲν ἔξειν παρ' ἑωυτῷ μηδ' ἐξοίσειν μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀπὸ σφέων ἀπάτην ἐς Πέρσας γεγонуῖαν, ὑπισχνεύμενοι τὰ πάντα οἱ μυρία δώσειν. 3 ὑποσχομένου δὲ τοῦ Πρηξάσπεος ποιήσιν ταῦτα, ὥς ἀνέπεισάν μιν οἱ Μάγοι, δεύτερα προσέφερον, αὐτοὶ μὲν φάμενοι Πέρσας πάντας συγκαλέειν ὑπὸ τὸ βασιλῆιον τεῖχος, κείνον δ' ἐκέλευον ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ πύργον ἀγορεῦσαι ὥς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου Σμέρδιος ἄρχονται καὶ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου. 4 ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω ἐνετέλλοντο ὥς πιστοτάτου δῆθεν ἔοντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃσι καὶ πολλάκις ἀποδεξαμένου γνώμην ὥς περιεῖη ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδης, καὶ ἐξαρνησαμένου τὸν φόνον αὐτοῦ.

74. While they were making these plans, by coincidence the following happened. The Magi had resolved after consideration to make a friend of Prexaspes, because he had been wronged by Cambyses (who had killed his son with an arrow) and because he alone knew of the death of Cyrus' son Smerdis, having himself been the slayer; but besides this, because he was in great repute among the Persians. For these reasons they summoned him and tried to make him a friend, having bound him by tokens of good faith and oaths to keep to himself and betray to no one their deception of the Persians, and promising to give him all things in great abundance. When Prexaspes agreed to do this, since the Magi importuned him, the Magi made this second proposal to him, that they should call an assembly of all the Persians before the palace wall, and he should go

up on to a tower and declare that it was Smerdis son of Cyrus and no other who was king of Persia. They gave him this charge, because they thought him to be the man most trusted by the Persians, and because he had often asserted that Cyrus' son Smerdis was alive, and had denied the murder.

75 1 Φαμένου δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐτοίμου εἶναι ποιέειν τοῦ Πρηξάσπεος, συγκαλέσαντες Πέρσας οἱ Μάγοι ἀνεβίβασαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πύργον καὶ ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευον. ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐκεῖνοι προσεδέοντο αὐτοῦ, τούτων μὲν ἐκὼν ἐπελήθετο, ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἀπ' Ἀχαιμένεος ἐγενεηλόγησε τὴν πατριὴν τὴν Κύρου, μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἐς τοῦτον κατέβη τελευτῶν ἔλεγε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ Κῦρος Πέρσας πεποιήκοι, 2 διεξελθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ἐξέφαινε τὴν ἀληθείην, φάμενος πρότερον μὲν κρύπτειν (οὐ γάρ οἱ εἶναι ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν τὰ γενόμενα), ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι, ἀναγκαίην μιν καταλαμβάνειν φαίνειν. καὶ δὴ ἔλεγε τὸν μὲν Κύρου Σμέρδιν ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Καμβύσει ἀναγκαζόμενος ἀποκτείνειε, τοὺς Μάγους δὲ βασιλεύειν. 3 Πέρσῃσι δὲ πολλὰ ἐπαρησάμενος εἰ μὴ ἀνακτησαίητο ὀπίσω τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τοὺς Μάγους τισαίητο, ἀπῆκε ἑωυτὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν φέρεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου κάτω. Πρηξάσπης μὲν νυν ἐὼν τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀνὴρ δόκιμος οὕτω ἐτελεύτησε.

75. When Prexaspes said that he was ready to do this too, the Magi summoned the Persians together, and brought him up on to a tower and bade him speak. Then, deliberately forgetting all the Magi's instructions, he traced the lineage of Cyrus from Achaemenes downwards; when he came at last to the name of Cyrus, he recounted all the good which that king had done to Persia, and after he had narrated this, he revealed the truth, saying that he had concealed it before, as it had not been safe for him to tell what had happened, but at the present time necessity forced him to reveal it: and he said that he himself, forced by Cambyzes, had killed Smerdis son of Cyrus, and that the Magi were in power. Then, invoking a terrible curse on the Persians if they did not win back the throne and take vengeance on the Magi, he threw himself headlong down from the tower; so Prexaspes, a man who was always well thought of, perished in this way.

76 1 Οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τῶν Περσέων ὡς ἐβουλεύσαντο αὐτίκα

ἐπιχειρέειν τοῖσι Μάγοισι καὶ μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι, ἦσαν εὐξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, τῶν περὶ Πρηξάσπεα πρηχθέντων εἰδότες οὐδέν. 2 ἐν τε δὴ τῇ ὁδῷ μέσῃ στείχοντες ἐγίνοντο καὶ τὰ περὶ Πρηξάσπεα γεγονότα ἐπυνθάνοντο. ἐνθαῦτα ἐκστάντες τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐδίδοσαν αὐτὶς σφίσι λόγους, οἳ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ὀτάνην πάγχυ κελεύοντες ὑπερβαλέσθαι μηδὲ οἰδεόντων τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐπιτίθεσθαι, οἳ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον αὐτίκα τε ἰέναι καὶ τὰ δεδογμένα ποιέειν μηδὲ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι. 3 ὥθιζομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἐφάνη ἱρήκων ἑπτὰ ζεύγεα δύο αἰγυπιῶν ζεύγεα διώκοντα καὶ τίλλοντά τε καὶ ἀμύσσοντα. ἰδόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἑπτὰ τὴν τε Δαρείου πάντες αἶνεον γνώμην καὶ ἔπειτα ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλῆα τεθαρσηκότες τοῖσι ὄρνεσι.

76. The seven Persians, when they had decided to attack the Magi at once and not delay, prayed to the gods and set forth, knowing nothing of what had happened to Prexaspes. But when they had gone half way they learned what had happened to Prexaspes. Then they argued there, standing beside the road, Otanes' party demanding that they delay and not attack while events were in flux, and Darius' party that they go directly and do what they had decided and not put it off. While they were arguing, they saw seven pairs of hawks chase and slash and tear to bits two pairs of vultures. And seeing this all seven consented to Darius' opinion, and went on to the palace, encouraged by the birds.

77 1 Ἐπιστᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγίνετο οἷόν τι Δαρεῖω ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε· καταιδέομενοι γὰρ οἱ φύλακοι ἄνδρας τοὺς Περσέων πρῶτους καὶ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο ὑποπτεύοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔσεσθαι, παρέσαν θείῃ πομπῇ χρεωμένους, οὐδ' ἐπειρώτα οὐδεῖς. 2 ἐπεῖτε δὲ καὶ παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν αὐλήν, ἐνέκυρσαν τοῖσι τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρουσι εὐνούχοισι· οἳ σφεας ἰστόρεον ὃ τι θέλοντες ἤκοιεν, καὶ ἅμα ἰστορέοντες τούτους τοῖσι πυλouroῖσι ἀπέιλεον ὅτι σφέας παρῆκαν, ἴσχόν τε βουλομένους τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἐς τὸ πρόσω παριέναι. 3 οἳ δὲ διακελευσάμενοι καὶ σπασάμενοι τὰ ἐγχειρίδια τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἴσχοντας αὐτοῦ ταύτη συγκεντέουσι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἦσαν δρόμῳ ἐς τὸν ἀνδρεῶνα.

77. When they came to the gate, it turned out as Darius had expected; the guards, out of respect for the leading men in Persia and never suspecting that there would be trouble from them, allowed them to pass, who enjoyed divine guidance, and no one asked any

questions. And when they came to the court, they met the eunuchs that carry messages, who asked the seven why they had come; and while they were questioning these, they were threatening the watchmen for letting them pass, and restraining the seven who wanted to go on. These gave each other the word, drew their knives, and stabbing the eunuchs who barred their way, went forward at a run to the men's apartment.

78 1 Οἱ δὲ Μάγοι ἔτυχον ἀμφοτέροισι τῆνικαὐτὰ ἐόντες τε ἔσω καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Πρηξάσπεος γενόμενα ἐν βουλῇ ἔχοντες. ἐπεὶ ὧν εἶδον τοὺς εὐνούχους τεθορυβημένους τε καὶ βοῶντας, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον πάλιν ἀμφοτέροισι καὶ ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ ποιεῖμενον πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο. 2 ὁ μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν φθάνει τὰ τόξα κατελόμενος, ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν αἰχμὴν ἐτράπετο. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ συνέμισγον ἀλλήλοισι. τῷ μὲν δὴ τὰ τόξα ἀναλαβόντι αὐτῶν, ἐόντων τε ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ προσκειμένων, ἦν χρηστὰ οὐδέν· ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῇ αἰχμῇ ἡμύνητο καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Ἀσπαθίνην παῖει ἐς τὸν μηρόν, τοῦτο δὲ Ἰνταφρένεα ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν· καὶ ἐστερήθη μὲν τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος ὁ Ἰνταφρένης, οὐ μέντοι ἀπέθανε γε. 3 τῶν μὲν δὴ Μάγων οὐτερος τραυματίζει τούτους· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ τόξα οὐδὲν χρηστὰ ἐγένετο, ἦν γὰρ δὴ θάλαμος ἐσέχων ἐς τὸν ἀνδρεῶνα, ἐς τοῦτον καταφεύγει, θέλων αὐτοῦ προσθεῖναι τὰς θύρας, καὶ οἱ συνεσπίπτουσι τῶν ἐπὶ δύο, Δαρειὸς τε καὶ Γοβρύης. 4 συμπλακέντος δὲ Γοβρύεω τῷ Μάγῳ ὁ Δαρειὸς ἐπεστεῶς ἠπόρεε οἶα ἐν σκοτεῖ, προμηθεόμενος μὴ πλήξῃ τὸν Γοβρύν. 5 ὁρῶν δὲ μιν ἄργον ἐπεστεῶτα ὁ Γοβρύης εἶρετο ὅ τι οὐ χρᾶται τῇ χειρὶ· ὁ δὲ εἶπε “Προμηθεόμενος σέο, μὴ πλήξω,,. Γοβρύης δὲ ἀμείβετο “ὦθεε τὸ ξίφος καὶ δι’ ἀμφοτέρων,,. Δαρειὸς δὲ πειθόμενος ὥσέ τε τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον καὶ ἔτυχέ κως τοῦ Μάγου.

78. Both the Magi were within, deliberating about the consequences of Prexaspes' act. Seeing the eunuchs in confusion and hearing their cries they both sprang up: and when they realized what was happening they turned to defending themselves. One rushed to take down a bow, the other went for a spear. Then the fighting started. The one that had caught up the bow found it was no use to him, as the antagonists were close and jostling one another; but the other defended himself with his spear, wounding Aspathines in the

thigh and Intaphrenes in the eye; Intaphrenes lost his eye from the wound but was not killed. So one of the Magi wounded these; the other, as the bow was no use to him, fled into a chamber adjoining the men's apartment and would have shut its door. Two of the seven flung into the room with him, Darius and Gobryas; as Gobryas and the Magus wrestled together, Darius stood helpless in the darkness, afraid of stabbing Gobryas. Gobryas, seeing Darius stand helpless, asked why he did not lend a hand; and he said, "Because I am afraid for you, that I might stab you." And Gobryas answered, "Stick your sword even if it goes through us both." So Darius complying stabbed with his knife and somehow stuck the Magus.

79 1 Ἀποκτείναντες δὲ τοὺς Μάγους καὶ ἀποταμόντες αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοὺς μὲν τραματίας ἐωυτῶν αὐτοῦ λείπουνσι καὶ ἀδυνασίης εἵνεκεν καὶ φυλακῆς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, οἱ δὲ πέντε αὐτῶν ἔχοντες τῶν Μάγων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔθειον βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ χρεώμενοι, καὶ Πέρσαις τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεκαλέοντο ἐξηγεόμενοι τε τὸ πρῆγμα καὶ δεικνύοντες τὰς κεφαλὰς, καὶ ἅμα ἔκτεινον πάντα τινὰ τῶν Μάγων τὸν ἐν ποσὶ γινόμενον. 2 οἱ δὲ Πέρσαις μαθόντες τὸ γεγονὸς ἐκ τῶν ἐπτὰ καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν ἀπάτην, ἐδικαίουν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν, σπασάμενοι δὲ τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔκτεινον ὅκου τινὰ Μάγον εὕρισκον· εἰ δὲ μὴ νῦν ἐπελθοῦσα ἔσχε, ἔλιπον ἂν οὐδένα Μάγον. 3 ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην θεραπεύουσι Πέρσαις κοινῇ μάλιστα τῶν ἡμερέων, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ὀρθὴν μεγάλην ἀνάγουσι, ἣ κέκληται ὑπὸ Περσέων μαγοφόνια· ἐν τῇ Μάγον οὐδένα ἔξεστι φανῆναι ἐς τὸ φῶς, ἀλλὰ κατ' οἴκους ἐωυτοὺς οἱ Μάγοι ἔχουσι τὴν ἡμέρην ταύτην.

79. When they had killed the Magi and cut off their heads, they left their wounded there because of their infirmity and for the sake of guarding the acropolis, while five of them carrying the Magi's heads ran outside with much shouting and commotion, calling all Persians to aid, telling what they had done and showing the heads; at the same time they killed every Magus that came in their way. The Persians, when they learned what had been done by the seven and how the Magi had tricked them, resolved to follow the example set, and drew their daggers and killed all the Magi they could find; and if nightfall had not stopped them they would not have left one Magus alive. This day is the greatest holy day that all Persians alike keep; they

celebrate a great festival on it, which they call the Massacre of the Magi; while the festival lasts no Magus may go outdoors, but during this day the Magi remain in their houses.

80 1 Ἐπεῖτε δὲ κατέστη ὁ θόρυβος καὶ ἐκτὸς πέντε ἡμερέων ἐγένετο, ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μάγοισι περὶ τῶν πάντων πρηγμάτων καὶ ἐλέχθησαν λόγοι ἄπιστοι μὲν ἐνίοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἐλέχθησαν δ' ὧν. 2 Ὅτάνης μὲν ἐκέλευε ἐς μέσον Πέρσῃσι καταθεῖναι τὰ πρήγματα, λέγων τάδε. “ἐμοὶ δοκέει ἓνα μὲν ἡμέων μούναρχον μηκέτι γενέσθαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἡδὺ οὔτε ἀγαθόν. εἴδετε μὲν γὰρ τὴν Καμβύσειω ὕβριν ἐπ' ὅσον ἐπεξήλθε, μετεσχήκατε δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Μάγου ὕβριος. 3 κῶς δ' ἂν εἴη χρῆμα κατηρητημένον μοναρχίῃ, τῇ ἕξεσι ἀνευθύνῳ ποιεῖν τὰ βούλεται; καὶ γὰρ ἂν τὸν ἄριστον ἀνδρῶν πάντων στάντα ἐς ταύτην ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐωθότων νοημάτων στήσειε. ἐγγίνεται μὲν γὰρ οἱ ὕβρις ὑπὸ τῶν παρεόντων ἀγαθῶν, φθόνος δὲ ἀρχῇθεν ἐμφύεται ἀνθρώπῳ. 4 δύο δ' ἔχων ταῦτα ἔχει πᾶσαν κακότητα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὕβρι κεκορημένος ἔρδει πολλὰ καὶ ἀτάσθαλα, τὰ δὲ φθόνῳ. καίτοι ἄνδρα γε τύραννον ἄφθονον ἔδει εἶναι, ἔχοντά γε πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ. τὸ δὲ ὑπεναντίον τούτου ἐς τοὺς πολιήτας πέφυκε· φθονεῖ γὰρ τοῖσι ἀρίστοισι περιοῦσί τε καὶ ζώουσι, χαίρει δὲ τοῖσι κακίστοις τῶν ἀστῶν, διαβολὰς δὲ ἄριστος ἐνδέκεσθαι. 5 ἀναρμοστότατον δὲ πάντων· ἦν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν μετρίως θωμάζῃς, ἄχθεται ὅτι οὐ κάρτα θεραπεύεται, ἦν τε θεραπεύῃ τις κάρτα, ἄχθεται ἅτε θωπὶ. τὰ δὲ δὴ μέγιστα ἔρχομαι ἐρέων· νόμοιά τε κινεῖ πάτρια καὶ βιάται γυναῖκας κτείνει τε ἀκρίτους. 6 πλῆθος δὲ ἄρχον πρῶτα μὲν οὐνομα πάντων κάλλιστον ἔχει, ἰσονομίην, δεύτερα δὲ τούτων τῶν ὁ μούναρχος ποιεῖ οὐδέν· πάλῳ μὲν ἀρχὰς ἄρχει, ὑπεύθυνον δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχει, βουλευματα δὲ πάντα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφέρει. τίθεμαι ὧν γνώμην μετέντας ἡμέας μοναρχίην τὸ πλῆθος ἀέξειν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ πολλῷ ἐνὶ τὰ πάντα,,.

80. After the tumult quieted down, and five days passed, the rebels against the Magi held a council on the whole state of affairs, at which sentiments were uttered which to some Greeks seem incredible, but there is no doubt that they were spoken. Otanes was for turning the government over to the Persian people: “It seems to me,” he said, “that there can no longer be a single sovereign over us, for that is not pleasant or good. You saw the insolence of Cambyses,

how far it went, and you had your share of the insolence of the Magus. How can monarchy be a fit thing, when the ruler can do what he wants with impunity? Give this power to the best man on earth, and it would stir him to unaccustomed thoughts. Insolence is created in him by the good things to hand, while from birth envy is rooted in man. Acquiring the two he possesses complete evil; for being satiated he does many reckless things, some from insolence, some from envy. And yet an absolute ruler ought to be free of envy, having all good things; but he becomes the opposite of this towards his citizens; he envies the best who thrive and live, and is pleased by the worst of his fellows; and he is the best confidant of slander. Of all men he is the most inconsistent; for if you admire him modestly he is angry that you do not give him excessive attention, but if one gives him excessive attention he is angry because one is a flatter. But I have yet worse to say of him than that; he upsets the ancestral ways and rapes women and kills indiscriminately. But the rule of the multitude has in the first place the loveliest name of all, equality, and does in the second place none of the things that a monarch does. It determines offices by lot, and holds power accountable, and conducts all deliberating publicly. Therefore I give my opinion that we make an end of monarchy and exalt the multitude, for all things are possible for the majority.”

81 1 Ὅτάνης μὲν δὴ ταύτην γνώμην ἐσέφερε· Μεγάβυζος δὲ ὀλιγαρχίῃ ἐκέλευε ἐπιτρέπειν, λέγων τάδε. “τὰ μὲν Ὅτάνης εἶπε τυραννίδα παύων, λελέχθω καί μοι ταῦτα, τὰ δ’ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἄνωγε φέρειν τὸ κράτος, γνώμης τῆς ἀρίστης ἡμάρτηκε· ὁμίλου γὰρ ἀχρήσιον οὐδὲν ἐστὶ ἀξυνετώτερον οὐδὲ ὕβριστότερον. 2 καίτοι τυράννου ὕβριν φεύγοντας ἄνδρας ἐς δῆμον ἀκολάστου ὕβριν πεσεῖν ἐστὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἴ τι ποιέει, γινώσκων ποιέει, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ γινώσκειν ἔνι· κῶς γὰρ ἂν γινώσκοι ὃς οὕτ’ ἐδιδάχθη οὔτε εἶδε καλὸν οὐδὲν οἰκίον, ὥθεται τε ἐμπεσὼν τὰ πρήγματα ἄνευ νόου, χειμάρρῳ ποταμῷ εἵκελος; 3 δῆμῳ μὲν νυν, οἱ Πέρσησι κακὸν νοέουσι, οὗτοι χράσθων, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπιλέξαντες ὁμιλίην τοῦτοισι περιθέωμεν τὸ κράτος· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτοισι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνεσόμεθα· ἀρίστων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἶκός ἄριστα βουλευμάτων γίνεσθαι.,.

81. Such was the judgment of Otanes: but Megabyzus urged that

they resort to an oligarchy. “I agree,” said he, “with all that Otanes says against the rule of one; but when he tells you to give the power to the multitude, his judgment strays from the best. Nothing is more foolish and violent than a useless mob; for men fleeing the insolence of a tyrant to fall victim to the insolence of the unguided populace is by no means to be tolerated. Whatever the one does, he does with knowledge, but for the other knowledge is impossible; how can they have knowledge who have not learned or seen for themselves what is best, but always rush headlong and drive blindly onward, like a river in flood? Let those like democracy who wish ill to Persia; but let us choose a group of the best men and invest these with the power. For we ourselves shall be among them, and among the best men it is likely that there will be the best counsels.”

82 1 Μεγάβυζος μὲν δὴ ταύτην γνώμην ἐσέφερε· τρίτος δὲ Δαρεῖος ἀπεδείκνυτο γνώμην, λέγων “ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν εἶπε Μεγάβυζος ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἔχοντα δοκεῖ ὀρθῶς λέξαι, τὰ δὲ ἐς ὀλιγαρχίην οὐκ ὀρθῶς. τριῶν γὰρ προκειμένων καὶ πάντων τῷ λόγῳ ἀρίστων ἐόντων, δήμου τε ἀρίστου καὶ ὀλιγαρχίης καὶ μουνάρχου, πολλῷ τοῦτο προέχειν λέγω. 2 ἀνδρὸς γὰρ ἑνὸς τοῦ ἀρίστου οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἂν φανείη· γνώμη γὰρ τοιαύτη χρεώμενος ἐπιτροπεύοι ἂν ἀμωμήτως τοῦ πλήθους, σιγῶτό τε ἂν βουλευμάτα ἐπὶ δυσμενέας ἄνδρας οὕτω μάλιστα. 3 ἐν δὲ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ πολλοῖσι ἀρετὴν ἐπασκεύουσι ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἔχθεα ἴδια ἰσχυρὰ φιλεῖ ἐγγίνεσθαι· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἕκαστος βουλόμενος κορυφαῖος εἶναι γνώμῃσι τε νικᾷν ἐς ἔχθεα μεγάλα ἀλλήλοισι ἀπικνέονται, ἐξ ὧν στάσιες ἐγγίνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στασίων φόνος· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φόνου ἀπέβη ἐς μουναρχίην, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ διέδεξε ὅσῳ ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἄριστον. 4 δήμου τε αὖ ἄρχοντος ἀδύνατα μὴ οὐ κακότητα ἐγγίνεσθαι· κακότητος τοίνυν ἐγγινομένης ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἔχθεα μὲν οὐκ ἐγγίνεται τοῖσι κακοῖσι, φιλίαι δὲ ἰσχυραί· οἱ γὰρ κακοῦντες τὰ κοινὰ συγκύψαντες ποιεῦσι. τοῦτο δὲ τοιοῦτο γίνεται ἐς ὃ ἂν προστάς τις τοῦ δήμου τοὺς τοιούτους παύσῃ. ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν θαυμάζεται οὗτος δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, θαυμαζόμενος δὲ ἂν ὧν ἐφάνη μουνάρχος ἐὼν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δηλοῖ καὶ οὗτος ὡς ἡ μουναρχίη κράτιστον. 5 ἐνὶ δὲ ἑπεί πάντα συλλαβόντα εἰπεῖν, κόθεν ἡμῖν ἡ ἐλευθερίῃ ἐγένετο καὶ τεῦ δόντος; κότερα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ἢ ὀλιγαρχίης ἢ μουνάρχου; ἔχω τοίνυν γνώμην ἡμέας ἐλευθερωθέντας διὰ ἓνα ἄνδρα τὸ τοιοῦτο

περιστέλλειν, χωρίς τε τούτου πατρίους νόμους μὴ λύειν ἔχοντας εὖ· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον,·.

82. Such was the judgment of Megabyzus. Darius was the third to express his opinion. “It seems to me,” he said, “that Megabyzus speaks well concerning democracy but not concerning oligarchy. For if the three are proposed and all are at their best for the sake of argument, the best democracy and oligarchy and monarchy, I hold that monarchy is by far the most excellent. One could describe nothing better than the rule of the one best man; using the best judgment, he will govern the multitude with perfect wisdom, and best conceal plans made for the defeat of enemies. But in an oligarchy, the desire of many to do the state good service often produces bitter hate among them; for because each one wishes to be first and to make his opinions prevail, violent hate is the outcome, from which comes faction and from faction killing, and from killing it reverts to monarchy, and by this is shown how much better monarchy is. Then again, when the people rule it is impossible that wickedness will not occur; and when wickedness towards the state occurs, hatred does not result among the wicked, but strong alliances; for those that want to do the state harm conspire to do it together. This goes on until one of the people rises to stop such men. He therefore becomes the people’s idol, and being their idol is made their monarch; and thus he also proves that monarchy is best. But (to conclude the whole matter in one word) tell me, where did freedom come from for us and who gave it, from the people or an oligarchy or a single ruler? I believe, therefore, that we who were liberated through one man should maintain such a government, and, besides this, that we should not alter our ancestral ways that are good; that would not be better.”

83 1 Γνωμαι μὲν δὴ τρεῖς αὗται προεκέατο, οἱ δὲ τέσσερες τῶν ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν προσέθεντο ταύτῃ. ὥς δὲ ἐσώθη τῇ γνώμῃ ὁ Ὀτάνης Πέρσῃσι ἰσονομίην σπεύδων ποιῆσαι, ἔλεξε ἐς μέσον αὐτοῖσι τάδε. 2 “ἄνδρες στασιῶται, δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι δεῖ ἓνα γε τινὰ ἡμέων βασιλέα γενέσθαι, ἥτοι κλήρῳ γε λαχόντα, ἢ ἐπιτρεψάντων τῷ Περσέων πλήθει τὸν ἂν ἐκεῖνο ἔλῃται, ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ μηχανῇ. ἐγὼ μὲν νυνὶ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐναγωνιεῦμαι· οὔτε ἄρχειν οὔτε ἄρχεσθαι ἐθέλω· ἐπὶ τούτῳ

δὲ ὑπεξίσταμαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπ' ᾧ τε ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ὑμέων ἄρξομαι, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὔτε οἱ ἀπ' ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ γινόμενοι, 3 τοῦτου εἰπαντος ταῦτα ὥς συνεχώρεον οἱ ἕξ ἐπὶ τούτοισι, οὗτος μὲν δὴ σφι οὐκ ἐνηγωνίζετο ἀλλ' ἐκ μέσου κατήστο, καὶ νῦν αὕτη ἡ οἰκίη διατελέει μούνη ἐλευθέρη ἐοῦσα Περσέων καὶ ἄρχεται τοσαῦτα ὅσα αὕτη θέλει, νόμους οὐκ ὑπερβαίνουσα τοὺς Περσέων.

83. Having to choose between these three options, four of the seven men preferred the last. Then Otanes, whose proposal to give the Persians equality was defeated, spoke thus among them all: "Fellow partisans, it is plain that one of us must be made king (whether by lot, or entrusted with the office by the choice of the Persians, or in some other way), but I shall not compete with you; I desire neither to rule nor to be ruled; but if I waive my claim to be king, I make this condition, that neither I nor any of my descendants shall be subject to any one of you." To these terms the six others agreed; Otanes took no part in the contest but stood aside; and to this day his house (and no other in Persia) remains free, and is ruled only so far as it is willing to be, so long as it does not transgress Persian law.

84 1 Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐβουλεύοντο ὥς βασιλέα δικαιοτάτα στήσονται· καὶ σφι ἔδοξε Ὀτάνῃ μὲν καὶ τοῖσι ἀπὸ Ὀτάνεω αἰεὶ γινομένοισι, ἣν ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἔλθῃ ἡ βασιληίη, ἐξαίρετα δίδοσθαι ἐσθῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ἔτεος ἐκάστου καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δωρεὴν ἣ γίνεται ἐν Πέρσῃσι τιμιωτάτη. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκεν ἐβούλευσάν οἱ δίδοσθαι ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐβούλευσέ τε πρῶτος τὸ πρῆγμα καὶ συνέστησε αὐτούς. 2 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ὀτάνῃ ἐξαίρετα, τάδε δὲ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐβούλευσαν, παρίεναι ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν ἐπτὰ ἄνευ ἐσαγγελέος, ἣν μὴ τυγχάνῃ εὐδῶν μετὰ γυναικὸς βασιλεύς, γαμέειν δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἄλλοθεν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἢ ἐκ τῶν συνεπαναστάντων. 3 περὶ δὲ τῆς βασιληίης ἐβούλευσαν τοιόνδε· ὅτεν ἂν ὁ ἵππος ἡλίου ἐπανατέλλοντος πρῶτος φθέγξῃται, ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ αὐτῶν ἐπιβεβηκότων, τοῦτον ἔχειν τὴν βασιληίην.

84. The rest of the seven then considered what was the fairest way of making a king; and they decided that if another of the seven than Otanes should gain the royal power, that Otanes and his descendants should receive a yearly gift of Median clothing and everything else

that the Persians hold most valuable. The reason for this decision was that it was he who had first planned the matter and assembled the conspirators. For Otanes, then, they choose this particular honor; but with regard to all of them they decreed that any one of the seven should, if he wished, enter the king's palace unannounced, except when the king was sleeping with a woman; and that the king should be forbidden to take a wife except from the households of the conspirators. As for the making of a king, they decided that he should be elected whose horse, after they were all in their saddles in the suburb of the city, should first be heard to neigh at sunrise.

85 1 Δαρείω δὲ ἦν ἵπποκόμος ἀνὴρ σοφός, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Οἰβάρης. πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐπεῖτε διελύθησαν, ἔλεξε Δαρεῖος τάδε. “Οἴβαρες, ἡμῖν δέδοκται περὶ τῆς βασιληΐης ποιέειν κατὰ τάδε· ὅτεν ἂν ὁ ἵππος πρῶτος φθέγξεται ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι αὐτῶν ἐπαναβεβηκότων, τοῦτον ἔχειν τὴν βασιληίην. νῦν ὧν εἴ τινα ἔχεις σοφίην, μηχανῶ ὥς ἂν ἡμεῖς σχῶμεν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας καὶ μὴ ἄλλος τις,, 2 ἀμείβεται Οἰβάρης τοῖσιδε. “εἰ μὲν δὴ ὃ δέσποτα ἐν τούτῳ τοι ἐστὶ ἢ βασιλέα εἶναι ἢ μὴ, θάρσσεε τούτου εἵνεκεν καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν, ὥς βασιλεὺς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος πρὸ σεῦ ἔσται· τοιαῦτα ἔχω φάρμακα,, λέγει Δαρεῖος “εἰ τοίνυν τι τοιοῦτον ἔχεις σόφισμα, ὥρῃ μηχανᾶσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναβάλλεσθαι, ὥς τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρης ὁ ἀγὼν ἡμῖν ἐστί,, 3 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Οἰβάρης ποιέει τοιόνδε· ὥς ἐγένετο ἡ νύξ, τῶν θηλέων ἵππων μίαν, τὴν ὁ Δαρείου ἵππος ἔστεργε μάλιστα, ταύτην ἀγαγὼν ἐς τὸ προάστειον κατέδησε καὶ ἐπήγαγε τὸν Δαρείου ἵππον, καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ περιῆγε ἀγχοῦ τῇ ἵπῳ ἐγχρίμπτων τῇ θηλέῃ, τέλος δὲ ἐπῆκε ὀχεῦσαι τὸν ἵππον.

85. Now Darius had a clever groom, whose name was Oebares. When the council broke up, Darius said to him: “Oebares, we have resolved to do as follows about the kingship: he shall be elected whose horse, after we are all mounted on our horses in the suburb of the city, neighs first at sunrise. Now if you have any cunning, figure out how we and no one else can win this prize.” “Master,” Oebares answered, “if this is to determine whether you become king or not, be confident for this reason and have an easy mind, for no one else shall be king before you, such are the tricks I have.” “Then,” said Darius, “if you have any trick such as you say, use it and don’t put it

off, for tomorrow is the day of decision.” When Oebares heard that, he did as follows. At nightfall he brought one of the mares which Darius’ horse particularly favored, and tethered her in the suburb of the city; then bringing Darius’ horse, he repeatedly led him near the horse, bumping against the mare, and at last let the horse mount.

86 1 Ἄμ’ ἡμέρη δὲ διαφωσκούση οἱ ἕξ κατὰ συνεθήκαντο παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων· διεξελαυνόντων δὲ κατὰ τὸ προάστειον, ὥς κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐγίνοντο ἵνα τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς κατεδέδετο ἢ θήλεα ἵππος, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Δαρείου ἵππος προσδραμὼν ἐχρεμέτισε· 2 ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ τοῦτο ποιήσαντι ἀστραπὴ ἐξ αἰθρίας καὶ βροντὴ ἐγένετο. ἐπιγενόμενα δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Δαρείῳ ἐτελέωσέ μιν ὥσπερ ἐκ συνθέτου τευ γενόμενα· οἱ δὲ καταθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων προσεκύονεν τὸν Δαρεῖον.

86. At dawn of day the six came on horseback as they had agreed. As they rode out through the suburb and came to the place where the mare had been tethered in the past night, Darius’ horse trotted forward and whinnied; and as he so did there came lightning and thunder out of a clear sky. These signs given to Darius were thought to be foreordained and made his election perfect; his companions leapt from their horses and bowed to him.

87 1 Οἱ μὲν δὴ φασὶ τὸν Οἰβάρεα ταῦτα μηχανήσασθαι, οἱ δὲ τοιαῶδε (καὶ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρω λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων), ὥς τῆς ἵππου ταύτης τῶν ἄρθρων ἐπιψαύσας τῇ χειρὶ ἔχοι αὐτὴν κρύψας ἐν τῇσι ἀναξυρίσι· ὥς δὲ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι ἀπίεσθαι μέλλειν τοὺς ἵππους, τὸν Οἰβάρεα τοῦτον ἐξεΐραντα τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς τοῦ Δαρείου ἵππου τοὺς μυκτῆρας προσενεῖκαι, τὸν δὲ αἰσθόμενον φριμάξασθαί τε καὶ χρεμετίσαι.

87. Some say that this was Oebares’ plan; but there is another story in Persia besides this: that he rubbed this mare’s vulva with his hand, which he then kept inside his clothing until the six were about to let go their horses at sunrise, when he took his hand out and held it to the nostrils of Darius’ horse, which at once snorted and whinnied.

88 1 Δαρεῖός τε δὴ ὁ Ὑστάσπεος βασιλεὺς ἀπεδέδεκτο, καὶ οἱ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ πάντες κατήκοοι πλὴν Ἀραβίων, Κύρου τε καταστρεψαμένου καὶ ὕστερον αὐτὶς Καμβύσεω. Ἀράβιοι δὲ οὐδαμὰ κατήκουσαν ἐπὶ δουλοσύνῃ Πέρσῃσι, ἀλλὰ ξεῖνοι ἐγένοντο παρέντες

Καμβύσεια ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον· ἀεκόντων γὰρ Ἀραβίων οὐκ ἂν ἐσβάλοιεν Πέρσαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον. 2 γάμους τε τοὺς πρώτους ἐγάμεε Πέρσῃσι ὁ Δαρεῖος, Κύρου μὲν δύο θυγατέρας Ἄτοσσάν τε καὶ Ἀρτυστώνην, τὴν μὲν Ἄτοσσαν προσυνοικήσασαν Καμβύσῃ τε τῷ ἀδελφεῷ καὶ αὐτὶς τῷ Μάγῳ, τὴν δὲ Ἀρτυστώνην παρθένον· 3 ἐτέρην δὲ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θυγατέρα ἐγῆμε, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Πάρμυς· ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὀτάνεω θυγατέρα, ἣ τὸν Μάγον κατάδηλον ἐποίησε· δυνάμιός τε πάντα οἱ ἐπιμπλέατο. πρῶτον μὲν νυν τύπον ποιησάμενος λίθινον ἔστησε· ζῶον δέ οἱ ἐνῆν ἀνὴρ ἱππεύς, ἐπέγραψε δὲ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· “Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος σὺν τε τοῦ ἵππου τῇ ἀρετῇ, τὸ οὖνομα λέγων “καὶ Οἰβάρεος τοῦ ἱπποκόμου ἐκτήσατο τὴν Περσέων βασιληίην,.,

88. So Darius son of Hystaspes was made king, and the whole of Asia, which Cyrus first and Cambyses after him had conquered, was subject to him, except the Arabians; these did not yield as of slaves to the Persians, but were united to them by friendship, having given Cambyses passage into Egypt, which the Persians could not enter without the consent of the Arabians. Darius took wives from the noblest houses of Persia, marrying Cyrus' daughters Atossa and Artystone; Atossa had been a wife of her brother Cambyses and afterwards of the Magus; Artystone was a virgin. He also married a daughter of Cyrus' son Smerdis, whose name was Parmys, and the daughter of Otanes who had discovered the truth about the Magus; and everything was full of his power. First he made and set up a carved stone, upon which was cut the figure of a horseman, with this inscription: “Darius son of Hystaspes, aided by the excellence of his horse” (here followed the horse's name) “and of Oebares his groom, got possession of the kingdom of Persia.”

89 1 Ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Πέρσῃσι ἀρχὰς κατεστήσατο εἴκοσι, τὰς αὐτοὶ καλέουσι σατραπείας· καταστήσας δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπιστήσας ἐτάξατο φόρους οἱ προσιέναι κατὰ ἔθνεά τε καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ἔθνεσι τοὺς πλησιοχώρους προστάσσω, καὶ ὑπερβαίνων τοὺς προσεχέας τὰ ἐκαστέρῳ ἄλλοισι ἄλλα ἔθνεα νέμων. 2 ἀρχὰς δὲ καὶ φόρων πρόσοδον τὴν ἐπέτειον κατὰ τάδε διεῖλε. τοῖσι μὲν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον ἀπαγινέουσι εἴρητο Βαβυλωνίον σταθμὸν τάλαντον ἀπαγινέειν, τοῖσι δὲ χρυσίον ἀπαγινέουσι Εὐβοϊκόν. τὸ δὲ

Βαβυλώνιον τάλαντον δύναται Εὐβοΐδας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα μνέας. 3 ἐπὶ γὰρ Κύρου ἄρχοντος καὶ αὐτὶς Καμβύσεω ἦν κατεστηκὸς οὐδὲν φόρου πέρι, ἀλλὰ δῶρα ἀγίνεον. διὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐπίταξιν τοῦ φόρου καὶ παραπλήσια ταύτῃ ἄλλα λέγουσι Πέρσαι ὥς Δαρεῖος μὲν ἦν κάπηλος, Καμβύσης δὲ δεσπότης, Κῦρος δὲ πατὴρ, ὃ μὲν ὅτι ἐκαπήλευε πάντα τὰ πρήγματα, ὃ δὲ ὅτι χαλεπὸς τε ἦν καὶ ὀλίγωρος, ὃ δὲ ὅτι ἥπιός τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ σφι πάντα ἐμηχανήσατο.

89. Having done these things in Persia, he divided his dominions into twenty provinces, which they call satrapies; and having divided his dominions and appointed governors, he instructed each people to pay him tribute, consolidating neighboring peoples and distributing outlying peoples among different provinces, passing over those adjoining. I will now show how he divided his provinces and the tributes which were paid him yearly. Those that paid in silver were required to render the weight of a Babylonian talent; those that paid in gold, of a Euboic talent; the Babylonian talent being equal to seventy-eight Euboic minae. In the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses after him there was no fixed tribute, but payment was made in gifts. It is because of this fixing of tribute, and other similar ordinances, that the Persians called Darius the merchant, Cambyses the master, and Cyrus the father; for Darius made petty profit out of everything, Cambyses was harsh and arrogant, Cyrus was merciful and always worked for their well-being.

90 1 Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰώνων καὶ Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Αἰολέων καὶ Καρῶν καὶ Λυκίων καὶ Μιλυέων καὶ Παμφύλων (εἷς γὰρ ἦν οἱ τεταγμένος οὗτος φόρος) προσήιε τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος οὗτός οἱ νομὸς κατεστήκεε, ἀπὸ δὲ Μυσῶν καὶ Λυδῶν καὶ Λασονίων καὶ Καβαλέων καὶ Ὑτεννέων πεντακόσια τάλαντα· δεῦτερος νομὸς οὗτος. 2 ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑλλησποντίων τῶν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσπλέοντι καὶ Φρυγῶν καὶ Θρηήκων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Παφλαγόνων καὶ Μαριανδυνῶν καὶ Συρίων ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα ἦν φόρος· νομὸς τρίτος οὗτος. 3 ἀπὸ δὲ Κιλικίων ἵπποι τε λευκοὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσιοι, ἐκάστης ἡμέρης εἷς γινόμενος, καὶ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πεντακόσια· τούτων δὲ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς τὴν φρουρέουσιν ἵππον τὴν Κιλικίην

χώρην ἀναισιμοῦτο, τὰ δὲ τριηκόσια καὶ ἐξήκοντα Δαρείῳ ἐφοίτα· νομὸς τέταρτος οὗτος.

90. The Ionians, Magnesians of Asia, Aeolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyans, and Pamphylians, on whom Darius laid one joint tribute, paid a revenue of four hundred talents of silver. This was established as his first province. The Mysians, Lydians, Lasonians, Cabalians, and Hytennians paid five hundred talents; this was the second province. The third comprised the Hellespontians on the right of the entrance of the straits, the Phrygians, Thracians of Asia, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, and Syrians; these paid three hundred and sixty talents of tribute. The fourth province was Cilicia. This rendered three hundred and sixty white horses, one for each day in the year, and five hundred talents of silver. A hundred and forty of these were expended on the horsemen who were the guard of Cilicia; the three hundred and sixty that remained were paid to Darius.

91 1 Ἀπὸ δὲ Ποσιδηίου πόλιος, τὴν Ἀμφίλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω οἴκισε ἐπ' οὔροισι τοῖσι Κιλικῶν τε καὶ Σύρων, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ ταύτης μέχρι Αἰγύπτου, πλὴν μοίρης τῆς Ἀραβίων (ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν ἀτελέα), πεντήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα φόρος ἦν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ Φοινίκη τε πᾶσα καὶ Συρία ἢ Παλαιστίνη καλεομένη καὶ Κύπρος· νομὸς πέμπτος οὗτος. 2 ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου δὲ καὶ Λιβύων τῶν προσεχέων Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Κυρήνης τε καὶ Βάρκης (ἐς γὰρ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον νομὸν αὗται ἐκεκοσμέατο) ἑπτακόσια προσήιε τάλαντα, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Μοίριος λίμνης γινομένου ἀργυρίου, τὸ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων· 3 τούτου τε δὴ χωρὶς τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῦ [ἐπιμετρούμενου] σίτου προσήιε ἑπτακόσια τάλαντα· σίτου γὰρ δύο καὶ δέκα μυριάδας Περσέων τε τοῖσι ἐν τῷ Λευκῷ τείχει τῷ ἐν Μέμφι κατοικημένοισι καταμετρέουσι καὶ τοῖσι τούτων ἐπικούροισι. νομὸς ἕκτος οὗτος. 4 Σατταγῦδαι δὲ καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι τε καὶ Ἀπαρύται ἐς τὠντὸ τεταγμένοι ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα προσέφερον· νομὸς δὲ οὗτος ἑβδομος. ἀπὸ Σούσων δὲ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Κισσιῶν χώρας τριηκόσια· νομὸς ὀγδοὸς οὗτος.

91. The fifth province was the country (except the part belonging to the Arabians, which paid no tribute) between Posideion, a city founded on the Cilician and Syrian border by Amphilochous son of Amphiaraus, and Egypt; this paid three hundred and fifty talents; in

this province was all Phoenicia, and the part of Syria called Palestine, and Cyprus. The sixth province was Egypt and the neighboring parts of Libya, and Cyrene and Barca, all of which were included in the province of Egypt. From here came seven hundred talents, besides the income in silver from the fish of the lake Moeris; besides that silver and the assessment of grain that was given also, seven hundred talents were paid; for a hundred and twenty thousand bushels of grain were also assigned to the Persians quartered at the White Wall of Memphis and their allies. The Sattagydae, Gandarii, Dadicae, and Aparytae paid together a hundred and seventy talents; this was the seventh province; the eighth was Susa and the rest of the Cissian country, paying three hundred talents.

92 1 Ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος δὲ καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀσσυρίης χίλιά οἱ προσήιε τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ παῖδες ἑκτομῖαι πεντακόσιοι· νομὸς εἵνατος οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀγβατάνων καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Μηδικῆς καὶ Παρικανίων καὶ Ὀρθοκορυβαντίων πεντήκοντά τε καὶ τετρακόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς δέκατος οὗτος. 2 Κάσπιοι δὲ καὶ Πανσίκαι καὶ Παντίμαθοί τε καὶ Δαρεῖται ἐς τὸντο συμφέροντες διηκόσια τάλαντα ἀπαγίνεον· νομὸς ἐνδέκατος οὗτος.

92. From Babylon and the rest of Assyria came to Darius a thousand talents of silver and five hundred castrated boys; this was the ninth province; Ecbatana and the rest of Media, with the Paricanians and Orthocorybantians, paid four hundred and fifty talents, and was the tenth province. The eleventh comprised the Caspii, Pausicae, Pantimathi, and Daritae, paying jointly two hundred;

93 1 Ἀπὸ Βακτριανῶν δὲ μέχρι Αἰγλῶν ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα φόρος ἦν· νομὸς δυωδέκατος οὗτος. ἀπὸ Πακτυϊκῆς δὲ καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων μέχρι τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου τετρακόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς τρίτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. 2 ἀπὸ δὲ Σαγαρτίων καὶ Σαραγγέων καὶ Θαμαναίων καὶ Οὐτίων καὶ Μύκων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇσι νήσοισι οἰκεόντων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσει, ἐν τῇσι τοὺς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους κατοικίζει βασιλεὺς, ἀπὸ τούτων πάντων ἑξακόσια τάλαντα ἐγένετο φόρος· νομὸς τέταρτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. 3 Σάκαι δὲ καὶ Κάσπιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκόσια ἀπαγίνεον τάλαντα· νομὸς πέμπτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ

Χοράσμοι καὶ Σόγδοι τε καὶ Ἄρειοι τριηκόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς ἔκτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος.

93. The twelfth, the Bactrians as far as the land of the Aegli; these paid three hundred and sixty. The thirteenth, the Pactyic country and Armenia and the lands adjoining as far as the Euxine sea; these paid four hundred. The fourteenth province was made up of the Sagartii, Sarangeis, Thamanaei, Utii, Myci, and the inhabitants of those islands of the southern sea on which the king settles the so-called displaced people; these together paid a tribute of six hundred talents. The Sacae and Caspii were the fifteenth, paying two hundred and fifty. The Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdi, and Arii were the sixteenth, paying three hundred.

94 1 Παρικάνιοι δὲ καὶ Αἰθίοπες οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀπαγίνεον· νομὸς ἑβδομος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Ματιηνοῖσι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρσι καὶ Ἀλαροδίοισι διηκόσια ἐπετέτακτο τάλαντα· νομὸς ὄγδοος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. 2 Μόσχοισι δὲ καὶ Τιβαρηνοῖσι καὶ Μάκρῳσι καὶ Μοσσυνοίοισι καὶ Μαρσὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα προεῖρητο· νομὸς εἵνατος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Ἰνδῶν δὲ πλῆθος τε πολλῷ πλεῖστον ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ φόρον ἀπαγίνεον πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα ψήγματος· νομὸς εἰκοστὸς οὗτος.

94. The Paricanii and Ethiopians of Asia, the seventeenth, paid four hundred; the Matieni, Saspiri, and Alarodii were the eighteenth, and two hundred talents were the appointed tribute. The Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mossynoeci, and Mares, the nineteenth province, were ordered to pay three hundred. The Indians made up the twentieth province. These are more in number than any nation of which we know, and they paid a greater tribute than any other province, namely three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust.

95 1 Τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀργύριον τὸ Βαβυλώνιον πρὸς τὸ Εὐβοϊκὸν συμβαλλόμενον τάλαντον γίνεται ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσια καὶ εἰνακισχίλια τάλαντα· τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τρισκαίδεκαστάσιον λογιζόμενον, τὸ ψῆγμα εὐρίσκεται ἐὼν Εὐβοϊκῶν ταλάντων ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίων καὶ τετρακισχιλίων. 2 τούτων ὧν πάντων συντιθεμένων τὸ πλῆθος Εὐβοϊκὰ τάλαντα συνελέγετο ἐς τὸν ἐπέτειον φόρον Δαρείῳ μύρια καὶ τετρακισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ

ἐξήκοντα· τὸ δ' ἔτι τούτων ἔλασσον ἀπιεῖς οὐ λέγω.

95. Now if these Babylonian silver talents be calculated in Euboic money, the sum is seen to be nine thousand eight hundred and eighty Euboic talents: and the gold coin being thirteen times the value of the silver, the gold-dust is found to be worth four thousand six hundred and eighty Euboic talents. Therefore it is seen by adding all together that Darius collected a yearly tribute of fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty talents; I take no account of figures less than ten.

96 1 Οὗτος Δαρεῖω προσήιε φόρος ἀπὸ τῆς τε Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Λιβύης ὀλιγαχόθεν. προϊόντος μέντοι τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἀπὸ νήσων προσήιε ἄλλος φόρος καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ μέχρι Θεσσαλίας οἰκημένων. 2 τοῦτον τὸν φόρον θησαυρίζει βασιλεὺς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐς πίθους κεραμίνους τήξας καταχέει, πλήσας δὲ τὸ ἄγγος περιαιρεί τὸν κέραμον· ἐπεὰν δὲ δεηθῇ χρημάτων, κατακόπτει τοσοῦτο ὅσου ἂν ἐκάστοτε δέηται.

96. This was Darius' revenue from Asia and a few parts of Libya. But as time went on he drew tribute also from the islands and the dwellers in Europe, as far as Thessaly. The tribute is stored by the king in this fashion: he melts it down and pours it into earthen vessels; when the vessel is full he breaks the earthenware away, and when he needs money coins as much as serves his purpose.

97 1 Αὗται μὲν ἀρχαί τε ἦσαν καὶ φόρων ἐπιτάξεις. ἡ Περσίς δὲ χώρα μούνη μοι οὐκ εἴρηται δασμοφόρος· ἀτελέα γὰρ Πέρσαι νέμονται χώραν. 2 οἷδε δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ἐτάχθησαν φέρειν, δῶρα δὲ ἀγίνεον· Αἰθίοπες οἱ πρόσουροι Αἰγύπτῳ, τοὺς Καμβύσης ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας κατεστρέψατο, οἳ τε περί τε Νύσῃν τὴν ἱρὴν κατοίκηνται καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀνάγουσι τὰς ὀρτάς· [οὔτοι οἱ Αἰθίοπες καὶ οἱ πλησιόχωροι τούτοις σπέρματι μὲν χρέωνται τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ καὶ οἱ Καλλαντίαι Ἰνδοί, οἰκήματα δὲ ἔκتهνται κατάγαια.] 3 οὔτοι συναμφοτέροι διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἀγίνεον, ἀγινέουσι δὲ καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, δύο χοίνικας ἀπύρου χρυσίου καὶ διηκοσίας φάλαγγας ἐβένου καὶ πέντε παῖδας Αἰθίοπας καὶ ἐλέφαντος ὀδόντας μεγάλους εἴκοσι. 4 Κόλχοι δὲ τὰ ἐτάξαντο ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν καὶ οἱ προσεχέες μέχρι Καυκάσιος ὄρους (ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄρος ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι ἄρχεται, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον τοῦ Καυκάσιος Περσέων οὐδὲν ἔτι φροντίζει), οὔτοι ὦν δῶρα τὰ ἐτάξαντο ἔτι καὶ ἐς

ἐμὲ διὰ πεντετηρίδος ἀγίνεον, ἑκατὸν παῖδας καὶ ἑκατὸν παρθένους. 5 Ἀράβιοι δὲ χίλια τάλαντα ἀγίνεον λιβανωτοῦ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. ταῦτα μὲν οὗτοι δῶρα πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου βασιλεί ἐκόμιζον.

97. These were the governments and appointments of tribute. The Persian country is the only one which I have not recorded as tributary; for the Persians live free from all taxes. As for those on whom no tribute was laid, but who rendered gifts instead, they were, firstly, the Ethiopians nearest to Egypt, whom Cambyses conquered in his march towards the long-lived Ethiopians; and also those who dwell about the holy Nysa, where Dionysus is the god of their festivals. These Ethiopians and their neighbors use the same seed as the Indian Callantiae, and they live underground. These together brought every other year and still bring a gift of two choenixes of unrefined gold, two hundred blocks of ebony, five Ethiopian boys, and twenty great elephants' tusks. Gifts were also required of the Colchians and their neighbors as far as the Caucasus mountains (which is as far as the Persian rule reaches, the country north of the Caucasus paying no regard to the Persians); these were rendered every four years and are still rendered, namely, a hundred boys and as many maids. The Arabians rendered a thousand talents' weight of frankincense yearly. Such were the gifts of these peoples to the king, besides the tribute.

98 1 Τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τοῦτον τὸν πολλὸν οἱ Ἰνδοί, ἀπ' οὗ τὸ ψῆγμα τῷ βασιλεί τὸ εἰρημένον κομίζουσι, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε κτῶνται. 2 ἔστι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς χώρας τὸ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ψάμμος· τῶν γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τῶν καὶ περὶ ἀτρεκές τι λέγεται, πρῶτοι πρὸς ἡῶ καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς οἰκέουσι ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἰνδοί· Ἰνδῶν γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἐρημὴ ἐστὶ διὰ τὴν ψάμμον. 3 ἔστι δὲ πολλὰ ἔθνεα Ἰνδῶν καὶ οὐκ ὁμόφωνα σφίσι, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν νομάδες εἰσὶ οἱ δὲ οὗ, οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖσι ἔλεσι οἰκέουσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἰχθύας σιτέονται ὠμούς, τοὺς αἰρέουσι ἐκ πλοίων καλαμίνων ὀρμώμενοι· καλάμου δὲ ἐν γόνυ πλοῖον ἕκαστον ποιέεται. 4 οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἰνδῶν φορέουσι ἐσθῆτα φλοῖνην· ἐπεὰν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φλοῦν ἀμήσωσι καὶ κόψωσι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν φορμοῦ τρόπον καταπλέξαντες ὥς θώρηκα ἐνδύνουσι.

98. All this abundance of gold, from which the Indians send the

aforementioned gold-dust to the king, they obtain in the following way. To the east of the Indian country is sand. Of all the people of Asia whom we know - even those about whom something is said with precision - the Indians dwell nearest to the dawn and the rising sun; for on the eastern side of India all is desolate because of the sand. There are many Indian nations, none speaking the same language; some of them are nomads, some not; some dwell in the river marshes and live on raw fish, which they catch from reed boats. Each boat is made of one joint of reed. These Indians wear clothes of bullrushes; they mow and cut these from the river, then weave them crosswise like a mat, and wear them like a breastplate.

99 1 Ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν πρὸς ἡῷ οἰκέοντες τούτων νομάδες εἰσὶ κρεῶν ἔδεσται ὥμων, καλέονται δὲ Παδαῖοι, νομαίοισι δὲ τοιοῖσιδε λέγονται χρᾶσθαι· ὃς ἂν κάμη τῶν ἀστῶν, ἣν τε γυνή ἢν τε ἀνὴρ, τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἄνδρες οἱ μάλιστά οἱ ὀμιλέοντες κτείνουσι, φάμενοι αὐτὸν τηκόμενον τῇ νούσῳ τὰ κρέα σφίσι διαφθεῖρεσθαι· ὁ δὲ ἄπαρνος ἐστὶ μὴ μὲν νοσέειν, οἱ δὲ οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι ἀποκτείναντες κατευοχέονται. 2 ἥ δὲ ἂν γυνή κάμη, ὡσαύτως αἱ ἐπιχρεώμεναι μάλιστα γυναῖκες ταῦτα τοῖσι ἀνδράσι ποιεῦσι. τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἐς γῆρας ἀπικόμενον θύσαντες κατευοχέονται· ἐς δὲ τούτου λόγον οὐ πολλοὶ τινες αὐτῶν ἀπικνέονται· πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ τὸν ἐς νοῦσον πίπτοντα πάντα κτείνουσι.

99. Other Indians, to the east of these, are nomads and eat raw flesh; they are called Padaei. It is said to be their custom that when anyone of their fellows, whether man or woman, is sick, a man's closest friends kill him, saying that if wasted by disease he will be lost to them as meat; though he denies that he is sick, they will not believe him, but kill and eat him. When a woman is sick, she is put to death like the men by the women who are her close acquaintances. As for one that has come to old age, they sacrifice him and feast on his flesh; but not many reach this reckoning, for before that everyone who falls ill they kill.

100 1 Ἐτέρων δὲ ἐστὶ Ἰνδῶν ὁδε ἄλλος τρόπος· οὔτε κτείνουσι οὐδὲν ἔμψυχον οὔτε τι σπεύρουσι οὔτε οἰκίας νομίζουσι ἐκτῆσθαι ποιηφαγέουσιν τε· καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ ὅσον κέγχρος τὸ μέγαθος ἐν κάλυκι, αὐτόματον ἐκ τῆς γῆς γινόμενον, τὸ συλλέγοντες αὐτῇ τῇ

κάλυκι ἔψουσί τε καὶ σιτέονται. ὅς δ' ἂν ἐς νοῦσον αὐτῶν πέσῃ, ἐλθὼν ἐς τὴν ἔρημον κεῖται· φροντίζει δὲ οὐδείς οὔτε ἀποθανόντος οὔτε κάμνοντος.

100. There are other Indians, again, who kill no living creature, nor plant anything, nor are accustomed to have houses; they eat grass, and they have a grain growing naturally from the earth in its husk, about the size of a millet-seed, which they gather with the husk and boil and eat. When any one of them falls sick, he goes into the desert and lies there, and no one notices whether he is sick or dies.

101 1 Μίξις δὲ τούτων τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν κατέλεξα πάντων ἐμφανής ἐστι κατὰ περ τῶν προβάτων, καὶ τὸ χρῶμα φορέουσι ὅμοιον πάντες καὶ παραπλήσιον Αἰθίοψι. 2 ἡ γονὴ δὲ αὐτῶν, τὴν ἀπίενται ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας, οὐ κατὰ περ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ λευκὴ, ἀλλὰ μέλαινα κατὰ περ τὸ χρῶμα. τοιαύτην δὲ καὶ Αἰθίοπες ἀπίενται θορὴν. οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἑκαστέρῳ τῶν Περσέων οἰκέουσι καὶ πρὸς νότου ἀνέμου, καὶ Δαρείου βασιλέως οὐδαμὰ ὑπήκουσαν.

101. These Indians whom I have described have intercourse openly like cattle; they are all black-skinned, like the Ethiopians. Their semen too, which they ejaculate into the women, is not white like other men's, but black like their skin, and resembles in this respect that of the Ethiopians. These Indians dwell far away from the Persians southwards, and were not subjects of King Darius.

102 1 Ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν Κασπατύρῳ τε πόλι καὶ τῇ Πακτυκῇ χώρῃ εἰσὶ πρόσουροι, πρὸς ἄρκτου τε καὶ βορέω ἀνέμου κατοικημένοι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰνδῶν, οἱ Βακτρίοισι παραπλησίην ἔχουσι δίαιταν. οὗτοι καὶ μαχιμώτατοι εἰσὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσὸν στελλόμενοι εἰσὶ οὗτοι· κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἐρημίη διὰ τὴν ψάμμον. 2 ἐν δὴ ὧν τῇ ἐρημίῃ ταύτῃ καὶ τῇ ψάμμῳ γίνονται μύρμηκες μεγάλῃα ἔχοντες κυνῶν μὲν ἐλάσσονα ἀλωπέκων δὲ μέζονα· εἰσὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ παρὰ βασιλείῳ τῷ Περσέων ἐνθεῦτεν θηρευθέντες. οὗτοι ὧν οἱ μύρμηκες ποιεύμενοι οἴκησιν ὑπὸ γῆν ἀναφορέουσι τὴν ψάμμον κατὰ περ οἱ ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι μύρμηκες κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ εἶδος ὁμοιότατοι· ἡ δὲ ψάμμος ἡ ἀναφερομένη ἐστὶ χρυσίτις. 3 ἐπὶ δὴ ταύτην τὴν ψάμμον στέλλονται ἐς τὴν ἔρημον οἱ Ἰνδοί, ζευζάμενος ἕκαστος καμήλους τρεῖς, σειρηφόρον μὲν ἑκατέρωθεν ἔρσενα παρέλκειν, θήλεαν δὲ ἐς μέσον·

ἐπὶ ταύτην δὴ αὐτὸς ἀναβαίνει, ἐπιτηδεύσας ὅκως ἀπὸ τέκνων ὡς νεωτάτων ἀποσπᾶσας ζεύξει. αἱ γάρ σφι κάμηλοι ἵππων οὐκ ἦσσονες ἐς ταχυτῆτα εἰσὶ, χωρὶς δὲ ἄχθεα δυνατώτεραι πολλὸν φέρειν.

102. Other Indians dwell near the town of Caspatyrus and the Pactyic country, north of the rest of India; these live like the Bactrians; they are of all Indians the most warlike, and it is they who are sent for the gold; for in these parts all is desolate because of the sand. In this sandy desert are ants, not as big as dogs but bigger than foxes; the Persian king has some of these, which have been caught there. These ants live underground, digging out the sand in the same way as the ants in Greece, to which they are very similar in shape, and the sand which they carry from the holes is full of gold. It is for this sand that the Indians set forth into the desert. They harness three camels apiece, males on either side sharing the drawing, and a female in the middle: the man himself rides on the female, that when harnessed has been taken away from as young an offspring as may be. Their camels are as swift as horses, and much better able to bear burdens besides.

103 1 Τὸ μὲν δὴ εἶδος ὀκοῖόν τι ἔχει ἡ κάμηλος, ἐπισταμένοισι τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι οὐ συγγράφει· τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐπιστέαται αὐτῆς, τοῦτο φράσω· κάμηλος ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθίοισι σκέλεσι ἔχει τέσσερας μηρούς καὶ γούνατα τέσσερα, τὰ τε αἰδοῖα διὰ τῶν ὀπισθίων σκελέων πρὸς τὴν οὐρὴν τετραμμένα.

103. I do not describe the camel's appearance to Greeks, for they know it; but I shall tell them something that they do not know concerning it: the hindlegs of the camel have four thighbones and four knee-joints; its genitals are turned towards the tail between the hindlegs.

104 1 Οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἴνδοι τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ καὶ ζεύξι τοιαύτῃ χρεώμενοι ἐλαύνουσι ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσὸν λελογισμένως ὅκως καυμάτων τῶν θερμοτάτων ἐόντων ἔσονται ἐν τῇ ἀρπαγῇ· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ καύματος οἱ μύρμηκες ἀφανέες γίνονται ὑπὸ γῆν. 2 θερμότατος δὲ ἐστὶ ὁ ἥλιος τούτοις τοῖσι ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἐωθινόν, οὐ κατὰ περ τοῖσι ἄλλοις μεσαμβρίας, ἀλλ' ὑπερτείλας μέχρι οὗ ἀγορῆς διαλύσις. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χρόνον καίει πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ μεσαμβρίῃ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὕτω ὥστ' ἐν ὕδατι λόγος αὐτοῦς ἐστὶ βρέχεσθαι τηνικαῦτα. 3 μεσοῦσα δὲ

ἡ ἡμέρη σχεδὸν παραπλησίως καίει τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς. ἀποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς μεσαμβρίας γίνεται σφι ὁ ἥλιος κατὰ περ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ὁ ἑωθινός, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀπιὼν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ψύχει, ἐς ὃ ἐπὶ δυσμῆσι ἔων καὶ τὸ κάρτα ψύχει.

104. Thus and with teams so harnessed the Indians ride after the gold, being careful to be engaged in taking it when the heat is greatest; for the ants are then out of sight underground. Now in these parts the sun is hottest in the morning, not at midday as elsewhere, but from sunrise to the hour of market-closing. Through these hours it is much hotter than in Hellas at noon, so that men are said to sprinkle themselves with water at this time. At midday the sun's heat is nearly the same in India as elsewhere. As it goes to afternoon, the sun of India has the power of the morning sun in other lands; as day declines it becomes ever cooler, until at sunset it is exceedingly cold.

105 1 Ἐπεὰν δὲ ἔλθωσι ἐς τὸν χῶρον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἔχοντες θυλάκια, ἐμπλήσαντες ταῦτα τῆς ψάμμου τὴν ταχίστην ἐλαύνουσι ὀπίσω· αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ μύρμηκες ὀδμῇ, ὥς δὴ λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων, μαθόντες διώκουσι. εἶναι δὲ ταχυτῆτα οὐδενὶ ἐτέρῳ ὅμοιον, οὕτω ὥστε, εἰ μὴ προλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν ᾧ τοὺς μύρμηκας συλλέγεσθαι, οὐδένα ἂν σφέων ἀποσώζεσθαι. 2 τοὺς μὲν νυν ἔρσενας τῶν καμήλων, εἶναι γὰρ ἥσσονας θέειν τῶν θηλέων, παραλῦεσθαι ἐπελκομένους, οὐκ ὁμοῦ ἀμφοτέρους· τὰς δὲ θηλέας ἀναμιμνησκομένας τῶν ἔλιπον τέκνων ἐνδιδόναι μαλακὸν οὐδέν. τὸν μὲν δὴ πλέω τοῦ χρυσοῦ οὕτω οἱ Ἰνδοὶ κτῶνται, ὥς Πέρσαι φασί· ἄλλος δὲ σπανιώτερος ἐστί ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ὀρυσσόμενος.

105. So when the Indians come to the place with their sacks, they fill these with the sand and drive back as fast as possible; for the ants at once scent them out, the Persians say, and give chase. They say nothing is equal to them for speed, so that unless the Indians have a headstart while the ants were gathering, not one of them would get away. They cut loose the male trace-camels, which are slower than the females, as they begin to lag, one at a time; the mares never tire, for they remember the young that they have left. Such is the tale. Most of the gold (say the Persians) is got in this way by the Indians; they dig some from mines in their country, too, but it is less abundant.

106 1 Αἱ δ' ἐσχατιαί κως τῆς οἰκεομένης τὰ κάλλιστα ἔλαχον, κατά περ ἡ Ἑλλὰς τὰς ὥρας πολλόν τι κάλλιστα κεκρημένας ἔλαχε. 2 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἐσχάτη τῶν οἰκεομενέων ἡ Ἰνδικὴ ἐστὶ, ὥσπερ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἴρηκα· ἐν ταύτῃ τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἔμψυχα, τετράποδά τε καὶ τὰ πετεινά, πολλῶ μέζω ἢ ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι χωρίοις ἐστὶ, πάρεξ τῶν ἵππων (οὗτοι δὲ ἐσσοῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν, Νησαίων δὲ καλυμμένων ἵππων), τοῦτο δὲ χρυσὸς ἄπλετος αὐτόθι ἐστὶ, ὃ μὲν ὀρυσσόμενος, ὃ δὲ καταφορεύμενος ὑπὸ ποταμῶν, ὃ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐσήμηνα ἀρπαζόμενος. 3 τὰ δὲ δένδρεα τὰ ἄγρια αὐτόθι φέρει καρπὸν εἴρια καλλονῇ τε προφέροντα καὶ ἀρετῇ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν οἴων· καὶ ἐσθῆτι Ἴνδοι ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν δενδρέων χρέωνται.

106. The most outlying nations of the world have somehow drawn the finest things as their lot, exactly as Greece has drawn the possession of far the best seasons. As I have lately said, India lies at the world's most distant eastern limit; and in India all living creatures four-footed and flying are much bigger than those of other lands, except the horses, which are smaller than the Median horses called Nesaeon; moreover, the gold there, whether dug from the earth or brought down by rivers or got as I have described, is very abundant. There, too, wool more beautiful and excellent than the wool of sheep grows on wild trees; these trees supply the Indians with clothing.

107 1 Πρὸς δ' αὖ μεσαμβρίας ἐσχάτη Ἀραβίη τῶν οἰκεομενέων χωρέων ἐστὶ, ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ λιβανωτός τε ἐστὶ μούνη χωρέων πασέων φυόμενος καὶ σμύρνη καὶ κασίη καὶ κινάμωμον καὶ λήδανον. ταῦτα πάντα πλὴν τῆς σμύρνης δυσπετέως κτῶνται οἱ Ἀράβιοι. 2 τὸν μὲν γε λιβανωτὸν συλλέγουσι τὴν στύρακα θυμιῶντες, τὴν ἐς Ἑλληνας Φοίνικες ἐξάγουσι· ταύτην θυμιῶντες λαμβάνουσι· τὰ γὰρ δένδρεα ταῦτα τὰ λιβανωτοφόρα ὄφιος ὑπόπτεροι, μικροὶ τὰ μέγασθα, ποικίλοι τὰ εἶδεα, φυλάσσουσι πλήθει πολλοὶ περὶ δένδρον ἕκαστον, οὗτοι οἱ περ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐπιστρατεύονται, οὐδενὶ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἀπελαύνονται ἀπὸ τῶν δενδρέων ἢ τῆς στύρακος τῷ καπνῷ.

107. Again, Arabia is the most distant to the south of all inhabited countries: and this is the only country which produces frankincense and myrrh and casia and cinnamon and gum-mastich. All these except myrrh are difficult for the Arabians to get. They gather frankincense by burning that storax which Phoenicians carry to

Hellas; they burn this and so get the frankincense; for the spice-bearing trees are guarded by small winged snakes of varied color, many around each tree; these are the snakes that attack Egypt. Nothing except the smoke of storax will drive them away from the trees.

108 1 Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὸδε Ἀράβιοι, ὥς πᾶσα ἂν γῆ ἐπίμπλατο τῶν ὀφίων τούτων, εἰ μὴ γίνεσθαι κατ' αὐτοὺς οἷόν τι κατὰ τὰς ἐχίδνας ἡπιστάμην γίνεσθαι. 2 καὶ κως τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ προνοίῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ οἶκός ἐστι, ἐοῦσα σοφῇ, ὅσα μὲν ψυχὴν τε δειλὰ καὶ ἐδώδιμα, ταῦτα μὲν πάντα πολύγονα πεποίηκε, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιλίπη κατεσθιόμενα, ὅσα δὲ σχέτλια καὶ ἀνηρά, ὀλιγόγονα. 3 τοῦτο μὲν, ὅτι ὁ λαγὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς θηρεύεται θηρίου καὶ ὄρνιθος καὶ ἀνθρώπου, οὕτω δὴ τι πολύγονον ἐστὶ· ἐπικυῖσκειται μοῦνον πάντων θηρίων, καὶ τὸ μὲν δασὺ τῶν τέκνων ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ τὸ δὲ ψιλόν, τὸ δὲ ἄρτι ἐν τῇσι μήτρῃσι πλάσσεται, τὸ δὲ ἀναιρέεται. 4 τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο ἐστὶ· ἡ δὲ δὴ λέαινα ἐὼν ἰσχυρότατον καὶ θρασύτατον ἅπαξ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τίκτει ἔν· τίκτουσα γὰρ συνεκβάλλει τῷ τέκνῳ τὰς μήτρας. τὸ δὲ αἷτιον τούτου τὸδε ἐστὶ· ἐπεὶ ὁ σκύμνος ἐν τῇ μητρὶ ἐὼν ἄρχεται διακινεόμενος, ὁ δὲ ἔχων ὄνυχας θηρίων πολλὸν πάντων ὀξυτάτους ἀμύσσει τὰς μήτρας, αὐξόμενός τε δὴ πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐσικνέεται καταγράφων· πέλας τε δὴ ὁ τόκος ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ παράπαν λείπεται αὐτέων ὑγιὲς οὐδέν.

108. The Arabians also say that the whole country would be full of these snakes if the same thing did not occur among them that I believe occurs among vipers. Somehow the forethought of God (just as is reasonable) being wise has made all creatures prolific that are timid and edible, so that they do not become extinct through being eaten, whereas few young are born to hardy and vexatious creatures. On the one hand, because the hare is hunted by every beast and bird and man, therefore it is quite prolific; alone of all creatures it conceives during pregnancy; some of the unborn young are hairy, some still naked, some are still forming in the womb while others are just conceived. On the one hand there is this sort of thing, but on the other hand the lioness, that is so powerful and so bold, once in her life bears one cub; for in the act of bearing she casts her uterus out with her cub. The explanation of this is that when the cub first begins

to stir in the mother, its claws, much sharper than those of any other creature, tear the uterus, and the more it grows the more it scratches and tears, so that when the hour of birth is near seldom is any of the uterus left intact.

109 1 Ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἔχιδναί τε καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀραβίοισι ὑπόπτεροι ὄφεις εἰ ἐγίνοντο ὥς ἡ φύσις αὐτοῖσι ὑπάρχει, οὐκ ἂν ἦν βιώσιμα ἀνθρώποισι· νῦν δ' ἐπεὰν θορνύωνται κατὰ ζεύγεα καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἢ ὁ ἔρσην τῇ ἐκποίῃσι, ἀπιεμένου αὐτοῦ τὴν γονὴν ἡ θήλεα ἅπτεται τῆς δειρῆς, καὶ ἐμφῦσα οὐκ ἀνιεῖ πρὶν ἂν διαφάγη. 2 ὁ μὲν δὴ ἔρσην ἀποθνήσκει τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ, ἡ δὲ θήλεα τίσιν τοιγύδε ἀποτίνει τῷ ἔρσενι· τῷ γονεὶ τιμωρόντα ἔτι ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ ἐόντα τὰ τέκνα διεσθίει τὴν μητέρα, διαφαγόντα δὲ τὴν νηδὺν αὐτῆς οὕτω τὴν ἔκδυσιν ποιεῖται. 3 οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ὄφεις ἐόντες ἀνθρώπων οὐ δηλήμονες τίκτουσί τε ὥα καὶ ἐκλέπουσι πολλόν τι χρήμα τῶν τέκνων. αἱ μὲν νυν ἔχιδναὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν εἰσὶ, οἱ δὲ ὑπόπτεροι ὄφεις ἀθρόοι εἰσὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίῃ καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλῃ· κατὰ τοῦτο δοκέουσι πολλοὶ εἶναι.

109. So too if the vipers and the winged serpents of Arabia were born in the natural manner of serpents life would be impossible for men; but as it is, when they copulate, while the male is in the act of procreation and as soon as he has ejaculated his seed, the female seizes him by the neck, and does not let go until she has bitten through. The male dies in the way described, but the female suffers in return for the male the following punishment: avenging their father, the young while they are still within the womb gnaw at their mother and eating through her bowels thus make their way out. Other snakes, that do no harm to men, lay eggs and hatch out a vast number of young. The Arabian winged serpents do indeed seem to be numerous; but that is because (although there are vipers in every land) these are all in Arabia and are found nowhere else.

110 1 Τὸν μὲν δὴ λιβανωτὸν τοῦτον οὕτω κτῶνται Ἀράβιοι, τὴν δὲ κασίην ὧδε. ἐπεὰν καταδήσωνται βύρσησι καὶ δέρμασι ἄλλοισι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον πλὴν αὐτῶν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὴν κασίην· ἡ δὲ ἐν λίμνῃ φύεται οὐ βαθέη, περὶ δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ αὐλίζεται κου θηρία πτερωτά, τῇσι νυκτερίσι προσείκελα μάλιστα, καὶ τέτριγε δεινόν, καὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν ἄλκιμα· τὰ δεῖ

ἀπαμυνομένους ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν οὕτω δρέπειν τὴν κασίην.

110. The Arabians get frankincense in the foregoing way, and casia in the following way: when they go after it they bind oxhides and other skins all over their bodies and faces except for the eyes. Casia grows in a shallow lake; around this and in it live winged creatures, very like bats, that squeak similarly and make a fierce resistance; these have to be kept away from the eyes in order to take the casia.

111 1 Τὸ δὲ δὴ κινάμωμον ἔτι τούτων θωμαστότερον συλλέγουσι. ὅκου μὲν γὰρ γίνεται καὶ ἥτις μιν γῆ ἢ τρέφουσα ἐστί, οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν, πλὴν ὅτι λόγῳ οἰκότι χρεώμενοι ἐν τοῖσιδε χωρίοισι φασὶ τινὲς αὐτὸ φύεσθαι ἐν τοῖσι ὁ Διόνυσος ἐτράφη· 2 ὄρνιθας δὲ λέγουσι μεγάλας φορέειν ταῦτα τὰ κάρφεια τὰ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ Φοινίκων μαθόντες κινάμωμον καλέομεν, φορέειν δὲ τὰς ὄρνιθας ἐς νεοσσιὰς προσπεπλασμένας ἐκ πηλοῦ πρὸς ἀποκρήμνοισι ὄρεσι, ἔνθα πρόσβασιν ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδεμίαν εἶναι. 3 πρὸς ὧν δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀραβίους σοφίζεσθαι τάδε· βοῶν τε καὶ ὄνων τῶν ἀπογινομένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑποζυγίων τὰ μέλεα διαταμόντας ὥς μέγιστα κομίζειν ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, καὶ σφρα θέντας ἀγχοῦ τῶν νεοσσιέων ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκὰς αὐτέων· τὰς δὲ ὄρνιθας καταπετομένας τὰ μέλεα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀναφορέειν ἐπὶ τὰς νεοσσιὰς, τὰς δὲ οὐ δυναμένας ἴσχειν καταρρήγνυσθαι ἐπὶ γῆν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιόντας συλλέγειν. οὕτω μὲν τὸ κινάμωμον συλλεγόμενον ἐκ τούτων ἀπικνέεσθαι ἐς τὰς ἄλλας χώρας.

111. As for cinnamon, they gather it in an even stranger way. Where it comes from and what land produces it they cannot say, except that it is reported, reasonably enough, to grow in the places where Dionysus was reared. There are great birds, it is said, that take these dry sticks which we have learned from the Phoenicians to call cinnamon and carry them off to nests stuck with mud to precipitous cliffs, where man has no means of approach. The Arabian solution to this is to cut dead oxen and asses and other beasts of burden into the largest possible pieces, then to set these near the eyries and withdraw far off. The birds then fly down (it is said) and carry the pieces of the beasts up to their nests, while these, not being able to bear the weight, break and fall down the mountain side, and then the Arabians

come and gather them up. Thus is cinnamon said to be gathered, and so to come from Arabia to other lands.

112 1 Τὸ δὲ δὴ λήδανον, τὸ καλέουσι Ἀράβιοι λάδανον, ἔτι τούτου θωμασιώτερον γίνεται· ἐν γὰρ δυσοδομοτάτῳ γινόμενον εὐωδέστατον ἐστὶ· τῶν γὰρ αἰγῶν τῶν τράγων ἐν τοῖσι πώγῳσι εὐρίσκεται ἐγγινόμενον οἶον γλοιὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης. χρήσιμον δ' ἐς πολλὰ τῶν μύρων ἐστὶ, θυμιῶσί τε μάλιστα τοῦτο Ἀράβιοι.

112. But ledanon, which the Arabians call ladanon, is produced yet more strangely than this. For it is the most fragrant thing produced in the most malodorous; for it is found in he-goats' beards, forming in them like gum among timber. This is used in the manufacture of many perfumes; there is nothing that the Arabians burn so often as incense.

113 1 Τοσαῦτα μὲν θυμάτων περὶ εἰρήσθω, ἀπόζει δὲ τῆς χώρας τῆς Ἀραβίης θεσπέσιον ὥς ἡδύ. δύο δὲ γένεα οἶων σφι ἐστὶ θώματος ἄξια, τὰ οὐδαμόθι ἐτέρωθι ἐστὶ. τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ἕτερον ἔχει τὰς οὐράς μακράς, τριῶν πηγέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, τὰς εἴ τις ἐπεὶ σφι ἐπέλκειν, ἔλκεα ἂν ἔχοιεν ἀνατριβομενέων πρὸς τῇ γῇ τῶν οὐρέων· 2 νῦν δ' ἅπας τις τῶν ποιμένων ἐπίσταται ξυλουργεῖν ἐς τοσοῦτο· ἀμαξίδας γὰρ ποιεῦντες ὑποδέουσι αὐτὰς τῇσι οὐρῇσι, ἐνὸς ἐκάστου κτήνεος τὴν οὐρὴν ἐπὶ ἀμαξίδα ἐκάστην καταδέοντες. τὸ δὲ ἕτερον γένος τῶν οἶων τὰς οὐράς πλατέας φορέουσι καὶ ἐπὶ πῆχυν πλάτους.

113. Enough of marvels, and yet the land of Arabia gives off a scent as sweet as if divine. They have besides two marvellous kinds of sheep, found nowhere else. One of these has tails no less than nine feet long. Were the sheep to trail these after them they would suffer by the chafing of the tails on the ground; but every shepherd there knows enough of carpentry to make little carts which they fix under the tails, binding the tail of each sheep on its own cart. The other kind of sheep has a tail a full three feet broad.

114 1 Ἀποκλινομένης δὲ μεσαμβρίας παρήκει πρὸς δύνοντα ἥλιον ἡ Αἰθιοπία χώρα ἐσχάτη τῶν οἰκομενέων· αὕτη δὲ χρυσὸν τε φέρει πολλὸν καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἀμφιλαφίας καὶ δένδρεα πάντα ἄγρια καὶ ἔβενον καὶ ἄνδρας μεγίστους καὶ καλλίστους καὶ μακροβιωτάτους.

114. Where south inclines westwards, the part of the world stretching farthest towards the sunset is Ethiopia; this produces gold

in abundance, and huge elephants, and all sorts of wild trees, and ebony, and the tallest and handsomest and longest-lived people.

115 1 Αὐται μὲν νυν ἔν τε τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἐσχατιαί εἰσι καὶ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐσχατιέων ἔχω μὲν οὐκ ἀτρεκέως λέγειν· οὔτε γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐνδέκομαι Ἑριδανὸν καλέεσθαι πρὸς βαρβάρων ποταμὸν ἐκδιδόντα ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον, ἀπ' ὅτε τοῦ ἤλεκτρον φοιτᾷ λόγος ἐστί, οὔτε νήσους οἶδα Κασσιτερίδας ἐούσας, ἐκ τῶν ὁ κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ. 2 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἑριδανὸς αὐτὸ κατηγορεῖ τοῦ οὐνομα ὡς ἔστι Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ οὐ βάρβαρον, ὑπὸ ποιητέῳ δὲ τινὸς ποιηθέν· τοῦτο δὲ οὐδενὸς αὐτόπτεω γενομένου δύναμαι ἀκοῦσαι, τοῦτο μελετῶν, ὅπως θάλασσα ἐστί τὰ ἐπέκεινα Εὐρώπης. ἐξ ἐσχάτης δ' ὧν ὁ κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ καὶ τὸ ἤλεκτρον.

115. These then are the most distant lands in Asia and Libya. But concerning those in Europe that are the farthest away towards evening, I cannot speak with assurance; for I do not believe that there is a river called by foreigners Eridanus issuing into the northern sea, where our amber is said to come from, nor do I have any knowledge of Tin Islands, where our tin is brought from. The very name Eridanus betrays itself as not a foreign but a Greek name, invented by some poet; nor for all my diligence have I been able to learn from one who has seen it that there is a sea beyond Europe. All we know is that our tin and amber come from the most distant parts.

116 1 Πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτου τῆς Εὐρώπης πολλῶ τι πλεῖστος χρυσὸς φαίνεται ἐὼν· ὅπως μὲν γινόμενος, οὐκ ἔχω οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀτρεκέως εἶπαι, λέγεται δὲ ὑπὲκ τῶν γρυπῶν ἀρπάζειν Ἀριμασποὺς ἄνδρας μουνοφθάλμους. 2 πείθομαι δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ὅπως μουνόφθαλμοι ἄνδρες φύονται, φύσιν ἔχοντες τὴν ἄλλην ὁμοίην τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι· 3 αἱ δὲ ὧν ἐσχατιαὶ οἴκασι, περικληίουσαι τὴν ἄλλην χώραν καὶ ἐντὸς ἀπέργουσαι, τὰ κάλλιστα δοκέοντα ἡμῖν εἶναι καὶ σπανιώτατα ἔχειν αὐται.

116. But in the north of Europe there is by far the most gold. In this matter again I cannot say with assurance how the gold is produced, but it is said that one-eyed men called Arimaspians steal it from griffins. But I do not believe this, that there are one-eyed men who have a nature otherwise the same as other men. The most

outlying lands, though, as they enclose and wholly surround all the rest of the world, are likely to have those things which we think the finest and the rarest.

117 1 Ἔστι δὲ πεδίον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ περικεκλημένον ὄρεϊ πάντοθεν, διασφάγες δὲ τοῦ ὄρεος εἰσὶ πέντε. τοῦτο τὸ πεδίον ἦν μὲν κοτὲ Χορασμίων, ἐν οὖροισι ἐὼν Χορασμίων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Ὑρκανίων καὶ Πάρθων καὶ Σαραγγέων καὶ Θαμαναίων, ἐπεῖτε δὲ Πέρσαι ἔχουσι τὸ κράτος, ἐστὶ τοῦ βασιλέως. 2 ἐκ δὴ ὧν τοῦ περικληίου ὄρεος τούτου ῥέει ποταμὸς μέγας, οὖνομα δὲ οἱ ἐστὶ Ἄκης. οὗτος πρότερον μὲν ἄρδεσκε διαλελαμμένος πενταχοῦ τούτων τῶν εἰρημένων τὰς χώρας, διὰ διασφάγος ἀγόμενος ἐκάστης ἐκάστοισι· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἰσὶ, πεπόνθασι τοιόνδε· 3 τὰς διασφάγας τῶν ὀρέων ἐνδείμας ὁ βασιλεὺς πύλας ἐπ’ ἐκάστη διασφάγι ἔστησε· ἀποκεκλημένου δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ἐξόδου τὸ πεδίον τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν ὀρέων πέλαγος γίνεται, ἐνδιδόντος μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔχοντος δὲ οὐδαμῇ ἐξήλυσιν. 4 οὗτοι ὧν οἱ περ ἔμπροσθε ἐώθεσαν χρᾶσθαι τῷ ὕδατι, οὐκ ἔχοντες αὐτῷ χρᾶσθαι συμφορῇ μεγάλῃ διαχρέωνται. τὸν μὲν γὰρ χειμῶνα ὕει σφι ὁ θεὸς ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι, τοῦ δὲ θέρεος σπείροντες μελίνην καὶ σήσαμον χρηίσκονται τῷ ὕδατι. 5 ἐπεὰν ὧν μηδὲν σφι παραδιδῶται τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐλθόντες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας αὐτοὶ τε καὶ γυναῖκες, στάντες κατὰ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέως βοῶσι ὠρυόμενοι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῖσι δεομένοισι αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐς τοῦτο φερούσας. 6 ἐπεὰν δὲ διάκορος ἢ γῆ σφεων γένηται πίνουσα τὸ ὕδωρ, αὗται μὲν αἱ πύλαι ἀποκληῖνται, ἄλλας δ’ ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν ἄλλοισι τοῖσι δεομένοισι μάλιστα τῶν λοιπῶν. ὥς δ’ ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀκούσας, χρήματα μεγάλα πρησόμενος ἀνοίγει πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου.

117. There is a plain in Asia shut in on all sides by mountains through which there are five passes. This plain was once the Chorasmiens', being at the boundaries of the Chorasmiens, the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangians, and Thamanaei, but since the Persians have held power it has been the king's. Now from the encircling mountains flows a great river whose name is the Aces. Its stream divides into five channels and formerly watered the lands of the above-mentioned peoples, going to each through a different pass, but since the beginning of the Persian rule the king has blocked the

mountain passes, and closed each passage with a gate; with the water barred from outlet, the plain within the mountains becomes a lake, seeing that the river pours into it and finds no way out. Those therefore who before were accustomed to use the water endure great hardship in not being able to use it; for during the winter, god rains for them just as for the rest of mankind, but in the summer they are in need of the water for their sown millet and sesame. So whenever no water is given to them, they come into Persia with their women, and cry and howl before the door of the king's palace, until the king commands that the river-gate should be opened for those whose need is greatest; then, when this land has drunk its fill of water, that gate is shut, and the king has another opened for those of the rest who most require it. I know by hearsay that he gets a lot of money, over and above the tribute, for opening the gates. So much for these matters.

118 1 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἔχει οὕτω. τῶν δὲ τῷ Μάγῳ ἐπαναστάντων ἑπτὰ ἀνδρῶν, ἓνα αὐτῶν Ἰνταφρένεα κατέλαβε ὑβρίσαντα τάδε ἀποθανεῖν αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν. ἤθελε ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα ἐσελθὼν χρηματίσασθαι τῷ βασιλείᾳ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ νόμος οὕτω εἶχε, τοῖσι ἐπαναστᾶσι τῷ Μάγῳ ἔσοδον εἶναι παρὰ βασιλέα ἄνευ ἀγγέλου, ἣν μὴ γυναικὶ τυγχάνη μισγόμενος βασιλεὺς. 2 οὐκὼν δὴ Ἰνταφρένης ἐδικαίου οὐδένα οἱ ἐσαγγεῖλαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἦν τῶν ἑπτὰ, ἐσιέναι ἤθελε. ὁ δὲ πυλὺρὸς καὶ ὁ ἀγγελιηφόρος οὐ περιώρων, φάμενοι τὸν βασιλέα γυναικὶ μίσγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἰνταφρένης δοκέων σφέας ψεύδεα λέγειν ποιεῖ τοιάδε· σπασάμενος τὸν ἀκινάκεια ἀποτάμνει αὐτῶν τὰ τε ὦτα καὶ τὰς ῥίνας, καὶ ἀνείρας περὶ τὸν χαλινὸν τοῦ ἵππου περὶ τοὺς αὐχένας σφέων ἔδησε, καὶ ἀπῆκε.

118. Of the seven men who revolted against the Magus, one, Intaphrenes, got his death through his own violence immediately after the rebellion. He wanted to enter the palace and speak with the king; and in fact the law was, that the rebels against the Magus could come into the king's presence unannounced, if the king were not having intercourse with one of his wives. Intaphrenes, as one of the seven, claimed his right to enter unannounced; but the gatekeeper and the messenger forbade him, telling him that the king was having intercourse with one of his wives. Intaphrenes thought that they were lying; drawing his scimitar he cut off their noses and ears, then

strung these on his horse's bridle and hung it around the men's necks, and so let them go.

119 1 Οἱ δὲ τῷ βασιλείῳ δεικνύουσι ἑωυτοὺς καὶ τὴν αἰτίην εἶπον δι' ἣν πεπονθότες εἶσαν. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἀρρώδησας μὴ κοινῷ λόγῳ οἱ ἔξ πεπονηκότες ἔωσι ταῦτα, μεταπεμπόμενος ἓνα ἕκαστον ἀπεπειρᾶτο γνώμης, εἰ συνέπαινοι εἰσὶ τῷ πεπονημένῳ. 2 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐξέμαθε ὡς οὐ σὺν κείνοισι εἶη ταῦτα πεπονηκώς, ἔλαβε αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἰνταφρένεα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκήσιους πάντας, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχων μετὰ τῶν συγγενέων μιν ἐπιβουλεύειν οἱ ἐπανάστασιν, συλλαβὼν δὲ σφέας ἔδρασε τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. 3 ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἰνταφρένεος φοιτῶσα ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέως κλαίεσκε ἂν καὶ ὀδυρέσκετο· ποιεῦσα δὲ αἰεὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸν Δαρεῖον ἔπεισε οἰκτεῖραί μιν. πέμψας δὲ ἄγγελον ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ γύναι, βασιλεὺς τοι Δαρεῖος διδοῖ ἓνα τῶν δεδεμένων οἰκηῶν ρύσασθαι τὸν βούλει ἐκ πάντων,,. 4 ἡ δὲ βουλευσαμένη ὑπεκρίνετο τάδε· “εἰ μὲν δὴ μοι διδοῖ βασιλεὺς ἐνὸς τὴν ψυχὴν, αἰρέομαι ἐκ πάντων τὸν ἀδελφεόν,,. 5 πυθόμενος δὲ Δαρεῖος ταῦτα καὶ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον, πέμψας ἡγόρευε “ὦ γύναι, εἰρωτᾷ σε βασιλεὺς, τίνα ἔχουσα γνώμην, τὸν ἄνδρα τε καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐγκαταλιποῦσα, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν εἵλεω περιεῖναι τοι, ὅς καὶ ἄλλοτριώτερός τοι τῶν παίδων καὶ ἥσσον κεχαρισμένος τοῦ ἀνδρός ἐστι,,. 6 ἡ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀνὴρ μὲν μοι ἂν ἄλλος γένοιτο, εἰ δαίμων ἐθέλοι, καὶ τέκνα ἄλλα, εἰ ταῦτα ἀποβάλοιμι· πατὴρ δὲ καὶ μητὴρ οὐκέτι μευ ζώντων ἀδελφεὸς ἂν ἄλλος οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ γένοιτο. ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ χρεωμένη ἔλεξα ταῦτα,,. 7 εὖ τε δὴ ἔδοξε τῷ Δαρείῳ εἰπεῖν ἡ γυνή, καὶ οἱ ἀπῆκε τοῦτόν τε τὸν παραιτέτο καὶ τῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἡσθεὶς αὐτῇ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέκτεινε πάντας. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἑπτὰ εἷς αὐτίκα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀπολώλεε.

119. They showed themselves to the king and told him why they had been treated so. Darius, fearing that the six had done this by common consent, sent for each and asked his opinion, whether they approved what had been done; and being assured that they had no part in it, he seized Intaphrenes with his sons and all his household — for he strongly suspected that the man was plotting a rebellion with his kinsmen — and imprisoned them with the intention of putting them to death. Then Intaphrenes' wife began coming to the

palace gates, weeping and lamenting; and by continuing to do this same thing she persuaded Darius to pity her; and he sent a messenger to tell her, “Woman, King Darius will allow one of your imprisoned relatives to survive, whomever you prefer of them all.” After considering she answered, “If indeed the king gives me the life of one, I chose from them all my brother.” Darius was astonished when he heard her answer, and sent someone who asked her: “Woman, the king asks you with what in mind you abandon your husband and your children and choose to save the life of your brother, who is less close to you than your children and less dear than your husband?” “O King,” she answered, “I may have another husband, if a god is willing, and other children, if I lose these; but since my father and mother are no longer living, there is no way that I can have another brother; I said what I did with that in mind.” Darius thought that the woman answered well, and for her sake he released the one for whom she had asked, and the eldest of her sons as well; he put to death all the rest. Thus immediately perished one of the seven.

120 1 Κατὰ δέ κου μάλιστα τὴν Καμβύσειω νοῦσον ἐγίνετο τάδε. ὑπὸ Κύρου κατασταθεὶς ἦν Σαρδίων ὕπαρχος Ὀροΐτης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης· οὗτος ἐπεθύμησε πρήγματος οὐκ ὀσίου· οὔτε γάρ τι παθὼν οὔτε ἀκούσας μάταιον ἔπος πρὸς Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Σαμίου, οὐδὲ ἰδὼν πρότερον, ἐπεθύμει λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι, ὥς μὲν οἱ πλεῖνες λέγουσι, διὰ τοιγύνη τινὰ αἰτίην. 2 ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέως θυρέων κατήμενον τὸν τε Ὀροΐτα καὶ ἄλλον Πέρσιν τῷ οὐνόμα εἶναι Μιτροβάτα, νομοῦ ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ, τούτους ἐκ λόγων ἐς νείκεα συμπεσεῖν, κρινομένων δὲ περὶ ἀρετῆς εἰπεῖν τὸν Μιτροβάτα τῷ Ὀροΐτῃ προφέροντα 3 “σὺ γὰρ ἐν ἀνδρῶν λόγῳ, ὃς βασιλεῖ νῆσον Σάμον πρὸς τῷ σῷ νομῷ προσκειμένην οὐ προσεκλήσαιο, ὥδε δὴ τι ἐοῦσαν εὐπετέα χειρωθῆναι, τὴν τῶν τις ἐπιχωρίων πεντεκαίδεκα ὀπλίτησι ἐπαναστάς ἔσχε καὶ νῦν αὐτῆς τυραννεύει;,, 4 οἱ μὲν δὴ μιν φασὶ τοῦτο ἀκούσαντα καὶ ἀλγήσαντα τῷ ὀνειδεῖ ἐπιθυμῆσαι οὐκ οὔτω τὸν εἶπαντα ταῦτα τίσασθαι ὥς Πολυκράτα πάντως ἀπολέσαι, δι’ ὄντινα κακῶς ἤκουσε.

120. While Cambyses was still ill, the following events occurred. The governor of Sardis appointed by Cyrus was Oroetes, a Persian. This man had an impious desire; for although he had not been injured

or spoken badly of by Polycrates of Samos, and had in fact never even seen him before, he desired to seize and kill him, for the following reason, most people say. As Oroetes and another Persian whose name was Mitrobates, governor of the province at Dascyleium, sat at the king's doors, they fell from talking to quarreling; and as they compared their achievements Mitrobates said to Oroetes, "You are not to be reckoned a man; the island of Samos lies close to your province, yet you have not added it to the king's dominion — an island so easy to conquer that some native of it revolted against his rulers with fifteen hoplites, and is now lord of it." Some say that Oroetes, angered by this reproach, did not so much desire to punish the source of it as to destroy Polycrates utterly, the occasion of the reproach.

121 1 Οἱ δὲ ἐλάσσονες λέγουσι πέμψαι Ὀροίτεα ἐς Σάμον κήρυκα ὅτεν δὴ χρήματος δεησόμενον (οὐ γὰρ ὧν δὴ τοῦτό γε λέγεται), καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα τυχεῖν κατακείμενον ἐν ἀνδρεῶνι, παρεῖναι δέ οἱ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τήιον· 2 καὶ κως εἴτ' ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὸν κατηλογέοντα τὰ Ὀροίτεω πρήγματα, εἴτε καὶ συντυχίῃ τις τοιαύτη ἐπεγένετο· τὸν τε γὰρ κήρυκα τὸν Ὀροίτεω παρελθόντα διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα (τυχεῖν γὰρ ἀπεστραμμένον πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον) οὔτε τι μεταστραφῆναι οὔτε ὑποκρίνασθαι.

121. A few people, however, say that when Oroetes sent a herald to Samos with some request (it is not said what this was), the herald found Polycrates lying in the men's apartments, in the company of Anacreon of Teos; and, whether on purpose to show contempt for Oroetes, or by mere chance, when Oroetes' herald entered and addressed him, Polycrates, then lying with his face to the wall, never turned or answered him.

122 1 Αἰτίαι μὲν δὴ αὗται διφάσαι λέγονται τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Πολυκράτεος γενέσθαι, πάρεστι δὲ πείθεσθαι ὁκοτέρῃ τις βούλεται αὐτέων. ὁ δὲ ὧν Ὀροίτης ἰζόμενος ἐν Μαγνησίῃ τῇ ὑπὲρ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ οἰκημένη ἔπεμπε Μύρσον τὸν Γύγεω ἄνδρα Λυδὸν ἐς Σάμον ἀγγελίην φέροντα, μαθὼν τοῦ Πολυκράτεος τὸν νόον. 2 Πολυκράτης γὰρ ἐστὶ πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Ἑλλήνων ὃς θαλασσοκρατέειν ἐπενοήθη, πάρεξ Μίνωός τε τοῦ Κνωσσίου καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος πρότερος τούτου ἦρξε τῆς θαλάσσης· τῆς δὲ

ἀνθρωπότης λεγομένης γενεῆς Πολυκράτης πρῶτος, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχων Ἰωνίης τε καὶ νήσων ἄρξειν. 3 μαθὼν ὧν ταῦτά μιν διανοεόμενον ὁ Ὀροίτης πέμψας ἀγγελίην ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ὀροίτης Πολυκράτει ὧδε λέγει. πυνθάνομαι ἐπιβουλεύειν σε πρήγμασι μεγάλοισι, καὶ χρήματά τοι οὐκ εἶναι κατὰ τὰ φρονήματα. σύ νυν ὧδε ποιήσας ὀρθώσεις μὲν σεαυτὸν, σώσεις δὲ καὶ ἐμέ· ἐμοὶ γὰρ βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης ἐπιβουλεύει θάνατον, καὶ μοι τοῦτο ἐξαγγέλλεται σαφηνέως. 4 σύ νυν ἐμὲ ἐκκομίσας αὐτὸν καὶ χρήματα, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἔχε, τὰ δὲ ἐμὲ ἔα ἔχειν· εἵνεκέν τε χρημάτων ἄρξεις ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. εἰ δέ μοι ἀπιστέεις τὰ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, πέμψον ὅστις τοι πιστότατος τυγχάνει ἐών, τῷ ἐγὼ ἀποδέξω,,.

122. These are the two reasons alleged for Polycrates’ death; believe whichever you like. But the consequence was that Oroetes, then at Magnesia which is above the river Maeander, sent Myrsus son of Gyges, a Lydian, with a message to Samos, having learned Polycrates’ intention; for Polycrates was the first of the Greeks whom we know to aim at the mastery of the sea, leaving out of account Minos of Cnossus and any others who before him may have ruled the sea; of what may be called the human race Polycrates was the first, and he had great hope of ruling Ionia and the Islands. Learning then that he had this intention, Oroetes sent him this message: “Oroetes addresses Polycrates as follows: I find that you aim at great things, but that you have not sufficient money for your purpose. Do then as I direct, and you will succeed yourself and will save me. King Cambyzes aims at my death; of this I have clear intelligence. Now if you will transport me and my money, you may take some yourself and let me keep the rest; thus you shall have wealth enough to rule all Hellas. If you mistrust what I tell you about the money, send someone who is most trusted by you and I will prove it to him.”

123 1 Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Πολυκράτης ἥσθη τε καὶ ἐβούλετο· καὶ κως ἰμίρετο γὰρ χρημάτων μεγάλως, ἀποπέμπει πρῶτα κατοψόμενον Μαιάνδριον Μαιανδρίου ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν, ὅς οἱ ἦν γραμματιστής· ὃς χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τούτων τὸν κόσμον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρεῶνος τοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον ἀνέθηκε πάντα ἐς τὸ

Ἑραιον. 2 ὁ δὲ Ὀροΐτης μαθὼν τὸν κατάσκοπον ἔοντα προσδόκιμον ἐποίησε τοιάδε· λάρνακας ὀκτὼ πληρώσας λίθων πλὴν κάρτα βραχέος τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰ τὰ χεῖλεα, ἐπιπολῆς τῶν λίθων χρυσὸν ἐπέβαλε, καταδῆσας δὲ τὰς λάρνακας εἶχε ἐτοίμας. ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Μαιάνδριος καὶ θεησάμενος ἀπήγγελλε τῷ Πολυκράτει.

123. Hearing this, Polycrates was pleased and willing; and since he had a great desire for money he first sent one of his townsmen, Maeandrius, son of Maeandrius, to have a look; this man was his scribe; it was he who not long afterwards dedicated in the Heraeum all the splendid furnishings of the men's apartment in Polycrates' house. When Oroetes heard that an inspection was imminent, he filled eight chests with stones, leaving only a very shallow space at the top; then he laid gold on top of the stones, locked the chests, and kept them ready. Maeandrius came and saw, and brought word back to his master.

124 1 Ὁ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν μαντίων ἀπαγορευόντων πολλὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων ἐστελλετο αὐτόσε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἰδούσης τῆς θυγατρὸς ὄψιν ἐνυπνίου τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε οἷ τὸν πατέρα ἐν τῷ ἡέρι μετέωρον ἔοντα λοῦσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός, χρίεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου. 2 ταύτην ἰδοῦσα τὴν ὄψιν παντοίῃ ἐγίνετο μὴ ἀποδηῆσαι τὸν Πολυκράτεια παρὰ τὸν Ὀροΐτεια, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἰόντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πεντηκόντερον ἐπεφημίζετο. ὁ δὲ οἱ ἠπειλῆσε, ἦν σῶς ἀπονοστήσει, πολλόν μιν χρόνον παρθενεύεσθαι. ἡ δὲ ἠρήσατο ἐπιτελέα ταῦτα γενέσθαι· βούλεσθαι γὰρ παρθενεύεσθαι πλέω χρόνον ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστερηῆσθαι.

124. Polycrates then prepared to visit Oroetes, despite the strong dissuasion of his diviners and friends, and a vision seen by his daughter in a dream; she dreamt that she saw her father in the air overhead being washed by Zeus and anointed by Helios; after this vision she used all means to persuade him not to go on this journey to Oroetes; even as he went to his fifty-oared ship she prophesied evil for him. When Polycrates threatened her that if he came back safe, she would long remain unmarried, she answered with a prayer that his threat might be fulfilled: for she would rather, she said, long remain unmarried than lose her father.

125 1 Πολυκράτης δὲ πάσης συμβουλῆς ἀλογήσας ἔπλεε παρὰ

τὸν Ὀροίτεια, ἅμα ἀγόμενος ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δημοκῆδεα τὸν Καλλιφῶντος Κροτωνιήτην ἄνδρα, ἱητρὸν τε ἐόντα καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἀσκέοντα ἄριστα τῶν κατ' ἐωυτόν. 2 ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὴν Μαγνησίην ὁ Πολυκράτης διεφθάρη κακῶς, οὔτε ἐωυτοῦ ἀξίως οὔτε τῶν ἐωυτοῦ φρονημάτων· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ οἱ Συρηκοσίων γενόμενοι τύραννοι οὐδὲ εἷς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλληνικῶν τυράννων ἄξιος ἐστὶ Πολυκράτῃ μεγαλοπρεπεῖην συμβληθῆναι. 3 ἀποκτείνας δέ μιν οὐκ ἀξίως ἀπηγήσιος Ὀροίτης ἀνεσταύρωσε· τῶν δέ οἱ ἐπομένων ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν Σάμιοι, ἀπῆκε, κελεύων σφέας ἐωυτῷ χάριν εἰδέναι ἐόντας ἐλευθέρους, ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ξεῖνοί τε καὶ δοῦλοι τῶν ἐπομένων, ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ποιούμενος εἶχε. 4 Πολυκράτης δὲ ἀνακρεμάμενος ἐπετέλεε πᾶσαν τὴν ὄψιν τῆς θυγατρὸς· ἐλοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὅκως υἱοί, ἐχρίετο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, ἀνιείς αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἱκμάδα.

125. But Polycrates would listen to no advice. He sailed to meet Oroetes, with a great retinue of followers, among whom was Democedes, son of Calliphon, a man of Croton and the most skillful physician of his time. But no sooner had Polycrates come to Magnesia than he was horribly murdered in a way unworthy of him and of his aims; for, except for the sovereigns of Syracuse, no sovereign of Greek race is fit to be compared with Polycrates for magnificence. Having killed him in some way not fit to be told, Oroetes then crucified him; as for those who had accompanied him, he let the Samians go, telling them to thank him that they were free; those who were not Samians, or were servants of Polycrates' followers, he kept for slaves. And Polycrates hanging in the air fulfilled his daughter's vision in every detail; for he was washed by Zeus when it rained, and he was anointed by Helios as he exuded sweat from his body.

126 1 Πολυκράτεος μὲν δὴ αἱ πολλαὶ εὐτυχίαι ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεῦθησαν τῇ οἱ Ἄμασις ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς προεμαντεύσατο. χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ Ὀροίτεια Πολυκράτεος τίσιες μετῆλθον. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν Καμβύσεω θάνατον καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν βασιλίην μένων ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι Ὀροίτης ὠφέλεε μὲν οὐδὲν Πέρσας ὑπὸ Μήδων ἀπαραιρημένους τὴν ἀρχήν· 2 ὁ δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ταραχῇ κατὰ μὲν ἔκτεινε Μιτροβάτεια τὸν ἐκ Δασκυλείου ὕπαρχον, ὃς οἱ

ὠνείδισε τὰ ἐς Πολυκράτεα ἔχοντα, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ Μιτροβάτεω τὸν παῖδα Κρανάσπην, ἄνδρας ἐν Πέρσῃσι δοκίμους, ἄλλα τε ἐξύβρισε παντοῖα καὶ τινα ἀγγελιφόρον ἐλθόντα Δαρείου παρ' αὐτόν, ὥς οὐ πρὸς ἡδονὴν οἱ ἦν τὰ ἀγγελλόμενα, κτείνει μιν ὀπίσω κομιζόμενον, ἄνδρας οἱ ὑπέισας κατ' ὁδόν, ἀποκτείνας δὲ μιν ἠφάνισε αὐτῷ ἵππῳ.

126. This was the end of Polycrates' string of successes [as Amasis king of Egypt had forewarned him]. But not long after, atonement for Polycrates overtook Oroetes. After the death of Cambyses and the rule of the Magi, Oroetes stayed in Sardis, where he did not help the Persians in any way to regain the power taken from them by the Medes, but, to the contrary, in this confusion killed two prominent Persians, Mitrobates, the governor from Dascyleium, who had taunted him about Polycrates, and Mitrobates' son Cranaspes; and on top of many other violent acts, he set an ambush down the road after a messenger from Darius came with a message which displeased him and killed that messenger on his homeward journey, and concealed the man's body and horse.

127 1 Δαρεῖος δὲ ὥς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἐπεθύμει τὸν Ὀροίτεα τίσασθαι πάντων τῶν ἀδικημάτων εἵνεκεν καὶ μάλιστα Μιτροβάτεω καὶ τοῦ παιδός. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἰθέης στρατὸν ἐπ' αὐτόν οὐκ ἐδόκεε πέμπειν ἅτε οἰδεόντων ἔτι τῶν πρηγμάτων, καὶ νεωστὶ ἔχων τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν Ὀροίτεα μεγάλην τὴν ἰσχὺν πυνθανόμενος ἔχειν· τὸν χίλιοι μὲν Περσέων ἐδоруφόρεον, εἶχε δὲ νομὸν τὸν τε Φρύγιον καὶ Λύδιον καὶ Ἰωνικόν. 2 πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὧν ὁ Δαρεῖος τάδε ἐμηχανήσατο. συγκαλέσας Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. “ὦ Πέρσαι, τίς ἄν μοι τοῦτο ὑμέων ὑποστάς ἐπιτελέσειε σοφίη καὶ μὴ βίη τε καὶ ὁμίλῳ; ἔνθα γὰρ σοφίης δέει, βίης ἔργον οὐδέν· 3 ὑμέων δὲ ὧν τίς μοι Ὀροίτεα ἢ ζῶντα ἀγάγοι ἢ ἀποκτείνειε; ὃς ὠφέλησε μὲν κῶ Πέρσας οὐδέν, κακὰ δὲ μεγάλα ἔοργε· τοῦτο μὲν δύο ἡμέων ἡίστωσε, Μιτροβάτεά τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς ἀνακαλέοντας αὐτόν καὶ πεμπομένους ὑπ' ἐμεῦ κτείνει, ὕβριν οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν φαίνων. πρὶν τι ὧν μέζον ἐξεργάσασθαι μιν Πέρσας κακόν, καταλαμπτέος ἐστὶ ἡμῖν θάνατος,,.

127. So when Darius became king, he wanted to punish Oroetes for all his wrongdoing, and especially for killing Mitrobates and his son. But he thought it best not to send an army openly against the

satrap, seeing that everything was still in confusion and he was still new to the royal power; moreover he heard that Oroetes was very powerful, having a guard of a thousand Persian spearmen and being governor of the Phrygian and Lydian and Ionian province. He had recourse, then, to the following expedient: having summoned an assembly of the most prominent Persians, he addressed them as follows: "Persians, which of you will promise to do this for me, not with force and numbers, but by cunning? Where there is need for cunning, force has no business. So then, which of you would either bring me Oroetes alive or kill him? For he has done the Persians no good, but much harm; he has destroyed two of us, Mitrobates and his son, and is killing my messengers that are sent to recall him, displaying an insolence that is not to be borne. So, then, before he does the Persians some still greater harm, he has to be punished by us with death."

128 1 Δαρεῖος μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, τῷ δὲ ἄνδρες τριήκοντα ὑπέστησαν, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἐθέλων ποιεῖν ταῦτα. ἐρίζοντας δὲ Δαρεῖος κατελάμβανε κελεύων πάλλεσθαι· παλλομένων δὲ λαγχάνει ἐκ πάντων Βαγαῖος ὁ Ἀρτόντεω· 2 λαχὼν δὲ ὁ Βαγαῖος ποιεῖ τάδε· βυβλία γραψάμενος πολλὰ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἔχοντα πρηγμάτων σφρηγῖδά σφι ἐπέβαλε τὴν Δαρείου, μετὰ δὲ ἦε ἔχων ταῦτα ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις. 3 ἀπικόμενος δὲ καὶ Ὀροίτεω ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθὼν, τῶν βυβλίων ἐν ἑκάστων περιαιρεόμενος ἐδίδου τῷ γραμματιστῇ τῷ βασιληίῳ ἐπιλέγεσθαι· γραμματιστὰς δὲ βασιληῖους οἱ πάντες ὕπαρχοι ἔχουσι· ἀποπειρώμενος δὲ τῶν δορυφόρων ἐδίδου τὰ βυβλία ὁ Βαγαῖος, εἰ ἐνδεξαίματο ἀπόστασιν ἀπὸ Ὀροίτεω. 4 ὁρέων δὲ σφέας τὰ τε βυβλία σεβομένους μεγάλως καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐκ τῶν βυβλίων ἔτι μεζόνως, διδοῖ ἄλλο ἐν τῷ ἐνῆν ἔπεα τάδε· “ὦ Πέρσαι, βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ἀπαγορεύει ὑμῖν μὴ δορυφορέειν Ὀροίτεα,, οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες τούτων μετῆκάν οἱ τὰς αἰχμάς. 5 ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο σφέας ὁ Βαγαῖος πειθομένους τῷ βυβλίῳ, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ θαρσήσας τὸ τελευταῖον τῶν βυβλίων διδοῖ τῷ γραμματιστῇ, ἐν τῷ ἐγγράπτῳ “βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος Πέρσῃσι τοῖσι ἐν Σάρδισι ἐντέλλεται κτείνειν Ὀροίτεα,, οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι ὥς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, σπασάμενοι τοὺς ἀκινάκας κτείνουσι παραντίκα μιν, οὕτῳ δὴ Ὀροίτεα τὸν Πέρσῃν Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Σαμίου τίσιες μετῆλθον.

128. Darius asked this and thirty men promised, each wanting to do it himself. Darius told them not argue but draw lots; they did, and the lot fell to Bagaeus, son of Artontes. Bagaeus, having drawn the lot, did as follows: he had many letters written concerning many things and put the seal of Darius on them, and then went with them to Sardis. When he got there and came into Oroetes' presence, he took out each letter in turn and gave it to one of the royal scribes to read (all of the governors of the King have scribes); Bagaeus gave the letters to test the spearmen, whether they would consent to revolt against Oroetes. Seeing that they were greatly affected by the rolls and yet more by what was written in them, he gave another, in which were these words: "Persians! King Darius forbids you to be Oroetes' guard." Hearing this, they lowered their spears for him. When Bagaeus saw that they obeyed the letter so far, he was encouraged and gave the last roll to the scribe, in which was written: "King

Darius instructs the Persians in Sardis to kill Oroetes.” Hearing this the spearmen drew their scimitars and killed him at once. Thus atonement for Polycrates the Samian overtook Oroetes the Persian.

129 1 Ἀπικομένων δὲ καὶ ἀνακομισθέντων τῶν Ὀροίτεω χρημάτων ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα, συνήνεικε χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐν ἄγρῃ θηρῶν ἀποθρώσκοντα ἀπ’ ἵππου στραφῆναι τὸν πόδα. 2 καὶ κως ἰσχυροτέρως ἐστράφη· ὁ γάρ οἱ ἀστράγαλος ἐξεχώρησε ἐκ τῶν ἄρθρων. νομίζων δὲ καὶ πρότερον περὶ ἑωυτὸν ἔχειν Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς δοκέοντας εἶναι πρώτους τὴν ἱητρικὴν, τούτοισι ἐχρᾶτο. οἱ δὲ στρεβλοῦντες καὶ βιώμενοι τὸν πόδα κακὸν μέζον ἐργάζοντο. 3 ἐπ’ ἑπτὰ μὲν δὴ ἡμέρας καὶ ἑπτὰ νύκτας ὑπὸ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀγρυπνίησι εἶχετο· τῇ δὲ δὴ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρῃ ἔχοντί οἱ φλαύρως, παρακούσας τις πρότερον ἔτι ἐν Σάρδισι τοῦ Κροτωνιτέω Δημοκίδεος τὴν τέχνην ἀγγέλλει τῷ Δαρείῳ· ὁ δὲ ἄγειν μιν τὴν ταχίστην παρ’ ἑωυτὸν ἐκέλευσε· τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐξεῦρον ἐν τοῖσι Ὀροίτεω ἀνδραπόδοισι ὅκου δὴ ἀπημελημένον, παρῆγον ἐς μέσον πέδας τε ἔλκοντα καὶ ράκεσι ἐσθημένον.

129. Oroetes’ slaves and other possessions were brought to Susa. Not long after this, it happened that Darius twisted his foot in dismounting from his horse while hunting so violently that the ball of the ankle joint was dislocated from its socket. Darius called in the best physicians of Egypt, whom he had until now kept near his person. But by violently twisting the foot they made the injury worse; and for seven days and nights the king could not sleep because of the pain. On the eighth day, when he was doing poorly, someone who had heard in Sardis of the skill of Democedes of Croton told Darius of him; and he told them to bring him as quickly as possible. When they found him among the slaves of Oroetes, where he was forgotten, they brought him along, dragging his chains and dressed in rags.

130 1 Σταθέντα δὲ ἐς μέσον εἰρώτα ὁ Δαρεῖος τὴν τέχνην εἰ ἐπίσταιτο· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ὑπεδέκετο, ἀρρωδέων μὴ ἑωυτὸν ἐκφήνας τὸ παράπαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ ἀπεστερημένος· 2 κατεφάνη τε τῷ Δαρείῳ τεχνάζειν ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ τοὺς ἀγαγόντας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε μαστιγᾶς τε καὶ κέντρα παραφέρειν ἐς τὸ μέσον. ὁ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὦν ἐκφαίνει, φᾶς ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι, ὁμιλήσας δὲ ἱητρῷ φλαύρως ἔχειν

τὴν τέχνην. 3 μετὰ δέ, ὥς οἱ ἐπέτρεψε, Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἡμασι
χρεώμενος καὶ ἥπια μετὰ τὰ ἰσχυρὰ προσάγων ὕπνου τέ μιν
λαγχάνειν ἐποίησε καὶ ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ ὑγία μιν ἀπέδεξε, οὐδαμὰ ἔτι
ἐλπίζοντα ἀρτίπουν ἔσσεσθαι. 4 δωρέεται δὴ μιν μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ
Δαρεῖος πεδέων χρυσέων δύο ζεύγεσι· ὁ δέ μιν ἐπείρετο εἰ οἱ
διπλήσιον τὸ κακὸν ἐπίτηδες νέμει, ὅτι μιν ὑγία ἐποίησε. ἤσθεις δὲ
τῷ ἔπει ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀποπέμπει μιν παρὰ τὰς ἐωυτοῦ γυναῖκας·
παράγοντες δὲ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι ἔλεγον πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας ὥς βασιλεῖ
οὗτος εἶη ὃς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπέδωκε. 5 ὑποτύπτουσα δὲ αὐτέων ἐκάστη
φιᾶλη τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἐς θήκην ἐδωρέετο Δημοκῆδεα οὕτω δὴ τι δαυιλίει
δωρεῇ ὥς τοὺς ἀποπίπτοντας ἀπὸ τῶν φιαλέων στατῆρας ἐπόμενος ὁ
οἰκέτης, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σκίτων, ἀνελέγετο καὶ οἱ χρῆμα πολλόν τι
χρυσοῦ συνελέχθη.

130. Darius asked him when he was brought in if he were trained in medicine. He refused to admit it, for he was afraid that if he revealed himself he would be cut off from Hellas for good. It was clear to Darius, however, that he was trained in deceit, and he ordered those who had brought him to bring along scourges and goads. Then he confessed, saying that his training was not exact, but that he had associated with a physician and had a passing acquaintance with medicine. But when Darius turned the case over to him and Democedes applied Greek remedies and used gentleness instead of the Egyptians' violence, he enabled him to sleep and in a short time had him well, although Darius had had no hope of regaining the use of his foot. After this, Darius rewarded him with a gift of two pairs of golden fetters. "Is it your purpose," Democedes asked, "to double my pains for making you well?" Pleased by the retort, Darius sent him to his own wives. The eunuchs who conducted him told the women that this was the man who had given the king his life back. Each of them took a bowl and dipped it in a chest full of gold, so richly rewarding Democedes that the servant accompanying him, whose name was Sciton, collected a very great sum of gold by picking up the staters that fell from the bowls.

131 1 Ὁ δὲ Δημοκῆδης οὗτος ὧδε ἐκ Κρότωνος ἀπιγμένος
Πολυκράτει ὠμίλησε· πατρὶ συνείχετο ἐν τῇ Κρότωνι ὀργὴν χαλεπῶ·
τοῦτον ἐπεῖτε οὐκ ἐδύνατο φέρειν, ἀπολιπὼν οἶχετο ἐς Αἴγιναν.

καταστάς δὲ ἐς ταύτην πρώτην ἔτει ὑπερεβάλετο τοὺς ἄλλους ἱητρούς, ἀσκευής περ ἐὼν καὶ ἔχων οὐδὲν τῶν ὅσα περὶ τὴν τέχνην ἐστὶ ἐργαλῆα. 2 καὶ μιν δευτέρῳ ἔτει ταλάντου Αἰγινῆται δημοσίῃ μισθοῦνται, τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει Ἀθηναῖοι ἑκατὸν μνέων, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει Πολυκράτης δυῶν ταλάντων. οὕτω μὲν ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Σάμον, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἦκιστα Κροτωνιῆται ἱητροὶ εὐδοκίμησαν. 3 ἐγένετο γὰρ ὧν τοῦτο ὅτε πρῶτοι μὲν Κροτωνιῆται ἱητροὶ ἐλέγοντο ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶναι, δεῦτεροι δὲ Κυρηναῖοι. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον χρόνον καὶ Ἀργεῖοι ἤκουον μουσικὴν εἶναι Ἑλλήνων πρῶτοι.

131. Now this is how Democedes had come from Croton to live with Polycrates: he was oppressed by a harsh-tempered father at Croton; since he could not stand him, he left him and went to Aegina. Within the first year after settling there, he excelled the rest of the physicians, although he had no equipment nor any medical implements. In his second year the Aeginetans paid him a talent to be their public physician; in the third year the Athenians hired him for a hundred minae, and Polycrates in the fourth year for two talents. Thus he came to Samos, and not least because of this man the physicians of Croton were well-respected [for at this time the best physicians in Greek countries were those of Croton, and next to them those of Cyrene. About the same time the Argives had the name of being the best musicians].

132 1 Τότε δὴ ὁ Δημοκίδης ἐν τοῖσι Σούσοισι ἐξιησάμενος Δαρεῖον οἶκόν τε μέγιστον εἶχε καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος βασιλεί ἐγεγόνεε, πλήν τε ἐνὸς τοῦ ἐς Ἑλλήνας ἀπιέναι πάντα τᾶλλά οἱ παρῆν. 2 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἱητρούς, οἱ βασιλέα πρότερον ἰῶντο, μέλλοντας ἀνασκολοπιεῖσθαι ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνος ἱητροῦ ἐσσώθησαν, τούτους βασιλέα παραιτησάμενος ἐρρύσατο· τοῦτο δὲ μάντιν Ἥλειον Πολυκράτει ἐπισπόμενον καὶ ἀπημελημένον ἐν τοῖσι ἀνδραπόδοισι ἐρρύσατο. ἦν δὲ μέγιστον πρῆγμα Δημοκίδης παρὰ βασιλεί.

132. So now because he had healed Darius at Susa Democedes had a very grand house and ate at the king's table; he had everything, except permission to return to the Greeks. When the Egyptian physicians who until now had attended the king were about to be impaled for being less skilful than a Greek, Democedes interceded

with the king for them and saved them; and he saved an Elean seer, too, who had been a retainer of Polycrates' and was forgotten among the slaves. Democedes was a man of considerable influence with the King.

133 1 Ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὀλίγῳ μετὰ ταῦτα τάδε ἄλλα συνήνεικε γενέσθαι. Ἀτόσση τῇ Κύρου μὲν θυγατρὶ Δαρείου δὲ γυναικὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μαστοῦ ἔφυ φῦμα, μετὰ δὲ ἐκραγὲν ἐνέμετο πρόσω. ὅσον μὲν δὴ χρόνον ἦν ἔλασσον, ἥ δὲ κρύπτουσα καὶ αἰσχυνομένη ἔφραζε οὐδενί· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐν κακῷ ἦν, μετεπέμψατο τὸν Δημοκῆδεα καὶ οἱ ἐπέδεξε. 2 ὁ δὲ φᾶς ὑγίεια ποιήσειν ἐξορκοῖ μιν ἥ μὲν οἱ ἀντυπουργήσιν ἐκείνην τοῦτο τὸ ἄν αὐτῆς δεηθῇ· δεήσεσθαι δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ὅσα ἐς αἰσχύνην ἐστὶ φέροντα.

133. A short time after this, something else occurred; there was a swelling on the breast of Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus and wife of Darius, which broke and spread further. As long as it was small, she hid it out of shame and told no one; but when it got bad, she sent for Democedes and showed it to him. He said he would cure her, but made her swear that she would repay him by granting whatever he asked of her, and said that he would ask nothing shameful.

134 1 Ὡς δὲ ἄρα μιν μετὰ ταῦτα ἰώμενος ὑγίεια ἀπέδεξε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ διδαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημοκῆδεος ἡ Ἄτοσσα προσέφερε ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ Δαρείῳ λόγον τοιόνδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἔχων δύναμιν τοσαύτην κάτῃσαι, οὔτε τι ἔθνος προσκτώμενος οὔτε δύναμιν Πέρσῃσι. 2 οἶκός δὲ ἐστὶ ἄνδρα καὶ νέον καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων δεσπότην φαίνεσθαι τι ἀποδεικνύμενον, ἵνα καὶ Πέρσαι ἐκμάθωσι ὅτι ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς ἄρχονται. ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρα δέ τοι συμφέρει ταῦτα ποιεῖν, καὶ ἵνα σφέων Πέρσαι ἐπίστωνται ἄνδρα εἶναι τὸν προεστεῶτα, καὶ ἵνα τρίβωνται πολέμῳ μηδὲ σχολὴν ἄγοντες ἐπιβουλεύωσί τοι. 3 νῦν γὰρ ἂν τι καὶ ἀποδέξαιο ἔργον, ἕως νέος εἰς ἡλικίην· αὐξομένῳ γὰρ τῷ σώματι συναύξονται καὶ αἱ φρένες, γηράσκοντι δὲ συγγηράσκουσι καὶ ἐς τὰ πρήγματα πάντα ἀπαμβλύνονται. 4 ἥ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ διδαχῆς ἔλεγε, ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “ὦ γύναι, πάντα ὅσα περ αὐτὸς ἐπινοέω ποιήσειν εἴρηκας· ἐγὼ γὰρ βεβούλευμαι ζεύξας γέφυραν ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ἡπείρου ἐς τὴν ἐτέρην ἡπειρον ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατεῦεσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα ὀλίγου χρόνου ἔσται τελεύμενα. λέγει Ἄτοσσα τάδε. 5 “ὄρα νυν, ἐπὶ Σκύθας μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἰέναι ἕασον· οὗτοι γάρ, ἐπεὰν

σὺ βούλῃ, ἔσονται τοι· σὺ δέ μοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπιθυμέω γὰρ λόγῳ πυνθανομένη Λακαίνας τέ μοι γενέσθαι θεραπαίνας καὶ Ἀργείας καὶ Ἀττικὰς καὶ Κορινθίας. ἔχεις δὲ ἄνδρα ἐπιτηδεότατον ἀνδρῶν πάντων δέξαι τε ἕκαστα τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ κατηγήσασθαι, τοῦτον ὃς σευ τὸν πόδα ἐξήσματο,· 6 ἀμείβεται Δαρεῖος “ὦ γύναι, ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τοι δοκέει τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡμέας πρῶτα ἀποπειρᾶσθαι, κατασκόπους μοι δοκέει Περσέων πρῶτον ἄμεινον εἶναι ὁμοῦ τούτῳ τῷ σὺ λέγεις πέμψαι ἐς αὐτούς, οἱ μαθόντες καὶ ἰδόντες ἐξαγγελέουσι ἕκαστα αὐτῶν ἡμῖν· καὶ ἔπειτα ἐξεπιστάμενος ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τρέψομαι,·

134. And after he treated her and did cure her, Atossa addressed Darius in their chamber as she had been instructed by Democedes: “O King, although you have so much power you are idle, acquiring no additional people or power for the Persians. The right thing for a man who is both young and the master of great wealth is to be seen aggrandizing himself, so that the Persians know too that they are ruled by a man. On two counts it is in your interest to do this, both so that the Persians know that their leader is a man, and so that they be occupied by war and not have time to plot against you. You should show some industry now, while you are still young: for sense grows with the growing body, but grows old too with the aging body and loses its edge for all purposes.” She said this as instructed, but he replied with this: “Woman, what you have said is exactly what I had in mind to do. For I have planned to make a bridge from this continent to the other continent and lead an army against the Scythians; and this will be done in a short time.” “Look,” Atossa said, “let the Scythians go for the present; you shall have them whenever you like; I tell you, march against Hellas. I have heard of Laconian and Argive and Attic and Corinthian women, and would like to have them as servants. You have a man who is fitter than any other to instruct and guide you in everything concerning Hellas: I mean the physician who healed your foot.” Darius answered, “Woman, since you think that we should make an attempt on Greece first, it seems to me to be best that we first send Persian spies with the man whom you mention, who shall tell us everything that they learn and observe; and then when I am fully informed I shall rouse

myself against them.”

135 1 Ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ ἅμα ἔπος τε καὶ ἔργον ἐποίεε. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ τάχιστα ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε, καλέσας Περσέων ἄνδρας δοκίμους πεντεκαίδεκα ἐνετέλλετό σφι ἐπομένους Δημοκῆδεϊ διεξελθεῖν τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅπως τε μὴ διαδρήσεται σφέας ὁ Δημοκῆδης, ἀλλὰ μιν πάντως ὀπίσω ἀπάξουσιν. 2 ἐντειλάμενος δὲ τούτοισι ταῦτα, δεύτερα καλέσας αὐτὸν Δημοκῆδεα ἐδέετο αὐτοῦ ὅπως ἐξηγησάμενος πᾶσαν καὶ ἐπιδέξας τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ὀπίσω ἦξει· δῶρα δὲ μιν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι ἐκέλευε πάντα τὰ ἐκείνου ἔπιπλα λαβόντα ἄγειν, φὰς ἄλλα οἱ πολλαπλήσια ἀντιδώσειν· πρὸς δὲ ἐς τὰ δῶρα ὀλκάδα οἱ ἔφη συμβαλέεσθαι πλήσας ἀγαθῶν παντοίων, τὴν ἅμα οἱ πλεύσεσθαι. 3 Δαρεῖος μὲν δὴ, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἀπ’ οὐδενὸς δολεροῦ νόου ἐπαγγέλλετό οἱ ταῦτα. Δημοκῆδης δὲ δείσας μὴ εὖ ἐκπειρῶτο Δαρεῖος, οὗτι ἐπιδραμῶν πάντα τὰ διδόμενα ἐδέκετο, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐωυτοῦ κατὰ χώραν ἔφη καταλείψειν, ἵνα ὀπίσω σφέα ἀπελθὼν ἔχοι, τὴν μέντοι ὀλκάδα, τὴν οἱ Δαρεῖος ἐπαγγέλλετο ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι, δέκεσθαι ἔφη. ἐντειλάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ταῦτά ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀποστέλλει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν.

135. He said this, and no sooner said than did it. For the next day at dawn he summoned fifteen prominent Persians, and instructed them to go with Democedes and sail along the coast of Hellas; telling them, too, by all means to bring the physician back and not let him escape. Having given these instructions to them, he then sent for Democedes, and asked of him that when he had shown and made clear all of Greece to the Persians, he would come back; and he told him to take all his movable goods to give to his father and siblings, saying that he would give him many times as much in return and would send with him a ship with a cargo of all good things. Darius, I think, made this promise without a treacherous intent, but Democedes was afraid that Darius was testing him; therefore he was in no hurry to accept all that was offered, but answered that he would leave his own possessions where they were, so as to have them when he returned; the ship which Darius promised him to carry the gifts for his siblings, he said he would accept. Having given the same instructions to Democedes too, Darius sent them all to the coast.

136 1 Καταβάντες δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ Φοινίκης ἐς Σιδῶνα πόλιν αὐτίκα μὲν τριήρεας δύο ἐπλήρωσαν, ἅμα δὲ αὐτῇσι καὶ γαῦλον μέγαν παντοίων ἀγαθῶν· παρεσκευασμένοι δὲ πάντα ἔπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προσίσχοντες δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ παραθαλάσσια ἐθηεῦντο καὶ ἀπεγράφοντο, ἐς ὃ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῆς καὶ ὀνομαστὰ θεησάμενοι ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐς Τάραντα. 2 ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἐκ ῥηστῶνης τῆς Δημοκίδεος Ἀριστοφιλίδης τῶν Ταραντίνων ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦτο μὲν τὰ πηδάλια παρέλυσε τῶν Μηδικέων νεῶν, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Πέρσας εἵρξε ὥς κατασκόπους δῆθεν ἐόντας. ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἔπασχον, ὁ Δημοκίδης ἐς τὴν Κρότωνα ἀπικνέεται· ἀπιγμένου δὲ ἤδη τούτου ἐς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ ὁ Ἀριστοφιλίδης ἔλυσε τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ τὰ παρέλαβε τῶν νεῶν ἀπέδωκε σφι.

136. They came down to the city of Sidon in Phoenicia, and there chartered two triremes, as well as a great galley laden with all good things; and when everything was ready they set sail for Hellas, where they surveyed and mapped the coasts to which they came; until having viewed the greater and most famous parts they reached Tarentum in Italy. There Aristophilides, king of the Tarentines, out of sympathy for Democedes, took the steering gear off the Median ships and put the Persians under a guard, calling them spies. While they were in this plight, Democedes made his way to Croton; and Aristophilides did not set the Persians free and give them back what he had taken from their ships until the physician was in his own country.

137 1 Πλέοντες δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ διώκοντες Δημοκίδεα ἀπικνέονται ἐς τὴν Κρότωνα, εὐρόντες δέ μιν ἀγοράζοντα ἄπτοντο αὐτοῦ. 2 τῶν δὲ Κροτωνιητέων οἱ μὲν καταρῥώδεοντες τὰ Περσικὰ πρήγματα προΐεναι ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀντάπτοντο καὶ τοῖσι σκυτάλοισι ἔπαιον τοὺς Πέρσας προΐσχομένους ἔπεα τάδε. “ἄνδρες Κροτωνιῆται, ὁρᾶτε τὰ ποιέετε· ἄνδρα βασιλέος δρηπέτην γενόμενον ἐξαίρεσθε. 3 κῶς ταῦτα βασιλεὶ Δαρεῖῳ ἐκχρήσει περιωβρίσθαι; κῶς δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ πιεύμενα ἔξει καλῶς, ἣν ἀπέλησθε ἡμέας; ἐπὶ τίνα δὲ τῆσδε προτέρην στρατευσόμεθα πόλιν; τίνα δὲ προτέρην ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι περιησόμεθα;,, 4 ταῦτα λέγοντες τοὺς Κροτωνιήτας οὐκ ὄντας ἔπειθον, ἀλλ’ ἐξαίρεθέντες τε τὸν Δημοκίδεα καὶ τὸν γαῦλον τὸν ἅμα ἤγοντο ἀπαιρεθέντες ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐδ’ ἔτι

ἐζήτησαν τὸ προσωτέρω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπικόμενοι ἐκμαθεῖν, ἐστερημένοι τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. 5 τοσόνδε μέντοι ἐνετείλατό σφι Δημοκίδης ἀναγομένοισι, κελεύων εἰπεῖν σφεας Δαρεῖω ὅτι ἄρμοσται τὴν Μίλωνος θυγατέρα Δημοκίδης γυναῖκα. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ παλαιστέω Μίλωνος ἦν οὖνομα πολλὸν παρὰ βασιλείᾳ· κατὰ δὲ τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ σπεῦσαι τὸν γάμον τοῦτον τελέσας χρήματα μεγάλα Δημοκίδης, ἵνα φανῇ πρὸς Δαρείου ἐὼν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐσωτοῦ δόκιμος.

137. The Persians sailed from Tarentum and pursued Democedes to Croton, where they found him in the marketplace and tried to seize him. Some Crotoniats, who feared the Persian power, would have given him up; but others resisted and beat the Persians with their sticks. “Men of Croton, watch what you do,” said the Persians; “you are harboring an escaped slave of the King’s. How do you think King Darius will like this insolence? What good will it do you if he gets away from us? What city will we attack first here? Which will we try to enslave first?” But the men of Croton paid no attention to them; so the Persians lost Democedes and the galley with which they had come, and sailed back for Asia, making no attempt to visit and learn of the further parts of Hellas now that their guide was taken from them. But Democedes gave them a message as they were setting sail; they should tell Darius, he said, that Democedes was engaged to the daughter of Milon. For Darius held the name of Milon the wrestler in great honor; and, to my thinking, Democedes sought this match and paid a great sum for it to show Darius that he was a man of influence in his own country as well as in Persia.

138 1 Ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κρότωνος οἱ Πέρσαι ἐκπύπτουσι τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐς Ἰηπυγίην, καὶ σφεας δουλεύοντας ἐνθαῦτα Γίλλος ἀνὴρ Ταραντῖνος φυγὰς ῥυσάμενος ἀπήγαγε παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον. ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔτοιμος ἦν διδόναι τοῦτο ὃ τι βούλοιο αὐτός. 2 Γίλλος δὲ αἰρέεται κάτοδόν οἱ ἐς Τάραντα γενέσθαι, προαπηγησάμενος τὴν συμφορὴν· ἵνα δὲ μὴ συνταράξῃ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἣν δι’ αὐτὸν στόλος μέγας πλὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίην, Κνιδίους μούνους ἀποχρᾶν οἱ ἔφη τοὺς κατάγοντας γίνεσθαι, δοκέων ἀπὸ τούτων ἐόντων τοῖσι Ταραντίνουσι φίλων μάλιστα τὴν κάτοδόν οἱ ἔσσεσθαι. 3 Δαρεῖος δὲ ὑποδεξάμενος ἐπετέλεε· πέμψας γὰρ ἄγγελον ἐς Κνίδον κατάγειν σφέας ἐκέλευε Γίλλον ἐς Τάραντα. πειθόμενοι δὲ Δαρεῖω Κνίδιοι Ταραντίνους

οὐκὼν ἔπειθον, βίην δὲ ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν προσφέρειν. 4 ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐπρήχθη· οὗτοι δὲ πρῶτοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπίκοντο Πέρσαι, καὶ οὗτοι διὰ τοιόνδε πρῆγμα κατάσκοποι ἐγένοντο.

138. The Persians then put out from Croton; but their ships were wrecked on the coast of Iapygia, and they were made slaves in the country until Gillus, an exile from Tarentum, released and restored them to Darius, who was ready to give him whatever he wanted in return. Gillus chose to be restored to Tarentum and told the story of his misfortune; but, so as not to be the occasion of agitating Greece, if on his account a great expedition sailed against Italy, he said that it was enough that the Cnidians alone be his escort; for he supposed that the Tarentines would be the readier to receive him back as the Cnidians were their friends. Darius kept his word, and sent a messenger to the men of Cnidos, telling them to take Gillus back to Tarentum. They obeyed Darius; but they could not persuade the Tarentines, and were not able to apply force. This is what happened, and these Persians were the first who came from Asia into Hellas, and they came to view the country for this reason.

139 1 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Σάμον βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος αἰρέει, πολίων πασέων πρώτην Ἑλληνίδων καὶ βαρβάρων, διὰ τοιήνδε τινὰ αἰτίην. Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κύρου στρατευομένου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἄλλοι τε συχνοὶ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκοντο Ἑλλήνων, οἱ μὲν, ὥς οἰκός, κατ' ἐμπορίην στρατευόμενοι, οἱ δὲ τινὲς καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς χώρας θεηταί· τῶν ἦν καὶ Συλοσῶν ὁ Αἰάκειος, Πολυκράτεός τε ἐὼν ἀδελφεὸς καὶ φεύγων ἐκ Σάμου. 2 τοῦτον τὸν Συλοσῶντα κατέλαβε εὐτυχίη τις τοιήδε. λαβὼν χλανίδα καὶ περιβαλόμενος πυρρὴν ἠγόραζε ἐν τῇ Μέμφι· ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν Δαρεῖος, δορυφόρος τε ἐὼν Καμβύσεω καὶ λόγου οὐδενός κω μεγάλου, ἐπεθύμησε τῆς χλανίδος καὶ αὐτὴν προσελθὼν ὠνέετο. 3 ὁ δὲ Συλοσῶν ὁρέων τὸν Δαρεῖον μεγάλως ἐπιθυμούντα τῆς χλανίδος, θείῃ τύχῃ χρεώμενος λέγει “ἐγὼ ταύτην πωλέω μὲν οὐδενὸς χρήματος, δίδωμι δὲ ἄλλως, εἴ περ οὕτω δεῖ γενέσθαι πάντως τοι,, αἰνέσας ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος παραλαμβάνει τὸ εἶμα.

139. After this, King Darius conquered Samos, the greatest of all city states, Greek or barbarian, the reason for his conquest being this: when Cambyses, son of Cyrus, invaded Egypt, many Greeks came

with the army, some to trade, as was natural, and some to see the country itself; among them was Syloson, son of Aeaces, who was Polycrates' brother and in exile from Samos. This Syloson had a stroke of good luck. He was in the market at Memphis wearing a red cloak, when Darius, at that time one of Cambyses' guard and as yet a man of no great importance, saw him, and coveting the cloak came and tried to buy it. When Syloson saw Darius' eagerness, by good luck he said, "I will not sell this for any money, but I give it to you free if you must have it so much." Extolling this, Darius accepted the garment.

140 1 Ὁ μὲν δὴ Συλοσῶν ἠπίστατο τοῦτό οἱ ἀπολωλέναι δι' εὐηθείην. ὥς δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνοντος Καμβύσης τε ἀπέθανε καὶ τῷ Μάγῳ ἐπανεστήσαν οἱ ἐπτά καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά Δαρεῖος τὴν βασιληίην ἔσχε, πυνθάνεται ὁ Συλοσῶν ὡς ἡ βασιληίη περιεληλύθει ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ κοτὲ αὐτὸς ἔδωκε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δεηθέντι τὸ εἶμα. ἀναβὰς δὲ ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα ἵζετο ἐς τὰ πρόθυρα τῶν βασιλέος οἰκίων καὶ ἔφη Δαρείου εὐεργέτης εἶναι. 2 ἀγγέλλει ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ πύλουρὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ· ὁ δὲ θωμάσας λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν "καὶ τίς ἐστὶ Ἑλλήνων εὐεργέτης τῷ ἐγὼ προαιδεῦμαι, νεωστὶ μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων; ἀναβέβηκε δ' ἢ τις ἢ οὐδεὶς κω παρ' ἡμέας αὐτῶν, ἔχω δὲ χρέος εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἄνδρὸς Ἑλλήνος. ὅμως δὲ αὐτὸν παράγετε ἔσω, ἵνα εἰδῶ τί θέλων λέγει ταῦτα.,, 3 παρῆγε ὁ πύλουρὸς τὸν Συλοσῶντα, στάντα δὲ ἐς μέσον εἰρώτων οἱ ἐρμηνέες τίς τε εἶη καὶ τί ποιήσας εὐεργέτης φησὶ εἶναι βασιλέος. εἶπε ὢν ὁ Συλοσῶν πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν χλανίδα γενόμενα, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς εἶη κείνος ὁ δούς. 4 ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Δαρεῖος "ὦ γενναιότατε ἀνδρῶν, σὺ κείνος εἶς ὃς ἐμοὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντί κω δύναμιν ἔδωκας εἰ καὶ σμικρά, ἀλλ' ὢν ἴση γε ἡ χάρις ὁμοίως ὡς εἰ νῦν κοθέν τι μέγα λάβοιμι· ἀντ' ὢν τοι χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ἅπλετον δίδωμι, ὡς μὴ κοτέ τοι μεταμελήσῃ Δαρεῖον τὸν Ὑστάσπεος εὖ ποιήσαντι.,, λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Συλοσῶν 5 "ἐμοὶ μήτε χρυσὸν ὧ βασιλεῦ μήτε ἄργυρον δίδου, ἀλλ' ἀνασωσάμενός μοι δὸς τὴν πατρίδα Σάμον, τὴν νῦν ἀδελφεοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ Ὀροίτῳ ἔχει δοῦλος ἡμέτερος· ταύτην μοι δὸς ἄνευ τε φόνου καὶ ἐξανδραποδίσιος.,,

140. Syloson supposed that he had lost his cloak out of foolish good nature. But in time Cambyses died, the seven rebelled against

the Magus, and Darius of the seven came to the throne; Syloson then learned that the successor to the royal power was the man to whom he had given the garment in Egypt; so he went up to Susa and sat in the king's antechamber, saying that he was one of Darius' benefactors. When the doorkeeper brought word of this to the king, Darius asked "But to what Greek benefactor can I owe thanks? In the little time since I have been king hardly one of that nation has come to us, and I have, I may say, no use for any Greek. Nevertheless bring him in, so that I may know what he means." The doorkeeper brought Syloson in and the interpreters asked him as he stood there who he was and what he had done to call himself the king's benefactor. Then Syloson told the story of the cloak, and said that it was he who had given it. "Most generous man," said Darius, "it was you who gave me a present when I had as yet no power; and if it was a small one, I was none the less grateful then than I am now when I get a big one. In return, I give you gold and silver in abundance so you may never be sorry that you did Darius son of Hystaspes good." Syloson answered, "Do not give me gold, O king, or silver, but Samos, my country, which our slave has now that my brother Polycrates has been killed by Oroetes; give me this without killing or enslaving."

141 1 Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Δαρεῖος ἀπέστειλλε στρατιήν τε καὶ στρατηγὸν Ὀτάνεα ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπὶ γένόμενον, ἐντειλάμενος, ὅσων ἐδεήθη ὁ Συλοσῶν, ταῦτά οἱ ποιεῖν ἐπιτελέα. καταβάς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὁ Ὀτάνης ἔστειλλε τὴν στρατιήν.

141. Having heard this, Darius sent an army and Otanes, one of the seven, to command it, instructing him to do whatever Syloson asked. So Otanes went down to the coast and got his army ready.

142 1 Τῆς δὲ Σάμου Μαιάνδριος ὁ Μαιανδρίου εἶχε τὸ κράτος, ἐπιτροπαίην παρὰ Πολυκράτεος λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν· τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ ἀνδρῶν βουλομένῳ γενέσθαι οὐκ ἐξεγένετο. 2 ἐπειδὴ γάρ οἱ ἐξαγγέλθη ὁ Πολυκράτεος θάνατος, ἐποίησε τοιάδε· πρῶτα μὲν Διὸς ἐλευθερίου βωμὸν ἰδρύσατο καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτὸν οὖρισε τοῦτο τὸ νῦν ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐστί· μετὰ δέ, ὥς οἱ ἐπεποιήτο, ἐκκλησίην συναγείρας πάντων τῶν ἀστῶν ἔλεξε τάδε. 3 "ἐμοί, ὥς ἴστε καὶ ὑμεῖς, σκῆπτρον καὶ δύναμις πᾶσα ἡ Πολυκράτεος ἐπιτέτραπται, καὶ μοι παρέχει νῦν ὑμέων ἄρχειν. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπιπλήσσω, αὐτὸς

κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ ποιήσω· οὔτε γάρ μοι Πολυκράτης ἤρεσκε
δεσπόζων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίων ἐαυτοῦ οὔτε ἄλλος ὅστις τοιαῦτα ποιέει.
Πολυκράτης μὲν νυν ἐξέπλησε μοῖραν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐς μέσον
τὴν ἀρχὴν τιθεὶς ἰσονομίην ὑμῖν προαγορεύω. 4 τοσάδε μέντοι
δικαιῶ γέρεα ἐμεωυτῷ γενέσθαι, ἐκ μὲν γε τῶν Πολυκράτεος
χρημάτων ἐξαίρετα ἕξ τάλαντά μοι γενέσθαι, ἱρwsύνην δὲ πρὸς
τούτοις αἰρεῦμαι αὐτῷ τέ μοι καὶ τοῖσι ἀπ’ ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ γινομένοις
τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐλευθερίου· τῷ αὐτὸς τε ἱρὸν ἰδρυσάμην καὶ τὴν
ἐλευθερίην ὑμῖν περιτίθηναι. 5 ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τοῖσι Σαμίοις
ἐπαγγέλλετο· τῶν δὲ τις ἐξαναστὰς εἶπε “ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἄξιός εἰς σύ γε
ἡμέων ἄρχειν, γεγρονῶς τε κακῶς καὶ ἐὼν ὄλεθρος· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
ὅπως λόγον δώσεις τῶν μετεχείρισας χρημάτων.”

142. Now Samos was ruled by Maeandrius, son of Maeandrius, who had authority delegated by Polycrates. He wanted to be the justest of men, but that was impossible. For when he learned of Polycrates’ death, first he set up an altar to Zeus the Liberator and marked out around it that sacred enclosure which is still to be seen in the suburb of the city; when this had been done, he called an assembly of all the citizens, and addressed them thus: “To me, as you know, have come Polycrates’ scepter and all of his power, and it is in my power now to rule you. But I, so far as it lies in me, shall not do myself what I blame in my neighbor. I always disliked it that Polycrates or any other man should lord it over men like himself. Polycrates has fulfilled his destiny, and inviting you to share his power I proclaim equality. Only I claim for my own privilege that six talents of Polycrates’ wealth be set apart for my use, and that I and my descendants keep the priesthood of Zeus the Liberator, whose temple I have founded, and now I give you freedom.” Such was Maeandrius’ promise to the Samians. But one of them arose and answered: “But you are not even fit to rule us, low-born and vermin, but you had better give an account of the monies that you have handled.”

143 1 Ταῦτα εἶπε ἐὼν ἐν τοῖσι ἀστοῖσι δόκιμος, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν
Τελέσαρχος. Μαϊάνδριος δὲ νόω λαβὼν ὥς εἰ μετήσει τὴν ἀρχήν,
ἄλλος τις ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ τύραννος καταστήσεται, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐν νόῳ εἶχε
μετιέναι αὐτήν, ἀλλ’ ὥς ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν,

μεταπεμπόμενος ἓνα ἕκαστον ὥς δὴ λόγον τῶν χρημάτων δώσων, συνέλαβε σφέας καὶ κατέδησε. 2 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐδεδέατο, Μαιάνδριον δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα κατέλαβε νοῦσος. ἐλπίζων δὲ μιν ἀποθανέεσθαι ὁ ἀδελφεός, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Λυκάρητος, ἵνα εὐπετεστέρως κατάσχη τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ πρήγματα, κατακτείνει τοὺς δεσμώτας πάντας· οὐ γὰρ δὴ, ὥς οἴκασι, ἐβούλοντο εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι.

143. This was the speech of Telesarchus, a man of consequence among the citizens. But Maeandrius, realizing that if he let go of the sovereignty someone else would make himself sovereign instead, resolved not to let it go. Withdrawing into the acropolis, he sent for the citizens individually as if he would give an account of the money; then he seized and bound them. So they were imprisoned, and afterwards Maeandrius fell sick. His brother Lycaretus thought him likely to die, and, so that he might the more easily make himself master of Samos, he put all the prisoners to death. They had, it would seem, no desire to be free.

144 Ἰ Ἐπειδὴ ὧν ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σάμον οἱ Πέρσαι κατάγοντες Συλοσῶντα, οὔτε τίς σφι χεῖρας ἀνταίρειται, ὑπόσπονδοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι ἔτοιμοι οἱ τοῦ Μαιανδρίου στασιῶται καὶ αὐτὸς Μαιάνδριος ἐκχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς νήσου. καταινέσαντος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοισι Ὀτάνεω καὶ σπεισαμένου, τῶν Περσέων οἱ πλείστου ἄξιοι θρόνους θέμενοι κατεναντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος κατέατο.

144. So when the Persians brought Syloson back to Samos, no one raised a hand against them, but Maeandrius and those of his faction offered to evacuate the island under a flag of truce; Otanes agreed to this, and after the treaty was made, the Persians of highest rank sat down on seats facing the acropolis.

145 Ἰ Μαιανδρίῳ δὲ τῷ τυράνῳ ἦν ἀδελφεὸς ὑπομαργότερος, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Χαρίλεως· οὗτος ὃ τι δὴ ἐξαμαρτῶν ἐν γοργύρῃ ἐδέδετο, καὶ δὴ τότε ἐπακούσας τε τὰ πρησόμενα καὶ διακύψας διὰ τῆς γοργύρης, ὥς εἶδε τοὺς Πέρσας εἰρηναίως κατημένους, ἐβόα τε καὶ ἔφη λέγων Μαιανδρίῳ θέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους. 2 ἐπακούσας δὲ ὁ Μαιάνδριος λύσαντας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε ἄγειν παρ' ἐωυτόν· ὥς δὲ ἄχθη τάχιστα, λοιδορέων τε καὶ κακίζων μιν ἀνέπειθε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, λέγων τοιάδε. “ἐμὲ μὲν, ὧ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ἐόντα σεωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὸν καὶ ἀδικήσαντα οὐδὲν ἄξιον δεσμοῦ δῆσας γοργύρης

ἡξίωσας· ὁρέων δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκβάλλοντάς τε σε καὶ ἄνοικον ποιέοντας οὐ τολμᾶς τίσασθαι, οὕτω δὴ τι ἐόντας εὐπετέας χειρωθῆναι. 3 ἀλλ' εἴ τοι σὺ σφέας καταρρώδηκας, ἐμοὶ δὸς τοὺς ἐπικούρους, καὶ σφέας ἐγὼ τιμωρήσομαι τῆς ἐνθάδε ἀπίξιος· αὐτὸν δέ σε ἐκπέμψαι ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἔτοιμος εἰμί,,.

145. Now Maeandrius the sovereign had a crazy brother named Charilaus, who lay bound in the dungeon for some offense; this man heard what was going on, and by peering through the dungeon window saw the Persians sitting there peaceably; whereupon he cried with a loud voice that he wanted to talk to Maeandrius. His brother, hearing him, had Charilaus loosed and brought before him. No sooner had he been brought than he attempted with reviling and abuse to persuade Maeandrius to attack the Persians. "Although I am your brother, you coward," he said, "and did no wrong deserving of prison, you have bound and imprisoned me; but when you see the Persians throwing you out of house and home, you have no courage to avenge yourself, though you could so easily beat them? If you are yourself afraid of them, give me your foreign guards, and I will punish them for coming here; as for you, I will give you safe conduct out of the island."

146 1 Ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεξε ὁ Χαρίλεως· Μαιάνδριος δὲ ὑπέλαβε τὸν λόγον, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο ἀφροσύνης ἀπικόμενος ὥς δόξαι τὴν ἐωντοῦ δύναμιν περιέσεσθαι τῆς βασιλείας, ἀλλὰ φθονήσας μᾶλλον Συλοσῶντι εἰ ἀπονητὶ ἔμελλε ἀπολάμψεσθαι ἀκέραιον τὴν πόλιν. 2 ἐρεθίσας ὦν τοὺς Πέρσας ἤθελε ὥς ἀσθενέστατα ποιῆσαι τὰ Σάμια πρήγματα καὶ οὕτω παραδιδόναι, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος ὥς παθόντες οἱ Πέρσαι κακῶς προσεμπικρανέεσθαι ἔμελλον τοῖσι Σαμίοισι, εἰδὼς τε ἐωντῶ ἀσφαλέα ἐκδυσιν ἐοῦσαν ἐκ τῆς νήσου τότε ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς βούληται· ἐπεποίητο γάρ οἱ κρυπτῇ διῶρυξ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος φέρουσα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. 3 αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ ὁ Μαιάνδριος ἐκπλέει ἐκ τῆς Σάμου· τοὺς δ' ἐπικούρους πάντας ὀπλίσας ὁ Χαρίλεως, καὶ ἀναπετάσας τὰς πύλας, ἐξῆκε ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας οὔτε προσδεκομένους τοιοῦτο οὐδὲν δοκέοντάς τε δὴ πάντα συμβεβάναι. ἐμπεσόντες δὲ οἱ ἐπίκουροι τῶν Περσέων τοὺς διφροφορευμένους τε καὶ λόγου πλείστου ἐόντας ἔκτεινον. 4 καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίηυν, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιὴ ἡ Περσικὴ ἐπεβοήθεε· πιεζεύμενοι δὲ οἱ

ἐπίκουροι ὀπίσω κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

146. This was what Charilaus said; and Maeandrius took his advice, to my thinking not because he was so foolish as to suppose that he would be strong enough to defeat the king, but because he did not want Syloson to recover Samos safe and sound with no trouble. He wanted therefore by provoking the Persians to weaken Samos as much as he could before surrendering it, for he was well aware that if the Persians were hurt they would be furiously angry with the Samians. Besides, he knew that he could get himself safely off the island whenever he liked, having built a secret passage leading from the acropolis to the sea. Maeandrius then set sail from Samos; but Charilaus armed all the guards, opened the acropolis' gates, and attacked the Persians. These supposed that a full agreement had been made, and were taken unawares; the guard fell upon them and killed the Persians of highest rank, those who were carried in litters. They were engaged in this when the rest of the Persian force came up in reinforcement, and, hard-pressed, the guards retreated into the acropolis.

147 1 Ὅτάνης δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἰδὼν πάθος μέγα Πέρσας πεπονθότας, ἐντολὰς μὲν τὰς Δαρεΐδος οἱ ἀποστέλλον ἐνετέλλετο, μήτε κτείνειν μηδένα Σαμίων μήτε ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι ἀπαθέα τε κακῶν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν νῆσον Συλοσῶντι, τουτέων μὲν τῶν ἐντολέων μεμνημένος ἐπελανθάνετο, ὁ δὲ παρήγγειλε τῇ στρατιῇ πάντα τὸν ἄν λάρβωσι καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα ὁμοίως κτείνειν. 2 ἐνθαῦτα τῆς στρατιῆς οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπολιόρκεον, οἱ δὲ ἔκτεινον πάντα τὸν ἐμποδὼν γινόμενον ὁμοίως ἐν τε ἱρῷ καὶ ἔξω ἱροῦ.

147. The Persian captain Otanes, seeing how big a loss the Persians had suffered, deliberately forgot the command given him at his departure by Darius not to kill or enslave any Samian but to deliver the island intact to Syloson; and he commanded his army to kill everyone they took, men and boys alike. Then, while some of the Persians laid siege to the acropolis, the rest killed everyone they met, inside the temples and outside the temples alike.

148 1 Μαϊάνδριος δὲ ἀποδράς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἐκπλέει ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἀνενεικάμενος τὰ ἔχων ἐξεχώρησε, ἐποίεε τοιαῶδε· ὅκως ποτήρια ἀργύρεά τε καὶ χρύσεια

προθεῖτο, οἱ μὲν θεράποντες αὐτοῦ ἐξέσμων αὐτά, ὃ δ' ἂν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῷ Κλεομένει τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδῳ ἐν λόγοισι ἐών, βασιλεύοντι Σπάρτης, προῆγέ μιν ἐς τὰ οἰκία· ὅπως δὲ ἴδοιτο Κλεομένης τὰ ποτήρια, ἀπεθώμαζέ τε καὶ ἐξεπλήσσετο· ὁ δὲ ἂν ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν ἀποφέρεισθαι αὐτῶν ὅσα βούλοιτο. 2 τοῦτο καὶ δις καὶ τρὶς εἵπαντος Μαιανδρίου ὁ Κλεομένης δικαιοτάτος ἀνδρῶν γίνεται, ὃς λαβεῖν μὲν διδόμενα οὐκ ἐδικαίου, μαθὼν δὲ ὡς ἄλλοισι διδοὺς τῶν ἀστῶν εὐρήσεται τιμωρίην, βὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους ἄμεινον εἶναι ἔφη τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὸν ξεῖνον τὸν Σάμιον ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἵνα μὴ ἀναπείσῃ ἢ αὐτὸν ἢ ἄλλον τινὰ Σπαρτιητέων κακὸν γενέσθαι. οἱ δ' ὑπακούσαντες ἐξεκέρυξαν Μαιάνδριον.

148. Maeandrius sailed to Lacedaemon, escaping from Samos; and after he arrived there and brought up the possessions with which he had left his country, it became his habit to make a display of silver and gold drinking cups; while his servants were cleaning these, he would converse with the king of Sparta, Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides, and would bring him to his house. As Cleomenes marvelled greatly at the cups whenever he saw them, Maeandrius would tell him to take as many as he liked. Maeandrius made this offer two or three times; Cleomenes showed his great integrity in that he would not accept; but realizing that there were others in Lacedaemon from whom Maeandrius would get help by offering them the cups, he went to the ephors and told them it would be best for Sparta if this Samian stranger quit the country, lest he persuade Cleomenes himself or some other Spartan to do evil. The ephors listened to his advice and banished Maeandrius by proclamation.

149 1 Τὴν δὲ Σάμον [σαγηνεύσαντες] οἱ Πέρσαι παρέδοσαν Συλοσῶντι ἔρημον ἐοῦσαν ἀνδρῶν. ὑστέρω μέντοι χρόνῳ καὶ συγκατοίκησε αὐτὴν ὁ στρατηγὸς Ὀτάνης ἐκ τε ὄψιος ὀνείρου καὶ νούσου ἢ μιν κατέλαβε νοσῆσαι τὰ αἰδοῖα.

149. As for Samos, the Persians swept it clear and turned it over uninhabited to Syloson. But afterwards Otanes, the Persian general, helped to settle the land, prompted by a dream and a disease that he contracted in his genitals.

150 1 Ἐπὶ δὲ Σάμον στρατεύματος ναυτικοῦ οἰχομένου Βαβυλώνιοι ἀπέστησαν, κάρτα εὖ παρεσκευασμένοι· ἐν ὅσῳ γὰρ ὁ

τε Μάγος ἦρχε καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ ἐπανεστήσαν, ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῇ ταραχῇ ἐς τὴν πολιορκίην παρεσκευάζοντο. 2 καὶ κως ταῦτα ποιεῦντες ἐλάνθανον. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἀπέστησαν, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε· τὰς μητέρας ἐξελόντες, γυναῖκα ἕκαστος μίαν προσεξαίρετο τὴν ἐβούλετο ἐκ τῶν ἐωυτοῦ οἰκίων, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἀπάσας συναγαγόντες ἀπέπνιξαν· τὴν δὲ μίαν ἕκαστος σιτοποιὸν ἐξαίρετο· ἀπέπνιξαν δὲ αὐτάς, ἵνα μὴ σφεων τὸν σῖτον ἀναισιμώσωσι.

150. While the fleet was away at Samos, the Babylonians revolted. They had made very good preparation; for during the reign of the Magus, and the rebellion of the seven, they had taken advantage of the time and the confusion to provision themselves against the siege; and (I cannot tell how) this went undetected. At last they revolted openly and did this: — sending away all the mothers, each chose one woman, whomever he liked of his domestics, as a bread-maker; as for the rest, they gathered them together and strangled them so they would not consume their bread.

151 1 Πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ συλλέξας πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ δύναμιν ἐστρατεύετο ἐπ’ αὐτούς, ἐπελάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐπολιόρκεε φροντίζοντας οὐδὲν τῆς πολιορκίης. ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς προμαχεῶνας τοῦ τείχεος οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι κατορχέοντο καὶ κατέσκωπτον Δαρεῖον καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τις αὐτῶν εἶπε τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος. 2 “τί κάτησθε ὦ Πέρσαι ἐνθαῦτα, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεσθε; τότε γὰρ αἰρήσετε ἡμέας, ἐπεὰν ἡμίονοι τέκωσι, τοῦτο εἶπε τῶν τις Βαβυλωνίων οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίζων ἂν ἡμίονον τεκεῖν.

151. When Darius heard of this, he collected all his forces and led them against Babylon, and he marched up to the town and laid siege to it; but the Babylonians thought nothing of the siege. They came up on to the ramparts of the wall and taunted Darius and his army with gesture and word, and one of them uttered this mot: “Why loiter there, Persians, and not go away? You will take us when mules give birth.” One of the Babylonians said this, by no means expecting that a mule would give birth.

152 1 Ἐπτα δὲ μηνῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ διεληλυθότος ἤδη ὁ Δαρεῖός τε ἡσχαλλε καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ πᾶσα οὐ δυνατὴ ἐοῦσα ἐλεῖν τοὺς

Βαβυλωνίου. καίτοι πάντα σοφίσματα καὶ πάσας μηχανὰς ἐπεποιήκεε ἐς αὐτοὺς Δαρεῖος· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν σφεας, ἄλλοισί τε σοφίσμασι πειρησάμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ Κῦρος εἴλε σφέας, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπειρήθη. ἀλλὰ γὰρ δεινῶς ἦσαν ἐν φυλακῇσι οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, οὐδὲ σφέας οἶός τε ἦν ἐλεῖν.

152. A year and seven months passed, and Darius and his whole army were bitter because they could not take Babylon. Yet Darius had used every trick and every device against it. He tried the stratagem by which Cyrus took it, and every other stratagem and device, yet with no success; for the Babylonians kept a vigilant watch, and he could not take them.

153 1 Ἐνθαῦτα εἰκοστῷ μηνὶ Ζωπύρῳ τῷ Μεγαβύζου, τούτου ὃς τῶν ἐπτὰ ἀνδρῶν ἐγένετο τῶν τὸν Μάγον κατελόντων, τοῦτ' τῷ Μεγαβύζου παιδὶ Ζωπύρῳ ἐγένετο τέρας τόδε· τῶν οἱ σιτοφόρων ἡμιόνων μία ἔτεκε. ὥς δέ οἱ ἐξαγγέλθη καὶ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας αὐτὸς ὁ Ζώπυρος εἶδε τὸ βρέφος, ἀπείπας τοῖσι ἰδοῦσι μηδενὶ φράζειν τὸ γεγονὸς ἐβουλεύετο. 2 καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου ῥήματα, ὃς κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔφησε, ἐπεὰν περ ἡμίονοι τέκωσι, τότε τὸ τεῖχος ἀλώσεσθαι, πρὸς ταύτην τὴν φήμην Ζωπύρῳ ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀλώσιμος ἡ Βαβυλὼν· σὺν γὰρ θεῷ ἐκεῖνόν τε εἶπεῖν καὶ ἐωυτῷ τεκεῖν τὴν ἡμίονον.

153. But in the twentieth month of the siege a marvellous thing befell Zopyrus, son of that Megabyzus who was one of the seven destroyers of the Magus: one of his food-carrying mules gave birth. Zopyrus would not believe the news; but when he saw the foal for himself, he told those who had seen it to tell no one; then reflecting he recalled the Babylonian's word at the beginning of the siege — that the city would be taken when mules gave birth — and having this utterance in mind he conceived that Babylon might be taken; for the hand of heaven, he supposed, was in the man's word and the birth from his own mule.

154 1 Ὡς δέ οἱ ἐδόκεε μόρσιμον εἶναι ἤδη τῇ Βαβυλῶνι ἀλίσκεσθαι, προσελθὼν Δαρείου ἀπεπνύετο εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ κάρτα ποιεῖται τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐλεῖν. πυθόμενος δέ ὡς πολλοῦ τιμῷτο, ἄλλο ἐβουλεύετο, ὅπως αὐτός τε ἔσται ὁ ἐλὼν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐωυτοῦ τὸ ἔργον ἔσται· κάρτα γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Πέρσησι αἱ ἀγαθοεργαίαι

ἐς τὸ πρόσω μεγάθεος τιμῶνται. 2 ἄλλω μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐφράζετο ἔργῳ δυνατὸς εἶναί μιν ὑποχειρίην ποιῆσαι, εἰ δ' ἐωυτὸν λωβησάμενος αὐτομολήσειε ἐς αὐτούς. ἐνθαῦτα ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ποιησάμενος ἐωυτὸν λωβᾶται λώβην ἀνήκεστον· ἀποταμὼν γὰρ ἐωυτοῦ τὴν ῥῖνα καὶ τὰ ὦτα καὶ τὴν κόμην κακῶς περικείρας καὶ μαστιγώσας ἤλθε παρὰ Δαρεῖον.

154. As soon as he thought that it was Babylon's fate to fall, he came and inquired of Darius if taking Babylon were very important to him; and when he was assured that it was, he then cast about for a plan by which the city's fall would be accomplished by him alone; for good service among the Persians is very much esteemed, and rewarded by high preferment. He could think of no other way to bring the city down than to mutilate himself and then desert to the Babylonians; so, making light of it, he mutilated himself beyond repair, and after cutting off his nose and ears and cropping his hair as a disfigurement and scourging himself, he came before Darius.

155 1 Δαρεῖος δὲ κάρτα βαρέως ἡνείκε ἰδὼν ἄνδρα δοκιμώτατον λελωβημένον, ἔκ τε τοῦ θρόνου ἀναπηδήσας ἀνέβωσέ τε καὶ εἵρετό μιν ὅστις εἶη ὁ λωβησάμενος καὶ ὃ τι ποιήσαντα. 2 ὁ δὲ εἶπε “οὐκ ἔστι οὗτος ὠνήρ, ὅτι μὴ σύ, τῷ ἐστὶ δύναμις τοσαύτη ἐμὲ δὴ ὧδε διαθεῖναι· οὐδέ τις ἀλλοτρίων ὧ βασιλεὺς τάδε ἔργασται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἐμεωυτόν, δεινόν τι ποιεύμενος Ἀσσυρίους Πέρσησι καταγελᾶν,,” 3 ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο “ὧ σχετλιώτατε ἀνδρῶν, ἔργῳ τῷ αἰσχίστῳ οὐνομα τὸ κάλλιστον ἔθει, φὰς διὰ τοὺς πολιορκεομένους σεωυτὸν ἀνηκέστως διαθεῖναι. τί δ', ὧ μάταιε, λελωβημένου σεῦ θᾶσσον οἱ πολέμιοι παραστήσονται; κῶς οὐκ ἐξέπλωσας τῶν φρενῶν σεωυτὸν διαφθείρας,,” 4 ὁ δὲ εἶπε “εἰ μὲν τοι ὑπερετίθεα τὰ ἔμελλον ποιήσιν, οὐκ ἂν με περιεῖδες· νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἐμεωυτοῦ βαλόμενος ἔπρηξα. ἤδη ὧν ἦν μὴ τῶν σῶν δεήσῃ, αἰρέομεν Βαβυλῶνα. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἔχω αὐτομολήσω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ φήσω πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς ὑπὸ σεῦ τάδε ἔπαθον· καὶ δοκέω, πείσας σφέας ταῦτα ἔχειν οὕτω, τεύξεσθαι στρατιῆς. 5 σὺ δέ, ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης ἐγὼ ἐσέλθω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐς δεκάτην ἡμέρην τῆς σεωυτοῦ στρατιῆς, τῆς οὐδεμία ἔσται ὥρη ἀπολλυμένης, ταύτης χιλίους τάξον κατὰ τὰς Σεμιράμιος καλεομένας πύλας· μετὰ δὲ αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης ἐς ἑβδόμην ἄλλους μοι τάξον δισχιλίους κατὰ τὰς Νινύων καλεομένας

πύλας· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐβδόμης διαλείπειν εἴκοσι ἡμέρας, καὶ ἔπειτα ἄλλους κάτισον ἀγαγὼν κατὰ τὰς Χαλδαίων καλεομένης πύλας, τετρακισχιλίους. ἐχόντων δὲ μήτε οἱ πρότεροι μηδὲν τῶν ἀμυνούντων μήτε οὗτοι, πλὴν ἐγχειριδίων· τοῦτο δὲ ἔαν ἔχουν. 6 μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἰκοστὴν ἡμέρην ἰθέως τὴν μὲν ἄλλην στρατιὴν κελεύειν πέριξ προσβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, Πέρσας δὲ μοι τάξον κατὰ τε τὰς Βηλίδας καλεομένης καὶ Κισσίας πύλας. ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἐμέο μεγάλα ἔργα ἀποδεξαμένου, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐπιτρέπονται ἐμοὶ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν πυλέων τὰς βαλανάγρας· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοί τε καὶ Πέρσῃσι μελήσει τὰ δεῖ ποιεῖν,·.

155. The king reacted very violently to seeing a man so well-respected mutilated, and springing from the throne he uttered a cry and asked Zopyrus who it was who had mutilated him and why. "There is no man," he said, "except you, who has enough power to do this to me, and no one but I myself did this, O King, because I felt it terribly that Assyrians were laughing at Persians." Darius answered, "Unfeeling man, you give a pretty name to an ugly act if you say that it was on account of those besieged that you did for yourself past cure. Why, you poor fool, will the enemy surrender sooner because you mutilated yourself? How could you not have been out of your mind to disfigure yourself?" "Had I told you," said Zopyrus, "what I intended to do, you would not have let me; but now I have done it on my own. Now, then, if you do your part we shall take Babylon. I shall desert to the city as I am, and I shall say to them that I suffered this at your hands; and I think that I shall persuade them, and thus gain a command. Now, on the tenth day after I enter the city, take a thousand men from the part of your army about which you will least care if it is lost, and post them before the gate called the gate of Semiramis; on the seventh day after that, post two thousand more before the gate called the gate of the Ninevites; and when twenty days are past after that seventh, lead out four thousand more and post them before the Chaldean gate, as they call it; allow neither these, nor the others that go before them, to carry any weapons except daggers; leave them these. But immediately after the twentieth day command the rest of your army to assault the whole circuit of the walls, and post the Persians before the gate of Belus

and the gate called Cissian. For I think that once I have done conspicuous things the Babylonians will give me, among other things, the keys of their gates; then it will depend on me and on the Persians to do what is necessary.”

156 1 Ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος ἦε ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, ἐπιστρεφόμενος ὡς δὴ ἀληθῶς αὐτόμολος. ὁρῶντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τεταγμένοι κατέτρεχον κάτω καὶ ὀλίγον τι παρακλίναντες τὴν ἐτέρην πύλην εἰρώτων τίς τε εἶη καὶ ὅτεν δεόμενος ἦκοι. ὁ δὲ σφι ἠγόρευε ὡς εἶη τε Ζώπυρος καὶ αὐτομολεῖ ἐς ἐκείνους. 2 ἦγον δὴ μιν οἱ πολουροί, ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσαν, ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων· καταστὰς δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτὰ κατοικτίζετο, φὰς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεπονθῆναι τὰ ἐπεπόνθεε ὑπ’ ἐωυτοῦ, παθεῖν δὲ ταῦτα διότι συμβουλευσαι οἱ ἀπανιστάναι τὴν στρατιήν, ἐπεῖτε δὴ οὐδεὶς πόρος ἐφαίνετο τῆς ἀλώσιος. 3 “νῦν τε,, ἔφη λέγων “ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ὦ Βαβυλώνιοι ἤκω μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, Δαρεῖφ δὲ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ καὶ Πέρσῃσι μέγιστον κακόν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐμέ γε ὧδε λωβησάμενος καταπροΐζεται· ἐπίσταμαι δ’ αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων,, τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε.

156. Having given these instructions, he went to the gates, turning and looking back as though he were in fact a deserter. When the watch posted on the towers saw him, they ran down, and opening half the gate a little asked him who he was and why he came; he told them that he was Zopyrus and was deserting to them. When they heard this, the gatekeepers brought him before the general assembly of the Babylonians, where he made a pitiful sight, saying that he had suffered at the hands of Darius what he had suffered at his own because he had advised the king to lead his army away, since they could find no way to take the city. “Now,” he said in his speech to them, “I come as a great boon to you, men of Babylon, and as a great bane to Darius and to his army and to the Persians; for he shall not get away with having mutilated me so; and I know all the issues of his plans.” This was what he said.

157 1 Οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ὁρῶντες ἄνδρα τὸν ἐν Πέρσῃσι δοκιμώτατον ῥινός τε καὶ ὥτων ἐστερημένον, μάστιξί τε καὶ αἵματι ἀναπεφυρμένον, πάγχυ ἐλπίσαντες λέγειν μιν ἀληθεῖα καὶ σφι ἤκειν σύμμαχον, ἐπιτρέπεσθαι ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν τῶν ἐδέετο σφέων· ἐδέετο δὲ

στρατιῆς. 2 ὁ δὲ ἐπεῖτε αὐτῶν τοῦτο παρέλαβε, ἐποίηε τὰ περ τῷ Δαρείῳ συνεθήκατο· ἐξαγαγὼν γὰρ τῇ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ τὴν στρατιὴν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ κυκλωσάμενος τοὺς χιλίους, τοὺς πρώτους ἐνετείλατο Δαρείῳ τάξαι, τοὺτους κατεφόνευσε. 3 μαθόντες δέ μιν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τοῖσι ἔπεσι τὰ ἔργα παρεχόμενον ὅμοια, πάγχυ περιχαρές ἐόντες πᾶν δὴ ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν ὑπηρετέειν. ὁ δὲ διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας τὰς συγκειμένας, αὐτὶς ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐξήγαγε καὶ κατεφόνευσε τῶν Δαρείου στρατιωτέων τοὺς δισχιλίους. 4 ἰδόντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι πάντες Ζώπυρον εἶχον ἐν στόμασι αἰνέοντες. ὁ δὲ αὐτὶς διαλιπὼν τὰς συγκειμένας ἡμέρας ἐξήγαγε ἐς τὸ προειρημένον, καὶ κυκλωσάμενος κατεφόνευσε τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους. ὥς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο κατέργαστο, πάντα δὴ ἦν ἐν τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι Ζώπυρος, καὶ στρατάρχης τε οὗτός σφι καὶ τειχοφύλαξ ἀπεδέδεκτο.

157. When the Babylonians saw the most well-respected man in Persia without his nose and ears and all lurid with blood from the scourging, they were quite convinced that he was telling them the truth and came as their ally, and were ready to give him all that he asked; and he asked for a command. When he got this from them, he did exactly as he had arranged with Darius. On the tenth day he led out the Babylonian army, surrounded and slaughtered the thousand whom he had instructed Darius to put in the field first. Seeing that he produced works equal to his words, the Babylonians were overjoyed and ready to serve him in every way. When the agreed number of days was past, he led out once more a chosen body of Babylonians, and slaughtered the two thousand men of Darius' army. When the Babylonians saw this work too, the praise of Zopyrus was on everyone's lips. The agreed number of days once again passing, he led out his men to the place he had named, where he surrounded the four thousand and slaughtered them. And when he had done this, Zopyrus was the one man for Babylon: he was made the commander of their armies and guard of the walls.

158 1 Προσβολὴν δὲ Δαρείου κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα ποιευμένου πέριξ τὸ τεῖχος, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πάντα τὸν δόλον ὁ Ζώπυρος ἐξέφαινε. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βαβυλώνιοι ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἡμύνοντο τὴν Δαρείου στρατιὴν προσβάλλουσαν, ὁ δὲ Ζώπυρος τὰς τε Κισσίας καὶ Βηλίδας

καλεομένας πύλας ἀναπετάσας ἐσῆκε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. 2 τῶν δὲ Βαβυλωνίων οἱ μὲν εἶδον τὸ ποιηθέν, οὗτοι μὲν ἔφευγον ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βήλου τὸ ἱρόν· οἱ δὲ οὐκ εἶδον, ἔμενον ἐν τῇ ἐωυτοῦ τάξϊ ἕκαστος, ἐς ὃ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἔμαθον προδεδομένοι.

158. So when Darius assaulted the whole circuit of the walls, according to the agreed plan, then Zopyrus' treason was fully revealed. For while the townsmen were on the wall defending it against Darius' assault, he opened the gates called Cissian and Belian, and let the Persians inside the walls. Those Babylonians who saw what he did fled to the temple of that Zeus whom they call Belus; those who had not seen it remained in position, until they too discovered how they had been betrayed.

159 1 Βαβυλῶν μὲν νυν οὕτω τὸ δεύτερον αἰρέθη. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἐκράτησε τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, τοῦτο μὲν σφέων τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλε καὶ τὰς πύλας πάσας ἀπέσπασε· τὸ γὰρ πρότερον ἐλὼν Κῦρος τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐποίησε τούτων οὐδέτερον· τοῦτο δὲ ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς κορυφαίους μάλιστα ἐς τρισχιλίους ἀνεσκολόπισε, τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν οἰκέειν. 2 ὥς δ' ἔξουσι γυναῖκας οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι ἵνα σφι γενεὴ ὑπογίνηται, τάδε Δαρεῖος προῖδὼν ἐποίησε· τὰς γὰρ ἐωυτῶν, ὥς καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς δεδήλωται, ἀπέπνιζαν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τοῦ σίτου προορέοντες· ἐπέταξε τοῖσι περιοίκοισι ἔθνεσι γυναῖκας ἐς Βαβυλῶνα κατιστάναι, ὅσας δὴ ἐκάστοισι ἐπιτάσσων, ὥστε πέντε μυριάδων τὸ κεφαλαῖωμα τῶν γυναικῶν συνῆλθε· ἐκ τουτέων δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ νῦν Βαβυλώνιοι γεγόνاسι.

159. Thus Babylon was taken a second time, and when Darius was master of the Babylonians, he destroyed their walls and tore away all their gates, neither of which Cyrus had done at the first taking of Babylon; moreover he impaled about three thousand men that were prominent among them; as for the rest, he gave them back their city to live in. Further, as the Babylonians, fearing for their food, had strangled their own women, as I described above, Darius provided wives to give them a posterity by appointing that each of the neighboring nations should send a certain number of women to Babylon; the sum of the women thus collected was fifty thousand: these were the mothers of those who now inhabit the city.

160 1 Ζωπύρου δὲ οὐδείς ἀγαθοεργίην Περσέων ὑπερεβάλετο παρὰ Δαρείῳ κριτῇ οὔτε τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων οὔτε τῶν πρότερον, ὅτι μὴ Κῦρος μόνος· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐδείς Περσέων ἡξίωσε κω ἑωυτὸν συμβαλεῖν. πολλάκις δὲ Δαρεῖον λέγεται γνώμην τήνδε ἀποδέξασθαι, ὥς βούλοιτο ἂν Ζώπυρον εἶναι ἀπαθέα τῆς ἀεικείης μᾶλλον ἢ Βαβυλῶνάς οἱ εἴκοσι πρὸς τῇ εἰσῶσι προσγενέσθαι. 2 ἐτίμησε δέ μιν μέγας· καὶ γὰρ δῶρά οἱ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐδίδου ταῦτα τὰ Πέρσῃσι ἐστὶ τιμιώτατα, καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνά οἱ ἔδωκε ἀτελέα νέμεσθαι μέχρι τῆς ἐκείνου ζόης, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπέδωκε. Ζωπύρου δὲ τούτου γίνεται Μεγάβυζος, ὃς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀντία Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐστρατήγησε· Μεγαβύζου δὲ τούτου γίνεται Ζώπυρος, ὃς ἐς Ἀθήνας ἠὲτομόλησε ἐκ Περσέων.

160. There never was in Darius' judgment any Persian before or after who did better service than Zopyrus, except Cyrus, with whom no Persian could compare himself. Many times Darius is said to have declared that he would rather Zopyrus were free of disfigurement than have twenty Babylons on top of the one he had. He honored him very much; every year he sent him such gifts as the Persians hold most precious, and let him govern Babylon all his life with no tribute to pay, giving him many other things besides. This Zopyrus was the father of Megabyzus, who was general of an army in Egypt against the Athenians and their allies; and Megabyzus' son was that Zopyrus who deserted from the Persians to Athens.

Βιβλίο Δ – Μελπομένη. Book IV.

1 1 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βαβυλῶνος αἵρεσιν ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Σκύρας αὐτοῦ Δαρείου ἔλασις· ἀνθεύσης γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀνδράσι καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων συνιόντων, ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Δαρεῖος τίσασθαι Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι πρότεροι ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν καὶ νικήσαντες μάχῃ τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ὑπῆρξαν ἀδικίης. 2 τῆς γὰρ ἄνω Ἀσίας ἦρξαν, ὥς καὶ πρότερον μοι εἴρηται, Σκύθαι ἔτεα δυῶν δέοντα τριήκοντα. Κιμμερίους γὰρ ἐπιδιώκοντες ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, καταπαύσαντες τῆς ἀρχῆς Μήδους· οὗτοι γὰρ πρὶν ἢ Σκύθας ἀπικέσθαι ἦρχον τῆς Ἀσίας. 3 τοὺς δὲ Σκύθας ἀποδημήσαντας ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα καὶ διὰ χρόνου τοσούτου κατιόντας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἐξεδέξατο οὐκ ἐλάσσων πόνος τοῦ Μηδικοῦ· εὖρον γὰρ ἀντιουμένην σφίσι στρατιὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην. αἱ γὰρ τῶν Σκυθέων γυναῖκες, ὥς σφι οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπῆσαν χρόνον πολλόν, ἐφοίτεον παρὰ τοὺς δούλους.

1. After taking Babylon, Darius himself marched against the Scythians. For since Asia was bursting with men and vast revenues were coming in, Darius desired to punish the Scythians for the wrong they had begun when they invaded Media first and defeated those who opposed them in battle. For the Scythians, as I have said before, ruled upper Asia for twenty-eight years; they invaded Asia in their pursuit of the Cimmerians, and ended the power of the Medes, who were the rulers of Asia before the Scythians came. But when the Scythians had been away from their homes for twenty-eight years and returned to their country after so long an absence, as much trouble as their Median war awaited them. They found themselves opposed by a great force; for the Scythian women, when their husbands were away for so long, turned to their slaves.

2 1 Τοὺς δὲ δούλους οἱ Σκύθαι πάντας τυφλοῦσι τοῦ γάλακτος εἵνεκεν τοῦ πίνουσι ποιεῦντες ὧδε. ἐπεὰν φυσητῆρας λάβωσι ὀστεῖνους αὐλοῖσι προσεμφερεστάτους, τούτους ἐσθέντες ἐς τῶν θηλέων ἵππων τὰ ἄρθρα φυσῶσι τοῖσι στόμασι, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλων φυσώντων ἀμέλγουσι. φασὶ δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τοῦτο ποιέειν· τὰς φλέβας τε πίμπλασθαι φυσωμένας τῆς ἵππου καὶ τὸ οὖθαρ κατίεσθαι. 2 ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀμέλξωσι τὸ γάλα, ἐσχέαντες ἐς ξύλινα ἀγγήια κοῖλα καὶ

περιστίζαντες κατὰ τὰ ἀγγήια τοὺς τυφλοὺς δονέουσι τὸ γάλα, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάμενον ἀπαρύσαντες ἡγεῦνται εἶναι τιμιώτερον, τὸ δ' ὑπιστάμενον ἦσσαν τοῦ ἑτέρου. τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα ἅπαντα τὸν ἄν λάβωσι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐκτυφλοῦσι. οὐ γὰρ ἀρόται εἰσὶ ἀλλὰ νομάδες.

2. Now the Scythians blind all their slaves, because of the milk they drink; and this is how they get it: taking tubes of bone very much like flutes, they insert these into the genitalia of the mares and blow into them, some blowing while others milk. According to them, their reason for doing this is that blowing makes the mare's veins swell and her udder drop. When done milking, they pour the milk into deep wooden buckets, and make their slaves stand around the buckets and shake the milk; they draw off what stands on the surface and value this most; what lies at the bottom is less valued. This is why the Scythians blind all prisoners whom they take: for they do not cultivate the soil, but are nomads.

3 1 Ἐκ τούτων δὴ ὧν σφι τῶν δούλων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐτρέφη νεότης· οἱ ἐπεῖτε ἔμαθον τὴν σφετέρην γένεσιν, ἠντιοῦντο αὐτοῖσι κατιοῦσι ἐκ τῶν Μήδων. 2 καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν χώραν ἀπετάμοντο, τάφρον ὀρυζάμενοι εὐρέαν κατατείνουσιν ἐκ τῶν Ταυρικῶν ὀρέων ἐς τὴν Μαιῆτιν λίμνην, τῇ περ ἐστὶ μεγίστη· μετὰ γε πειρωμένοισι ἐσβάλλειν τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἀντικατιζόμενοι ἐμάχοντο. 3 γινομένης δὲ μάχης πολλάκις καὶ οὐ δυναμένων οὐδὲν πλεον ἔχειν τῶν Σκυθέων τῇ μάχῃ, εἷς αὐτῶν ἔλεξε τάδε. “οἷα ποιεῦμεν, ἄνδρες Σκύθαι· δούλοισι τοῖσι ἡμετέροισι μαχόμενοι αὐτοί τε κτείνόμενοι ἐλάσσονες γινόμεθα καὶ ἐκείνους κτείνοντες ἐλασσόνων τὸ λοιπὸν ἄρξομεν. 4 νῦν ὧν μοι δοκεῖ αἰχμὰς μὲν καὶ τόξα μετεῖναι, λαβόντα δὲ ἕκαστον τοῦ ἵππου τὴν μάστιγα ἰέναι ἄσσαν αὐτῶν. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ὥρων ἡμέας ὄπλα ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ ἐνόμιζον ὅμοιοί τε καὶ ἐξ ὁμοίων ἡμῖν εἶναι· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἴδωνται μάστιγας ἀντὶ ὀπλῶν ἔχοντας, μαθόντες ὡς εἰσὶ ἡμέτεροι δοῦλοι καὶ συγγνόντες τοῦτο. οὐκ ὑπομένεουσιν,,.

3. So it came about that a younger generation grew up, born of these slaves and the women; and when the youths learned of their parentage, they came out to fight the Scythians returning from Media. First they barred the way to their country by digging a wide trench from the Tauric mountains to the broadest part of the Maeetian lake; and then, when the Scythians tried to force a passage, they

camped opposite them and engaged them in battle. There were many fights, and the Scythians could gain no advantage; at last one of them said, “Men of Scythia, look at what we are doing! We are fighting our own slaves; they kill us, and we grow fewer; we kill them, and shall have fewer slaves. Now, then, my opinion is that we should drop our spears and bows, and meet them with horsewhips in our hands. As long as they see us armed, they imagine that they are our equals and the sons of our equals; let them see us with whips and no weapons, and they will perceive that they are our slaves; and taking this to heart they will not face our attack.”

4 1 Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἐποίεον ἐπιτελέα· οἱ δὲ ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ γινομένῳ τῆς μάχης τε ἐπελάθοντο καὶ ἔφευγον. οὕτω οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς τε Ἀσίας ἤρξαν καὶ ἐξελασθέντες αὐτῖς ὑπὸ Μήδων κατῆλθον τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐς τὴν σφετέρην. τῶνδε εἵνεκα ὁ Δαρεῖς τίσασθαι βουλόμενος συνήγειρε ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς στράτευμα.

4. The Scythians heard this and acted on it; and their enemies, stunned by what they saw, did not think of fighting, but fled. Thus, the Scythians ruled Asia and were driven out again by the Medes, and returned to their own country in such a way. Desiring to punish them for what they had done, Darius assembled an army against them.

5 1 Ὡς δὲ Σκύθαι λέγουσι, νεώτατον πάντων ἐθνέων εἶναι τὸ σφέτερον, τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθαι ὧδε. ἄνδρα γενέσθαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἐούση ἐρήμῳ τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Ταργιτάον· τοῦ δὲ Ταργιτάου τούτου τοὺς τοκέας λέγουσι εἶναι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, λέγουσι δ’ ὦν, Δία τε καὶ Βορυσθέneos τοῦ ποταμοῦ θυγατέρα. 2 γένεος μὲν τοιούτου δὴ τινος γενέσθαι τὸν Ταργιτάον, τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι παῖδας τρεῖς, Λιπόξαιν καὶ Ἀρπόξαιν καὶ νεώτατον Κολάξαιν. 3 ἐπὶ τούτων ἀρχόντων ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φερομένα χρύσεια ποιήματα, ἄροτρον τε καὶ ζυγόν καὶ σάγαριν καὶ φιάλην, πεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν· καὶ τῶν ἰδόντα πρῶτον τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἄσσον ἰέναι βουλόμενον αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν ἐπιόντος καίεσθαι. 4 ἀπαλλαχθέντος δὲ τούτου προσιέναι τὸν δεύτερον, καὶ τὸν αὐτῖς ταῦτα ποιέειν. τοὺς μὲν δὴ καιόμενον τὸν χρυσὸν ἀπώσασθαι, τρίτῳ δὲ τῷ νεωτάτῳ ἐπελθόντι κατασβῆναι, καὶ μιν ἐκεῖνον κομίσει ἐς ἑωυτοῦ· καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀδελφεοὺς πρὸς ταῦτα συγγνόντας

τὴν βασιληίην πᾶσαν παραδοῦναι τῷ νεωτάτῳ.

5. The Scythians say that their nation is the youngest in the world, and that it came into being in this way. A man whose name was Targitaüs appeared in this country, which was then desolate. They say that his parents were Zeus and a daughter of the Borysthenes river (I do not believe the story, but it is told). Such was Targitaüs' lineage; and he had three sons: Lipoxaïs, Arpoxaïs, and Colaxaïs, youngest of the three. In the time of their rule (the story goes) certain implements — namely, a plough, a yoke, a sword, and a flask, all of gold — fell down from the sky into Scythia. The eldest of them, seeing these, approached them meaning to take them; but the gold began to burn as he neared, and he stopped. Then the second approached, and the gold did as before. When these two had been driven back by the burning gold, the youngest brother approached and the burning stopped, and he took the gold to his own house. In view of this, the elder brothers agreed to give all the royal power to the youngest.

6 1 Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Λιποξάιος γεγονέναι τούτους τῶν Σκυθέων οἱ Αὐχάται γένος καλέονται, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μέσου Ἀρποξάιος οἱ Κατίαροι τε καὶ Τράσπιες καλέονται, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νεωτάτου αὐτῶν τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ καλέονται Παραλάται· 2 σύμπασι δὲ εἶναι οὔνομα Σκολότους, τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπωνυμίην. Σκύθας δὲ Ἑλληνες ὠνόμασαν.

6. Lipoxaïs, it is said, was the father of the Scythian clan called Auchatae; Arpoxaïs, the second brother, of those called Katiani and Traspiani; the youngest, who was king, of those called Paralatae. All these together bear the name of Skoloti, after their king; "Scythians" is the name given them by Greeks. This, then, is the Scythians' account of their origin,

7 1 Γεγονέναι μὲν νυν σφέας ὧδε λέγουσι οἱ Σκύθαι, ἔτεα δὲ σφίσι ἐπεῖτε γεγόνاسι τὰ σύμπαντα λέγουσι εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως Ταργιτάου ἐς τὴν Δαρείου διάβασιν τὴν ἐπὶ σφέας χιλίων οὐ πλέω ἀλλὰ τοσαῦτα. τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τοῦτον τὸν ἱρὸν φυλάσσουσι οἱ βασιλέες ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι ἰλασκόμενοι μετέρχονται ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. 2 ὃς δ' ἂν ἔχων τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἱρὸν ἐν τῇ ὀρτῇ ὑπαίθριος κατακοιμηθῇ, οὗτος λέγεται ὑπὸ Σκυθέων οὐ

διενιαντίζειν. δίδοσθαι δέ οἱ διὰ τοῦτο ὅσα ἂν ἵπῳ ἐν ἡμέρῃ μιῇ περιελάσῃ αὐτός. τῆς δὲ χώρας εἰούσης μεγάλης τριφασίας τὰς βασιλῆϊας τοῖσι παισὶ τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ καταστήσασθαι Κολάξαιν, καὶ τουτέων μίαν ποιῆσαι μεγίστην, ἐν τῇ τὸν χρυσὸν φυλάσσεσθαι. 3 τὰ δὲ κατ'ὑπερθε πρὸς βορέην λέγουσι ἄνεμον τῶν ὑπεροίκων τῆς χώρας οὐκ οἶα τε εἶναι ἔτι προσωτέρω οὔτε ὄραν οὔτε διεξιέναι ὑπὸ πτερῶν κεχυμένων· πτερῶν γὰρ καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν ἡέρα εἶναι πλέον, καὶ ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ ἀποκληίοντα τὴν ὄψιν.

7. and they say that neither more nor less than a thousand years in all passed from the time of their first king Targitaüs to the entry of Darius into their country. The kings guard this sacred gold very closely, and every year offer solemn sacrifices of propitiation to it. Whoever falls asleep at this festival in the open air, having the sacred gold with him, is said by the Scythians not to live out the year; for which reason (they say) as much land as he can ride round in one day is given to him. Because of the great size of the country, the lordships that Colaxaïs established for his sons were three, one of which, where they keep the gold, was the greatest. Above and north of the neighbors of their country no one (they say) can see or travel further, because of showers of feathers; for earth and sky are full of feathers, and these hinder sight.

8 1 Σκύθαι μὲν ὧδε ὕπερ σφέων τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς κατ'ὑπερθε λέγουσι, “Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκέοντες ὧδε. Ἡρακλέα ἐλαύνοντα τὰς Γηρυόνεω βοῦς ἀπικέσθαι ἐς γῆν ταύτην ἐοῦσαν ἐρήμην, ἣντινα νῦν Σκύθαι νέμονται. 2 Γηρυόνεα δὲ οἰκείειν ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, κατοικημένον τὴν Ἑλληνέες λέγουσι Ἐρύθειαν νῆσον τὴν πρὸς Γαδείροισι τοῖσι ἔξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων ἐπὶ τῷ Ὠκεανῷ. τὸν δὲ Ὠκεανὸν λόγῳ μὲν λέγουσι ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων ἀρξάμενον γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ῥέειν, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνῦσι. 3 ἐνθεῦτεν τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν νῦν Σκυθίην χώραν καλεομένην, καὶ καταλαβεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν χειμῶνα τε καὶ κρυμὸν, ἐπειρυσάμενον τὴν λεοντήην κατυπνῶσαι, τὰς δὲ οἱ ἵππους τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος νεμομένας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀφανισθῆναι θεῇ τύχῃ.

8. This is what the Scythians say about themselves and the country north of them. But the story told by the Greeks who live in Pontus is as follows. Heracles, driving the cattle of Geryones, came

to this land, which was then desolate, but is now inhabited by the Scythians. Geryones lived west of the Pontus, settled in the island called by the Greeks Erythea, on the shore of Ocean near Gadira, outside the pillars of Heracles. As for Ocean, the Greeks say that it flows around the whole world from where the sun rises, but they cannot prove that this is so. Heracles came from there to the country now called Scythia, where, encountering wintry and frosty weather, he drew his lion's skin over him and fell asleep, and while he slept his mares, which were grazing yoked to the chariot, were spirited away by divine fortune.

9 1 Ὡς δ' ἐγερθῆναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, δίξησθαι, πάντα δὲ τῆς χώρας ἐπεξελθόντα τέλος ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ὑλαίην καλεομένην γῆν· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ αὐτὸν εὐρεῖν ἐν ἄντρῳ μιζοπάρθενον τινά, ἔχιδναν διφυέα, τῆς τὰ μὲν ἄνω ἀπὸ τῶν γλουτῶν εἶναι γυναικός, τὰ δὲ ἔνερθε ὄφιος. 2 ἰδόντα δὲ καὶ θωμάσαντα ἐπειρέσθαι μιν εἰ κου ἴδοι ἵππους πλανωμένας· τὴν δὲ φάναι ἐωυτὴν ἔχειν καὶ οὐκ ἀποδώσειν ἐκείνῳ πρὶν ἢ οἱ μιχθῇ· τό δὲ Ἡρακλέα μιχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ τούτῳ. 3 κείνην τε δὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν ἵππων, βουλομένην ὥς πλεῖστον χρόνον συνεῖναι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ τὸν κομισάμενον ἐθέλειν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι· τέλος δὲ ἀποδιδούσαν αὐτὴν εἰπεῖν Ἴππους μὲν δὴ ταύτας ἀπικομένας ἐνθάδε ἔσωσα τοὶ ἐγώ, σῶστρά τε σὺ παρέσχεες· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκ σεῦ τρεῖς παῖδας ἔχω. 4 τούτους, ἐπεὰν γένωνται τρόφιες, ὃ τι χρὴ ποίειν, ἐξηγέο σύ, εἴτε αὐτοῦ κατοικίζω (χώρας γὰρ τῆσδε ἔχω τὸ κράτος αὕτη) εἴτε ἀποπέμπω παρὰ σέ,, τὴν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπειρωτᾶν, τὸν δὲ λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν 5 “ἐπεὰν ἀνδρωθέντας ἴδῃ τοὺς παῖδας, τάδε ποιεῦσα οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοις· τὸν μὲν ἂν ὀρᾷς αὐτῶν τόδε τὸ τόξον ὧδε διατεινόμενον καὶ τῷ ζωστήρι τῷδε κατὰ τάδε ζωννύμενον, τοῦτον μὲν τῆσδε τῆς χώρας οἰκίτορα ποιεῦ· ὃς δ' ἂν τούτων τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐντέλλομαι λείπηται, ἔκπεμπε ἐκ τῆς χώρας. καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῦσα αὐτὴ τε εὐφρανέαι καὶ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ποιήσεις.

9. When Heracles awoke, he searched for them, visiting every part of the country, until at last he came to the land called the Woodland, and there he found in a cave a creature of double form that was half maiden and half serpent; above the buttocks she was a woman, below them a snake. When he saw her he was astonished, and asked her if

she had seen his mares straying; she said that she had them, and would not return them to him before he had intercourse with her; Heracles did, in hope of this reward. But though he was anxious to take the horses and go, she delayed returning them, so that she might have Heracles with her for as long as possible; at last she gave them back, telling him, "These mares came, and I kept them safe here for you, and you have paid me for keeping them, for I have three sons by you. Now tell me what I am to do when they are grown up: shall I keep them here (since I am queen of this country), or shall I send them away to you?" Thus she inquired, and then (it is said) Heracles answered: "When you see the boys are grown up, do as follows and you will do rightly: whichever of them you see bending this bow and wearing this belt so, make him an inhabitant of this land; but whoever falls short of these accomplishments that I require, send him away out of the country. Do so and you shall yourself have comfort, and my will shall be done."

10 1 Τὸν μὲν δὴ εἰρύσαντα τῶν τόξων τὸ ἕτερον (δύο γὰρ δὴ φορέειν τέως Ἡρακλέα) καὶ τὸν ζωστήρα προδέξαντα, παραδοῦναι τὸ τόξον τε καὶ τὸν ζωστήρα ἔχοντα ἐπ' ἄκρης τῆς συμβολῆς φιάλην χρυσέην, δόντα δὲ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. τὴν δ', ἐπεὶ οἱ γενομένους τοὺς παῖδας ἀνδρωθῆναι, τοῦτο μὲν σφι οὐνόματα θέσθαι, τῷ μὲν Ἀγάθυρσον αὐτῶν, τῷ δ' ἐπομένῳ Γελωνόν, Σκύθην δὲ τῷ νεωτάτῳ, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς μεμνημένην αὐτὴν ποιῆσαι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. 2 καὶ δὴ δύο μὲν οἱ τῶν παίδων, τὸν τε Ἀγάθυρσον καὶ τὸν Γελωνόν, οὐκ οἴους τε γενομένους ἐξικέσθαι πρὸς τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον, οἷχεσθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐκβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς γειναμένης, τὸν δὲ νεώτατον αὐτῶν Σκύθην ἐπιτελέσαντα καταμεῖναι ἐν τῇ χωρῇ. 3 καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Σκύθεω τοῦ Ἡρακλέος γενέσθαι τοὺς αἰεὶ βασιλέας γινομένους Σκυθέων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς φιάλης ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε φιάλας ἐκ τῶν ζωστήρων φορέειν Σκύθας· τὸ δὴ μῦθον μηχανήσασθαι τὴν μητέρα Σκύθη. ταῦτα δὲ Ἑλλήνων οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκέοντες λέγουσι.

10. So he drew one of his bows (for until then Heracles always carried two), and showed her the belt, and gave her the bow and the belt, that had a golden vessel on the end of its clasp; and, having given them, he departed. But when the sons born to her were grown men, she gave them names, calling one of them Agathyrsus and the

next Gelonus and the youngest Scythes; furthermore, remembering the instructions, she did as she was told. Two of her sons, Agathyrus and Gelonus, were cast out by their mother and left the country, unable to fulfill the requirements set; but Scythes, the youngest, fulfilled them and so stayed in the land. From Scythes son of Heracles comes the whole line of the kings of Scythia; and it is because of the vessel that the Scythians carry vessels on their belts to this day. This alone his mother did for Scythes. This is what the Greek dwellers in Pontus say.

11 1 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος ἔχων ὧδε, τῷ μάλιστα λεγομένῳ αὐτός πρόσκειμαι, Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας οἰκέοντας ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, πολέμῳ πιεσθέντας ὑπὸ Μασσαγετέων, οἴχεσθαι διαβάοντας ποταμὸν Ἀράξην ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν Κιμμερίην (τὴν γὰρ νῦν νέμονται Σκύθαι, αὕτη λέγεται τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι Κιμμερίων), 2 τοὺς δὲ Κιμμερίους ἐπιόντων Σκυθέων βουλευέσθαι ὡς στρατοῦ ἐπιόντος μεγάλου, καὶ δὴ τὰς γνώμας σφέων κεχωρισμένας, ἐντόνους μὲν ἀμφοτέρας, ἀμείνω δὲ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων· τὴν μὲν γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου φέρειν γνώμην ὡς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι πρῆγμα εἴη μηδὲ πρὸ σποδοῦ μένοντας κινδυνεύειν, τὴν δὲ τῶν βασιλέων διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς χώρας τοῖσι ἐπιούσι. 3 οὐκ ὄντων δὲ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι οὔτε τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι τὸν δῆμον οὔτε τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς βασιλέας· τοὺς μὲν δὲ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι βουλευέσθαι ἀμαχητὶ τὴν χωρὴν παραδόντας τοῖσι ἐπιούσι· τοῖσι δὲ βασιλεῦσι δόξαι ἐν τῇ ἐωυτῶν κεῖσθαι ἀποθανόντας μηδὲ συμφεύγειν τῷ δήμῳ, λογισαμένους ὅσα τε ἀγαθὰ πεπόνθασι καὶ ὅσα φεύγοντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος κακὰ ἐπιδόξα καταλαμβάνειν. 4 ὡς δὲ δόξαι σφί ταῦτα, διαστάντας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἴσους γενομένους μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποθανόντας πάντας ὑπ' ἐωυτῶν θάψαι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Κιμμερίων παρὰ ποταμὸν Τύρην (καὶ σφῶν ἔτι δῆλος ἐστὶ ὁ τάφος), θάψαντας δὲ οὕτω τὴν ἔξοδον ἐκ τῆς χώρας ποιέεσθαι· Σκύθας δὲ ἐπελθόντας λαβεῖν τὴν χώραν ἐρήμην.

11. There is yet another story, to which account I myself especially incline. It is to this effect. The nomadic Scythians inhabiting Asia, when hard pressed in war by the Massagetae, fled across the Araxes river to the Cimmerian country (for the country which the Scythians now inhabit is said to have belonged to the Cimmerians before), and the Cimmerians, at the advance of the

Scythians, deliberated as men threatened by a great force should. Opinions were divided; both were strongly held, but that of the princes was the more honorable; for the people believed that their part was to withdraw and that there was no need to risk their lives for the dust of the earth; but the princes were for fighting to defend their country against the attackers. Neither side could persuade the other, neither the people the princes nor the princes the people; the one party planned to depart without fighting and leave the country to their enemies, but the princes were determined to lie dead in their own country and not to flee with the people, for they considered how happy their situation had been and what ills were likely to come upon them if they fled from their native land. Having made up their minds, the princes separated into two equal bands and fought with each other until they were all killed by each other's hands; then the Cimmerian people buried them by the Tyras river, where their tombs are still to be seen, and having buried them left the land; and the Scythians came and took possession of the country left empty.

12 1 Καὶ νῦν ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ Κιμμέρια τείχεα, ἔστι δὲ πορθμῖα Κιμμέρια, ἔστι δὲ καὶ χωρὴ οὐνομα Κιμμερίη, ἔστι δὲ Βόσπορος Κιμμέριος καλεόμενος· 2 φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Κιμμέριοι φεύγοντες ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ τὴν χερσόνησον κτίσαντες, ἐν τῇ νῦν Σινώπῃ πόλιν Ἑλλάς οἰκισται. φανεροὶ δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι διώξαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐσβαλόντες ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀμαρτόντες τῆς ὁδοῦ· 3 οἱ μὲν γὰρ Κιμμέριοι αἰεὶ τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Καύκασον ἔχοντες ἐδίωκον ἐς οὗ ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν, ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς ὁδοῦ τραφέντες. οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος ξυνὸς Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων λεγόμενος λόγος εἴρηται.

12. And to this day there are Cimmerian walls in Scythia, and a Cimmerian ferry, and there is a country Cimmeria and a strait named Cimmerian. Furthermore, it is evident that the Cimmerians in their flight from the Scythians into Asia also made a colony on the peninsula where the Greek city of Sinope has since been founded; and it is clear that the Scythians pursued them and invaded Media, missing their way; for the Cimmerians always fled along the coast, and the Scythians pursued with the Caucasus on their right until they

came into the Median land, turning inland on their way. That is the other story current among Greeks and foreigners alike.

13 1 Ἐφη δὲ Ἀριστέης ὁ Καῦστροβίου ἀνὴρ Προκοννήσιος ποιῶν ἔπεα, ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ἴσσηδόνας φοιβόλαμπτος γενόμενος, Ἴσσηδόνων δὲ ὑπεροικεῖν Ἀριμασποὺς ἄνδρας μουνοφθάλμους ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας γρυῖπας, τούτων δὲ τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους κατήκοντας ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. 2 τούτους ὦν πάντας πλὴν Ὑπερβορέων, ἀρξάντων Ἀριμασπῶν, αἰεὶ τοῖσι πλησιοχώροισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἀριμασπῶν ἐξωθέεσθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρας Ἴσσηδόνας, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἴσσηδόνων Σκύθας, Κιμμερίους δὲ οἰκέοντας ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσῃ ὑπὸ Σκυθέων πιεζομένους ἐκλείπειν τὴν χώραν. οὕτω οὐδὲ οὗτος συμφέρεται περὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης Σκύθησι.

13. There is also a story related in a poem by Aristetas son of Caüstrobius, a man of Proconnesus. This Aristetas, possessed by Phoebus, visited the Issedones; beyond these (he said) live the one-eyed Arimaspians, beyond whom are the griffins that guard gold, and beyond these again the Hyperboreans, whose territory reaches to the sea. Except for the Hyperboreans, all these nations (and first the Arimaspians) are always at war with their neighbors; the Issedones were pushed from their lands by the Arimaspians, and the Scythians by the Issedones, and the Cimmerians, living by the southern sea, were hard pressed by the Scythians and left their country. Thus Aristetas' story does not agree with the Scythian account about this country.

14 1 Καὶ ὅθεν μὲν ἦν Ἀριστέης ὁ ταῦτα εἶπας, εἶρηκα, τὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἤκουον λόγον ἐν Προκοννήσῳ καὶ Κυζίκῳ, λέξω. Ἀριστέην γὰρ λέγουσι, ἔοντα τῶν ἀστῶν οὐδενὸς γένος ὑποδεέστερον, ἐσελθόντα ἐς κναφήιον ἐν Προκοννήσῳ ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ τὸν κναφέα κατακληίσαντα τὸ ἐργαστήριον οἴχεσθαι ἀγγελέοντα τοῖσι προσήκουσι τῷ νεκρῷ. 2 ἐσκεδασμένου δὲ ἤδη τοῦ λόγου ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὡς τεθνεῶς εἶη ὁ Ἀριστέης, ἐς ἀμφισβασίας τοῖσι λέγουσι ἀπικνέεσθαι ἄνδρα Κυζικηνὸν ἤκοντα ἐξ Ἀρτάκης πόλιος, φάντα συντυχεῖν τε οἱ ἰόντι ἐπὶ Κυζίκου καὶ ἐς λόγους ἀπικέσθαι. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ἐντεταμένως ἀμφισβατέειν, τοὺς δὲ προσήκοντας τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπὶ τὸ κναφήιον παρεῖναι ἔχοντας τὰ πρόσφορα ὡς ἀναιρησομένους· 3 ἀνοιχθέντος δὲ τοῦ οἰκήματος οὔτε τεθνεῶτα

οὔτε ζῶντα φαίνεσθαι Ἀριστέην. μετὰ δὲ ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει φανέντα αὐτὸν ἐς Προκόννησον ποιῆσαι τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα τὰ νῦν ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων Ἀριμάσπεα καλέεται, ποιήσαντα δὲ ἀφανισθῆναι τὸ δεύτερον.

14. Where Aristeas who wrote this came from, I have already said; I will tell the story that I heard about him at Proconnesus and Cyzicus. It is said that this Aristeas, who was as well-born as any of his townsfolk, went into a fuller's shop at Proconnesus and there died; the owner shut his shop and went away to tell the dead man's relatives, and the report of Aristeas' death being spread about in the city was disputed by a man of Cyzicus, who had come from the town of Artace, and said that he had met Aristeas going toward Cyzicus and spoken with him. While he argued vehemently, the relatives of the dead man came to the fuller's shop with all that was necessary for burial; but when the place was opened, there was no Aristeas there, dead or alive. But in the seventh year after that, Aristeas appeared at Proconnesus and made that poem which the Greeks now call the Arimaspea, after which he vanished once again.

15 1 Ταῦτα μὲν αἱ πόλεις αὗται λέγουσι, τάδε δὲ οἶδα Μεταποντίνοισι τοῖσι ἐν Ἰταλίῃ συγκυρήσαντα μετὰ τὴν ἀφάνισιν τὴν δευτέρην Ἀριστέω ἔτεσι τεσσεράκοντα καὶ διηκοσίοισι, ὥς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος ἐν Προκοννήσῳ τε καὶ Μεταποντίῳ εὑρίσκον. 2 Μεταποντίνοι φασὶ αὐτὸν Ἀριστέην φανέντα σφι ἐς τὴν χώραν κελεῦσαι βωμὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἰδρύσασθαι καὶ Ἀριστέω τοῦ Προκοννησίου ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντα ἀνδριάντα παρ' αὐτὸν ἰστάναι· φάναι γὰρ σφι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἰταλιωτέων μούνοισι δὴ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν χώραν, καὶ αὐτὸς οἱ ἔπεσθαι ὁ νῦν ἐὼν Ἀριστέης· τότε δὲ, ὅτε εἶπετο τῷ θεῷ, εἶναι κόραξ. 3 καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα ταῦτα ἀφανισθῆναι, σφέας δὲ Μεταποντίνοι λέγουσι ἐς Δελφοὺς πέμψαντας τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρωτᾶν ὃ τι τὸ φᾶσμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἴη. τὴν δὲ Πυθίην σφέας κελεῦειν πείθεσθαι τῷ φάσματι, πειθομένοισι δὲ ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι. καὶ σφέας δεξαμένους ταῦτα ποιῆσαι ἐπιτελέα. 4 καὶ νῦν ἔστηκε ἀνδριάς ἐπωνυμίην ἔχων Ἀριστέω παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, περίξ δὲ αὐτὸν δάφναι ἐστᾶσι· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ ἵδρυται. Ἀριστέω μὲν νυν περὶ τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

15. Such is the tale told in these two towns. But this, I know,

happened to the Metapontines in Italy, two hundred and forty years after the second disappearance of Aristeas, as reckoning made at Proconnesus and Metapontum shows me: Aristeas, so the Metapontines say, appeared in their country and told them to set up an altar to Apollo, and set beside it a statue bearing the name of Aristeas the Proconnesian; for, he said, Apollo had come to their country alone of all Italian lands, and he — the man who was now Aristeas, but then when he followed the god had been a crow — had come with him. After saying this, he vanished. The Metapontines, so they say, sent to Delphi and asked the god what the vision of the man could mean; and the Pythian priestess told them to obey the vision, saying that their fortune would be better. They did as instructed. And now there stands beside the image of Apollo a statue bearing the name of Aristeas; a grove of bay-trees surrounds it; the image is set in the marketplace. Let it suffice that I have said this much about Aristeas.

16 1 Τῆς δὲ γῆς, τῆς περὶ ὅδε ὁ λόγος ὄρμηται λέγεσθαι, οὐδεὶς οἶδε ἀτρεκέως ὃ τι τὸ κατύπερθε ἐστὶ· οὐδενὸς γὰρ δὴ αὐτόπτεω εἰδέναι φαμένου δύναμαι πυθέσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ Ἀριστέης, τοῦ περ ὀλίγω πρότερον τούτων μνήμην ἐποιεύμην, οὐδὲ οὗτος προσωτέρω Ἰσσηδόνων ἐν αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ποιέων ἔφησε ἀπικέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ κατύπερθε ἔλεγε ἀκοῇ, φασ' Ἰσσηδόνας εἶναι τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας. 2 ἀλλ' ὅσον μὲν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκέως ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἶοι τε ἐγενόμεθα ἀκοῇ ἐξικέσθαι, πᾶν εἰρήσεται.

16. As for the land of which my history has begun to speak, no one exactly knows what lies north of it; for I can find out from no one who claims to know as an eyewitness. For even Aristeas, whom I recently mentioned — even he did not claim to have gone beyond the Issedones, even though a poet; but he spoke by hearsay of what lay north, saying that the Issedones had told him. But all that we have been able to learn for certain by report of the farthest lands shall be told.

17 1 Ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθενειτέων ἐμπορίου (τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν παραθαλασσίων μεσαίτατον ἐστὶ πάσης τῆς Σκυθίης), ἀπὸ τούτου πρῶτοι Καλλιππίδαι νέμονται ἐόντες Ἑλληνές Σκύθαι, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἄλλο ἔθνος οἱ Ἀλαζόνες καλέονται. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ

Καλλιπίδαι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ ταῦτὰ Σκύθησι ἐπασκέουσι, σῖτον δὲ καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ σιτέονται, καὶ κρόμμυα καὶ σκόροδα καὶ φακούς καὶ κέγχρους. 2 ὕπερ δὲ Ἀλαζόνων οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ σιτήσι σπείρουσι τὸν σῖτον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πρήσι. τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νευροί. Νευρῶν δὲ τὸ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἔρημον ἀνθρώπων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

17. North of the port of the Borysthenites, which lies midway along the coast of Scythia, the first inhabitants are the Callippidae, who are Scythian Greeks; and beyond them another tribe called Alazones; these and the Callippidae, though in other ways they live like the Scythians, plant and eat grain, onions, garlic, lentils, and millet. Above the Alazones live Scythian farmers, who plant grain not to eat but to sell; north of these, the Neuri; north of the Neuri, the land is uninhabited so far as we know.

18 1 Ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ὑπανιν ποταμὸν ἐστὶ ἔθνεα πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Βορυσθέneos· ἀτὰρ διαβάντι τὸν Βορυσθέnea ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρῶτον μὲν ἡ Ὑλαίη, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἄνω ἰόντι οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι γεωργοί, τοὺς Ἑλληνέες οἱ οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑπάνι ποταμῷ καλέουσι Βορυσθενεῖτας, σφέας δὲ αὐτοὺς Ὀλβιοπολίτας. 2 οὗτοι ὦν οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι νέμονται τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδοῦ, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ ποταμὸν τῷ οὐνομα κεῖται Παντικάπης, τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον πλόον ἀνὰ τὸν Βορυσθέnea ἡμερέων ἑνδεκα. ἤδη δὲ κατύπερθε τούτων ἡ ἔρημος ἐστὶ ἐπὶ πολλόν. 3 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔρημον Ἀνδροφάγοι οἰκέουσι, ἔθνος ἐὼν ἴδιον καὶ οὐδαμῶς Σκυθικόν. τὸ δὲ τούτων κατύπερθε ἔρημον ἤδη ἀληθέως καὶ ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων οὐδέν, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

18. These are the tribes by the Hypanis river, west of the Borysthenes. But on the other side of the Borysthenes, the tribe nearest to the sea is the tribe of the Woodlands; and north of these live Scythian farmers, whom the Greek colonists on the Hypanis river (who call themselves Olbiopolitae) call Borystheneitae. These farming Scythians inhabit a land stretching east a three days' journey to a river called Panticapes, and north as far as an eleven days' voyage up the Borysthenes; and north of these the land is desolate for a long way; after the desolation is the country of the Man-eaters, who are a nation apart and by no means Scythian; and beyond them is true

desolation, where no nation of men lives, as far as we know.

19 1 Τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῶν γεωργῶν τούτων Σκυθέων, διαβάντι τὸν Παντικάπην ποταμὸν, νομάδες ἤδη Σκύθαι νέμονται, οὔτε τι σπεύροντες οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀροῦντες· ψιλή δὲ δενδρέων ἡ πᾶσα αὕτη πλήν τῆς Ὑλαίης. οἱ δὲ νομάδες οὗτοι τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἡμερέων τεσσέρων καὶ δέκα ὁδὸν νέμονται χώραν κατατείνουσιν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Γέρρον.

19. But to the east of these farming Scythians, across the Panticapes river, you are in the land of nomadic Scythians, who plant nothing, nor plough; and all these lands except the Woodlands are bare of trees. These nomads inhabit a country to the east that stretches fourteen days' journey to the Gerrus river.

20 1 Πέρην δὲ τοῦ Γέρρου ταῦτα δὴ τὰ καλούμενα βασιλῆα ἐστὶ καὶ Σκύθαι οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ πλεῖστοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομίζοντες Σκύθας δούλους σφετέρους εἶναι· κατήκουσι δὲ οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρὸς μεσαμβρίην ἐς τὴν Ταυρικὴν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἡῶ ἐπὶ τε τάφρον, τὴν δὴ οἱ ἐκ τῶν τυφλῶν γενόμενοι ὠρυξαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος τὸ ἐμπόριον τὸ καλέεται Κρημνοί· τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν κατήκουσι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Τάναϊν. 2 τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον τῶν βασιλῆων Σκυθέων οἰκεῖν Μελάγχλαινοι, ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ οὐ Σκυθικόν. Μελαγχλαίων δὲ τὸ κατύπερθε λίμναι καὶ ἔρημος ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπων, κατ' ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

20. Across the Gerrus are those lands called Royal, where the best and most numerous of the Scythians are, who consider all other Scythians their slaves; their territory stretches south to the Tauric land, and east to the trench that was dug by the sons of the blind men, and to the port called The Cliffs on the Maeetian lake; and part of it stretches to the Tanaïs river. North of the Royal Scythians live the Blackcloaks, who are of another and not a Scythian stock; and beyond the Blackcloaks the land is all marshes and uninhabited by men, so far as we know.

21 1 Τάναϊν δὲ ποταμὸν διαβάντι οὐκέτι Σκυθική, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν πρώτη τῶν λαξίων Σαυροματέων ἐστὶ, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ μυχοῦ ἀρξάμενοι τῆς Μαιήτιδος λίμνης νέμονται τὸ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἡμερέων πεντεκαίδεκα ὁδόν, πᾶσαν ἐοῦσαν ψιλήν καὶ ἀγρίων καὶ ἡμέρων δενδρέων· ὑπεροικέουσι δὲ τούτων δευτέρην λάξιν ἔχοντες

Βουδῖνοι, γῆν νεμόμενοι πᾶσαν δασέαν ὕλη παντοίῃ.

21. Across the Tanaïs it is no longer Scythia; the first of the districts belongs to the Sauromatae, whose country begins at the inner end of the Maeetian lake and stretches fifteen days' journey north, and is quite bare of both wild and cultivated trees. Above these in the second district, the Budini inhabit a country thickly overgrown with trees of all kinds.

22 1 Βουδίνων δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἐστὶ πρώτη μὲν ἔρημος ἐπ' ἡμερέων ἑπτὰ ὁδόν, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔρημον ἀποκλίνοντι μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον νέμονται Θυσσαγέται, ἔθνος πολλὸν καὶ ἴδιον· ζῶσι δὲ ἀπὸ θήρης. 2 συνεχέες δὲ τοῦτοισι ἐν τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι τόποισι κατοικημένοι εἰσὶ τοῖσι οὖνομα κεῖται Ἰύρκαι, καὶ οὗτοι ἀπὸ θήρης ζῶντες τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· λοχᾷ ἐπὶ δένδρεον ἀναβάς, τὰ δὲ ἐστὶ πυκνὰ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν· ἵππος δὲ ἐκάστῳ δεδιδαγμένος ἐπὶ γαστέρα κεῖσθαι ταπεινότητος εἵνεκα ἔτοιμος ἐστὶ καὶ κύων· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίδῃ τὸ θηρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ δένδρεου, τοξεύσας ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον διώκει, καὶ ὁ κύων ἔχεται, 3 ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἀποκλίνοντι οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἄλλοι, ἀπὸ τῶν βασιληῶν Σκυθέων ἀποστάντες καὶ οὕτω ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον.

22. North of the Budini the land is uninhabited for seven days' journey; after this desolation, and somewhat more toward the east wind, live the Thyssagetae, a numerous and a separate nation, who live by hunting. Adjoining these and in the same country live the people called Iyrkae; these also live by hunting, in the way that I will describe. The hunter climbs a tree, and sits there concealed; for trees grow thickly all over the land; and each man has his horse at hand, trained to flatten on its belly for the sake of lowness, and his dog; and when he sees the quarry from the tree, he shoots with the bow and mounts his horse and pursues it, and the dog follows close behind. Beyond these and somewhat to the east live Scythians again, who revolted from the Royal Scythians and came to this country.

23 1 Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῆς τούτων τῶν Σκυθέων χώρας ἐστὶ ἡ καταλεχθεῖσα πᾶσα πεδιάς τε γῆ καὶ βαθύγαιος, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου λιθώδης τ' ἐστὶ καὶ τρηχέα. 2 διεξελθόντι δὲ καὶ τῆς τρηχέως χώρας πολλὸν οἰκέουσι ὑπώρεαν ὁρέων ὑψηλῶν ἄνθρωποι λεγόμενοι εἶναι πάντες φαλακροὶ ἐκ γενετῆς γινόμενοι, καὶ ἔρσενες καὶ θήλεια

ὁμοίως, καὶ σιμοὶ καὶ γένεια ἔχοντες μεγάλα, φωνὴν δὲ ἰδίην ἰέντες, ἐσθῆτι δὲ χρεώμενοι Σκυθικῇ, ζῶντες δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρέων. 3 ποντικὸν μὲν οὔνομα τῷ δενδρέῳ ἀπ' οὗ ζῶσι, μέγαθος δὲ κατὰ συκὴν μάλιστά κη. καρπὸν δὲ φορέει κυάμω ἴσον, πυρῆνα δὲ ἔχει. τοῦτο ἐπεὰν γένηται πέπον, σακκέουσι ἱματίοισι, ἀπορρέει δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παχὺ καὶ μέλαν· οὔνομα δὲ τῷ ἀπορρέοντι ἐστὶ ἄσχυ· τοῦτο καὶ λείχουσι καὶ γάλακτι συμμίσγοντες πίνουσι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς παχύτητος αὐτοῦ τῆς τρυγὸς παλάθας συντιθεῖσι καὶ ταύτας σιτέονται. 4 πρόβατα γάρ σφι οὐ πολλὰ ἐστὶ. οὐ γάρ τι σπουδαῖαι αἱ νομαὶ αὐτόθι εἰσί. ὑπὸ δενδρέῳ δὲ ἕκαστος κατοίκηται, τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα ἐπεὰν τὸ δένδρεον περικαλύψῃ πύλῳ στεγνῷ λευκῷ, τὸ δὲ θέρος ἄνευ πύλου. 5 τούτους οὐδεὶς ἀδικεῖ ἀνθρώπων· ἱροὶ γὰρ λέγονται εἶναι· οὐδέ τι ἀρήιον ὄπλον ἐκτέεται. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοῖσι περιοικέουσι οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ τὰς διαφορὰς διαιρέοντες, τοῦτο δὲ ὅς ἄν φεύγων καταφύγῃ ἐς τούτους, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀδικέεται· οὔνομα δὲ σφι ἐστὶ Ἀργιπᾶιοι.

23. As for the countryside of these Scythians, all the land mentioned up to this point is level and its soil deep; but thereafter it is stony and rough. After a long journey through this rough country, there are men inhabiting the foothills of high mountains, who are said to be bald from birth (male and female alike) and snub-nosed and with long beards; they speak their own language, and wear Scythian clothing, and their food comes from trees. The tree by which they live is called "Pontic"; it is about the size of a fig-tree, and bears a fruit as big as a bean, with a stone in it. When this fruit is ripe, they strain it through cloth, and a thick black liquid comes from it, which they call "aschu"; they lick this up or drink it mixed with milk, and from the thickest lees of it they make cakes, and eat them. They have few cattle, for the pasture in their land is not good. They each live under a tree, covering it in winter with a white felt cloth, but using no felt in summer. These people are wronged by no man, for they are said to be sacred; nor have they any weapon of war. They judge the quarrels between their neighbors; furthermore, whatever banished man has taken refuge with them is wronged by no one. They are called Argippeans.

24 1 Μέχρι μὲν νυν τῶν φαλακρῶν τούτων πολλὴ περιφανείη τῆς χώρας ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθε ἐθνέων· καὶ γὰρ Σκυθέων τινὲς

ἀπικνέονται ἐς αὐτούς, τῶν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ πυθέσθαι καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐκ Βορυσθένης τε ἐμπορίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ποντικῶν ἐμπορίων· Σκυθέων δὲ οἱ ἂν ἔλθωσι ἐς αὐτούς, δι' ἑπτὰ ἐρμηνέων καὶ δι' ἑπτὰ γλωσσέων διαπρήσσονται.

24. Now as far as the land of these bald men, we have full knowledge of the country and the nations on the near side of them; for some of the Scythians make their way to them, from whom it is easy to get knowledge, and from some of the Greeks, too, from the Borysthenes port and the other ports of Pontus; such Scythians as visit them transact their business with seven interpreters and in seven languages.

25 1 Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων γινώσκεται, τὸ δὲ τῶν φαλακρῶν κατύπερθε οὐδεὶς ἀτρεκέως οἶδε φράσαι. ὄρεα γὰρ ὑψηλὰ ἀποτάμνει ἄβατα καὶ οὐδεὶς σφεα ὑπερβαίνει. οἱ δὲ φαλακροὶ οὗτοι λέγουσι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, οἰκέειν τὰ ὄρεα αἰγίποδας ἄνδρας, ὑπερβάντι δὲ τούτους ἀνθρώπους ἄλλους οἱ τὴν ἐξάμηνον κατεύδουσι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι τὴν ἀρχὴν, 2 ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἡῶ τῶν φαλακρῶν γινώσκεται ἀτρεκέως ὑπὸ Ἰσσηδόνων οἰκεόμενον, τὸ μέντοι κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον οὐ γινώσκεται οὔτε τῶν φαλακρῶν οὔτε τῶν Ἰσσηδόνων, εἰ μὴ ὅσα αὐτῶν τούτων λεγόντων.

25. As far as these men this country is known, then, but what lies north of the bald men no one can say with exact knowledge; for high and impassable mountains bar the way, and no one crosses them. These bald men say (although I do not believe them) that the mountains are inhabited by men with goats' feet, and that beyond these are men who sleep for six months of the twelve. This I cannot accept as true at all. But the country east of the bald-heads is known for certain to be inhabited by the Issedones; however, of what lies north either of the bald-heads or the Issedones we have no knowledge, except what comes from the report of these latter.

26 1 Νόμοισι δὲ Ἰσσηδόνες τοῖσιδε λέγονται χρᾶσθαι. ἐπεὰν ἀνδρὶ ἀποθάνῃ πατήρ, οἱ προσήκοντες πάντες προσάγουσι πρόβατα, καὶ ἔπειτα ταῦτα θύσαντες καὶ καταταμόντες τὰ κρέα κατατάμνουσι καὶ τὸν τοῦ δεκομένου τεθνεῶτα γονέα, ἀναμίξαντες δὲ πάντα τὰ κρέα δαῖτα προτίθενται· 2 τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ψιλώσαντες καὶ

ἐκκαθήραντες καταχρυσοῦσι καὶ ἔπειτα ἅτε ἀγάλματι χρέωνται, θυσίας μεγάλας ἐπετείους ἐπιτελέοντες. παῖς δὲ πατρὶ τοῦτο ποιέει, κατὰ περ Ἑλλήνες τὰ γενέσια. ἄλλως δὲ δίκαιοι καὶ οὗτοι λέγονται εἶναι, ἰσοκρατέες δὲ ὁμοίως αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖσι ἀνδράσι.

26. It is said to be the custom of the Issedones that, whenever a man's father dies, all the nearest of kin bring beasts of the flock and, having killed these and cut up the flesh, they also cut up the dead father of their host, and set out all the flesh mixed together for a feast. As for his head, they strip it bare and clean and gild it, and keep it for a sacred relic, to which they offer solemn sacrifice yearly. Every son does this for his father, just like the Greeks in their festivals in honor of the dead. In other respects, these are said to be a law-abiding people, too, and the women to have equal power with the men.

27 1 Γινώσκονται μὲν δὴ καὶ οὗτοι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων τὸ κατύπερθε Ἰσσηδόνες εἰσὶ οἱ λέγοντες μονοφθάλμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ χρυσοφύλακας γρῦπας εἶναι· παρὰ δὲ τούτων Σκύθαι παραλαμβάντες λέγουσι, παρὰ δὲ Σκυθέων ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄλλοι νενομίκαμεν καὶ ὀνομάζομεν αὐτοὺς σκυθιστὶ Ἀριμασπούς· ἄριμα γὰρ ἐν καλέουσι Σκύθαι, σποῦ δὲ ὀφθαλμόν.

27. Of these too, then, we have knowledge; but as for what is north of them, it is from the Issedones that the tale comes of the one-eyed men and the griffins that guard gold; this is told by the Scythians, who have heard it from them; and we have taken it as true from the Scythians, and call these people by the Scythian name, Arimaspians; for in the Scythian tongue “arima” is one, and “spou” is the eye.

28 1 Δυσχεῖμερος δὲ αὕτη ἡ καταλεχθεῖσα πᾶσα χώρα οὕτω δὴ τι ἐστί, ἔνθα τοὺς μὲν ὀκτῶ τῶν μηνῶν ἀφόρητος οἶος γίνεται κρυμός, ἐν τοῖσι ὕδωρ ἐκχέας πηλὸν οὐ ποιήσεις, πῦρ δὲ ἀνακαίων ποιήσεις πηλόν· ἡ δὲ θάλασσα πηγνυται καὶ ὁ Βόσπορος πᾶς ὁ Κιμμέριος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου οἱ ἐντὸς τάφρου Σκύθαι κατοικημένοι στρατεύονται καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας ἐπελαύνουσι πέρην ἐς τοὺς Σίνδους. 2 οὕτω μὲν δὴ τοὺς ὀκτῶ μῆνας διατελέει χειμὼν ἐὼν, τοὺς δ' ἐπιλοίπους τέσσερας ψύχρα αὐτόθι ἐστί. κεχώρισται δὲ οὗτος ὁ χειμὼν τοὺς τρόπους πᾶσι τοῖσι ἐν ἄλλοισι χωρίοις γινομένοις

χειμῶσι, ἐν τῇ τὴν μὲν ὥραίην οὐκ ὕει λόγου ἄξιον οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ θέρος ὕων οὐκ ἀνιεῖ· 3 βρονταὶ τε ἥμος τῇ ἄλλῃ γίνονται, τηνικαῦτα μὲν οὐ γίνονται, θέρεος δὲ ἀμφιλαφές· ἦν δὲ χειμῶνος βροντὴ γένηται, ὥς τέρας νενόμισται θαυμάζεσθαι. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἦν σεισμὸς γένηται ἦν τε θέρεος ἦν τε χειμῶνος ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ, τέρας νενόμισται. 4 ἵπποι δὲ ἀνεχόμενοι φέρουσι τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον, ἡμίονοι δὲ οὐδὲ ὄνοι οὐκ ἀνέχονται ἀρχὴν· τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἵπποι μὲν ἐν κρυμῷ ἐστεῶτες ἀποσφακελίζουσι, ὄνοι δὲ καὶ ἡμίονοι ἀνέχονται.

28. All the aforesaid country is exceedingly cold: for eight months of every year there is unbearable frost, and during these you do not make mud by pouring out water but by lighting a fire; the sea freezes, as does all the Cimmerian Bosphorus; and the Scythians living on this side of the trench lead armies over the ice, and drive their wagons across to the land of the Sindi. So it is winter for eight months, and cold in that country for the four that remain. Here, there is a different sort of winter than the winters in other lands: for in the season for rain scarcely any falls, but all summer it rains unceasingly; and when there are thunderstorms in other lands, here there are none, but in summer there are plenty of them; if there is a thunderstorm in winter they are apt to wonder at it as at a portent. And so, too, if there is an earthquake summer or winter, it is considered a portent in Scythia. Horses have the endurance to bear the Scythian winter; mules and asses cannot bear it at all; and yet in other lands, while asses and mules can endure frost, horses that stand in it are frostbitten.

29 1 Δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν βοῶν τὸ κόλον διὰ ταῦτα οὐ φύειν κέρεια αὐτόθι· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ Ὅμηρου ἔπος ἐν Ὀδυσσεῖῃ ἔχον ὧδε, καὶ Λιβύην, ὅθι τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσι, ὀρθῶς εἰρημένον, ἐν τοῖσι θερμοῖσι ταχὺ παραγίνεσθαι τὰ κέρεια, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι ἰσχυροῖσι ψύχεσι ἢ οὐ φύειν κέρεια τὰ κτήνεα ἀρχὴν ἢ φύοντα φύειν μόγις.

29. And in my opinion it is for this reason that the hornless kind of cattle grow no horns in Scythia. A verse of Homer in the Odyssey attests to my opinion: ““Libya, the land where lambs are born with horns on their foreheads,” “ Hom. Od.4.85 in which it is correctly observed that in hot countries the horns grow quickly, whereas in

very cold countries beasts hardly grow horns, or not at all.

30 1 Ἐνθαῦτα μὲν νυν διὰ τὰ ψύχρα γίνεται ταῦτα. θωμάζω δέ (προσθήκας γὰρ δὴ μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδίζητο) ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἥλειῃ πάσῃ χώρῃ οὐ δυνέεται γίνεσθαι ἡμίονοι, οὔτε ψυχροῦ τοῦ χώρου ἐόντος οὔτε ἄλλου φανεροῦ αἰτίου οὐδενός. φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἥλαιοι ἐκ κατάρης τευ οὐ γίνεσθαι σφίσι ἡμίονους, 2 ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν προσίῃ ἡ ὥρη κυῖσκεσθαι τὰς ἵππους, ἐξελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους αὐτάς, καὶ ἔπειτ' αὖ σφι ἐν τῇ τῶν πέλας ἐπιείσι τοὺς ὄνους, ἐς οὗ ἂν σχῶσι αἱ ἵπποι ἐν γαστρὶ· ἔπειτα δὲ ἀπελαύνουσι.

30. In Scythia, then, this happens because of the cold. But I think it strange (for it was always the way of my history to investigate excurses) that in the whole of Elis no mules can be conceived although the country is not cold, nor is there any evident cause. The Eleans themselves say that it is because of a curse that mules cannot be conceived among them; but whenever the season is at hand for the mares to conceive, they drive them into the countries of their neighbors, and then send the asses after them, until the mares are pregnant, and then they drive them home again.

31 1 Περὶ δὲ τῶν περῶν τῶν Σκύθαι λέγουσι ἀνάπλεον εἶναι τὸν ἥερα, καὶ τούτων εἵνεκα οὐκ οἰοί τε εἶναι οὔτε ἰδεῖν τὸ πρόσω τῆς ἡπείρου οὔτε διεξιέναι, τήνδε ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην· τὰ κατύπερθε ταύτης τῆς χώρας αἰεὶ νίφεται, ἐλάσσονι δὲ τοῦ θέρεος ἢ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ καὶ οἶκος. 2 ἤδη ὢν ὅστις ἀγγόθεν χιόνα ἀδρὴν πίπτουσιν εἶδε οἶδε τὸ λέγω· ἔοικε γὰρ ἡ χιὼν περοῖσι καὶ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον ἐόντα τοιοῦτον ἀνοίκητα τὰ πρὸς βορέην ἐστὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης. τὰ ὢν περὰ εἰκάζοντας τὴν χιόνα τοὺς Σκύθας τε καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους δοκέω λέγειν. ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὰ λέγεται μακρότατα εἴρηται.

31. But regarding the feathers of which the Scythians say that the air is full, so thickly that no one can see or traverse the land beyond, I have this opinion. North of that country snow falls continually, though less in summer than in winter, as is to be expected. Whoever has seen snow falling thickly near him knows himself my meaning; for snow is like feathers; and because of the winter, which is as I have said, the regions to the north of this continent are uninhabited. I think therefore that in this story of feathers the Scythians and their

neighbors only speak of snow figuratively. So, then, I have spoken of those parts that are said to be most distant.

32 1 Ὑπερβορέων δὲ περὶ ἀνθρώπων οὔτε τι Σκύθαι λέγουσι οὐδὲν οὔτε τινὲς ἄλλοι τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα Ἰσσηδόνες. ὥς δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐδ' οὔτοι λέγουσι οὐδέν· ἔλεγον γὰρ ἂν καὶ Σκύθαι, ὥς περὶ τῶν μουνοφθάλμων λέγουσι. ἀλλ' Ἡσιόδῳ μὲν ἐστὶ περὶ Ὑπερβορέων εἰρημένα, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ ἐν Ἐπιγόνοισι, εἰ δὴ τῷ ἑόντι γε Ὀμηρος ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα ἐποίησε.

32. Concerning the Hyperborean people, neither the Scythians nor any other inhabitants of these lands tell us anything, except perhaps the Issedones. And, I think, even they say nothing; for if they did, then the Scythians, too, would have told, just as they tell of the one-eyed men. But Hesiod speaks of Hyperboreans, and Homer too in his poem *The Heroes' Sons*, if that is truly the work of Homer.

33 1 Πολλῷ δὲ τι πλεῖστα περὶ αὐτῶν Δῆλιοι λέγουσι, φάμενοι ἱρὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν καλάμῃ πυρῶν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων φερόμενα ἀπικνέεσθαι ἐς Σκύθας, ἀπὸ δὲ Σκυθέων ἤδη δεκομένους αἰεὶ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἐκάστους κομίζειν αὐτὰ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἐκαστάτῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίην, 2 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην προπεμπόμενα πρῶτους Δωδωναίους Ἑλλήνων δέκεσθαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Μηλιέα κόλπον καὶ διαπορεύεσθαι ἐς Εὐβοίαν, πόλιν τε ἐς πόλιν πέμπειν μέχρι Καρύστου, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκλιπεῖν Ἄνδρον· Καρυστίους γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς κομίζοντας ἐς Τήνον, Τηνίους δὲ ἐς Δῆλον. 3 ἀπικνέεσθαι μὲν νυν οὕτω ταῦτα τὰ ἱρὰ λέγουσι ἐς Δῆλον· πρῶτον δὲ τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους πέμψαι φερούσας τὰ ἱρὰ δὺο κόρας, τὰς ὀνομάζουσι Δῆλιοι εἶναι Ὑπερόχην τε καὶ Λαοδίκην· ἅμα δὲ αὐτῇσι ἀσφαλείης εἵνεκεν πέμψαι τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους τῶν ἀστῶν ἄνδρας πέντε πομπούς, τούτους οἱ νῦν Περφερέες καλέονται τιμὰς μεγάλας ἐν Δήλῳ ἔχοντες. 4 ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖσι Ὑπερβορείοισι τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέντας ὀπίσω οὐκ ἀπονοστέειν, δεινὰ ποιευμένους εἰ σφέας αἰεὶ καταλάμπεται ἀποστέλλοντας μὴ ἀποδέκεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ φέροντας ἐς τοὺς οὖρους τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν πυρῶν καλάμῃ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἐπισκήπτειν κελεύοντας προπέμπειν σφέα ἀπὸ ἐωυτῶν ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος. 5 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω προπεμπόμενα ἀπικνέεσθαι λέγουσι ἐς Δῆλον. οἶδα δὲ αὐτὸς τούτοισι τοῖσι ἱροῖσι τόδε ποιεύμενον προσφερές, τὰς Θρηκίας καὶ τὰς Παιονίδας

γυναῖκας, ἐπεὰν θύωσι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ βασιλείῃ, οὐκ ἄνευ πυρῶν καλάμης ἐχούσας τὰ ἱρά.

33. But the Delians say much more about them than any others do. They say that offerings wrapped in straw are brought from the Hyperboreans to Scythia; when these have passed Scythia, each nation in turn receives them from its neighbors until they are carried to the Adriatic sea, which is the most westerly limit of their journey; from there, they are brought on to the south, the people of Dodona being the first Greeks to receive them. From Dodona they come down to the Melian gulf, and are carried across to Euboea, and one city sends them on to another until they come to Carystus; after this, Andros is left out of their journey, for Carystians carry them to Tenos, and Tenians to Delos. Thus (they say) these offerings come to Delos. But on the first journey, the Hyperboreans sent two maidens bearing the offerings, to whom the Delians give the names Hyperoche and Laodice, and five men of their people with them as escort for safe conduct, those who are now called Perpherees and greatly honored at Delos. But when those whom they sent never returned, they took it amiss that they should be condemned always to be sending people and not getting them back, and so they carry the offerings, wrapped in straw, to their borders, and tell their neighbors to send them on from their own country to the next; and the offerings, it is said, come by this conveyance to Delos. I can say of my own knowledge that there is a custom like these offerings; namely, that when the Thracian and Paeonian women sacrifice to the Royal Artemis, they have straw with them while they sacrifice.

34 1 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτας οἶδα ποιεύσας· τῇσι δὲ παρθένοισι ταύτησι τῇσι ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων τελευτησάσῃσι ἐν Δήλῳ κείρονται καὶ αἱ κόραι καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Δηλίων· αἱ μὲν πρὸ γάμου πλόκαμον ἀποταμνόμεναι καὶ περὶ ἄτρακτον εἰλίξασαι ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα τιθεῖσι 2 (τὸ δὲ σῆμα ἐστὶ ἔσω ἐς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός, ἐπιπέφυκε δὲ οἱ ἐλαίῃ), ὅσοι δὲ παῖδες τῶν Δηλίων, περὶ χλόην τινὰ εἰλίξαντες τῶν τριχῶν τιθεῖσι καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα.

34. I know that they do this. The Delian girls and boys cut their hair in honor of these Hyperborean maidens, who died at Delos; the girls before their marriage cut off a tress and lay it on the tomb,

wound around a spindle (this tomb is at the foot of an olive-tree, on the left hand of the entrance of the temple of Artemis); the Delian boys twine some of their hair around a green stalk, and lay it on the tomb likewise.

35 1 Αὗται μὲν δὴ ταύτην τιμὴν ἔχουσι πρὸς τῶν Δήλου οἰκητόρων. φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ τὴν Ἀργὴν τε καὶ τὴν Ὠπιν ἐούσας παρθένους ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἀνθρώπους πορευομένας ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Δῆλον ἔτι πρότερον Ὑπερόχης τε καὶ Λαοδίκης. 2 ταύτας μὲν νυν τῇ Εἰλειθυίῃ ἀποφερούσας ἀντὶ τοῦ ὠκυτόκου τὸν ἐτάξαντο φόρον ἀπικέσθαι, τὴν δὲ Ἀργὴν τε καὶ τὴν Ὠπιν ἅμα αὐτοῖσι θεοῖσι ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι καὶ σφι τιμὰς ἄλλας δεδόσθαι πρὸς σφέων· 3 καὶ γὰρ ἀγείρειν σφι τὰς γυναικας ἐπονομαζούσας τὰ οὐνόματα ἐν τῷ ὕμνῳ τὸν σφι Ὠλὴν ἀνὴρ Λύκιος ἐποίησε, παρὰ δὲ σφέων μαθόντας νησιώτας τε καὶ Ἴωνας ὑμνέειν Ὠπὶν τε καὶ Ἀργὴν ὀνομάζοντάς τε καὶ ἀγείροντας (οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ὠλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παλαιοὺς ὕμνους ἐποίησε ἐκ Λυκίης ἐλθὼν τοὺς ἀειδομένους ἐν Δήλῳ), 4 καὶ τῶν μηρίων καταγιζομένων ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τὴν σποδὸν ταύτην ἐπὶ τὴν θήκην τῆς Ὠπιός τε καὶ Ἀργῆς ἀναισιμουῖσθαι ἐπιβαλλομένην. ἡ δὲ θήκη αὐτέων ἐστὶ ὀπισθε τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, πρὸς ἣῳ τετραμμένη, ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ Κηίων ἱστυτηρίου.

35. In this way, then, these maidens are honored by the inhabitants of Delos. These same Delians relate that two virgins, Arge and Opis, came from the Hyperboreans by way of the aforesaid peoples to Delos earlier than Hyperoche and Laodice; these latter came to bring to Eileithyia the tribute which they had agreed to pay for easing child-bearing; but Arge and Opis, they say, came with the gods themselves, and received honors of their own from the Delians. For the women collected gifts for them, calling upon their names in the hymn made for them by Olen of Lycia; it was from Delos that the islanders and Ionians learned to sing hymns to Opis and Arge, calling upon their names and collecting gifts (this Olen, after coming from Lycia, also made the other and ancient hymns that are sung at Delos). Furthermore, they say that when the thighbones are burnt in sacrifice on the altar, the ashes are all cast on the burial-place of Opis and Arge, behind the temple of Artemis, looking east, nearest the

refectory of the people of Ceos.

36 1 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ὑπερβορέων πέρι εἰρήσθω· τὸν γὰρ περὶ Ἀβάριος λόγον τοῦ λεγομένου εἶναι Ὑπερβορέου οὐ λέγω, ὥς τὸν ὀιστὸν περιέφερε κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν οὐδὲν σιτεόμενος. εἰ δὲ εἰσι\ ὑπερβόρειοι τινὲς ἄνθρωποι, εἰσὶ καὶ ὑπερνότιοι ἄλλοι. 2 γελῶ δὲ ὀρέων γῆς περιόδους γράψαντας πολλοὺς ἤδη καὶ οὐδένα νοονεχόντως ἐξηγησάμενον· οἱ Ὠκεανὸν τε ῥέοντα γράφουσι πέριξ τὴν γῆν ἐοῦσαν κυκλωτερέα ὥς ἀπὸ τόρνου, καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ποιεύντων ἴσην. ἐν ὀλίγοις γὰρ ἐγὼ δηλώσω μέγαθός τε ἐκάστης αὐτέων καὶ οἷη τις ἐστὶ ἐς γραφὴν ἐκάστη.

36. I have said this much of the Hyperboreans, and let it suffice; for I do not tell the story of that Abaris, alleged to be a Hyperborean, who carried the arrow over the whole world, fasting all the while. But if there are men beyond the north wind, then there are others beyond the south. And I laugh to see how many have before now drawn maps of the world, not one of them reasonably; for they draw the world as round as if fashioned by compasses, encircled by the Ocean river, and Asia and Europe of a like extent. For myself, I will in a few words indicate the extent of the two, and how each should be drawn.

37 1 Πέρσαι οἰκέουσι κατήκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίην θάλασσαν τὴν, Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην, τούτων δὲ ὑπεροικέουσι πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον Μῆδοι, Μήδων δὲ Σάσπειρες, Σασπεύρων δὲ Κόλχοι κατήκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν βορήϊην θάλασσαν, ἐς τὴν Φάσις ποταμὸς ἐκδιδοῖ. ταῦτα τέσσερα ἔθνηα οἰκεῖ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς θάλασσαν.

37. The land where the Persians live extends to the southern sea which is called Red; beyond these to the north are the Medes, and beyond the Medes the Saspies, and beyond the Saspies the Colchians, whose country extends to the northern sea into which the Phasis river flows; so these four nations live between the one sea and the other.

38 1 Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἀκταὶ διφάσαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς κατατείνουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, τὰς ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι· 2 ἔνθεν μὲν ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ ἐτέρη τὰ πρὸς βορέην ἀπὸ Φάσιος ἀρξαμένη παρατέταται ἐς θάλασσαν παρὰ τε τὸν Πόντον καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μέχρι Σιγείου τοῦ Τρωικοῦ· τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότου ἡ αὐτὴ αὕτη ἀκτὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ

Μυριανδικοῦ κόλπου τοῦ πρὸς Φοινίκη κειμένου τείνει τὰ ἐς θάλασσαν μέχρι Τριοπίου ἄκρης. οἰκέει δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκτῇ ταύτῃ ἔθνεα ἀνθρώπων τριήκοντα.

38. But west of this region two peninsulas stretch out from it into the sea, which I will now describe. On the north side one of the peninsulas begins at the Phasis and stretches seaward along the Pontus and the Hellespont, as far as Sigeum in the Troad; on the south side, the same peninsula has a seacoast beginning at the Myriandric gulf that is near Phoenicia, and stretching seaward as far as the Triopian headland. On this peninsula live thirty nations.

39 1 Αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ ἐτέρα τῶν ἀκτέων, ἡ δὲ δὴ ἐτέρα ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀρξαμένη παρατέταται ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν, ἥ τε Περσικὴ καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκδεκομένη ἡ Ἀσσυρίη καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀσσυρίης ἡ Ἀραβίη· λήγει δὲ αὕτη, οὐ λήγουσα εἰ μὴ νόμῳ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον, ἐς τὸν Δαρείῳ ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυχα ἐσήγαγε. 2 μέχρι μὲν νυν Φοινίκης ἀπὸ Περσέων χῶρος πλατὺς καὶ πολλός ἐστι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Φοινίκης παρῆκει διὰ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ ἀκτὴ αὕτη παρά τε Συρίην τὴν Παλαιστίνην καὶ Αἴγυπτον, ἐς τὴν τελευτᾷ· ἐν τῇ ἔθνεα ἐστὶ τρία μούνα.

39. This is the first peninsula. But the second, beginning with Persia, stretches to the Red Sea, and is Persian land; and next, the neighboring land of Assyria; and after Assyria, Arabia; this peninsula ends (not truly but only by common consent) at the Arabian Gulf, to which Darius brought a canal from the Nile. Now from the Persian country to Phoenicia there is a wide and vast tract of land; and from Phoenicia this peninsula runs beside our sea by way of the Syrian Palestine and Egypt, which is at the end of it; in this peninsula there are just three nations.

40 1 Ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ Περσέων τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τῆς Ἀσίας ἔχοντα ἐστὶ· τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε Περσέων καὶ Μήδων καὶ Σασπεύρων καὶ Κόλχων, τὰ πρὸς ἡῷ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, ἔνθεν μὲν ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ παρῆκει θάλασσα, πρὸς βορέῳ δὲ ἡ Κασπίη τε θάλασσα καὶ ὁ Ἀράξης ποταμός, ῥέων πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα. 2 μέχρι δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς οἰκέεται Ἀσίη· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔρημος ἤδη τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῷ, οὐδὲ ἔχει οὐδεὶς φράσαι οἷον δὴ τι ἐστὶ.

40. So much for the parts of Asia west of the Persians. But what is

beyond the Persians, and Medes, and Saspises, and Colchians, east and toward the rising sun, this is bounded on the one hand by the Red Sea, and to the north by the Caspian Sea and the Araxes river, which flows toward the sun's rising. As far as India, Asia is an inhabited land; but thereafter, all to the east is desolation, nor can anyone say what kind of land is there.

41 1 Τοιαύτη μὲν καὶ τοσαύτη ἡ Ἀσίη ἐστί, ἡ δὲ Λιβύη ἐν τῇ ἀκτῇ τῇ ἐτέρῃ ἐστί· ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου Λιβύη ἥδη ἐκδέκεται. κατὰ μὲν νυν Αἴγυπτον ἡ ἀκτὴ αὕτη στενὴ ἐστί· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν δέκα μυριάδες εἰσὶ ὀργυιέων, αὗται δ' ἂν εἶεν χίλιοι στάδιοι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ στενοῦ τούτου κάρτα πλατεά τυγχάνει ἐοῦσα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἥτις Λιβύη κέκληται.

41. Such is Asia, and such its extent. But Libya is on this second peninsula; for Libya comes next after Egypt. The Egyptian part of this peninsula is narrow; for from our sea to the Red Sea it is a distance of a hundred and twenty-five miles; that is, a thousand stades; but after this narrow part, the peninsula which is called Libya is very broad.

42 1 Θωμάζω ὧν τῶν διουρισάντων καὶ διελόντων Λιβύην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Εὐρώπην· οὐ γὰρ σμικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα αὐτέων ἐστί· μήκει μὲν γὰρ παρ' ἀμφοτέρας παρήκει ἡ Εὐρώπη, εὖρεος δὲ πέρι οὐδὲ συμβάλλειν ἄξιόν φαίνεται μοι εἶναι. 2 Λιβύη μὲν γὰρ δηλοῖ ἐωυτὴν ἐοῦσα περίρρυτος, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίην οὐρίζει, Νεκῶ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέος πρώτου τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν καταδέξαντος· ὃς ἐπέιτε τὴν διώρυχα ἐπαύσατο ὀρύσσων τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διέχουσαν ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, ἀπέπεμψε Φοίνικας ἄνδρας πλοίοισι, ἐντειλάμενος ἐς τὸ ὀπίσω δι' Ἡρακλέων στηλέων ἐκπλέειν ἕως ἐς τὴν βορηὴν θάλασσαν καὶ οὕτω ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπικνέεσθαι. 3 ὀρμηθέντες ὧν οἱ Φοίνικες ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἔπλεον τὴν νοτίην θάλασσαν· ὅκως δὲ γίνοιτο φθινόπωρον προσσχόντες ἂν σπεύρεσκον τὴν γῆν, ἵνα ἐκάστοτε τῆς Λιβύης πλέοντες γινοίαιτο, καὶ μένεσκον τὸν ἄμητον· 4 θερίσαντες δ' ἂν τὸν σῖτον ἔπλεον, ὥστε δύο ἐτέων διεξελθόντων τρίτῳ ἔτει κάμψαντες Ἡρακλέας στήλας ἀπίκοντο ἐς Αἴγυπτον. καὶ ἔλεγον ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά, ἄλλω δὲ δὴ τεῶ, ὡς περιπλώνοντες τὴν Λιβύην τὸν ἥλιον ἔσχον ἐς τὰ δεξιά.

42. I wonder, then, at those who have mapped out and divided the world into Libya, Asia, and Europe; for the difference between them is great, seeing that in length Europe stretches along both the others together, and it appears to me to be wider beyond all comparison. For Libya shows clearly that it is bounded by the sea, except where it borders on Asia. Necos king of Egypt first discovered this and made it known. When he had finished digging the canal which leads from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf, he sent Phoenicians in ships, instructing them to sail on their return voyage past the Pillars of Heracles until they came into the northern sea and so to Egypt. So the Phoenicians set out from the Red Sea and sailed the southern sea; whenever autumn came they would put in and plant the land in whatever part of Libya they had reached, and there await the harvest; then, having gathered the crop, they sailed on, so that after two years had passed, it was in the third that they rounded the pillars of Heracles and came to Egypt. There they said (what some may believe, though I do not) that in sailing around Libya they had the sun on their right hand.

43 1 Οὕτω μὲν αὕτη ἐγνώσθη τὸ πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰσὶ οἱ λέγοντες· ἐπεὶ Σατάσπης γε ὁ Τεάσπιος ἀνὴρ Ἀχαιμενίδης οὐ περιέπλωσε Λιβύην, ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεμφθεὶς, ἀλλὰ δέισας τό τε μῆκος τοῦ πλόου καὶ τὴν ἐρημίην ἀπῆλθε ὀπίσω, οὐδ’ ἐπετέλεσε τὸν ἐπέταξε οἱ ἢ μήτηρ ἄεθλον. 2 θυγατέρα γὰρ Ζωπύρου τοῦ Μεγαβύζου ἐβίησατο παρθένον· ἔπειτα μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην ἀνασκοιοπεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Χέρξεω βασιλέως, ἢ μήτηρ τοῦ Σατάσπεος ἐοῦσα Δαρείου ἀδελφεῇ παραιτήσατο, φᾶσά οἱ αὕτη μέζω ζημίην ἐπιθήσειν ἢ περ ἐκεῖνον· 3 Λιβύην γάρ οἱ ἀνάγκην ἔσεσθαι περιπλῶειν, ἐς ὃ ἂν ἀπίκηται περιπλέων αὐτὴν ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ Χέρξεω ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὁ Σατάσπης ἀπικόμενος ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ λαβὼν νέα τε καὶ ναύτας παρὰ τούτων ἔπλεε ἐπὶ Ἡρακλέας στήλας· 4 διεκπλώσας δὲ καὶ κάμψας τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Λιβύης τῷ οὐνομα Σολόεις ἐστί, ἔπλεε πρὸς μεσαμβρίην· περήσας δὲ θάλασσαν πολλὴν ἐν πολλοῖσι μῆσι, ἐπεῖτε τοῦ πλεῦνος αἰεὶ ἔδεε, ἀποστρέψας ὀπίσω ἀπέπλεε ἐς Αἴγυπτον. 5 ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἀπικόμενος παρὰ βασιλέα Χέρξεα ἔλεγε φᾶς τὰ προσωτάτω ἀνθρώπους μικροὺς παραπλέειν ἐσθῆτι φοινικίῃ διαχρεωμένους, οἱ ὅκως σφεῖς καταγοῖατο τῇ νηὶ φεύγεσκον πρὸς τὰ

ὄρεα λείποντες τὰς πόλιας· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀδικεῖν οὐδὲν ἐσιόντες, βρωτὰ δὲ μοῦνα ἐξ αὐτέων λαμβάνειν. 6 τοῦ δὲ μὴ περιπλῶσαι Λιβύην παντελέως αἴτιον τόδε ἔλεγε, τὸ πλοῖον τὸ πρόσω οὐ δυνατόν ἔτι εἶναι προβαίνειν ἀλλ' ἐνίσχεσθαι. Χέρξης δὲ οὐ οἱ συγγινώσκων λέγειν ἀληθέα οὐκ ἐπιτελέσαντά τε τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον ἀνεσκολόπισε, τὴν ἀρχαίην δίκην ἐπιτιμῶν. 7 τούτου δὲ τοῦ Σατάσπεος εὐνοῦχος ἀπέδρη ἐς Σάμον, ἐπεῖτε ἐπύθετο τάχιστα τὸν δεσπότηα τετελευτηκότα, ἔχων χρήματα μεγάλα, τὰ Σάμιος ἀνὴρ κατέσχε, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὔνομα ἐκὼν ἐπιλήθομαι.

43. Thus was the first knowledge of Libya gained. The next story is that of the Carthaginians: for as for Sataspes son of Teaspes, an Achaemenid, he did not sail around Libya, although he was sent for that purpose; but he feared the length and loneliness of the voyage and so returned without accomplishing the task laid upon him by his mother. For he had raped the virgin daughter of Zopyrus son of Megabyzus; and when on this charge he was to be impaled by King Xerxes, Sataspes' mother, who was Darius' sister, interceded for his life, saying that she would impose a heavier punishment on him than Xerxes; for he would be compelled to sail around Libya, until he completed his voyage and came to the Arabian Gulf. Xerxes agreed to this, and Sataspes went to Egypt where he received a ship and a crew from the Egyptians, and sailed past the Pillars of Heracles. Having sailed out beyond them, and rounded the Libyan promontory called Solois, he sailed south; but when he had been many months sailing over the sea, and always more before him, he turned back and made sail for Egypt. Coming to King Xerxes from there, he related in his narrative that, when he was farthest distant, he sailed by a country of little men, who wore palm-leaf clothing; these, whenever he and his men put in to land with their ship, left their towns and fled to the hills; he and his men did no harm when they landed, and took nothing from the people except cattle. As to his not sailing completely around Libya, the reason (he said) was that the ship could move no farther, but was stopped. But Xerxes did not believe that Sataspes spoke the truth, and, as the task appointed was unfulfilled, he impaled him, punishing him on the charge first brought against him. This Sataspes had a eunuch, who as soon as he heard of his

master's death escaped to Samos, with a great hoard of wealth, of which a man of Samos got possession. I know the man's name but deliberately omit it.

44 1 Τῆς δὲ Ἀσίας τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξευρέθη, ὃς βουλόμενος Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν, ὃς κροκοδείλους δεύτερος οὗτος ποταμῶν πάντων παρέχεται, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν εἰδέναι τῇ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, πέμπει πλοίοισι ἄλλους τε τοῖσι ἐπίστευε τὴν ἀληθείην ἐρέειν καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύλακα ἄνδρα Καρυανδέα. 2 οἱ δὲ ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Κασπατύρου τε πόλιος καὶ τῆς Πακτυκῆς γῆς ἔπλεον κατὰ ποταμὸν πρὸς ἡῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐς θάλασσαν, διὰ θαλάσσης δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρην πλέοντες τριηκοστῷ μηνὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον ὅθεν ὁ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς τοὺς Φοίνικας τοὺς πρότερον εἶπα ἀπέστειλε περιπλῶειν Λιβύην. 3 μετὰ δὲ τούτους περιπλώσαντας Ἰνδοὺς τε κατεστρέψατο Δαρεῖος καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ ταύτῃ ἐχρᾶτο. οὕτω καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας, πλὴν τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, τὰ ἄλλα ἀνεύρηται ὅμοια παρεχομένη τῇ Λιβύῃ.

44. But as to Asia, most of it was discovered by Darius. There is a river, Indus, second of all rivers in the production of crocodiles. Darius, desiring to know where this Indus empties into the sea, sent ships manned by Scylax, a man of Caryanda, and others whose word he trusted; these set out from the city of Caspatyrus and the Pactyic country, and sailed down the river toward the east and the sunrise until they came to the sea; and voyaging over the sea west, they came in the thirtieth month to that place from which the Egyptian king sent the above-mentioned Phoenicians to sail around Libya. After this circumnavigation, Darius subjugated the Indians and made use of this sea. Thus it was discovered that Asia, except the parts toward the rising sun, was in other respects like Libya.

45 1 Ἡ δὲ Εὐρώπῃ πρὸς οὐδαμῶν φανερὴ ἐστὶ γινωσκομένη, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα οὔτε τὰ πρὸς βορέην, εἰ περιόρντος ἐστί· μήκεϊ δὲ γινώσκεται παρ' ἀμφοτέρως παρήκουσα. 2 οὐδ' ἔχω συμβαλέσθαι ἐπ' ὅτεν μὴ εὐόση γῇ οὐνόματα τριφάσια κέεται ἐπωνυμίας ἔχοντα γυναικῶν, καὶ οὐρίσματα αὐτῇ Νεῖλός τε ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ποταμὸς ἐτέθη καὶ Φᾶσις ὁ Κόλχος (οἱ δὲ Τάναιν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαιήτην καὶ πορθμήια τὰ Κιμμέρια λέγουσι), οὐδὲ τῶν διουρισάντων τὰ οὐνόματα πυθέσθαι, καὶ ὅθεν ἔθεντο τὰς

ἐπωνυμίας. 3 ἤδη γὰρ Λιβύη μὲν ἐπὶ Λιβύης λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔχειν τὸ οὖνομα γυναικὸς αὐτόχθονος, ἡ δὲ Ἀσίη ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθεὸς γυναικὸς τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. καὶ τούτου μὲν μεταλαμβάνονται τοῦ οὐνόματος Λυδοί, φάμενοι ἐπὶ Ἀσίῳ τοῦ Κότυος τοῦ Μάνεω κεκληῖσθαι τὴν Ἀσίην, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθεὸς Ἀσίης. ἀπ' ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἐν Σάρδισι φυλὴν κεκληῖσθαι Ἀσιάδα. 4 ἡ δὲ δὴ Εὐρώπη οὔτε εἰ περίρρυτος ἐστὶ γινώσκεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὔτε ὁκόθεν τὸ οὖνομα ἔλαβε τοῦτο, οὔτε ὅστις οἱ ἦν ὁ θέμενος φαίνεται, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρίας φήσομεν Εὐρώπης λαβεῖν τὸ οὖνομα τὴν χώραν· πρότερον δὲ ἦν ἄρα ἀνώνυμος ὥσπερ αἱ ἔτεροι. 5 ἀλλ' αὕτη γε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης τε φαίνεται ἐοῦσα καὶ οὐκ ἀπικομένη ἐς τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἣτις νῦν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Εὐρώπη καλεῖται, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐς Κρήτην, ἐκ Κρήτης δὲ ἐς Λυκίην. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· τοῖσι γὰρ νομιζομένοισι αὐτῶν χρησόμεθα.

45. But it is plain that none have obtained knowledge of Europe's eastern or northern regions, so as to be able say if it is bounded by seas; its length is known to be enough to stretch along both Asia and Libya. I cannot guess for what reason the earth, which is one, has three names, all women's, and why the boundary lines set for it are the Egyptian Nile river and the Colchian Phasis river (though some say that the Maeetian Tanaïs river and the Cimmerian Ferries are boundaries); and I cannot learn the names of those who divided the world, or where they got the names which they used. For Libya is said by most Greeks to be named after a native woman of that name, and Asia after the wife of Prometheus; yet the Lydians claim a share in the latter name, saying that Asia was not named after Prometheus' wife Asia, but after Asies, the son of Cotys, who was the son of Manes, and that from him the Asiad clan at Sardis also takes its name. But as for Europe, no men have any knowledge whether it is bounded by seas or not, or where it got its name, nor is it clear who gave the name, unless we say that the land took its name from the Tyrian Europa, having been (it would seem) before then nameless like the rest. But it is plain that this woman was of Asiatic birth, and never came to this land which the Greeks now call Europe, but only from Phoenicia to Crete and from Crete to Lycia. Thus much I have

said of these matters, and let it suffice; we will use the names established by custom.

46 1 Ὁ δὲ Πόντος ὁ Εὐξείνιος, ἐπ' ὃν ἐστρατεύετο ὁ Δαρεῖος, χωρέων πασέων παρέχεται ἔξω τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνεα ἀμαθέστατα. οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνος τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ Πόντου οὐδὲν ἔχομεν προβαλέσθαι σοφίης πέρι οὔτε ἄνδρα λόγιον οἶδαμεν γενόμενον, πάρεξ τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνους καὶ Ἀναχάρσιος. 2 τῷ δὲ Σκυθικῷ γένει ἐν μὲν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πρηγμάτων σοφώτατα πάντων ἐξεύρηται τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα οὐκ ἄγαμαι· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον οὕτω σφι ἀνεύρηται ὥστε ἀποφυγεῖν τε μηδένα ἐπελθόντα ἐπὶ σφέας, μὴ βουλομένους τε ἐξευρεθῆναι καταλαβεῖν μὴ οἷον τε εἶναι. 3 τοῖσι γὰρ μήτε ἄστεα μήτε τείχεα ἢ ἐκτισμένα, ἀλλὰ φερέοικοι ἐόντες πάντες ἔωσι ἵπποτοξόται, ζῶντες μὴ ἀπ' ἀρότου ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων, οἰκήματα τε σφι ἢ ἐπὶ ζευγέων, κῶς οὐκ ἂν εἶψαν οὗτοι ἅμαχοι τε καὶ ἄποροι προσμίσγειν;

46. Nowhere are men so ignorant as in the lands by the Euxine Pontus (excluding the Scythian nation) into which Darius led his army. For we cannot show that any nation within the region of the Pontus has any cleverness, nor do we know of (overlooking the Scythian nation and Anacharsis) any notable man born there. But the Scythian race has made the cleverest discovery that we know in what is the most important of all human affairs; I do not praise the Scythians in all respects, but in this, the most important: that they have contrived that no one who attacks them can escape, and no one can catch them if they do not want to be found. For when men have no established cities or forts, but are all nomads and mounted archers, not living by tilling the soil but by raising cattle and carrying their dwellings on wagons, how can they not be invincible and unapproachable?

47 1 Ἐξεύρηται δὲ σφι ταῦτα τῆς τε γῆς ἐούσης ἐπιτηδέης καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐόντων σφι συμμάχων. ἢ τε γὰρ γῆ ἐοῦσα πεδιάς αὕτη ποιῶδης τε καὶ εὐνδρος ἐστί, ποταμοὶ τε δι' αὐτῆς ῥέουσιν οὐ πολλῷ τεφ' ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονες τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διωρύχων. 2 ὅσοι δὲ ὀνομαστοὶ τε εἰσὶ αὐτῶν καὶ προσπλωτοὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τούτους ὀνομανέω.... Ἰστρος μὲν πεντάστομος, μετὰ δὲ Τύρης τε καὶ Ὑπανίς καὶ Βορυσθένης καὶ Παντικάπης καὶ Ὑπάκυρις καὶ Γέρρος καὶ

Τάναϊς. ῥέουσι δὲ οἶδε κατὰ τάδε.

47. They have made this discovery in a land that suits their purpose and has rivers that are their allies; for their country is flat and grassy and well-watered, and rivers run through it not very many fewer in number than the canals of Egypt. As many of them as are famous and can be entered from the sea, I shall name. There is the Ister, which has five mouths, and the Tyras, and Hypanis, and Borysthenes, and Panticapes, and Hypacuris, and Gerrhus, and Tanaïs. Their courses are as I shall indicate.

48 1 Ἴστρος μὲν, ἔὼν μέγιστος ποταμῶν πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἴσος αἰεὶ αὐτὸς ἐωυτῷ ῥέει καὶ θέρεος καὶ χειμῶνος, πρῶτος δὲ τὸ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ ῥέων κατὰ τοιόνδε μέγιστος γέγονε· ποταμῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκδιδόντων 2 εἰσὶ δὴ οἶδε οἱ μέγαν αὐτὸν ποιεῦντες, διὰ μὲν γε τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρας πέντε μὲν οἱ ῥέοντες, τὸν τε Σκύθαι Πόρατα καλέουσι Ἑλλήνες δὲ Πυρετόν, καὶ ἄλλος Τιάραντος καὶ Ἄραρος τε καὶ Νάπαρις καὶ Ὀρδησσός. 3 ὁ μὲν πρῶτος λεχθεὶς τῶν ποταμῶν μέγας καὶ πρὸς ἡῶ ῥέων ἀνακοινοῦται τῷ Ἴστρῳ τὸ ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος λεχθεὶς Τιάραντος πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐλάσσων, ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἄραρός τε καὶ ὁ Νάπαρις καὶ ὁ Ὀρδησσός καὶ μέσου τούτων ἰόντες ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν Ἴστρον.

48. The Ister, the greatest of all rivers which we know, flows with the same volume in summer and winter; it is most westerly Scythian river of all, and the greatest because other rivers are its tributaries. Those that make it great, five flowing through the Scythian country, are these: the river called by Scythians Porata and by Greeks Pyretus, and besides this the Tiarantus, the Ararus, the Napolis, and the Ordessus. The first-named of these rivers is a great stream flowing east and uniting its waters with the Ister; the second, the Tiarantus, is more westerly and smaller; the Ararus, Napolis, and Ordessus flow between these two and pour their waters into the Ister.

49 1 Οὗτοι μὲν αὐθιγενέες Σκυθικοὶ ποταμοὶ συμπληθούουσι αὐτόν, ἐκ δὲ Ἀγαθύρσων Μάρις ποταμὸς ῥέων συμμίσγεται τῷ Ἴστρῳ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Αἴμου τῶν κορυφῶν τρεῖς ἄλλοι μεγάλοι ῥέοντες πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς αὐτόν, Ἄτλας καὶ Αὔρας καὶ Τίβισις. διὰ δὲ Θρηίκης καὶ Θρηίκων τῶν Κροβύζων ῥέοντες Ἄθρυς καὶ Νόης καὶ Ἀρτάνης ἐκδιδοῦσι ἐς τὸν Ἴστρον· ἐκ δὲ Παιόνων καὶ

ὄρεος Ῥοδόπης Κίος ποταμὸς μέσον σχίζων τὸν Αἶμον ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς αὐτόν. 2 ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν δὲ ῥέων πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον Ἄγγρος ποταμὸς ἐσβάλλει ἐς πεδῖον τὸ Τριβαλλικὸν καὶ ἐς ποταμὸν Βρόγγον, ὁ δὲ Βρόγγος ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον· οὕτω ἀμφοτέρους ἐόντας μεγάλους ὁ Ἰστρος δέκεται. ἐκ δὲ τῆς κατ' ὑπερθε χώρας Ὀμβρικῶν Κάρπις ποταμὸς καὶ ἄλλος Ἄλπις ποταμὸς πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον καὶ οὗτοι ῥέοντες ἐκδιδοῦσι ἐς αὐτόν· 3 ῥέει γὰρ δὴ διὰ πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης ὁ Ἰστρος, ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν, οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων μετὰ Κύνητας οἰκεῖν τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ· ῥέων δὲ διὰ πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς Σκυθίας ἐσβάλλει.

49. These are the native-born Scythian rivers that help to swell it; but the Maris river, which commingles with the Ister, flows from the Agathyrsi. The Atlas, Auras, and Tibisis, three other great rivers that pour into it, flow north from the heights of Haemus. The Athrys, the Noes, and the Artanes flow into the Ister from the country of the Crobyzi in Thrace; the Cius river, which cuts through the middle of Haemus, from the Paeonians and the mountain range of Rhodope. The Angrus river flows north from Illyria into the Triballian plain and the Brongus river, and the Brongus into the Ister, which receives these two great rivers into itself. The Carpis and another river called Alpis also flow northward, from the country north of the Ombrici, to flow into it; for the Ister traverses the whole of Europe, rising among the Celts, who are the most westerly dwellers in Europe, except for the Cynetes, and flowing thus clean across Europe it issues forth along the borders of Scythia.

50 1 Τοῦτων ὧν τῶν καταλεχθέντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν συμβαλλομένων τὸ σφέτερον ὕδωρ γίνεται ὁ Ἰστρος ποταμῶν μέγιστος, ἐπεὶ ὕδωρ γε ἐν πρὸς ἐν συμβάλλειν ὁ Νεῖλος πλήθει ἀποκρατέει. ἴσος δὲ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον οὔτε ποταμὸς οὔτε κρήνη οὐδεμία ἐσδιδοῦσα ἐς πληθὺς οἱ συμβάλλεται. 2 ἴσος δὲ αἰεὶ ῥέει ἐν τε θέρει καὶ χειμῶνι ὁ Ἰστρος κατὰ τοιόνδε τι, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ· τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος ἐστὶ ὅσος περ ἐστὶ, ὀλίγω τε μέζων τῆς ἐκείνου φύσιος γίνεται· ὕεται γὰρ ἡ γῆ αὕτη τοῦ χειμῶνος πάμπαν ὀλίγω, νιφετῷ δὲ πάντα χρᾶται· 3 τοῦ δὲ θέρεος ἡ χιὼν ἢ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι πεσοῦσα, ἐοῦσα ἀμφιλαφῆς, τηκομένη πάντοθεν ἐσδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον. αὕτη τε δὴ ἡ χιὼν ἐσδιδοῦσα ἐς αὐτὸν συμπληθύνει καὶ ὄμβροι πολλοὶ τε

καὶ λάβροι σὺν αὐτῇ· ὕει γὰρ δὴ τὸ θέρος. 4 ὅσω δὲ πλέον ἐπ' ἐωυτὸν ὕδωρ ὃ ἥλιος ἐπέλκεται ἐν τῷ θέρει ἢ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι, τοσοῦτω τὰ συμμισγόμενα τῷ Ἰστρῷ πολλαπλήσια ἐστὶ τοῦ θέρεος ἢ περ τοῦ χειμῶνος· ἀντιτιθέμενα δὲ ταῦτα ἀντισήκωσις γίνεται, ὥστε ἶσον μιν αἰεὶ φαίνεσθαι ἔοντα.

50. With these rivers aforesaid, and many others, too, as its tributaries, the Ister becomes the greatest river of all, while river for river the Nile surpasses it in volume, since that owes its volume of water to no tributary river or spring. But the Ister is always the same height in summer and winter, the reason for which, I think, is this. In winter it is of its customary size, or only a little greater than is natural to it, for in that country in winter there is very little rain, but snow everywhere. In the summer, the abundant snow that has fallen in winter melts and pours from all sides into the Ister; so this snow-melt pours into the river and helps to swell it and much violent rain besides, as the summer is the season of rain. And in proportion as the sun draws to itself more water in summer than in winter, the water that commingles with the Ister is many times more abundant in summer than it is in winter; these opposites keep the balance true, so that the volume of the river appears always the same.

51 1 Εἷς μὲν δὴ τῶν ποταμῶν τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἐστὶ ὁ Ἰστρος, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Τύρης, ὃς ἀπὸ βορέω μεγάλης ἢ οὐρίζει τήν τε Σκυθικὴν καὶ Νευρίδα γῆν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ κατοικῆνται Ἕλληνες οἱ Τυρίται καλέονται.

51. One of the rivers of the Scythians, then, is the Ister. The next is the Tyras; this comes from the north, flowing at first out of a great lake, which is the boundary between the Scythian and the Neurian countries; at the mouth of the river there is a settlement of Greeks, who are called Tyritae.

52 1 Τρίτος δὲ Ὑπανὶς ποταμὸς ὁρμᾶται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ῥέει δὲ ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης τὴν πέριξ νέμονται ἵπποι ἄγριοι λευκοί· καλέεται δὲ ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὀρθῶς μήτηρ Ὑπάνιος. 2 ἐκ ταύτης ὦν ἀνατέλλων ὁ Ὑπανὶς ποταμὸς ῥέει ἐπὶ μὲν πέντε ἡμερέων πλόον βραχὺς καὶ γλυκύς ἐστι, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου πρὸς θαλάσσης τεσσέρων ἡμερέων πλόον πικρὸς δεινῶς· 3 ἐκδιδοὶ γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν κρήνη πικρή, οὕτω δὴ τι ἐοῦσα πικρή, ἢ μεγάθει σμικρὴ ἐοῦσα κερνᾷ τὸν Ὑπανιν

έόντα ποταμὸν ἐν ὀλίγοισι μέγαν· ἔστι δὲ ἡ κρήνη αὕτη ἐν οὖροισι
χώρης τῆς τε ἀροτήρων Σκυθέων καὶ Ἀλαζόνων· οὖνομα δὲ τῇ
κρήνῃ καὶ ὅθεν ῥέει τῷ χώρῳ σκυθιστὶ μὲν Ἑξαμπαῖος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν
Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Ἰραὶ ὁδοί. 4 συνάγουσι δὲ τὰ τέρματα ὃ τε Τύρης
καὶ ὁ Ὑπανις κατὰ Ἀλαζόνας, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀποστρέφας
ἐκάτερος ῥέει εὐρύνων τὸ μέσον.

52. The third river is the Hypanis; this comes from Scythia,
flowing out of a great lake, around which wild, white horses graze.
This lake is truly called the mother of the Hypanis. Here, then, the
Hypanis rises; for five days' journey its waters are shallow and still
sweet; after that for four days' journey seaward it is amazingly bitter,
for a spring runs into it so bitter that although its volume is small its
admixture taints the Hypanis, one of the few great rivers of the
world. This spring is on the border between the farming Scythians
and the Alazones; the name of it and of the place where it rises is in
Scythian Exampaeus; in the Greek tongue, Sacred Ways. The Tyras
and the Hypanis draw near together in the Alazones' country; after
that they flow apart, the intervening space growing wider.

53 1 Τέταρτος δὲ Βορυσθένης ποταμός, ὃς ἐστὶ τε μέγιστος μετὰ
Ἰστρον τούτων καὶ πολυαρκέστατος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας οὔτι
μοῦνον τῶν Σκυθικῶν ποταμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, πλὴν
Νείλου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐκ οἶά τε ἐστὶ συμβαλεῖν ἄλλον
ποταμόν· 2 τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν Βορυσθένης ἐστὶ πολυαρκέστατος, ὃς
νομάς τε καλλίστας καὶ εὐκομιδεστάτας κτήνεσι παρέχεται ἰχθύας τε
ἀρίστους διακριδὸν καὶ πλείστους, πίνεσθαι τε ἥδιστος ἐστὶ, ῥέει τε
καθαρὸς παρὰ θολεροῖσι, σπόρος τε παρ' αὐτὸν ἄριστος γίνεται,
ποίη τε, τῇ οὐ σπείρεται ἡ χώρα, βαθυτάτη· 3 ἄλεις τε ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι
αὐτοῦ αὐτόματοι πηγνυνται ἄπλετοι· κήτεά τε μεγάλα ἀνάκανθα, τὰ
ἀντακαίους καλέουσι, παρέχεται ἐς ταρίχευσιν, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ
θωμάσαι ἄξια. 4 μέχρι μὲν νυν Γερρέων χώρου, ἐς τὸν τεσσεράκοντα
ἡμερέων πλόος ἐστὶ, γινώσκεται ῥέων ἀπὸ βορέω ἀνέμου· τὸ δὲ
κατύπερθε δι' ὧν ῥέει ἀνθρώπων οὐδεὶς ἔχει φράσαι· φαίνεται δὲ
ῥέων δι' ἐρήμου ἐς τῶν γεωργῶν Σκυθέων τὴν χώραν· οὗτοι γὰρ οἱ
Σκύθαι παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμερέων πλόον νέμονται. 5 μούνου δὲ
τούτου τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Νείλου οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι τὰς πηγάς, δοκέω
δέ, οὐδὲ οὐδεὶς Ἑλλήνων· ἀγχοῦ τε δὴ θαλάσσης ὁ Βορυσθένης ῥέων

γίνεται καὶ οἱ συμμίσγεται ὁ Ὑπανις ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν ἔλος ἐκδιδούς. 6 τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν ποταμῶν τούτων, ἐὼν ἔμβολον τῆς χώρας, Ἰππόλεω ἄκρη καλέεται, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ, ἱρὸν Δήμητρος ἐνίδρυται· πέρην δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑπάνι Βορυσθενεῖται κατοικῆνται.

53. The fourth is the Borysthenes river. This is the next greatest after the Ister, and the most productive, in our judgment, not only of the Scythian but of all rivers, except the Egyptian Nile, with which no other river can be compared. But of the rest, the Borysthenes is the most productive; it provides the finest and best-nurturing pasture lands for beasts, and the fish in it are beyond all in their excellence and abundance. Its water is most sweet to drink, flowing with a clear current, whereas the other rivers are turbid. There is excellent soil on its banks, and very rich grass where the land is not planted; and self-formed crusts of salt abound at its mouth; it provides great spineless fish, called sturgeons, for salting, and many other wonderful things besides. Its course is from the north, and it is known as far as the Gerrhan land; that is, for forty days' voyage; beyond that, no one can say through what nations it flows; but it is plain that it flows through desolate country to the land of the farming Scythians, who live beside it for a ten days' voyage. This is the only river, besides the Nile, whose source I cannot identify; nor, I think, can any Greek. When the Borysthenes comes near the sea, the Hypanis mingles with it, running into the same marsh; the land between these rivers, where the land projects like a ship's beak, is called Hippolaus' promontory; a temple of Demeter stands there. The settlement of the Borystheneitae is beyond the temple, on the Hypanis.

54 1 Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν, μετὰ δὲ τούτους πέμπτος ποταμὸς ἄλλος, τῷ οὐνομα Παντικάπης, ῥέει μὲν καὶ οὗτος ἀπὸ βορέω τε καὶ ἐκ λίμνης, καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ τούτου τε καὶ τοῦ Βορυσθέneos νέμονται οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ὑβλαίην, παραμειψάμενος δὲ ταύτην τῷ Βορυσθένει συμμίσγεται.

54. This is the produce of these rivers, and after these there is a fifth river called Panticapas; this also flows from the north out of a lake, and the land between it and the Borysthenes is inhabited by the farming Scythians; it flows into the woodland country, after passing which it mingles with the Borysthenes.

55 1 Ἐκτος δὲ Ὑπάκuriς ποταμός, ὃς ὀρμαῖται μὲν ἐκ λίμνης, διὰ μέσων δὲ τῶν νομάδων Σκυθέων ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ κατὰ Καρκινίτιν πόλιν, ἐς δεξιὴν ἀπέργων τὴν τε Ὑλαίην καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλήιον δρόμον καλεόμενον.

55. The sixth is the Hypacuris river, which rises from a lake, and flowing through the midst of the nomadic Scythians flows out near the city of Carcine, bordering on its right the Woodland and the region called the Racecourse of Achilles.

56 1 Ἑβδομος δὲ Γέρρος ποταμός ἀπέσχισται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθένης κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς χώρας ἐς ὃ γινώσκεται ὁ Βορυσθένης· ἀπέσχισται μὲν νυν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου, οὖνομα δὲ ἔχει τό περ ὁ χώρος αὐτός, Γέρρος, ῥέων δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν οὐρίζει τὴν τε τῶν νομάδων χώραν καὶ τὴν τῶν βασιληίων Σκυθέων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὑπάκuriν.

56. The seventh river, the Gerrhus, separates from the Borysthenes at about the place which is the end of our knowledge of that river; at this place it separates, and has the same name as the place itself, Gerrhus; then in its course to the sea it divides the country of the Nomads and the country of the Royal Scythians, and empties into the Hypacuris.

57 1 Ὅγδοος δὲ δὴ Τάναϊς ποταμός, ὃς ῥέει τἀνέκαθεν ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης ὀρμώμενος, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς μέζω ἔτι λίμνην καλεόμενον Μαιῆτιν, ἣ οὐρίζει Σκύθας τε τοὺς βασιληίους καὶ Σαυρομάτας. ἐς δὲ Τάναϊν τοῦτον ἄλλος ποταμός ἐσβάλλει τῷ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Ὑργις.

57. The eighth is the Tanaïs river; in its upper course, this begins by flowing out of a great lake, and enters a yet greater lake called the Maeetian, which divides the Royal Scythians from the Sauromatae; another river, called Hyrgis, is a tributary of this Tanaïs.

58 1 Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ὀνομαστοῖσι ποταμοῖσι οὕτω δὴ τι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐσκευάδεται, τοῖσι δὲ κτήνεσι ἢ ποιή ἀναφυομένη ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ ἐστὶ ἐπιχλωτάτη πασέων ποιέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· ἀνοιγομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι κτήνεσι ἐστὶ σταθμώσασθαι ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχει.

58. These are the rivers of note with which the Scythians are provided. For rearing cattle, the grass growing in Scythia is the most productive of bile of all pastures which we know; that this is so can be judged by opening up the bodies of the cattle.

59 1 Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα οὕτω σφι εὖπορα ἐστί, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ νόμαια κατὰ τάδε σφι διακέεται. θεοὺς μὲν μούνους τούσδε ἰλάσκονται, Ἰστίην μὲν μάλιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ Δία καὶ Γῆν, νομίζοντες τὴν Γῆν τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι γυναῖκα, μετὰ δὲ τούτους, Ἀπόλλωνά τε καὶ οὐρανίην Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ἄρεα. τούτους μὲν πάντες Σκύθαι νενομίκασι, οἱ δὲ καλούμενοι βασιλῆιοι Σκύθαι καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέωνι θύουσι. 2 ὀνομάζεται δὲ σκυθιστὶ Ἰστίη μὲν Ταβιτί, Ζεὺς δὲ ὀρθότατα κατὰ γνώμην γε τὴν ἐμὴν καλούμενος Παπαῖος, Γῆ δὲ Ἀπί. Ἀπόλλων δὲ Γοιτόσυρος, οὐρανὴ δὲ Ἀφροδίτη Ἀργίμπασα, Ποσειδέων δὲ Θαγίμασάδας. ἀγάλματα δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ νηοὺς οὐ νομίζουσι ποιεῖν πλὴν Ἀρεῖ. τούτῳ δὲ νομίζουσι.

59. The most important things are thus provided them. It remains now to show the customs which are established among them. The only gods whom they propitiate are these: Hestia in particular, and secondly Zeus and Earth, whom they believe to be the wife of Zeus; after these, Apollo, and the Heavenly Aphrodite, and Heracles, and Ares. All the Scythians worship these as gods; the Scythians called Royal sacrifice to Poseidon also. In the Scythian tongue, Hestia is called Tabiti; Zeus (in my judgment most correctly so called) Papaeus; Earth is Apia; Apollo Goetosyrus; the Heavenly Aphrodite Argimpasa; Poseidon Thagimasadas. It is their practice to make images and altars and shrines for Ares, but for no other god.

60 1 Θυσίῃ δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ πᾶσι κατέστηκε περὶ πάντα τὰ ἰρὰ ὁμοίως, ἐρδομένη ὧδε· τὸ μὲν ἱρήιον αὐτὸ ἐμπεποδισμένον τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας ἔστηκε, ὁ δὲ θύων ὀπισθε τοῦ κτήneos ἐστεῶς σπάσας τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ στρόφου καταβάλλει μιν, 2 πίπτοντος δὲ τοῦ ἱρηίου ἐπικαλεῖ τὸν θεὸν τῷ ἂν θύῃ, καὶ ἔπειτα βρόχῳ περὶ ὧν ἔβαλε τὸν αὐχένα, σκυταλίδα δὲ ἐμβαλὼν περιάγει καὶ ἀποπνίγει, οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαύσας οὔτε καταρξάμενος οὔτ' ἐπισπείσας· ἀποπνίξας δὲ καὶ ἀποδείρας τρέπεται πρὸς ἔψηνσιν.

60. In all their sacred rites they follow the same method of sacrifice; this is how it is offered. The victim stands with its forefeet shackled together; the sacrificer stands behind the beast, and throws it down by pulling the end of the rope; as the victim falls, he invokes whatever god it is to whom he sacrifices. Then, throwing a noose around the beast's neck, he thrusts in a stick and twists it and so

strangles the victim, lighting no fire nor offering the first-fruits, nor pouring any libation; and having strangled and skinned the beast, he sets about cooking it.

61 1 Τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς Σκυθικῆς αἰνῶς ἀξύλου ἐούσης ὧδε σφι ἐς τὴν ἔψησιν τῶν κρεῶν ἐξεύρηται· ἐπειδὰν ἀποδείρῳσι τὰ ἱρήια, γυμνοῦσι τὰ ὀστέα τῶν κρεῶν, ἔπειτα ἐσβάλλουσι, ἣν μὲν τύχῳσι ἔχοντες, ἐς λέβητας ἐπιχωρίους, μάλιστα Λεσβίοισι κρητῆρσι προσεικέλους, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι πολλῶ μέζονας· ἐς τούτους ἐσβάλλοντες ἔψουσιν ὑποκαίοντες τὰ ὀστέα τῶν ἱρηίων. ἣν δὲ μὴ σφι παρῇ, ὁ λέβης, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς γαστέρας τῶν ἱρηίων ἐσβάλλοντες τὰ κρέα πάντα καὶ παραμίξαντες ὕδωρ ὑποκαίουσι τὰ ὀστέα· 2 τὰ δὲ αἶθεται κάλλιστα, αἱ δὲ γαστέρες χωρέουσι εὐπετέως τὰ κρέα ἐνψλωμένα τῶν ὀστέων· καὶ οὕτω βοῦς τε ἑωυτὸν ἐξέψει καὶ τᾶλλα ἱρήια ἑωυτὸ ἕκαστον. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐψηθῇ τὰ κρέα, ὁ θύσας τῶν κρεῶν καὶ τῶν σπλάγχχνων ἀπαρξάμενος ρίπτει ἐς τὸ ἔμπροσθε. θύουσι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρόβατα καὶ ἵππους μάλιστα.

61. Now as the Scythian land is quite bare of wood, this is how they contrive to cook the meat. When they have skinned the victims, they strip the meat from the bones and throw it into the cauldrons of the country, if they have them: these are most like Lesbian bowls, except that they are much bigger; they throw the meat into these, then, and cook it by lighting a fire beneath with the bones of the victims. But if they have no cauldron, then they put all the meat into the victims' stomachs, adding water, and make a fire of the bones beneath, which burn nicely; the stomachs easily hold the meat when it is stripped from the bones; thus a steer serves to cook itself, and every other victim does likewise. When the flesh is cooked, the sacrificer takes the first-fruits of the flesh and the entrails and casts them before him. They use all grazing animals for sacrifice, but mainly horses.

62 1 Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἄλλοισι τῶν θεῶν οὕτω θύουσι καὶ ταῦτα τῶν κτηνέων, τῷ δὲ Ἄρεϊ ὧδε. κατὰ νομοὺς ἕκαστους τῶν ἀρχέων ἐσίδρυται σφι Ἄρεος ἱρὸν τοιόνδε φρυγάνων φάκελοι συννεέσθαι ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ σταδίους τρεῖς μῆκος καὶ εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ ἔλασσον· ἄνω δὲ τούτου τετράγωνον ἅπεδον πεποιήται, καὶ τὰ μὲν τρία τῶν κώλων ἐστὶ ἀπότομα, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν ἐπιβατόν. 2 ἔτεος δὲ ἕκαστου ἀμάξας

πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπινέουσι φρυγάνων· ὑπονοστέει γὰρ δὴ αἰεὶ ὑπὸ τῶν χειμώνων. ἐπὶ τοῦτου δὴ τοῦ σηκοῦ ἀκινάκης σιδήρεος ἱδρυται ἀρχαῖος ἐκάστοισι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἄρεος τὸ ἄγαλμα. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀκινάκῃ θυσίας ἐπετείουσιν προσάγουσιν προβάτων καὶ ἵππων, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσιδ' ἔτι πλέω θύουσι ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοις θεοῖσι· 3 ὅσους ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ζωγρήσωσι, ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἄνδρα θύουσι τρόπῳ οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' ἑτεροίῳ. ἐπεὰν γὰρ οἶνον ἐπισπείσωσι κατὰ τῶν κεφαλῶν, ἀποσφάζουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐς ἄγγος καὶ ἔπειτα ἀνενείκαντες ἄνω ἐπὶ τὸν ὄγκον τῶν φρυγάνων καταχέουσι τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀκινάκεω. 4 ἄνω μὲν δὴ φορέουσι τοῦτο, κάτω δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἱρὸν ποιεῦσι τάδε· τῶν ἀποσφαγέντων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς δεξιούς ὤμους πάντας ἀποταμόντες σὺν τῇσι χερσὶ ἐς τὸν ἥερα ἰεῖσι, καὶ ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέρξαντες ἱρήια ἀπαλλάσσουνται. χεῖρ δὲ τῇ ἂν πέσῃ κέεται, καὶ χωρὶς ὁ νεκρός.

62. This is their way of sacrificing to other gods and these are the beasts offered; but their sacrifices to Ares are of this sort. Every district in each of the governments has a structure sacred to Ares; namely, a pile of bundles of sticks three eighths of a mile wide and long, but of a lesser height, on the top of which there is a flattened four-sided surface; three of its sides are sheer, but the fourth can be ascended. Every year a hundred and fifty wagon-loads of sticks are heaped upon this; for the storms of winter always make it sink down. On this sacred pile an ancient scimitar of iron is set for each people: their image of Ares. They bring yearly sacrifice of sheep and goats and horses to this scimitar, offering to these symbols even more than they do to the other gods. Of enemies that they take alive, they sacrifice one man in every hundred, not as they sacrifice sheep and goats, but differently. They pour wine on the men's heads and cut their throats over a bowl; then they carry the blood up on to the pile of sticks and pour it on the scimitar. They carry the blood up above, but down below by the sacred pile they cut off all the slain men's right arms and hands and throw these into the air, and depart when they have sacrificed the rest of the victims; the arm lies where it has fallen, and the body apart from it.

63 1 Θυσίαι μὲν νυν αὐταί σφι κατεστᾶσι. ὑσὶ δὲ οὗτοι οὐδὲν νομίζουσι, οὐδὲ τρέφειν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τὸ παράπαν θέλουσι.

63. These then are their established rites of sacrifice; but these Scythians make no offerings of swine; nor are they willing for the most part to rear them in their country.

64 1 Τὰ δ' ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα ὧδέ σφι διακέεται· ἐπεὰν τὸν πρῶτον ἄνδρα καταβάλῃ ἀνὴρ Σκύθης, τοῦ αἵματος ἐμπίνει, ὅσους δ' ἂν φονεύσῃ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποφέρει τῷ βασιλεῖ. ἀπενείκας μὲν γὰρ κεφαλὴν τῆς ληΐης μεταλαμβάνει τὴν ἂν λάβωσι, μὴ ἐνείκας δὲ οὐ. 2 ἀποδεῖρει δὲ αὐτὴν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· περιταμὼν κύκλῳ περὶ τὰ ὦτα καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκσεῖει, μετὰ δὲ σαρκίσας βοὸς πλευρῇ δέψει τῇσι χερσί, ὀργάσας δὲ αὐτὸ ἅτε χειρόμακτρον ἔκτῃται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν χαλινῶν τοῦ ἵππου τὸν αὐτὸς ἐλαύνει, ἐκ τούτου ἐξάπτει καὶ ἀγάλλεται· ὃς γὰρ ἂν πλεῖστα δέρματα χειρόμακτρα ἔχῃ, ἀνὴρ ἄριστος οὗτος κέκριται. 3 πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀποδερμάτων καὶ χλαίνας ἐπείνυσθαι ποιεῦσι, συρράπτοντες κατὰ περ βαίτας. πολλοὶ δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχθρῶν τὰς δεξιὰς χεῖρας νεκρῶν ἐόντων ἀποδεύραντες αὐτοῖσι ὄνυξι καλύπτρας τῶν φαρετρέων ποιεῦνται. δέρμα δὲ ἀνθρώπου καὶ παχὺ καὶ λαμπρὸν ἦν ἄρα, σχεδὸν δερμάτων πάντων λαμπρότατον λευκότητι. 4 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὅλους ἄνδρας ἐκδεύραντες καὶ διατείναντες ἐπὶ ξύλων ἐπ' ἵππων περιφέρουσι.

64. As to war, these are their customs. A Scythian drinks the blood of the first man whom he has taken down. He carries the heads of all whom he has slain in the battle to his king; for if he brings a head, he receives a share of the booty taken, but not otherwise. He scalps the head by making a cut around it by the ears, then grasping the scalp and shaking the head off. Then he scrapes out the flesh with the rib of a steer, and kneads the skin with his hands, and having made it supple he keeps it for a hand towel, fastening it to the bridle of the horse which he himself rides, and taking pride in it; for he who has most scalps for hand towels is judged the best man. Many Scythians even make garments to wear out of these scalps, sewing them together like coats of skin. Many too take off the skin, nails and all, from their dead enemies' right hands, and make coverings for their quivers; the human skin was, as it turned out, thick and shining, the brightest and whitest skin of all, one might say. Many flay the skin from the whole body, too, and carry it about on horseback

stretched on a wooden frame.

65 1 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω σφι νενόμισται, αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς, οὔτι πάντων ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων, ποιεῦσι τάδε· ἀποπρίσας ἕκαστος πᾶν τὸ ἔνερθε τῶν ὀφρύων ἐκκαθαίρει· καὶ ἦν μὲν ἥ πένης, ὁ δὲ ἔξωθεν ὠμοβοέην μούνην περιτείνας οὕτω χρᾶται, ἦν δὲ ἥ πλούσιος, τὴν μὲν ὠμοβοέην περιτείνει, ἔσωθεν δὲ καταχρυσώσας οὕτω χρᾶται ποτηρίῳ. 2 ποιεῦσι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκῆϊων ἦν σφι διάφοροι γένωνται καὶ ἦν ἐπικρατήσῃ αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεί, ξείνων δὲ οἱ ἐλθόντων τῶν ἂν λόγον ποιέηται, τὰς κεφαλὰς ταύτας παραφέρει καὶ ἐπιλέγει ὥς οἱ ἐόντες οἰκῆιοι πόλεμον προσεθήκαντο καὶ σφεων αὐτὸς ἐπεκράτησε, ταύτην ἀνδραγαθίην λέγοντες.

65. The heads themselves, not all of them but those of their bitterest enemies, they treat this way. Each saws off all the part beneath the eyebrows, and cleans the rest. If he is a poor man, then he covers the outside with a piece of raw hide, and so makes use of it; but if he is rich, he covers the head with the raw hide, and gilds the inside of it and uses it for a drinking-cup. Such a cup a man also makes out of the head of his own kinsman with whom he has been feuding, and whom he has defeated in single combat before the king; and if guests whom he honors visit him he will serve them with these heads, and show how the dead were his kinsfolk who fought him and were beaten by him; this they call manly valor.

66 1 Ἀπαξ δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἕκαστου ὁ νομάρχης ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἐωυτοῦ νομῷ κινῶ κρητῆρα οἴνου, ἀπ' οὗ πίνουνσι τῶν Σκυθέων τοῖσι ἂν ἄνδρες πολέμιοι ἀραιορημένοι ἕωσι. τοῖσι δ' ἂν μὴ κατεργασμένον ἢ τοῦτο, οὐ γεύονται τοῦ οἴνου τούτου, ἀλλ' ἠτιμωμένοι ἀποκατέαται· ὄνειδος δὲ σφι ἐστὶ μέγιστον τοῦτο. ὅσοι δὲ ἂν αὐτῶν καὶ κάρτα πολλοὺς ἄνδρας ἀραιορηκότες ἕωσι, οὗτοι δὲ σύνδυο κύλικας ἔχοντες πίνουνσι ὁμοῦ.

66. Furthermore, once a year each governor of a province brews a bowl of wine in his own province, which those Scythians who have slain enemies drink; those who have not achieved this do not taste this wine but sit apart dishonored; and this they consider a very great disgrace; but as many as have slain not one but many enemies have two cups apiece and drink out of both.

67 1 Μάντιες δὲ Σκυθέων εἰσι πολλοί, οἱ μαντεύονται ῥάβδοις

ἰτεῖνῃσι πολλῇσι ὧδε· ἐπεὰν φακέλους ράβδων μεγάλους ἐνεῖκωνται, θέντες χαμαὶ διεξειλίσσουσι αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπὶ μίαν ἐκάστην ράβδον τιθέντες θεσπίζουσι, ἅμα τε λέγοντες ταῦτα συνειλέουσι τὰς ράβδους ὀπίσω καὶ αὖτις κατὰ μίαν συντιθεῖσι. 2 αὕτη μὲν σφι ἡ μαντικὴ πατρωίῃ ἐστὶ. οἱ δὲ Ἐνάρεες οἱ ἀνδρόγυνοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην σφίσι λέγουσι μαντικὴν δοῦναι· φιλύρης δ' ὧν φλοιῷ μαντεύονται· ἐπεὰν τὴν φιλύρην τρίχα σχίσῃ, διαπλέκων ἐν τοῖσι δακτύλοισι τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ καὶ διαλύων χρᾶ.

67. There are many diviners among the Scythians, who divine by means of many willow wands as I will show. They bring great bundles of wands, which they lay on the ground and unfasten, and utter their divinations as they lay the rods down one by one; and while still speaking, they gather up the rods once more and place them together again; this manner of divination is hereditary among them. The Enarees, who are hermaphrodites, say that Aphrodite gave them the art of divination, which they practise by means of lime-tree bark. They cut this bark into three portions, and prophesy while they braid and unbraid these in their fingers.

68 1 Ἐπεὰν δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων κάμῃ, μεταπέμπεται τῶν μαντίων ἄνδρας τρεῖς τοὺς εὐδοκιμέοντας μάλιστα, οἱ τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ μαντεύονται· καὶ λέγουσι οὗτοι ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν μάλιστα τάδε, ὥς τὰς βασιληίας ἰστίας ἐπιώρκηκε ὃς καὶ ὅς, λέγοντες τῶν ἀστῶν τὸν ἂν δὴ λέγωσι. 2 τὰς δὲ βασιληίας ἰστίας νόμος Σκύθησι τὰ μάλιστα ἐστὶ ὁμνῦναι τότε ἐπεὰν τὸν μέγιστον ὄρκον ἐθέλωσι ὁμνῦναι. αὐτίκα δὲ διαλελαμμένος ἄγεται οὗτος τὸν ἂν δὴ φῶσι ἐπιορκῆσαι, ἀπιγμένον δὲ ἐλέγχουσι οἱ μάντιες ὥς ἐπιορκήσας φαίνεται ἐν τῇ μαντικῇ τὰς βασιληίας ἰστίας καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀλγέει ὁ βασιλεὺς· ὁ δὲ ἀρνέεται, οὐ φάμενος ἐπιορκῆσαι, καὶ δεινολογέεται. 3 ἀρνεομένου δὲ τούτου ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταπέμπεται ἄλλους διπλησίους μάντιας· καὶ ἦν μὲν καὶ οὗτοι ἐσορῶντες ἐς τὴν μαντικὴν καταδήσωσι ἐπιορκῆσαι, τοῦ δὲ ἰθέως τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτάμνουσι, καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ διαλαγχάνουσι οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν μαντίων· 4 ἦν δὲ οἱ ἐπελθόντες μάντιες ἀπολύσωσι, ἄλλοι πάρεισι μάντιες καὶ μάλα ἄλλοι. ἦν ὧν οἱ πλεῦνες τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπολύσωσι, δέδοκται τοῖσι πρῶτοισι τῶν μαντίων αὐτοῖσι ἀπόλλυσθαι.

68. Whenever the king of the Scythians falls ill, he sends for the

three most reputable diviners, who prophesy in the aforesaid way; and they generally tell him that such and such a man (naming whoever it may be of the people) has sworn falsely by the king's hearth; for when the Scythians will swear their mightiest oath, it is by the king's hearth that they are accustomed to swear. Immediately, the man whom they allege to have sworn falsely is seized and brought in, and when he comes the diviners accuse him, saying that their divination shows him to have sworn falsely by the king's hearth, and that this is the cause of the king's sickness; and the man vehemently denies that he has sworn falsely. When he denies it, the king sends for twice as many diviners: and if they too, consulting their art, prove him guilty of perjury, then he is instantly beheaded, and his goods are divided among the first diviners; but if the later diviners acquit him, then other diviners come, and yet again others. If the greater number of them acquit the man, it is decreed that the first diviners themselves be put to death.

69 1 Ἀπολλῷσι δῆτα αὐτοὺς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐπεὰν ἄμαξαν φρυγάνων πλήσωσι καὶ ὑποζεύξωσι βοῦς, ἐμποδίσαντες τοὺς μάντιας καὶ χειῖρας ὀπίσω δῆσαντες καὶ στομώσαντες κατεργνῶσι ἐς μέσα τὰ φρύγανα, ὑποπρήσαντες δὲ αὐτὰ ἀπιῇσι φοβήσαντες τοὺς βοῦς. 2 πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ συγκατακαίονται τοῖσι μάντισι βόες, πολλοὶ δὲ περικεκαυμένοι ἀποφεύγουσι, ἐπεὰν αὐτῶν ὁ ῥυμὸς κατακαυθῇ. κατακαίουσι δὲ τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ καὶ δι' ἄλλας αἰτίας τοὺς μάντιας, ψευδομάντιας καλέοντες. 3 τοὺς δ' ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ βασιλεύς, τούτων οὐδὲ τοὺς παῖδας λείπει, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ ἔρσενα κτείνει, τὰ δὲ θήλεα οὐκ ἀδικεῖ.

69. And this is how they die. Men yoke oxen to a wagon laden with sticks and tie the diviners up in these, fettering their legs and binding their hands behind them and gagging them; then they set fire to the sticks and drive the oxen away, stampeding them. Often the oxen are burnt to death with the diviners, and often the yoke-pole of their wagon is burnt through and the oxen escape with a scorching. They burn their diviners for other reasons, too, in the way described, calling them false prophets. When the king puts them to death, he does not leave the sons alive either, but kills all the males of the family; the females he does not harm.

70 1 Ὅρκια δὲ ποιεῦνται Σκύθαι ὧδε πρὸς τοὺς ἂν ποιέωνται· ἐς κύλικα μεγάλην κεραμίνην οἶνον ἐγχέαντες αἷμα συμμίσγουσι τῶν τὸ ὄρκιον ταμνομένων, τύψαντες ὑπέατι ἢ ἐπιταμόντες μαχαίρῃ σμικρὸν τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβάσαντες ἐς τὴν κύλικα ἀκινάκην καὶ ὀιστοὺς καὶ σάγαριν καὶ ἀκόντιον· ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, κατεύχονται πολλὰ καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποπίνουσι αὐτοὶ τε οἱ τὸ ὄρκιον ποιέμενοι καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων οἱ πλείστου ἄξιοι.

70. As for giving sworn pledges to those who are to receive them, this is the Scythian way: they take blood from the parties to the agreement by making a little cut in the body with an awl or a knife, and pour it mixed with wine into a big earthenware bowl, into which they then dip a scimitar and arrows and an axe and a javelin; and when this is done those swearing the agreement, and the most honorable of their followers, drink the blood after solemn curses.

71 1 Ταφαὶ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἐν Γέρροισι εἰσὶ ἐς ὃ ὁ Βορυσθένης ἐστὶ προσπλωτός· ἐνθαῦτα, ἐπεὰν σφι ἀποθάνῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὄρυγμα γῆς μέγα ὀρύσσουσι τετράγωνον, ἔτοιμον δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὸν νεκρὸν, κατακεκηρωμένον μὲν τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ νηδὺν ἀνασχισθεῖσαν καὶ καθαρθεῖσαν, πλὴν κυέρου κεκομμένου καὶ θυμῆματος καὶ σελίνου σπέρματος καὶ ἀννήσου, συνερράμμενην ὀπίσω, καὶ κομίζουσι ἐν ἀμάξῃ ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος. 2 οἱ δὲ ἂν παραδέξωνται κομισθέντα τὸν νεκρὸν, ποιεῦσι τά περ οἱ βασιλῆιοι Σκύθαι· τοῦ ὥτος ἀποτάμνονται, τρίχας περικεῖρονται, βραχίονας περιτάμνονται, μέτωπον καὶ ῥῖνα καταμύσσουνται, διὰ τῆς ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ὀιστοὺς διαβυνέονται. 3 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κομίζουσι ἐν τῇ ἀμάξῃ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν νέκυν ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος τῶν ἄρχουσι· οἱ δὲ σφι ἔπονται ἐς τοὺς πρότερον ἦλθον. ἐπεὰν δὲ πάντας περιέλθωσι τὸν νέκυν κομίζοντες, ἔν τε Γέρροισι ἔσχατα κατοικημένοισι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν ἄρχουσι καὶ ἐν τῇσι ταφῇσι. 4 καὶ ἔπειτα, ἐπεὰν θέωσι τὸν νέκυν ἐν τῇσι θήκησι ἐπὶ στιβάδος, παραπήξαντες αἰχμὰς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τοῦ νεκροῦ ξύλα ὑπερτείνουσι καὶ ἔπειτα ῥίπῃ καταστεγάζουσι, ἐν δὲ τῇ λοιπῇ εὐρυχωρίῃ τῆς θήκης τῶν παλλακέων τε μίαν ἀποπνίζαντες θάπτουσι καὶ τὸν οἰνοχόον καὶ μάγειρον καὶ ἵπποκόμον καὶ διήκονον καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρον καὶ ἵππους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἀπαρχὰς καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας· ἀργύρῳ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χαλκῷ χρέωνται. 5 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες χοῦσι πάντες

χῶμα μέγα, ἀμιλλώμενοι καὶ προθυμέμενοι ὥς μέγιστον ποιῆσαι.

71. The burial-places of the kings are in the land of the Gerrhi, which is the end of the navigation of the Borysthenes. Whenever their king has died, the Scythians dig a great four-cornered pit in the ground there; when this is ready, they take up the dead man — his body enclosed in wax, his belly cut open and cleaned and filled with cut marsh-plants and frankincense, and parsley and anise seed, and sewn up again — and transport him on a wagon to another tribe. Then those who receive the dead man on his arrival do the same as do the Royal Scythians: that is, they cut off a part of their ears, shave their heads, make cuts around their arms, tear their foreheads and noses, and pierce their left hands with arrows. From there, the escorts transport the king's body on the wagon to another of the tribes that they rule, and those to whom they have already come follow them; and having carried the dead man to all in turn, they are at the place of burial, in the country of the Gerrhi, the farthest distant tribe of all under their rule. Then, having laid the body on a couch in the tomb, they plant spears on each side of the body and lay wooden planks across them, which they then roof over with braided osiers; in the open space which is left in the tomb they bury one of the king's concubines, his cupbearer, his cook, his groom, his squire, and his messenger, after strangling them, besides horses, and first-fruits of everything else, and golden cups; for the Scythians do not use silver or bronze. Having done this, they all build a great barrow of earth, vying eagerly with one another to make this as great as possible.

72 Ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ περιφερομένου αὐτίς ποιεῦσι τοιόνδε· λαβόντες τῶν λοιπῶν θεραπόντων τοὺς ἐπιτηδεοτάτους (οἱ δὲ εἰσὶ Σκύθαι ἐγγενέες· οὗτοι γὰρ θεραπεύουσι τοὺς ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς κελεύσῃ ἀργυρώνητοι δὲ οὐκ εἰσὶ σφι θεράποντες), 2 τούτων ὧν τῶν διηκόνων ἐπεὰν ἀποπνίξωσι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἵππους τοὺς καλλίστους πεντήκοντα, ἐξελόντες αὐτῶν τὴν κοιλίην καὶ καθήραντες ἐμπιπλᾶσι ἀχύρων καὶ συρῥάπτουσι. 3 ἀψίδος δὲ ἡμισυ ἐπὶ δύο ξύλα στήσαντες ὕπτιον καὶ τὸ ἕτερον ἡμισυ τῆς ἀψίδος ἐπ' ἕτερα δύο, καταπήξαντες τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ πολλὰ ταῦτα, ἔπειτα τῶν ἵππων κατὰ τὰ μήκεα ξύλα παχέα διελάσαντες μέχρι τῶν τραχήλων ἀναβιβάζουσι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνίδας· 4 τῶν δὲ αἱ μὲν πρότεραι ἀνίδες ὑπέχουσι τοὺς ὤμους τῶν

ἵππων, αἱ δὲ ὀπισθε παρὰ τοὺς μηροὺς τὰς γαστέρας ὑπολαμβάνουσι· σκέλεα δὲ ἀμφοτέρω κατακρέμαται μετέωρα. χαλινοὺς δὲ καὶ στόμια ἐμβαλόντες ἐς τοὺς ἵππους κατατείνουσι ἐς τὸ πρόσθε αὐτῶν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐκ πασσάλων δέουσι. 5 τῶν δὲ δὴ νεηνίσκων τῶν ἀποπεπνιγμένων τῶν πεντήκοντα ἓνα ἕκαστον ἀναβιβάζουσι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, ὧδε ἀναβιβάζοντες, ἐπεὰν νεκροῦ ἐκάστου παρὰ τὴν ἄκανθαν ξύλον ὀρθὸν διελάσῃσι μέχρι τοῦ τραχήλου· κάτωθεν δὲ ὑπερέχει τοῦ ξύλου τούτου τὸ ἐς τὸρμον πηγνύουσι τοῦ ἐτέρου ξύλου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἵππου. ἐπιστήσαντες δὲ κύκλῳ τὸ σῆμα ἰπέας τοιούτους ἀπελαύνουσι.

72. After a year has past, they next do as follows. They take the most trusted of the rest of the king's servants (and these are native-born Scythians, for only those whom he tells to do so serve the king, and none of the Scythians have servants bought by money) and strangle fifty of these and fifty of their best horses and empty and clean the bellies of them all, fill them with chaff, and sew them up again. Then they fasten half of a wheel to two posts, the hollow upward, and the other half to another pair of posts, until many posts thus prepared are planted in the ground, and, after driving thick stakes lengthways through the horses' bodies to their necks, they place the horses up on the wheels so that the wheel in front supports the horse's forequarters and the wheel behind takes the weight of the belly by the hindquarters, and the forelegs and hindlegs hang free; and putting bridles and bits in the horses' mouths, they stretch the bridles to the front and fasten them with pegs. Then they take each one of the fifty strangled young men and mount him on the horse; their way of doing it is to drive an upright stake through each body passing up alongside the spine to the neck leaving enough of the stake projecting below to be fixed in a hole made in the other stake, which passes through the horse. So having set horsemen of this fashion around the tomb, they ride away.

73 1 Οὕτω μὲν τοὺς βασιλέας θάπτουσι· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Σκύθας, ἐπεὰν ἀποθάνωσι, περιάγουσι οἱ ἀγχοτάτω προσήκοντες κατὰ τοὺς φίλους ἐν ἀμάξεισι κειμένους. τῶν δὲ ἕκαστος ὑποδεκόμενος εὐωχέει τοὺς ἐπομένους, καὶ τῷ νεκρῷ ἀπάντων παραπλησίως παρατίθησι ὅσα τοῖσι ἄλλοις. ἡμέρας δὲ τεσσεράκοντα οὕτω οἱ ἰδιῶται

περιάγονται, ἔπειτα θάπτονται. 2 θάψαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι καθαίρονται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. σμηςάμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ ἐκπλυνάμενοι ποιεῦσι περὶ τὸ σῶμα τάδε ἐπεὰν ξύλα στήσωσι τρία ἐς ἄλληλα κεκλιμένα, περὶ ταῦτα πύλους εἰρινέους περιτείνουσι, συμφράξαντες δὲ ὡς μάλιστα λίθους ἐκ πυρὸς διαφανέας ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς σκάφην κειμένην ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ξύλων τε καὶ τῶν πύλων.

73. This is the way they bury their kings. All other Scythians, when they die, are laid in wagons and carried about among their friends by their nearest of kin; each receives them and entertains the retinue hospitably, setting before the dead man about as much of the fare as he serves to the rest. All but the kings are carried about like this for forty days and then buried. After the burial the Scythians cleanse themselves as follows: they anoint and wash their heads and, for their bodies, set up three poles leaning together to a point and cover these over with wool mats; then, in the space so enclosed to the best of their ability, they make a pit in the center beneath the poles and the mats and throw red-hot stones into it.

74 1 Ἔστι δὲ σφι κάνναβις φυομένη ἐν τῇ χώρῃ πλὴν παχύτητος καὶ μεγέθους τῷ λίνῳ ἐμφορεστάτη· ταύτῃ δὲ πολλῷ ὑπερφέρει ἢ κάνναβις. αὕτη καὶ αὐτομάτῃ καὶ σπειρομένη φύεται, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς Θρήικες μὲν καὶ εἴματα ποιεῦνται τοῖσι λινέοισι ὁμοιότατα· οὐδ' ἄν, ὅστις μὴ κάρτα τρίβων εἴη αὐτῆς, διαγνοίῃ λίνου ἢ καννάβιος ἐστί· ὅς δὲ μὴ εἶδε κω τὴν κανναβίδα, λίνεον δοκήσει εἶναι τὸ εἶμα.

74. They have hemp growing in their country, very like flax, except that the hemp is much thicker and taller. This grows both of itself and also by their cultivation, and the Thracians even make garments of it which are very like linen; no one, unless he were an expert in hemp, could determine whether they were hempen or linen; whoever has never seen hemp before will think the garment linen.

75 1 Ταύτης ὧν οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς καννάβιος τὸ σπέρμα ἐπεὰν λάβωσι, ὑποδύνουσι ὑπὸ τοὺς πύλους, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπιβάλλουσι τὸ σπέρμα ἐπὶ τοὺς διαφανέας λίθους τῷ πυρί· τὸ δὲ θυμιάται ἐπιβαλλόμενον καὶ ἀτμίδα παρέχεται τοσαύτην ὥστε Ἑλληνικὴ οὐδεμία ἄν μιν πυρὶν ἀποκρατήσῃ. 2 οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἀγάμενοι τῇ πυρὶν ὠρύονται. τοῦτό σφι ἀντὶ λουτροῦ ἐστί. οὐ γὰρ δὴ λούονται ὕδατι τὸ παράπαν τὸ σῶμα. 3 αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ὕδωρ

παραχέουσαι κατασώχουσι περὶ λίθον τρηχὺν τῆς κυπαρίσσου καὶ κέδρου καὶ λιβάνου ξύλου, καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ κατασωχόμενον τοῦτο παχὺ ἐὼν καταπλάσσονται πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον· καὶ ἅμα μὲν εὐωδίη σφέας ἀπὸ τούτου ἴσχει, ἅμα δὲ ἀπαιρέουσαι τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὴν καταπλαστὺν γίνονται καθαρὰ καὶ λαμπρά.

75. The Scythians then take the seed of this hemp and, crawling in under the mats, throw it on the red-hot stones, where it smoulders and sends forth such fumes that no Greek vapor-bath could surpass it. The Scythians howl in their joy at the vapor-bath. This serves them instead of bathing, for they never wash their bodies with water. But their women pound cypress and cedar and frankincense wood on a rough stone, adding water also, and with the thick stuff thus pounded they anoint their bodies and faces, as a result of which not only does a fragrant scent come from them, but when on the second day they take off the ointment, their skin becomes clear and shining.

76 1 Ξεινικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι καὶ οὗτοι φεύγουσι αἰνῶς χρᾶσθαι, μήτε τεῶν ἄλλων, Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ καὶ ἥκιστα, ὥς διέδεξαν Ἀνάχαρσις τε καὶ δευτέρα αὐτὶς Σκύλης. 2 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀνάχαρσις ἐπεῖτε γῆν πολλὴν θεωρήσας καὶ ἀποδεξάμενος κατ' αὐτὴν σοφίην πολλὴν ἐκομίζετο ἐς ἡθεα τὰ Σκυθέων, πλέων δι' Ἑλλησπόντου προσίσχει ἐς Κύζικον. 3 καὶ εὔρε γὰρ τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀνάγοντας τοὺς Κυζικηνοὺς ὀρτὴν μεγαλοπρεπέως κάρτα, εὔξατο τῇ μητρὶ ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἦν σῶς καὶ ὑγιὲς ἀπονοστήσῃ ἐς ἐσωτοῦ, θύσειν τε κατὰ ταῦτα κατὰ ὥρα τοὺς Κυζικηνοὺς ποιεῦντας καὶ παννυχίδα στήσειν. 4 ὥς δὲ ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν καταδὺς ἐς τὴν καλεομένην Ὑλαίην (ἡ δ' ἔστι μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλήιον δρόμον, τυγχάνει δὲ πᾶσα ἐοῦσα δενδρέων παντοίων πλὴν), ἐς ταύτην δὴ καταδὺς ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις τὴν ὀρτὴν ἐπετέλεε πᾶσαν τῇ θεῷ, τύμπανον τε ἔχων καὶ ἐκδησάμενος ἀγάλματα. 5 καὶ τῶν τις Σκυθέων καταφρασθεὶς αὐτὸν ταῦτα ποιεῦντα ἐσήμηνε τῷ βασιλεῖ Σαυλίῳ· ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπικόμενος ὥς εἶδε τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν ποιεῦντα ταῦτα, τοξεύσας αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ νῦν ἦν τις εἴρηται περὶ Ἀναχάρσιος, οὐ φασὶ μιν Σκύθαι γινώσκειν, διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι ἐξεδήμησέ τε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ξεινικοῖσι ἔθεσι διεχρήσατο. 6 ὥς δ' ἐγὼ ἤκουσα Τύμνεω τοῦ Ἀριαπιθέος ἐπιτρόπου, εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἰδανθύρσου τοῦ Σκυθέων βασιλέως πάτρων, παῖδα δὲ εἶναι Γνούρου τοῦ Λύκου τοῦ Σπαργαπείθεος. εἰ ὢν ταύτης

ἦν τῆς οἰκίης ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἵστω ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἀποθανόν·
Ἰδάνθυρσος γὰρ ἦν παῖς Σαυλίου, Σαύλιος δὲ ἦν ὁ ἀποκτείνας
Ἀνάχαρσιν.

76. But as regards foreign customs, the Scythians (like others) very much shun practising those of any other country, and particularly of Hellas, as was proved in the case of Anacharsis and also of Scyles. For when Anacharsis was coming back to the Scythian country after having seen much of the world in his travels and given many examples of his wisdom, he sailed through the Hellespont and put in at Cyzicus; where, finding the Cyzicenes celebrating the feast of the Mother of the Gods with great ceremony, he vowed to this same Mother that if he returned to his own country safe and sound he would sacrifice to her as he saw the Cyzicenes doing, and establish a nightly rite of worship. So when he came to Scythia, he hid himself in the country called Woodland (which is beside the Race of Achilles, and is all overgrown with every kind of timber); hidden there, Anacharsis celebrated the goddess' ritual with exactness, carrying a small drum and hanging images about himself. Then some Scythian saw him doing this and told the king, Saulius; who, coming to the place himself and seeing Anacharsis performing these rites, shot an arrow at him and killed him. And now the Scythians, if they are asked about Anacharsis, say they have no knowledge of him; this is because he left his country for Hellas and followed the customs of strangers. But according to what I heard from Tymnes, the deputy for Ariapithes, Anacharsis was an uncle of Idanthysus king of Scythia, and he was the son of Gnurus, son of Lycus, son of Spargapithes. Now if Anacharsis was truly of this family, then let him know he was slain by his own brother; for Idanthysus was the son of Saulius, and it was Saulius who killed Anacharsis.

77 1 Καίτοι τινὰ ἤδη ἤκουσα λόγον ἄλλον ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων λεγόμενον, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκυθέων βασιλέος Ἀνάχαρσις ἀποπεμφθεὶς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μαθητὴς γένοιτο, ὀπίσω τε ἀπονοστήσας φαίη πρὸς τὸν ἀποπέμψαντα Ἑλληνας πάντας ἀσχόλους εἶναι ἐς πᾶσαν σοφίην πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, τούτοισι δὲ εἶναι μούνοισι σωφρόνως δοῦναι τε καὶ δέξασθαι λόγον. 2 ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ὁ λόγος ἄλλως πέπλασται ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁ δ' ὢν ἀνὴρ ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰρέθη διεφθάρη.

77. It is true that I have heard another story told by the Peloponnesians; namely, that Anacharsis had been sent by the king of Scythia and had been a student of the ways of Hellas, and after his return told the king who sent him that all Greeks were keen for every kind of learning, except the Lacedaemonians; but that these were the only Greeks who spoke and listened with discretion. But this is a tale pointlessly invented by the Greeks themselves; and be this as it may, the man was put to death as I have said.

78 1 Οὗτος μὲν νυν οὕτω δὴ ἔπρηξε διὰ ξεινικά τε νόμια καὶ Ἑλληνικὰς ὁμιλίας. πολλοῖσι δὲ κάρτα ἔτεσι ὕστερον Σκύλης ὁ Ἀριαπεῖθεος ἔπαθε παραπλήσια τούτῳ. Ἀριαπεῖθεϊ γὰρ τῷ Σκυθέων βασιλεί γίνεται μετ' ἄλλων παίδων Σκύλης· ἐξ Ἰστρινῆς δὲ γυναικὸς οὗτος γίνεται καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐγχωρίης· τὸν ἢ μήτηρ αὕτη γλῶσσάν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ γράμματα ἐδίδασκε. 2 μετὰ δὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον Ἀριαπεῖθης μὲν τελευτᾷ δόλῳ ὑπὸ Σπαργαπεῖθεος τοῦ Ἀγαθύρσων βασιλέως, Σκύλης δὲ τὴν τε βασιλίην παρέλαβε καὶ τὴν γυναικα τοῦ πατρός, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Ὀποίη· ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἡ Ὀποίη ἀστή, ἐξ ἧς ἦν Ὀρικος Ἀριαπεῖθεϊ παῖς. 3 βασιλεύων δὲ Σκυθέων ὁ Σκύλης διαίτη οὐδαμῶς ἡρέσκετο Σκυρικῇ, ἀλλὰ πολλὸν πρὸς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μᾶλλον τετραμμένος ἦν ἀπὸ παιδεύσιος τῆς ἐπεπαιδευτο, ἐποίεε τε τοιοῦτο· εὖτε ἀγάγοι τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Σκυθέων ἐς τὸ Βορυσθενειτῶν ἄστει (οἱ δὲ Βορυσθενεῖται οὗτοι λέγουσι σφέας αὐτοὺς εἶναι Μιλησίους), ἐς τούτους ὅκως ἔλθοι ὁ Σκύλης, τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν καταλίπεσκε ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, 4 αὐτὸς δὲ ὅκως ἔλθοι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγκλήσειε, τὴν στολὴν ἀποθέμενος τὴν Σκυθικὴν λάβεσκε ἂν Ἑλληνίδα ἐσθῆτα, ἔχων δ' ἂν ταύτην ἠγόραζε οὔτε δορυφόρων ἐπομένων οὔτε ἄλλου οὐδενός· τὰς δὲ πύλας ἐφύλασσον, μή τις μιν Σκυθέων ἴδοι ἔχοντα ταύτην τὴν στολὴν· καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐχρᾶτο διαίτη Ἑλληνικῇ καὶ θεοῖσι ἱρὰ ἐποίεε κατὰ

νόμους τοὺς Ἑλλήνων. 5 ὅτε δὲ διατρίψειε μῆνα ἢ πλεον τούτου, ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐνδὺς τὴν Σκυθικὴν στολὴν. ταῦτα ποιέεσκε πολλάκις καὶ οἰκία τε ἐδείματο ἐν Βορυσθένει καὶ γυναῖκα ἔγημε ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπιχωρίην.

78. This, then, was how Anacharsis fared, owing to his foreign ways and consorting with Greeks; and a great many years afterward, Scyles, son of Ariapithes, suffered a like fate. Scyles was one of the sons born to Ariapithes, king of Scythia; but his mother was of Istria, and not native-born; and she taught him to speak and read Greek. As time passed, Ariapithes was treacherously killed by Spargapithes, king of the Agathyrsi, and Scyles inherited the kingship and his father's wife, a Scythian woman whose name was Opoea, and she bore Scyles a son, Oricus. So Scyles was king of Scythia; but he was in no way content with the Scythian way of life, and was much more inclined to Greek ways, from the upbringing that he had received. So this is what he would do: he would lead the Scythian army to the city of the Borysthenites (who say that they are Milesians), and when he arrived there would leave his army in the suburb of the city, while he himself, entering within the walls and shutting the gates, would take off his Scythian apparel and put on Greek dress; and in it he would go among the townsfolk unattended by spearmen or any others (who would guard the gates, lest any Scythian see him wearing this apparel), and in every way follow the Greek manner of life, and worship the gods according to Greek usage. When he had spent a month or more like this, he would put on Scythian dress and leave the city. He did this often; and he built a house in Borysthenes, and married a wife of the people of the country and brought her there.

79 1 Ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἔδεέ οἱ κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ προφάσιος τοιῆσδε. ἐπεθύμησε Διονύσῳ Βακχεῖῳ τελεσθῆναι· μέλλοντι δέ οἱ ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι τὴν τελετὴν ἐγένετο φάσμα μέγιστον. 2 ἦν οἱ ἐν Βορυσθενεῖταιων τῇ πόλι οἰκίης μεγάλης καὶ πολυτελέος περιβολή, τῆς καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην εἶχον, τὴν πέριξ λευκοῦ λίθου σφίγγες τε καὶ γρυῖπες ἔστασαν· ἐς ταύτην ὁ θεὸς ἐνέσκηψε βέλος. καὶ ἡ μὲν κατεκάη πᾶσα, Σκύλης δὲ οὐδὲν τούτου εἵνεκα ἥσσον ἐπετέλεσε τὴν τελετὴν. 3 Σκύθαι δὲ τοῦ βακχεύειν πέρι Ἑλλησι ὀνειδίζουσι· οὐ γὰρ φασὶ οἰκὸς εἶναι θεὸν ἐξευρίσκειν

τοῦτον ὅστις μαίνεσθαι ἐνάγει ἄνθρώπους. 4 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐτελέσθη τῷ Βακχεῖῳ ὁ Σκύλης, διεπρήστευσε τῶν τις Βορυσθενειτέων πρὸς τοὺς Σκύθας λέγων “ἡμῖν γὰρ καταγελᾶτε, ὦ Σκύθαι, ὅτι βακχεύομεν καὶ ἡμέας ὁ θεὸς λαμβάνει· νῦν οὗτος ὁ δαίμων καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον βασιλέα λελάβηκε, καὶ βακχεύει τε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαίνεται. εἰ δέ μοι ἀπιστέετε, ἔπεσθε, καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ δέξω,.” 5 εἶποντο τῶν Σκύθεων οἱ προεστεῶτες, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀναγαγὼν ὁ Βορυσθενεΐτης λάθρῃ ἐπὶ πύργον κατεΐσε. ἐπεῖτε δὲ παρήιε σὺν τῷ θιάσῳ ὁ Σκύλης καὶ εἰδὼν μιν βακχεύοντα οἱ Σκύθαι, κάρτα συμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο, ἐξελθόντες δὲ ἐσήμαινον πάσῃ τῇ στρατιῇ τὰ ἴδιοιεν.

79. But when things had to turn out badly for him, they did so for this reason: he conceived a desire to be initiated into the rites of the Bacchic Dionysus; and when he was about to begin the sacred mysteries, he saw the greatest vision. He had in the city of the Borysthenites a spacious house, grand and costly (the same house I just mentioned), all surrounded by sphinxes and griffins worked in white marble; this house was struck by a thunderbolt. And though the house burnt to the ground, Scyles none the less performed the rite to the end. Now the Scythians reproach the Greeks for this Bacchic revelling, saying that it is not reasonable to set up a god who leads men to madness. So when Scyles had been initiated into the Bacchic rite, some one of the Borysthenites scoffed at the Scythians: “You laugh at us, Scythians, because we play the Bacchant and the god possesses us; but now this deity has possessed your own king, so that he plays the Bacchant and is maddened by the god. If you will not believe me, follow me now and I will show him to you.” The leading men among the Scythians followed him, and the Borysthenite brought them up secretly onto a tower; from which, when Scyles passed by with his company of worshippers, they saw him playing the Bacchant; thinking it a great misfortune, they left the city and told the whole army what they had seen.

80 1 Ὡς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξήλαυνε ὁ Σκύλης ἐς ἣθα ταῖς ἐωυτοῦ, οἱ Σκύθαι προστησάμενοι τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Ὁκταμασάδην, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Τήρεω θυγατρὸς, ἐπανιστέατο τῷ Σκύλῃ. 2 ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὸ γινόμενον ἐπ’ ἐωυτῷ καὶ τὴν αἰτίην δι’ ἣν ἐποιέετο, καταφεύγει ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ὁκταμασάδης ταῦτα

ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Θρηίκην. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰστροφ ἐγένετο, ἠγντίασάν μιν οἱ Θρήικες, μελλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν συνάψειν ἔπεμψε Σιτάλκης παρὰ τὸν Ὀκταμασάδην λέγων τοιάδε. 3 “τι δεῖ ἡμέας ἀλλήλων πειρηθῆναι; εἷς μὲν μευ τῆς ἀδελφεῆς παῖς, ἔχεις δέ μευ ἀδελφεόν. σὺ δέ μοι ἀπόδος τοῦτον, καὶ ἐγὼ σοὶ τὸν σὸν Σκύλην παραδίδωμι· στρατιῇ δὲ μήτε σὺ κινδυνεύσης μήτ’ ἐγώ,.. 4 ταῦτά οἱ πέμψας ὁ Σιτάλκης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο· ἦν γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Ὀκταμασάδῃ ἀδελφεὸς Σιτάλκεω πεφευγώς. ὁ δὲ Ὀκταμασάδης καταινέει ταῦτα, ἐκδοὺς δὲ τὸν ἑωυτοῦ μήτρωα Σιτάλκῃ ἔλαβε τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σκύλην. 5 καὶ Σιτάλκης μὲν παραλαβὼν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἀπήγετο, Σκύλεω δὲ Ὀκταμασάδης αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἀπέταμε τὴν κεφαλὴν. οὕτω μὲν περιστέλλουσι τὰ σφέτερα νόμαια Σκύθαι, τοῖσι δὲ παρακτωμένοισι ξεινικοὺς νόμους τοιαῦτα ἐπιτίμια διδοῦσι.

80. After this Scyles rode off to his own place; but the Scythians rebelled against him, setting up his brother Octamasades, son of the daughter of Teres, for their king. Scyles, learning what had happened concerning him and the reason why it had happened, fled into Thrace; and when Octamasades heard this he led his army there. But when he was beside the Ister, the Thracians barred his way; and when the armies were about to engage, Sitalces sent this message to Octamasades: “Why should we try each other’s strength? You are my sister’s son, and you have my brother with you; give him back to me, and I will give up your Scyles to you; and let us not endanger our armies.” Such was the offer Sitalces sent to him; for Sitalces’ brother had fled from him and was with Octamasades. The Scythian agreed to this, and took his brother Scyles, giving up his own uncle to Sitalces. Sitalces then took his brother and carried him away, but Octamasades beheaded Scyles on the spot. This is how closely the Scythians guard their customs, and these are the penalties they inflict on those who add foreign customs to their own.

81 1 Πλῆθος δὲ τὸ Σκυθέων οὐκ οἶος τε ἐγενόμην ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ διαφόρους λόγους περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἤκουον· καὶ γὰρ κάρτα πολλοὺς εἶναι σφέας καὶ ὀλίγους ὥς Σκύθας εἶναι. 2 τοσόνδε μέντοι ἀπέφαινόν μοι ἐς ὅσιν. ἔστι μεταξὺ Βορυσθενέος τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὑπάνιος χώρος, οὕνομα δέ οἱ ἐστὶ Ἐξαμπαῖος· τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγω τι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην εἶχον, φάμενος ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνην ὕδατος

πικροῦ εἶναι, ἀπ' ἧς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπορρέον τὸν Ὑπανιν ἄποτον ποιεῖν. 3 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ κέεται χαλκήιον, μεγάλῃ καὶ ἐξαπλήσιον τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου κρητῆρος, τὸν Πausανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου ἀνέθηκε. 4 ὃς δὲ μὴ εἶδε κω τοῦτον, ὧδε δηλώσω. ἐξακοσίους ἀμφορέας εὐπετέως χωρεῖ τὸ ἐν Σκύθησι χαλκήιον, πάχος δὲ τὸ Σκυθικὸν τοῦτο χαλκήιον ἐστὶ δακτύλων ἑξ. τοῦτο ὧν ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἀπὸ ἀρδίων γενέσθαι. 5 βουλόμενον γὰρ τὸν σφέτερον βασιλέα, τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Ἀριάνταν, τοῦτον εἰδέναι τὸ πλῆθος τὸ Σκυθέων κελεύειν μιν πάντας Σκύθας ἄρδιν ἕκαστον μίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀιστοῦ κομίσαι. ὃς δ' ἂν μὴ κομίση, θάνατον ἀπέλκε. 6 κομισθῆναι τε δὴ χρῆμα πολλὸν ἀρδίων καὶ οἱ δόξα ἐξ αὐτέων μνημόσυνον ποιήσαντι λιπέσθαι. ἐκ τούτων δὴ μιν τὸ χαλκήιον ποιῆσαι τοῦτο καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν Ἐξαμπαῖον τοῦτον. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ Σκυθέων ἤκουον.

81. How numerous the Scythians are, I was not able to learn exactly, and the accounts that I heard did not tally, some saying that they are very numerous, and some that they are few, so far as they are true Scythians. But this much they let me see for myself: there is a region between the Borysthenes and Hypanis rivers, whose name is Exampaeus; this is the land that I mentioned when I said that there is a spring of salt water in it, whose water makes the Hypanis unfit to drink. In this region is a bronze vessel, as much as six times greater than the cauldron dedicated by Pausanias son of Cleombrotus at the entrance of the Pontus. For anyone who has not yet seen the latter, I will make my meaning plain: the Scythian bronze vessel easily contains five thousand four hundred gallons, and it is of six fingers' thickness. This vessel (so the people of the country said) was made out of arrowheads. For their king, whose name was Ariantas, desiring to know the census of the Scythians, commanded every Scythian to bring him the point from an arrow, threatening death to all who did not. So a vast number of arrow-heads was brought, and he decided to make and leave a memorial out of them; and he made of these this bronze vessel, and set it up in this country Exampaeus. This much I heard about the number of the Scythians.

82 1 Θωμάσια δὲ ἡ χώρα αὕτη οὐκ ἔχει, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι ποταμούς τε πολλῶ μεγίστους καὶ ἀριθμὸν πλείστους. τὸ δὲ ἀποθωμάσαι ἄξιον

καὶ πάρεξ τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ τοῦ μεγάλθεος τοῦ πεδίου παρέχεται, εἰρήσεται. ἵχνος Ἡρακλέος φαίνουσι ἐν πέτρῃ ἐνεόν, τὸ ἔοικε μὲν βήματι ἀνδρός, ἔστι δὲ τὸ μέγαθος δίπηχυ, παρὰ τὸν Τύρην ποταμόν. τοῦτο μὲν νυν τοιοῦτο ἐστί, ἀναβήσομαι δὲ ἐς τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἦια λέξων λόγον.

82. As for marvels, there are none in the land, except that it has by far the greatest and the most numerous rivers in the world; and over and above the rivers and the great extent of the plains there is one most marvellous thing for me to mention: they show a footprint of Heracles by the Tyras river stamped on rock, like the mark of a man's foot, but forty inches in length. Having described this, I will now return to the story which I began to tell.

83 1 Παρασκευαζομένου Δαρείου ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ ἐπιπέμποντος ἀγγέλους ἐπιτάζοντας τοῖσι μὲν πεζὸν στρατόν, τοῖσι δὲ νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ ζεύγνυσθαι τὸν Θρηήκιον Βόσπορον Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος, ἀδελφεὸς ἐὼν Δαρείου, ἐχρήριζε μηδαμῶς αὐτὸν στρατηγὴν ἐπὶ Σκύθας ποιέεσθαι, καταλέγων τῶν Σκυθέων τὴν ἀπορίην. 2 ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε συμβουλευὼν οἱ χρηστά, ὃ μὲν ἐπέπαυτο, ὃ δέ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τὰ ἅπαντα παρεσκεύαστο, ἐξήλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ Σούσων.

83. While Darius was making preparations against the Scythians, and sending messengers to direct some to furnish infantry and some to furnish ships, and others again to bridge the Thracian Bosphorus, Artabanus, son of Hystaspes and Darius' brother, by no means wanted him to make an expedition against the Scythians, telling him how hard that people were to deal with. But when, for all his good advice, he could not deter the king, Artabanus ceased to advise, and Darius, all his preparations made, led his army from Susa.

84 1 Ἐνθαῦτα τῶν Περσέων Οἰόβαζος ἐδεήθη Δαρείου τριῶν ἐόντων οἱ παίδων καὶ πάντων στρατευομένων ἓνα αὐτῷ καταλειφθῆναι. ὃ δὲ ἔφη ὡς φίλῳ ἐόντι καὶ μετρίῳ δεομένῳ πάντας τοὺς παῖδας καταλείψειν. 2 ὃ μὲν δὴ Οἰόβαζος περιχαρὴς ἦν, ἐλπίζων τοὺς υἱέας στρατηγὴς ἀπολελύσθαι. ὃ δὲ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτων ἐπεστεῶτας ἀποκτεῖναι πάντας τοὺς Οἰοβάζου παῖδας.

84. Then the Persian Oeobazus, who had three sons, all with the army, asked Darius that one be left behind. "You are my friend," said

the king, “and your request is reasonable; I will leave all your sons.” Oeobazus was very happy, supposing his sons released from service; but Darius told those whose job it was to execute all of Oeobazus’ sons. So their throats were cut, and they were left there.

85 1 Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἀποσφαγέντες αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἐλείποντο· Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπεῖτε πορευόμενος ἐκ Σούσων ἀπίκητο τῆς Καλχηδονίης ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον ἵνα ἔξευκτο ἡ γέφυρα, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐσβάς ἐς νέα ἔπλεε ἐπὶ τὰς Κυανέας καλυμένας, τὰς πρότερον πλαγκτὰς Ἑλλήνες φασὶ εἶναι, ἐξόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ ρίῳ ἐθηεῖτο τὸν Πόντον ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον. 2 πελαγέων γὰρ ἀπάντων πέφυκε θωμασιώτατος· τοῦ τὸ μὲν μῆκος στάδιοι εἰσὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, τὸ δὲ εὖρος, τῇ εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ, στάδιοι τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. 3 τούτου τοῦ πελάγεος τὸ στόμα ἐστὶ εὖρος τέσσερες στάδιοι· μῆκος δὲ, τοῦ στόματος ὁ αὐλήν, τὸ δὴ Βόσπορος κέκληται, κατ’ ὃ δὴ ἔξευκτο ἡ γέφυρα, ἐπὶ σταδίους εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐστὶ. τείνει δ’ ἐς τὴν Προποντίδα ὁ Βόσπορος· 4 ἡ δὲ Προποντὶς ἐοῦσα εὖρος μὲν σταδίων πεντακοσίων, μῆκος δὲ τετρακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, καταδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐόντα στενότητα μὲν ἑπτὰ σταδίους, μῆκος δὲ τετρακοσίους. ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἐς χάσμα πελάγεος τὸ δὴ Αἰγαῖον καλέεται.

85. But Darius, when he came to that place in his march from Susa where the Bosporus was bridged in the territory of Calchedon, went aboard ship and sailed to the Dark Rocks (as they are called), which the Greeks say formerly moved; there, he sat on a headland and viewed the Pontus, a marvellous sight. For it is the most wonderful sea of all. Its length is eleven thousand one hundred stades, and its breadth three thousand three hundred stades at the place where it is widest. The channel at the entrance of this sea is four stades across; the narrow neck of the channel, called Bosporus, across which the bridge was thrown, is about one hundred and twenty stades long. The Bosporus reaches as far as to the Propontis; and the Propontis is five hundred stades wide and one thousand four hundred long; its outlet is the Hellespont, which is no wider than seven stades and four hundred long. The Hellespont empties into a gulf of the sea which we call Aegean.

86 1 Μεμέτρηται δὲ ταῦτα ὧδε. νηὺς ἐπίπαν μάλιστα κη κατανύει

ἐν μακρημερίῃ ὀργυιάς ἑπτακισμυρίας, νυκτὸς δὲ ἑξακισμυρίας. 2 ἤδη ὧν ἐς μὲν Φᾶσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Πόντου μακρότατον) ἡμερέων ἐννέα πλόος ἐστὶ καὶ νυκτῶν ὀκτώ· αὗται ἑνδεκα μυριάδες καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιέων γίνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀργυιέων τουτέων στάδιοι ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι εἰσί. 3 ἐς δὲ Θεμισκύρην τὴν ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι ποταμῷ ἐκ τῆς Σινδικῆς (κατὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Πόντου εὐρύτατον) τριῶν τε ἡμερέων καὶ δύο νυκτῶν πλόος· αὗται δὲ τρεῖς μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα ὀργυιέων γίνονται, στάδιοι δὲ τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. 4 ὁ μὲν νυν Πόντος οὗτος καὶ Βόσπορος τε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος οὕτω τέ μοι μεμετρεῖται καὶ κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα πεφύκασι, παρέχεται δὲ καὶ λίμνην ὁ Πόντος οὗτος ἐκδιδοῦσαν ἐς αὐτὸν οὐ πολλῷ τεῷ ἐλάσσω ἑωυτοῦ, ἣ Μαιῆτις τε καλέεται καὶ μήτηρ τοῦ Πόντου.

86. These measurements have been made in this way: a ship will generally accomplish seventy thousand orguiae in a long day's voyage, and sixty thousand by night. This being granted, seeing that from the Pontus' mouth to the Phasis (which is the greatest length of the sea) it is a voyage of nine days and eight nights, the length of it will be one million one hundred and ten thousand orguiai, which make eleven thousand stades. From the Sindic region to Themiscura on the Thermodon river (the greatest width of the Pontus) it is a voyage of three days and two nights; that is, of three hundred and thirty thousand orguiai, or three thousand three hundred stades. Thus have I measured the Pontus and the Bosporus and Hellespont, and they are as I have said. Furthermore, a lake is seen issuing into the Pontus and not much smaller than the sea itself; it is called the Maeetian lake, and the mother of the Pontus.

87 1 Ὁ δὲ Δαρεῖος ὥς ἐθεήσατο τὸν Πόντον, ἔπλεε ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, τῆς ἀρχιτέκτων ἐγένετο Μανδροκλέης Σάμιος· θεησάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Βόσπορον στήλας ἔστησε δύο ἐπ' αὐτοῦ λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐνταμὼν γράμματα ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀσσύρια ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικά, ἔθνεα πάντα ὅσα περ ἦγε· ἦγε δὲ πάντα τῶν ἥρχε. τούτων μυριάδες ἐξηριθμήθησαν, χωρὶς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἑβδομήκοντα σὺν ἱππεῦσι, νέες δὲ ἑξακόσiai συνελέχθησαν. 2 τῇσι μὲν νυν στήλησι ταύτησι Βυζάντιοι κομίσαντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὕστερον τούτων ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν τῆς Ὀρθωσίης Ἀρτέμιδος, χωρὶς ἐνὸς λίθου· οὗτος δὲ

κατελείφθη παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν νηὸν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, γραμμάτων Ἀσσυρίων πλέος. τοῦ δὲ Βοσπόρου ὁ χώρος τὸν ἔξευξε βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει συμβαλλομένῳ, μέσον ἐστὶ Βυζαντίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι ἱοῦ.

87. After having viewed the Pontus, Darius sailed back to the bridge, whose architect was Mandrocles of Samos; and when he had viewed the Bosphorus also, he set up two pillars of white marble by it, engraving on the one in Assyrian and on the other in Greek characters the names of all the nations that were in his army: all the nations subject to him. The full census of these, over and above the fleet, was seven hundred thousand men, including horsemen, and the number of ships assembled was six hundred. These pillars were afterward carried by the Byzantines into their city and there used to build the altar of Orthosian Artemis, except for one column covered with Assyrian writing that was left beside the temple of Dionysus at Byzantium. Now if my reckoning is correct, the place where king Darius bridged the Bosphorus was midway between Byzantium and the temple at the entrance of the sea.

88 1 Δαρεῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡσθείς τῇ σχεδίῃ τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς Μανδροκλέα τὸν Σάμιον ἐδωρήσατο πᾶσι δέκα· ἀπ' ὧν δὴ Μανδροκλῆς ἀπαρχὴν ζῶα γραψάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν ζευξίν τοῦ Βοσπόρου καὶ βασιλέα τε Δαρεῖον ἐν προεδρίῃ κατήμενον καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ διαβαίνοντα ταῦτα γραψάμενος ἀνέθηκε ἔς τὸ Ἥραιον, ἐπιγράψας τάδε. 2 Βόσπορον ἰχθυόεντα γεφυρώσας ἀνέθηκε Μανδροκλῆς Ἥρῃ μνημόσυνον σχεδίας, αὐτῷ μὲν στέφανον περιθείς, Σαμίοισι δὲ κῦδος, Δαρείου βασιλέος ἐκτελέσας κατὰ νοῦν.

88. After this, being pleased with his bridge of boats, Darius made a gift of ten of everything to Mandrocles the Samian, the architect of it; Mandrocles took the first-fruits of these and had a picture made with them, showing the whole bridge of the Bosphorus, and Darius sitting aloft on his throne and his army crossing; he set this up in the temple of Hera, with this inscription: ““After bridging the Bosphorus that teems with fish, Mandrocles dedicated a memorial of the floating bridge to Hera, Having won a crown for himself, and fame for the Samians, Doing the will of King Darius.” “ This memorialized the

builder of the bridge.

89 1 Ταῦτα μὲν νυν τοῦ ζεύξαντος τὴν γέφυραν μνημόσυνα ἐγένετο. Δαρεῖος δὲ δωρησάμενος Μανδροκλέα διέβαινε ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, τοῖσι Ἵωσι παραγγείλας πλέειν ἐς τὸν Πόντον μέχρι Ἵστρου ποταμοῦ, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπικῶνται ἐς τὸν Ἵστρον, ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὸν περιμένειν ζευγνύντας τὸν ποταμόν. τὸ γὰρ δὴ ναυτικὸν ἦγον Ἴωνές τε καὶ Αἰολᾶες καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι. 2 ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς Κυανέας διεκπλώσας ἔπλεε ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἵστρου, ἀναπλώσας δὲ ἀνὰ ποταμόν δυῶν ἡμερέων πλόον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν αὐχένα, ἕκ τοῦ σχίζεται τὰ στόματα τοῦ Ἵστρου, ἐξεύγνυε. 3 Δαρεῖος δὲ ὥς διέβη τὸν Βόσπορον κατὰ τὴν σχεδίην, ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Τέαρου ποταμοῦ τὰς πηγὰς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἡμέρας τρεῖς.

89. Darius, after rewarding Mandrocles, crossed over to Europe; he had told the Ionians to sail into the Pontus as far as the Ister river, and when they got to the Ister, to wait there for him, bridging the river meanwhile; for the fleet was led by Ionians and Aeolians and men of the Hellespont. So the fleet passed between the Dark Rocks and sailed straight for the Ister and, after a two days' voyage up the river from the sea, set about bridging the narrow channel of the river where its various mouths separate. But Darius, passing over the Bosphorus on the floating bridge of ships, journeyed through Thrace to the sources of the Tearus river, where he camped for three days.

90 1 Ὁ δὲ Τέαρος λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων εἶναι ποταμῶν ἄριστος τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐς ἅκεσιν φέροντα καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ ἵπποισι ψώρην ἀκέσασθαι. εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ δυῶν δέουσαι τεσσεράκοντα, ἕκ πέτρης τῆς αὐτῆς ρέουσαι, καὶ αἱ μὲν αὐτέων εἰσὶ ψυχραὶ αἱ δὲ θερμαί. 2 ὁδὸς δ' ἐπ' αὐτάς ἐστι ἴση ἐξ Ἡραίου τε πόλιος τῆς παρὰ Περίνθῳ καὶ ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίης τῆς ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ, δυῶν ἡμερέων ἑκατέρῃ. ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ὁ Τέαρος οὗτος ἐς τὸν Κοντάδεσδον ποταμόν, ὁ δὲ Κοντάδεσδος ἐς τὸν Ἀγριάνην, ὁ δὲ Ἀγριάνης ἐς τὸν Ἑβρον, ὁ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν παρ' Αἴνῳ πόλι.

90. The Tearus is said by those living on it to be the best river of all for purposes of healing, especially for healing mange in men and horses. Its springs are thirty-eight in number, some cold and some hot, all flowing from the same rock. There are two roads to the place,

one from the town of Heraeum near Perinthus, one from Apollonia on the Euxine sea; each is a two days' journey. This Tearus is a tributary of the Contadesdus river, and that of the Agrianes, and that of the Hebrus, which empties into the sea near the city of Aenus.

91 1 Ἐπὶ τοῦτον ὦν τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπικόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος ὡς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἡσθεὶς τῷ ποταμῷ στήλην ἔστησε καὶ ἐνθαῦτα, γράμματα ἐγγράψας λέγοντα τάδε. 2 “Τεάρου ποταμοῦ κεφαλαι ὕδωρ ἄριστόν τε καὶ κάλλιστον παρέχονται πάντων ποταμῶν· καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτάς ἀπύκετο ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατὸν ἀνὴρ ἄριστος τε καὶ κάλλιστος πάντων ἀνθρώπων, Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος, Περσέων τε καὶ πάσης τῆς ἡπείρου βασιλεύς,· ταῦτα δὲ ἐνθαῦτα ἐγράφη.

91. Having come to this river and camped there, then, Darius was pleased with the sight of it, and set up yet another pillar there, cut with this inscription: “From the headwaters of the river Tearus flows the best and finest water of all; and to them came, leading an army against the Scythians, the best and finest man of all, Darius son of Hystaspes, king of Persia and all the continent.” Such was the inscription.

92 1 Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμηθεὶς ἀπύκετο ἐπ’ ἄλλον ποταμὸν τῷ οὔνομα Ἀρτησκός ἐστι, ὃς διὰ Ὀδρυσέων ῥέει. ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπικόμενος ἐποίησε τοιόνδε· ἀποδέξας χωρίον τῇ στρατιῇ ἐκέλευε πάντα ἄνδρα λίθον ἓνα παρεξίοντα τιθέναι ἐς τὸ ἀποδεδεγμένον τοῦτο χωρίον. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐπετέλεσε, ἐνθαῦτα κολωνοὺς μεγάλους τῶν λίθων καταλιπὼν ἀπήλαυνε τὴν στρατιήν.

92. From there, Darius set out and came to another river called Artescus, which flows through the country of the Odrysae; and having reached this river, he pointed out a spot to the army, and told every man to lay one stone as he passed in this spot that he pointed out. After his army did this, he led it away, leaving behind there great piles of stones.

93 1 Πρὶν δὲ ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον, πρώτους αἰρέει Γέτας τοὺς ἀθανατίζοντας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν ἔχοντες Θρήικες καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίης τε καὶ Μεσαμβρίας πόλιος οἰκημένοι, καλεύμενοι δὲ Κυρμιάναι καὶ Νιψαῖοι, ἀμαχητὶ σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν Δαρεῖω· οἱ δὲ Γέται πρὸς ἀγνωμοσύνην τραπόμενοι

αὐτίκα ἐδουλώθησαν, Θρηίκων ἐόντες ἀνδρηιώτατοι καὶ δικαιοῖτατοι.

93. But before he came to the Ister, he first took the Getae, who pretend to be immortal. The Thracians of Salmydessus and of the country above the towns of Apollonia and Mesambria, who are called Cyrmianae and Nipsaei, surrendered without a fight to Darius; but the Getae resisted stubbornly, and were enslaved at once, the bravest and most just Thracians of all.

94 1 Ἀθανατίζουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· οὔτε ἀποθνήσκειν ἐωυτοὺς νομίζουσι ἰέναι τε τὸν ἀπολλύμενον παρὰ Σάλμοξιν δαίμονα· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζουσι Γεβελείζιν· 2 διὰ πεντετηρίδος τε τὸν πάλω λαχόντα αἰεὶ σφέων αὐτῶν ἀποπέμπουσι ἄγγελον παρὰ τὸν Σάλμοξιν, ἐντελλόμενοι τῶν ἂν ἐκάστοτε δέωνται, πέμπουσι δὲ ὧδε· οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ταχθέντες ἀκόντια τρία ἔχουσι, ἄλλοι δὲ διαλαβόντες τοῦ ἀποπεμπομένου παρὰ τὸν Σάλμοξιν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, ἀνακινήσαντες αὐτὸν μετέωρον ῥίπτουσι ἐς τὰς λόγχας. ἦν μὲν δὴ ἀποθάνη ἀναπαρεῖς, τοῖσι δὲ ἴλεος ὁ θεὸς δοκέει εἶναι· 3 ἦν δὲ μὴ ἀποθάνη, αἰτιῶνται αὐτὸν τὸν ἄγγελον, φάμενοί μιν ἄνδρα κακὸν εἶναι, αἰτησάμενοι δὲ τοῦτον ἄλλον ἀποπέμπουσι· ἐντέλλονται δὲ ἔτι ζῶντι. 4 οὗτοι οἱ αὐτοὶ Θρήικες καὶ πρὸς βροντὴν τε καὶ ἀστραπὴν τοξεύοντες ἄνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπειλέουσι τῷ θεῷ, οὐδένα ἄλλον θεὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι εἰ μὴ τὸν σφέτερον.

94. Their belief in their immortality is as follows: they believe that they do not die, but that one who perishes goes to the deity Salmoxis, or Gebeleizis, as some of them call him. Once every five years they choose one of their people by lot and send him as a messenger to Salmoxis, with instructions to report their needs; and this is how they send him: three lances are held by designated men; others seize the messenger to Salmoxis by his hands and feet, and swing and toss him up on to the spear-points. If he is killed by the toss, they believe that the god regards them with favor; but if he is not killed, they blame the messenger himself, considering him a bad man, and send another messenger in place of him. It is while the man still lives that they give him the message. Furthermore, when there is thunder and lightning these same Thracians shoot arrows skyward as a threat to the god, believing in no other god but their own.

95 1 Ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκεόντων

Ἑλλήνων καὶ Πόντον, τὸν Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον ἔοντα ἄνθρωπον δουλεῦσαι ἐν Σάμῳ, δουλεῦσαι δὲ Πυθαγόρῃ τῷ Μνησάρχῳ, 2 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὸν γενόμενον ἐλεύθερον χρήματα κτήσασθαι μεγάλα, κτησάμενον δὲ ἀπελθεῖν ἐς τὴν ἐξουτοῦ. ἅτε δὲ κακοβίων τε ἐόντων τῶν Θρηίκων καὶ ὑπαφρονεστέρων, τὸν Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον ἐπιστάμενον δίαίταν τε Ἰάδα καὶ ἦθεα βαθύτερα ἢ κατὰ Θρήικας, οἷα "Ἑλλησι τε ὁμιλήσαντα καὶ Ἑλλήνων οὐ τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ σοφιστῇ Πυθαγόρῃ, 3 κατασκευάσασθαι ἀνδρεῶνα, ἐς τὸν πανδοκεύοντα τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς πρώτους καὶ εὐωχέοντα ἀναδιδάσκειν ὥς οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε οἱ συμπόται αὐτοῦ οὔτε οἱ ἐκ τούτων αἰεὶ γινόμενοι ἀποθανέονται, ἀλλ' ἥξουσι ἐς χῶρον τοῦτον ἵνα αἰεὶ περιεόντες ἕξουσι τὰ πάντα ἀγαθὰ. 4 ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἐποίεε τὰ καταλεχθέντα καὶ ἔλεγε ταῦτα, ἐν τούτῳ κατάγαιον οἴκημα ἐποίεετο. ὥς δὲ οἱ παντελῶς εἶχε τὸ οἴκημα, ἐκ μὲν τῶν Θρηίκων ἠφανίσθη, καταβάς δὲ κάτω ἐς τὸ κατάγαιον οἴκημα διαιτᾶτο ἐπ' ἕτεα τρία· 5 οἱ δὲ μιν ἐπόθεόν τε καὶ ἐπένθεον ὥς τεθνεῶτα. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἐφάνη τοῖσι Θρήιξι, καὶ οὕτω πιθανὰ σφι ἐγένετο τὰ ἔλεγε ὁ Σάλμοξις. ταῦτα φασὶ μιν ποιῆσαι.

95. I understand from the Greeks who live beside the Hellespont and Pontus, that this Salmoxis was a man who was once a slave in Samos, his master being Pythagoras son of Mnesarchus; then, after being freed and gaining great wealth, he returned to his own country. Now the Thracians were a poor and backward people, but this Salmoxis knew Ionian ways and a more advanced way of life than the Thracian; for he had consorted with Greeks, and moreover with one of the greatest Greek teachers, Pythagoras; therefore he made a hall, where he entertained and fed the leaders among his countrymen, and taught them that neither he nor his guests nor any of their descendants would ever die, but that they would go to a place where they would live forever and have all good things. While he was doing as I have said and teaching this doctrine, he was meanwhile making an underground chamber. When this was finished, he vanished from the sight of the Thracians, and went down into the underground chamber, where he lived for three years, while the Thracians wished him back and mourned him for dead; then in the fourth year he appeared to the Thracians, and thus they came to believe what Salmoxis had told them. Such is the Greek story about him.

96 1 Ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτου καὶ τοῦ καταγαίου οἰκήματος οὔτε ἀπιστέω οὔτε ὧν πιστεύω τι λήν, δοκέω δὲ πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τὸν Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον γενέσθαι Πυθαγόρεω. 2 εἴτε δὲ ἐγένετό τις Σάλμοξις ἄνθρωπος, εἴτ' ἐστὶ δαίμων τις Γέτησι οὗτος ἐπιχώριος, χαιρέτω. οὔτοι μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ χρεώμενοι ὥς ἐχειρώθησαν ὑπὸ Περσέων, εἵποντο τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ.

96. Now I neither disbelieve nor entirely believe the tale about Salmoxis and his underground chamber; but I think that he lived many years before Pythagoras; and as to whether there was a man called Salmoxis or this is some deity native to the Getae, let the question be dismissed.

97 1 Δαρεῖος δὲ ὥς ἀπύκετο καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἅμ' αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον, ἐνθαῦτα διαβάντων πάντων Δαρεῖος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τε Ἴωνας τὴν σχεδὴν λύσαντας ἔπεσθαι κατ' ἥπειρον ἐωυτῷ καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν στρατόν. 2 μελλόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰόνων λύειν καὶ ποιέειν τὰ κελευόμενα, Κῶης ὁ Ἐρξάνδρου στρατηγὸς ἐὼν Μυτιληναίων ἔλεξε Δαρεῖω τάδε, πυθόμενος πρότερον εἰ οἱ φίλον εἴη γνώμην ἀποδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βουλομένου ἀποδείκνυσθαι. 3 “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ γῆν γὰρ μέλλεις στρατεῦεσθαι τῆς οὔτε ἀρηρομένον φανήσεται οὐδὲν οὔτε πόλις οἰκεομένη· σύ νυν γέφυραν ταύτην ἕα κατὰ χώραν ἐστάναι, φυλάκους αὐτῆς λιπὼν τούτους οἵπερ μιν ἔξευξαν. 4 καὶ ἦν τε κατὰ νόον πρήξωμεν εὐρόντες Σκύθας, ἔστι ἄποδος ἡμῖν, ἦν τε καὶ μὴ σφεας εὐρεῖν δυνάμεθα, ἥ γε ἄποδος ἡμῖν ἀσφαλής· οὐ γὰρ ἔδεισά κω μὴ ἐσσωθῶμεν ὑπὸ Σκυθέων μάχῃ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ δυνάμενοι σφέας εὐρεῖν πάθωμεν τι ἀλώμενοι. 5 καὶ τάδε λέγειν φαίη τις ἂν με ἐμεωυτοῦ εἵνεκεν, ὥς καταμένω· ἐγὼ δὲ γνώμην μὲν τὴν εὕρισκον ἀρίστην σοί, βασιλεῦ, ἐς μέσον φέρω, αὐτὸς μέντοι ἔγομαί τοι καὶ οὐκ ἂν λειφθείην,.. 6 κάρτα τε ἦσθη τῇ γνώμῃ Δαρεῖος καὶ μιν ἀμείψατο τοῖσιδε. “ξεῖνε Λέσβιε, σωθέντος ἐμεῦ ὀπίσω ἐς οἶκον τὸν ἐμὸν ἐπιφάνηθί μοι πάντως, ἵνα σε ἀντὶ χρηστῆς συμβουλῆς χρηστοῖσι ἔργοισι ἀμείψωμαι,.

97. Such were the ways of the Getae, who were subdued by the Persians and followed their army. When Darius and the land army with him had come to the Ister, and all had crossed, he had the Ionians break the bridge and follow him in his march across the mainland, together with the men of the fleet. So the Ionians were

preparing to break the bridge and do Darius' bidding; but Cōes son of Erxander, the general of the Mytilenaeans, after first asking if Darius were willing to listen to advice from one who wanted to give it, said, "Since, O King, you are about to march against a country where you will not find tilled lands or inhabited cities, let this bridge stay where it is, leaving those who made it to guard it. Thus, if we find the Scythians and do what we want, we have a way of return; and even if we do not find them, at least our way back is safe; for my fear has never been that we shall be overcome by the Scythians in the field, but rather that we may not be able to find them, and so go astray to our harm. Now it may perhaps be said that I say this for my own sake, because I want to remain behind; but it is not so; I only declare publicly the opinion that I think best for you, and I will follow you and do not want to be left here." Darius was very pleased with this advice, and he answered Cōes thus: "My friend from Lesbos, do not fail to show yourself to me when I return to my house safe, so that I may make you a good return for your good advice."

98 1 Ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἀπάσας ἄμματα ἐξήκοντα ἐν ἱμάντι καλέσας ἐς λόγους τοὺς Ἰώνων τυράννους ἔλεγε τάδε. 2 "ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἡ μὲν πρότερον γνώμη ἀποδεχθεῖσα ἐς τὴν γέφυραν μετείσθω μοι, ἔχοντες δὲ τὸν ἱμάντα τόνδε ποιεέτε τάδε. ἐπεὶ ἐμὲ ἴδητε τάχιστα πορευόμενον ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἀπὸ τούτου ἀρξάμενοι τοῦ χρόνου λύετε ἅμμα ἓν ἐκάστης ἡμέρης· ἣν δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ παρέω ἀλλὰ διεξέλθωσι ὑμῖν αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν ἀμμάτων, ἀποπλέετε ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρεην αὐτῶν. 3 μέχρι δὲ τούτου, ἐπεῖτε οὕτω μετέδοξε, φυλάσσετε τὴν σχεδὴν, πᾶσαν προθυμίην σωτηρίας τε καὶ φυλακῆς παρεχόμενοι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιέοντες ἐμοὶ μεγάλως χαριεῖσθε,,. Δαρεῖος μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐπείγετο.

98. After saying this, he tied sixty knots in a thong, and summoning the Ionian sovereigns to an audience said to them: "Gentlemen of Ionia, I take back the decision which I delivered before about the bridge; now, take this thong and do as follows. Begin to reckon from the day when you see me march away against the Scythians, and untie one knot each day: and if the days marked by the knots have all passed and I have not returned, embark for your own homes. But until then, since the plan is changed, guard the

bridge, making every effort to keep and watch it. You will please me very much if you do this.” Having said this, Darius hastened to march further.

99 1 Τῆς δὲ Σκυθικῆς γῆς ἡ Θρηίκη τὸ ἐς θάλασσαν πρόκειται· κόλπου δὲ ἀγομένου τῆς γῆς ταύτης, ἡ Σκυθική τε ἐκδέκεται καὶ ὁ Ἴστρος ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς αὐτήν, πρὸς εὖρον ἄνεμον τὸ στόμα τετραμμένως. 2 τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰστρου ἔρχομαι σημανέων τὸ πρὸς θάλασσαν αὐτῆς τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρας ἐς μέτρησιν. ἀπὸ Ἰστρου αὕτη ἦδη ἡ ἀρχαίη Σκυθίη ἐστὶ, πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον ἄνεμον κειμένη, μέχρι πόλιος Καρκινίτιδος καλεομένης. 3 τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν αὐτὴν φέρουσιν, ἐοῦσαν ὀρεινὴν τε χώραν καὶ προκειμένην τὸ ἐς Πόντον, νέμεται τὸ Ταυρικὸν ἔθνος μέχρι χερσονήσου τῆς τρηχέως καλεομένης· αὕτη δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον κατήκει. 4 ἐστὶ γὰρ τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ δύο μέρη τῶν οὖρων ἐς θάλασσαν φέροντα, τὴν τε πρὸς μεσαμβρίην καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, κατὰ περ τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρας· καὶ παραπλήσια ταύτῃ καὶ οἱ Ταῦροι νέμονται τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ὥς εἰ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἀθηναῖοι νεμοῖατο τὸν γουνὸν τὸν Σουνιακόν, μᾶλλον ἐς τὸν πόντον τὴν ἄκρην ἀνέχοντα, τὸν ἀπὸ Θορικοῦ μέχρι Ἀναφλύστου δήμου· 5 λέγω δὲ ὥς εἶναι ταῦτα σμικρὰ μεγάλοισι συμβάλλειν· τοιοῦτον ἡ Ταυρική ἐστὶ. ὅς δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ταῦτα μὴ παραπέπλωκε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄλλως δηλώσω· ὥς εἰ τῆς Ἰηπυγίης ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἰηπυγες ἀρξάμενοι ἐκ Βρεντεσίου λιμένος ἀποταμοῖατο μέχρι Τάραντος καὶ νεμοῖατο τὴν ἄκρην. δύο δὲ λέγων ταῦτα πολλὰ λέγω παρόμοια, τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἔοικε ἡ Ταυρική.

99. Thrace runs farther out into the sea than Scythia; and Scythia begins where a bay is formed in its coast, and the mouth of the Ister, facing southeast, is in that country. Now I am going to describe the coast of the true Scythia from the Ister, and give its measurements. The ancient Scythian land begins at the Ister and faces south and the south wind, as far as the city called Carcinitis. Beyond this place, the country fronting the same sea is hilly and projects into the Pontus; it is inhabited by the Tauric nation as far as what is called the Rough Peninsula; and this ends in the eastern sea. For the sea to the south and the sea to the east are two of the four boundary lines of Scythia, just as seas are boundaries of Attica; and the Tauri inhabit a part of

Scythia like Attica, as though some other people, not Attic, were to inhabit the heights of Sunium from Thoricus to the town of Anaphlystus, if Sunium jutted farther out into the sea. I mean, so to speak, to compare small things with great. Such a land is the Tauric country. But those who have not sailed along that part of Attica may understand from this other analogy: it is as though in Calabria some other people, not Calabrian, were to live on the promontory within a line drawn from the harbor of Brundisium to Tarentum. I am speaking of these two countries, but there are many others of a similar kind that Tauris resembles.

100 1 Τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ταυρικῆς ἤδη Σκύθαι τὰ κατύπερθε τῶν Ταύρων καὶ τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης τῆς ἰοῖης νέμονται, τοῦ τε Βοσπόρου τοῦ Κιμμερίου τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρης καὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος μέχρι Ταναΐδος ποταμοῦ, ὃς ἐκδίδοι ἐς μυχὸν τῆς λίμνης ταύτης. 2 ἤδη ὧν ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰστρου τὰ κατύπερθε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα ἀποκλιῖται ἡ Σκυθικὴ ὑπὸ πρώτων Ἀγαθύρσων, μετὰ δὲ Νευρῶν, ἔπειτα δὲ Ἀνδροφάγων, τελευταίων δὲ Μελαγχλαίων.

100. Beyond the Tauric country the Scythians begin, living north of the Tauri and beside the eastern sea, west of the Cimmerian Bosphorus and the Maeetian lake, as far as the Tanaïs river, which empties into the end of that lake. Now it has been seen that on its northern and inland side, running from the Ister, Scythia is bounded first by the Agathyrsi, next by the Neuri, next by the Man-eaters, and last by the Black-cloaks.

101 1 Ἔστι ὧν τῆς Σκυθικῆς ὡς ἐούσης τετραγώνου, τῶν δύο μερέων κατηκόντων ἐς θάλασσαν, πάντῃ ἴσον τό τε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέρον καὶ τὸ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν. 2 ἀπὸ γὰρ Ἰστρου ἐπὶ Βορυσθένεα δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδός ἀπὸ Βορυσθέneos τε ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Μαιήτιν ἑτερέων δέκα· καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἐς τοὺς Μελαγχλαίους τοὺς κατύπερθε Σκυψέων οἰκημένους εἴκοσι ἡμερέων ὁδός. 3 ἡ δὲ ὁδός ἡ ἡμερησίῃ ἀνὰ διηκόσια στάδια συμβέβληται μοι. οὕτω ἂν εἴη τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ ἐπικάρσια τετρακισχιλίων σταδίων καὶ τὰ ὄρθια τὰ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα ἐτέρων τοσοῦτων σταδίων. ἡ μὲν νυν γῆ αὕτη ἐστὶ μέγαθος τοσαύτη.

101. Scythia, then, is a four-sided country, two of whose sides are coastline, the frontiers running inland and those that are by the sea

making it a perfect square; for it is a ten days' journey from the Ister to the Borysthenes, and the same from the Borysthenes to the Maeetian lake; and it is a twenty days' journey from the sea inland to the country of the Black-cloaks who live north of Scythia. Now, as I reckon a day's journey at two hundred stades, the cross-measurement of Scythia would be a distance of five hundred miles, and the line drawn straight up inland the same. Such then is the extent of this land.

102 1 Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι δόντες σφίσι λόγον ὥς οὐκ οἷοί τε εἰσὶ τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἰθυμαχίῃ διώσασθαι μοῦνοι, ἔπεμπον ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἀγγέλους· τῶν δὲ καὶ δὴ οἱ βασιλέες συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο ὥς στρατοῦ ἐπελαύνοντος μεγάλου. 2 ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συνελθόντες βασιλέες Ταύρων καὶ Ἀγαθύρσων καὶ Νευρῶν καὶ Ἀνδροφάγων καὶ Μελαγχλαίνων καὶ Γελωνῶν καὶ Βουδίνων καὶ Σαυροματέων.

102. Convinced that they alone were not able to repel Darius' army in open warfare, the Scythians sent messengers to their neighbors, whose kings had already gathered and were deliberating on the presumption that a great army was marching against them. The assembled kings were those of the Tauri, Agathyrsi, Neuri, Maneaters, Black-cloaks, Geloni, Budini, and Sauromatae.

103 1 Τούτων Ταῦροι μὲν νόμοις τοιοῖσιδε χρέωνται· θύουσι μὲν τῇ, παρθένῳ τοὺς τε ναυηγούς καὶ τοὺς ἂν λάβωσι Ἑλλήνων ἐπαναχθέντες τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· 2 καταρξάμενοι ῥοπάλῳ παίουσιν τὴν κεφαλὴν. οἱ μὲν δὲ λέγουσι ὥς τὸ σῶμα ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημοῦ ὠθέουσι κάτω (ἐπὶ γὰρ κρημοῦ ἵδρυται τὸ ἱρόν), τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυροῦσι· οἱ δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁμολογεῖν, τὸ μὲντοι σῶμα οὐκ ὠθέεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημοῦ λέγουσι ἀλλὰ γῇ κρύπτεσθαι. τὴν δὲ δαίμονα ταύτην τῇ θύουσι λέγουσι αὐτοῖς Ταῦροι Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος εἶναι. 3 πολεμίους δὲ ἄνδρας τοὺς ἂν χειρῶσονται ποιεῦσι τάδε· ἀποταμὼν ἕκαστος κεφαλὴν ἀποφέρεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ ξύλου μεγάλου ἀναπείρας ἰστᾶ ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκίης ὑπερέχουσιν πολλόν, μάλιστα δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς καπνοδόκης. φασὶ δὲ τούτους φυλάκους τῆς οἰκίης πάσης ὑπεραιωρέεσθαι. ζῶσι δὲ ἀπὸ λήϊς τε καὶ πολέμου.

103. Among these, the Tauri have the following customs: all ship-

wrecked men, and any Greeks whom they capture in their sea-raids, they sacrifice to the Virgin goddess as I will describe: after the first rites of sacrifice, they strike the victim on the head with a club; according to some, they then place the head on a pole and throw the body off the cliff on which their temple stands; others agree as to the head, but say that the body is buried, not thrown off the cliff. The Tauri themselves say that this deity to whom they sacrifice is Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia. As for enemies whom they defeat, each cuts his enemy's head off and carries it away to his house, where he places it on a tall pole and stands it high above the dwelling, above the smoke-vent for the most part. These heads, they say, are set up to guard the whole house. The Tauri live by plundering and war.

104 1 Ἀγάθυρσοι δὲ ἀβρότατοι ἀνδρῶν εἰσι καὶ χρυσοφόροι τὰ μάλιστα, ἐπικοινωνοῦν δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν μῆξιν ποιεῦνται, ἵνα κασίγνητοι τε ἀλλήλων ἔωσι καὶ οἰκῆιοι ἐόντες πάντες μήτε φθόνῳ μήτε ἔχθει χρέωνται ἐς ἀλλήλους. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα νόμια Θρήϊζι προσεχωρήκασιν.

104. The Agathyrsi are the most refined of men and especially given to wearing gold. Their intercourse with women is promiscuous, so that they may be consanguine with one another and, all being relations, not harbor jealousy or animosity toward one another. In the rest of their customs they are like the Thracians.

105 1 Νευροὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν χρέωνται Σκυθικοῖσι, γενεῇ δὲ μῆτι πρότερον σφέας τῆς Δαρείου στρατηλασίης κατέλαβε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ὑπὸ ὀφίων· ὄφιας γάρ σφι πολλοὺς μὲν ἢ χώρα ἀνέφαινε, οἱ δὲ πλεῖνες ἄνωθέν σφι ἐκ τῶν ἐρήμων ἐπέπεσον, ἐς ὃ πιεζόμενοι οἴκησαν μετὰ Βουδίνων τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἐκλιπόντες. κινδυνεύουσι δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι γόητες εἶναι. 2 λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ κατοικημένων ὥς ἔτεος ἐκάστου ἅπαξ τῶν Νευρῶν ἕκαστος λύκος γίνεται ἡμέρας ὀλίγας καὶ αὗτις ὀπίσω ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ κατίσταται. ἐμὲ μὲν νυν ταῦτα λέγοντες οὐ πείθουσι, λέγουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἥσσαν, καὶ ὁμνῦσι δὲ λέγοντες.

105. The Neuri follow Scythian customs; but one generation before the advent of Darius' army, they happened to be driven from their country by snakes; for their land produced great numbers of

these, and still more came down on them out of the desolation on the north, until at last the Neuri were so afflicted that they left their own country and lived among the Budini. It may be that these people are wizards; for the Scythians, and the Greeks settled in Scythia, say that once a year every one of the Neuri becomes a wolf for a few days and changes back again to his former shape. Those who tell this tale do not convince me; but they tell it nonetheless, and swear to its truth.

106 1 Ἀνδροφάγοι δὲ ἀγριώτατα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔχουσι ἥθεα, οὔτε δίκην νομίζοντες οὔτε νόμῳ οὐδενὶ χρεώμενοι· νομάδες δὲ εἰσι, ἐσθῆτά τε φορέουσι τῇ Σκυθικῇ ὁμοίην, γλῶσσαν δὲ ἰδίην, ἀνδροφαγέουσι δὲ μοῦνοι τούτων.

106. The Man-eaters are the most savage of all men in their way of life; they know no justice and obey no law. They are nomads, wearing a costume like the Scythian, but speaking a language of their own; of all these, they are the only people that eat men.

107 1 Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ εἵματα μὲν μέλανα φορέουσι πάντες, ἐπ' ὧν καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχουσι, νόμοισι δὲ Σκυθικοῖσι χρέωνται.

107. The Black-cloaks all wear black clothing, from which they get their name; their customs are Scythian.

108 1 Βουδῖνοι δὲ ἔθνος ἐὼν μέγα καὶ πολλὸν γλαυκὸν τε πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐστί καὶ πυρρόν· πόλις δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖσι πεπόλισται ξύλινη, οὔνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ Γελωνός. τοῦ δὲ τείχεος μέγαθος κῶλον ἑκαστον τριήκοντα σταδίων ἐστί, ὑψηλὸν δὲ καὶ πᾶν ξύλινον, καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι αὐτῶν ξύλιναι καὶ τὰ ἱρά. 2 ἔστι γὰρ δὴ αὐτόθι Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν ἱρὰ Ἑλληνικῶς κατεσκευασμένα ἀγάλμασι τε καὶ βωμοῖσι καὶ νηοῖσι ξύλινοις, καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τριετηρίδας ἀνάγουσι καὶ βακχεύουσι. εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ Γελωνοὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον Ἑλλήνες, ἐκ τῶν δὲ ἐμπορίων ἐξαναστάντες οἰκήσαν ἐν τοῖσι Βουδίνοις· καὶ γλώσση τὰ μὲν Σκυθικῇ, τὰ δὲ Ἑλληνικῇ χρέωνται.

108. The Budini are a great and populous nation; the eyes of them all are very bright, and they are ruddy. They have a city built of wood, called Gelonus. The wall of it is three and three quarters miles in length on each side of the city; this wall is high and all of wood; and their houses are wooden, and their temples; for there are temples of Greek gods among them, furnished in Greek style with images and

altars and shrines of wood; and they honor Dionysus every two years with festivals and revelry. For the Geloni are by their origin Greeks, who left their trading ports to settle among the Budini; and they speak a language half Greek and half Scythian. But the Budini do not speak the same language as the Geloni, nor is their manner of life the same.

109 1 Βουδῖνοι δὲ οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ γλώσσει χρέωνται καὶ Γελωνοί, οὐδὲ δίαίτα ἢ αὐτή. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βουδῖνοι ἐόντες αὐτόχθονες νομάδες τε εἰσὶ καὶ φθειροτραγέουσι μοῦνοι τῶν ταύτη, Γελωνοὶ δὲ γῆς τε ἐργάται καὶ σιτοφάγοι καὶ κήπους ἐκτημένοι, οὐδὲν τὴν ἰδέην ὅμοιοι οὐδὲ τὸ χρῶμα. ὑπὸ μέντοι Ἑλλήνων καλέονται καὶ οἱ Βουδῖνοι Γελωνοί, οὐκ ὀρθῶς καλεόμενοι. 2 ἡ δὲ χώρα σφέων πᾶσα ἐστὶ δασέα ἴδῃσι παντοίῃσι· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἴδῃ τῇ πλείστῃ ἐστὶ λίμνη μεγάλη τε καὶ πολλή καὶ ἔλος καὶ κάλαμος περὶ αὐτήν. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ ἐνύδριες ἀλίσκονται καὶ κάστορες καὶ ἄλλα θηρία τετραγωνοπρόσωπα, τῶν τὰ δέρματα παρὰ τὰς σισύρνας παραρράπτεται, καὶ οἱ ὄρχιες αὐτοῖσι εἰσὶ χρήσιμοι ἐς ὑστερέων ἄκεσιν.

109. The Budini are indigenous; they are nomads, and the only people in these parts that eat fir-cones; the Geloni are farmers, eating grain and cultivating gardens; they are altogether unlike the Budini in form and in coloring. Yet the Greeks call the Budini too Geloni; but this is wrong. Their whole country is thickly wooded with every kind of tree; in the depth of the forest there is a great, wide lake and a marsh surrounded by reeds; otter is trapped in it, and beaver, besides certain square-faced creatures whose skins are used to trim mantles, and their testicles are used by the people to heal sicknesses of the womb.

110 1 Σαυροματέων δὲ περὶ ᾧδε λέγεται. ὅτε Ἑλληνες Ἀμαζόσι ἐμαχέσαντο (τὰς δὲ Ἀμαζόνας καλέουσι Σκύθαι Οἰόρπατα, δύναται δὲ τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἀνδροκτόνοι· οἰὸρ γὰρ καλέουσι ἄνδρα, τὸ δὲ πατὰ κτείνειν), τότε λόγος τοὺς Ἑλλήνας νικήσαντας τῇ ἐπὶ Θερμῳδοντι μάχῃ ἀποπλέειν ἄγοντας τρισὶ πλοίοισι τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ὅσας ἐδυνάετο ζωγρῆσαι, τὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐπιθεμένας ἐκκόψαι τοὺς ἄνδρας. 2 πλοῖα δὲ οὐ γινώσκειν αὐτὰς οὐδὲ πηδαλίοισι χρᾶσθαι οὐδὲ ἰστιίοισι οὐδὲ εἰρεσίῃ· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐξέκοψαν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐφέροντο κατὰ κύμα καὶ ἄνεμον, καὶ

ἀπικνέονται τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Κρημνούς· οἱ δὲ Κρημνοὶ εἰσὶ γῆς τῆς Σκυθέων τῶν ἐλευθέρων. ἐνθαῦτα ἀποβᾶσαι ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ὁδοιπόρεον ἐς τὴν οἰκεομένην. ἐντυχοῦσαι δὲ πρώτῳ ἵπποφορβίῳ τοῦτο διήρπασαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἱπαζόμεναι ἐληίζοντο τὰ τῶν Σκυθέων.

110. About the Sauromatae, the story is as follows. When the Greeks were at war with the Amazons (whom the Scythians call Oiorpata, a name signifying in our tongue killers of men, for in Scythian a man is “oior” and to kill is “pata”), the story runs that after their victory on the Thermodon they sailed away carrying in three ships as many Amazons as they had been able to take alive; and out at sea the Amazons attacked the crews and killed them. But they knew nothing about ships, or how to use rudder or sail or oar; and with the men dead, they were at the mercy of waves and winds, until they came to the Cliffs by the Maeetian lake; this place is in the country of the free Scythians. The Amazons landed there, and set out on their journey to the inhabited country, and seizing the first troop of horses they met, they mounted them and raided the Scythian lands.

111 1 Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι τὸ πρῆγμα· οὔτε γὰρ φωνὴν οὔτε ἐσθῆτα οὔτε τὸ ἔθνος ἐγίνωσκον, ἀλλ’ ἐν θώματι ἦσαν ὁκόθεν ἔλθοιεν, ἐδόκεον δ’ αὐτὰς εἶναι ἄνδρας τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην ἔχοντας, μάχην τε δὴ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐποιεῦντο. ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης τῶν νεκρῶν ἐκράτησαν οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ οὕτω ἔγνωσαν ἐούσας γυναῖκας. 2 βουλευομένοισι ὧν αὐτοῖσι ἔδοξε κτείνειν μὲν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἔτι αὐτάς, ἐωυτῶν δὲ τοὺς νεωτάτους ἀποπέμψαι ἐς αὐτάς, πλῆθος εἰκάσαντας ὅσαι περ ἐκεῖναι ἦσαν τούτους δὲ στρατοπεδεύεσθαι πλησίον ἐκεινέων καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ περ ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖναι ποιέωσι. ἦν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωσι, μάχεσθαι μὲν μή, ὑποφεύγειν δέ· ἐπεὰν δὲ παύσωνται, ἐλθόντας αὗτις πλησίον στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ταῦτα ἐβουλεύσαντο οἱ Σκύθαι βουλόμενοι ἐξ αὐτέων παῖδας ἐκγενήσεσθαι. ἀποπεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ νεηνίσκοι ἐποίεον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα.

111. The Scythians could not understand the business; for they did not recognize the women’s speech or their dress or their nation, but wondered where they had come from, and imagined them to be men all of the same age; and they met the Amazons in battle. The result of

the fight was that the Scythians got possession of the dead, and so came to learn that their foes were women. Therefore, after deliberation they resolved by no means to slay them as before, but to send their youngest men to them, of a number corresponding (as they guessed) to the number of the women. They directed these youths to camp near the Amazons and to imitate all that they did; if the women pursued them, not to fight, but to flee; and when the pursuit stopped, to return and camp near them. This was the plan of the Scythians, for they desired that children be born of the women. The young men who were sent did as they were directed.

112 1 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθον αὐτοὺς αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἐπ' οὐδεμιῇ δηλήσι ἀπιγμένους, ἔων χαίρειν· προσεχώρεον δὲ πλησιαιτέρῳ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη. εἶχον δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδ' οἱ νεηνίσκοι, ὥσπερ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, ἀλλὰ ζῶν ἔζων τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνησι, θηρεύοντές τε καὶ ληϊζόμενοι.

112. When the Amazons perceived that the youths meant them no harm, they let them be; but every day the two camps drew nearer to each other. Now the young men, like the Amazons, had nothing but their arms and their horses, and lived as did the women, by hunting and plunder.

113 1 Ἐποίησαν δὲ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἐς τὴν μεσαμβρίην τοιόνδε· ἐγίνοντο σποράδες κατὰ μίαν τε καὶ δύο, πρόσω δὴ ἀπ' ἀλληλέων ἐς εὐμαρείην ἀποσκιδνάμεναι. μαθόντες δὲ καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ἐποίησαν τὸν αὐτὸ τοῦτο. καὶ τις μουνωθεισέων τινὶ αὐτέων ἐνεχρίμπετο, 2 καὶ ἡ Ἀμαζὼν οὐκ ἀποθέετο ἀλλὰ περιεῖδε χρήσασθαι. καὶ φωνῆσαι μὲν οὐκ εἶχε, οὐ γὰρ συνίεσαν ἀλλήλων, τῇ δὲ χειρὶ ἔφραζε ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χωρίον καὶ ἕτερον ἄγειν, σημαίνουσα δύο γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτὴ ἑτέραν ἄγειν. 3 ὁ δὲ νεηνίσκος, ἐπεὶ ἀπῆλθε, ἔλεξε ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς λοιπούς· τῇ δὲ δευτεραίῃ ἦλθε ἐς τὸ χωρίον αὐτός τε οὗτος καὶ ἕτερον ἦγε, καὶ τὴν Ἀμαζόνα εὗρε δευτέραν αὐτὴν ὑπομένουσαν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ νεηνίσκοι ὥς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκτιλώσαντο τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν Ἀμαζόνων.

113. At midday the Amazons would scatter and go apart from each other singly or in pairs, roaming apart for greater comfort. The Scythians noticed this and did likewise; and as the women wandered alone, a young man laid hold of one of them, and the woman did not

resist but let him do his will; and since they did not understand each other's speech and she could not speak to him, she signed with her hand that he should come the next day to the same place and bring another youth with him (showing by signs that there should be two), and she would bring another woman with her. The youth went away and told his comrades; and the next day he came himself with another to the place, where he found the Amazon and another with her awaiting them. When the rest of the young men learned of this, they had intercourse with the rest of the Amazons.

114 1 Μετὰ δὲ συμμίζαντες τὰ στρατόπεδα οἴκεον ὁμοῦ, γυναῖκα ἔχων ἕκαστος ταύτην τῇ τὸ πρῶτον συνεμίχθη. τὴν δὲ φωνὴν τὴν μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ἐδυνέατο μαθεῖν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἱ γυναῖκες συνέλαβον. 2 ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆκαν ἀλλήλων, ἔλεξαν πρὸς τὰς Ἀμαζόνας τάδε οἱ ἄνδρες. “ἡμῖν εἰσὶ μὲν τοκέες, εἰσὶ δὲ κτήσιες· νῦν ὧν μηκέτι πλεῦνα χρόνον ζοῖν τοιήνδε ἔχωμεν, ἀλλ’ ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὸ πλῆθος διαιτώμεθα. γυναῖκας δὲ ἔξομεν ὑμέας καὶ οὐδαμὰς ἄλλας,.. αἱ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεξαν τάδε. 3 “ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα οἰκέειν μετὰ τῶν ὑμετερέων γυναικῶν· οὐ γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ νόμαια ἡμῖν τε κάκεινῃσι ἐστί. ἡμεῖς μὲν τοξεύομεν τε καὶ ἀκοντίζομεν καὶ ἱππαζόμεθα, ἔργα δὲ γυναικῆα οὐκ ἐμάθομεν· αἱ δὲ ὑμέτεραι γυναῖκες τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν ἡμεῖς κατελέξαμεν ποιεῦσι, ἔργα δὲ γυναικῆα ἐργάζονται μένουσαι ἐν τῇσι ἀμάξεισι, οὗτ’ ἐπὶ θήρην ἰοῦσαι οὕτε ἄλλῃ οὐδαμῇ. 4 οὐκ ἂν ὧν δυναίμεθα ἐκείνῃσι συμφέρεσθαι. ἀλλ’ εἰ βούλεσθε γυναῖκας ἔχειν ἡμέας καὶ δοκέειν εἶναι δίκαιοι, ἐλθόντες παρὰ τοὺς τοκέας ἀπολάχετε τῶν κτημάτων τὸ μέρος, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντες οἰκώμεν ἐπὶ ἡμέων αὐτῶν,.. ἐπεΐθοντο καὶ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα οἱ νεηνῖσκοι.

114. Presently they joined their camps and lived together, each man having for his wife the woman with whom he had had intercourse at first. Now the men could not learn the women's language, but the women mastered the speech of the men; and when they understood each other, the men said to the Amazons, "We have parents and possessions; therefore, let us no longer live as we do, but return to our people and be with them; and we will still have you, and no others, for our wives." To this the women replied: "We could not live with your women; for we and they do not have the same

customs. We shoot the bow and throw the javelin and ride, but have never learned women's work; and your women do none of the things of which we speak, but stay in their wagons and do women's work, and do not go out hunting or anywhere else. So we could never agree with them. If you want to keep us for wives and to have the name of fair men, go to your parents and let them give you the allotted share of their possessions, and after that let us go and live by ourselves." The young men agreed and did this.

115 1 Ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀπολαχόντες τῶν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἦλθον ὀπίσω παρὰ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας, ἔλεξαν αἱ γυναῖκες πρὸς αὐτοὺς τάδε. 2 "ἡμέας ἔχει φόβος τε καὶ δέος ὅπως χρὴ οἰκέειν ἐν τῷδε τῷ χώρῳ, τοῦτο μὲν ὑμέας ἀποστερησάσας πατέρων, τοῦτο δὲ γῆν τὴν ὑμετέρεην δηλησαμένας πολλά. 3 ἀλλ' ἐπεῖτε ἀξιούτε ἡμέας γυναῖκας ἔχειν, τάδε ποιέετε ἅμα ἡμῖν· φέρετε ἐξαναστέωμεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῆσδε καὶ περήσαντες Τάναιν ποταμὸν οἰκέωμεν,,"

115. So when they had been given the allotted share of possessions that fell to them, and returned to the Amazons, the women said to them: "We are worried and frightened how we are to live in this country after depriving you of your fathers and doing a lot of harm to your land. Since you propose to have us for wives, do this with us: come, let us leave this country and live across the Tanaïs river."

116 1 Ἐπεῖθοντο καὶ ταῦτα οἱ νεηνίσκοι, διαβάντες δὲ τὸν Τάναϊν ὁδοιπόρεον πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα τριῶν μὲν ἡμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ Τανάιδος ὁδόν, τριῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χώρον ἐν τῷ νυν κατοίκηνται, οἴκησαν τοῦτον. 2 καὶ διαίτη ἀπὸ τούτου χρέωνται τῇ παλαιῇ τῶν Σαυροματέων αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἐπὶ θήρην ἐπ' ἵππων ἐκφοιτῶσαι ἅμα τοῖσι ἀνδράσι καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ἐς πόλεμον φοιτῶσαι καὶ στολὴν τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι φορέουσai.

116. To this too the youths agreed; and crossing the Tanaïs, they went a three days' journey east from the river, and a three days' journey north from lake Maeetis; and when they came to the region in which they now live, they settled there. Ever since then the women of the Sauromatae have followed their ancient ways; they ride out hunting, with their men or without them; they go to war, and dress

the same as the men.

117 1 Φωνῇ δὲ οἱ Σαυρομάται νομίζουσι Σκυθικῇ, σολοικίζοντες αὐτῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, ἐπεὶ οὐ χρηστῶς ἐξέμαθον αὐτὴν αἱ Ἀμαζόνες. τὰ περὶ γάμων δὲ ὧδέ σφι διακέεται. οὐ γαμέεται παρθένος οὐδεμία πρὶν ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ἄνδρα ἀποκτείνῃ· αἱ δὲ τινὲς αὐτέων καὶ τελευτῶσι γηραιαὶ πρὶν γήμασθαι, οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλῆσαι,

117. The language of the Sauromatae is Scythian, but not spoken in its ancient purity, since the Amazons never learned it correctly. In regard to marriage, it is the custom that no maiden weds until she has killed a man of the enemy; and some of them grow old and die unmarried, because they cannot fulfill the law.

118 1 Ἐπὶ τούτων ὧν τῶν καταλεχθέντων ἐθνέων τοὺς βασιλέας ἄλισμένους ἀπικόμενος τῶν Σκυθέων οἱ ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον ἐκδιδάσκοντες ὡς ὁ Πέρσης, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῇ ἐτέρῃ πάντα κατέστραπται, γέφυραν ζεύξας ἐπὶ τῷ αὐχένι τοῦ Βοσπόρου διαβέβηκε ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡπειρον, διαβὰς δὲ καὶ καταστρεψάμενος Θρηίκας γεφυροὶ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον, βουλόμενος καὶ τάδε πάντα ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. 2 “ὕμεῖς ὧν μηδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι περιιδίητε ἡμέας διαφθαρέντας, ἀλλὰ τὸν τοῦ νοήσαντες ἀντιάζωμεν τὸν ἐπιόντα. οὐκὼν ποιήσετε ταῦτα; ἡμεῖς μὲν πιεζόμενοι ἢ ἐκλείψομεν τὴν χώραν ἢ μένοντες ὁμολογίῃ χρησόμεθα. 3 τί γὰρ πάθωμεν μὴ βουλομένων ὑμέων τιμωρέειν; ὑμῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔσται ἐλαφρότερον. ἥκει γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπ' ὑμέας, οὐδέ οἱ καταχρήσει ἡμέας καταστρεψαμένῳ ὑμέων ἀπέχεσθαι. 4 μέγα δὲ ὑμῖν λόγων τῶνδε μαρτύριον ἐρέομεν. εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' ἡμέας μούνοους ἐστρατηλάτее ὁ Πέρσης τίσασθαι τῆς πρόσθε δουλοσύνης βουλόμενος, χρῆν αὐτὸν πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεχόμενον ἰέναι οὕτω ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν, καὶ ἂν ἐδήλου πᾶσι ὡς ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐλαύνει καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. 5 νῦν δὲ ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα διέβη ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡπειρον, τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐμποδῶν γινομένους ἡμεροῦται πάντας· τοὺς τε δὴ ἄλλους ἔχει ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ Θρηίκας καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἡμῖν ἐόντας πλησιοχώρους Γέτας,,

118. The kings of the aforesaid nations having gathered, then, the Scythian messengers came and laid everything before them, explaining how the Persian, now that the whole of the other continent

was subject to him, had crossed over to their continent by a bridge thrown across the neck of the Bosphorus, and how having crossed it and subjugated the Thracians he was now bridging the Ister, so as to make that whole region subject to him like the others. “By no means stand aside and let us be destroyed,” they said; “rather, let us unite and oppose this invader. If you will not, then we shall either be driven out of our country or stay and make terms. For what is to become of us if you will not help us? And afterward it will not be easy for you, either; for the Persian has come to attack you no less than us, and when he has subjugated us he will not be content to leave you alone. We will give you a convincing proof of what we say: if indeed the Persian were marching against us alone, wanting vengeance for our former enslavement of his country, he ought to leave others alone and make straight for us, and would show everyone that Scythia and no other country was his goal. But as it is, from the day he crossed over to this continent, he has been taming all that come in his way, and he holds in subjection not only the rest of Thrace, but also our neighbors the Getae.”

119 1 Ταῦτα Σκυθέων ἐπαγγελλομένων ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνέων ἦκοντες, καὶ σφεων ἐσχίσθησαν αἱ γνώμαι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Γελωνὸς καὶ ὁ Βουδῖνος καὶ ὁ Σαυρομάτης κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν γινόμενοι ὑπεδέκοντο Σκύθησι τιμωρήσιν, ὁ δὲ Ἀγάθυρσος καὶ Νευρὸς καὶ Ἀνδροφάγος καὶ οἱ τῶν Μελαγχλαίων καὶ Ταύρων τάδε Σκύθησι ὑπεκρίναντο. 2 “εἰ μὲν μὴ ὑμεῖς ἔατε οἱ πρότεροι ἀδικήσαντες Πέρσας καὶ ἄρξαντες πολέμου, τούτων δεόμενοι τῶν νῦν δέεσθε λέγειν τε ἂν ἐφαίνεσθε ἡμῖν ὀρθά, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπακούσαντες τὸν αὐτὸν ἂν ὑμῖν ἐπρήσσομεν. 3 νῦν δὲ ὑμεῖς τε ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων ἐσβαλόντες γῆν ἄνευ ἡμέων ἐπεκρατέετε Περσέων ὅσον χρόνον ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς παρεδίδου, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, ἐπεὶ σφεας ὧν τὸς θεὸς ἐγείρει, τὴν ὁμοίην ὑμῖν ἀποδιδούσι. 4 ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε τι τότε ἡδίκησαμεν τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους οὐδὲν οὔτε νῦν πρότεροι πειρησόμεθα ἀδικεῖν. ἦν μέντοι ἐπὶ καὶ τὴν ἡμετέρεην ἄρξην τε ἀδικέων, καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐ πεισόμεθα, μέχρι δὲ τοῦτο ἴδωμεν, μενέομεν παρ’ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖσι· ἥκειν γὰρ δοκέομεν οὐκ ἐπ’ ἡμέας Πέρσας ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀδικίης γενομένους,·.

119. After the Scythians had made this speech, the kings who had

come from the nations deliberated, and their opinions were divided. The kings of the Geloni and the Budini and the Sauromatae were of one mind and promised to help the Scythians; but the kings of the Agathyrsi and Neuri and Maneaters and Black-cloaks and Tauri gave this answer to the messengers: "Had it not been you who wronged the Persians first and began the war, what you now ask would seem to us right, and we would listen and act together with you. But as it is, you invaded their land without us and ruled the Persians for as long as god granted; and the Persians, urged on by the same god, are only repaying you in kind. But we did these men no wrong at that former time, nor do we intend now to wrong them first; but if the Persian comes against our land too and begins the wrong-doing, then we will not accept it, either; but until we see that, we shall keep to ourselves. For in our judgment the Persians have not come for us but for those who were the agents of wrong."

120 1 Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Σκύθαι, ἐβουλεύοντο ἰθυμαχίην μὲν μηδεμίαν ποιεῖσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος, ὅτε δὴ σφι οὗτοι γε σύμμαχοι οὐ προσεγίνοντο, ὑπεξιόντες δὲ καὶ ὑπεξελαύνοντες τὰ φρέατα τὰ παρεξίειεν αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰς κρήνας συγχοῦν, τὴν ποίην τε ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκτρίβειν, διχοῦ σφέας διελόντες. 2 καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρέων, τῆς ἐβασίλευε Σκώπασις, προσχωρέειν Σαυρομάτας· τούτους μὲν δὴ ὑπάγειν, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τράπηται ὁ Πέρσης ἰθὺ Τανάιδος ποταμοῦ παρὰ τὴν Μαιῆτιν λίμνην ὑποφεύγοντας, ἀπελαύνοντος τε τοῦ Πέρσεω ἐπιόντας διώκειν. αὕτη μὲν σφι μία ἦν μοῖρα τῆς βασιληΐης, τεταγμένη ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἣ περ εἴρηται· 3 τὰς δὲ δύο τῶν βασιληϊῶν, τὴν τε μεγάλην τῆς ἦρχε Ἰδάνθυρσος καὶ τὴν τρίτην τῆς ἐβασίλευε Τάξακις, συνελθούσας ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ Γελωνῶν τε καὶ Βουδίνων προσγενομένων, ἡμέρης καὶ τούτους ὁδῶ προέχοντας τῶν Περσέων ὑπεξάγειν, ὑπιόντας τε καὶ ποιεῦντας τὰ βεβουλευμένα· 4 πρῶτα μὲν νυν ὑπάγειν σφέας ἰθὺ τῶν χωρέων τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίην, ἵνα καὶ τούτους ἐκπολεμώσωσι· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐκόντες γε ὑπέδυσαν τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας, ἀλλ' ἀέκοντας ἐκπολεμώσκειν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὑποστρέφειν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην καὶ ἐπιχειρέειν, ἣν δὴ βουλευομένοισι δοκέη.

120. When this answer was brought back to the Scythians, they

determined not to meet their enemy in the open field, since they could not get the allies that they sought, but rather to fall back driving off their herds, choking the wells and springs on their way and destroying the grass from the earth; and they divided themselves into two companies. It was their decision that to one of their divisions, which Scopasis ruled, the Sauromatae be added; if the Persian marched that way, this group was to retire before him and fall back toward the Tanaïs river, by the Maeetian lake, and if the Persian turned to go back, then they were to pursue and attack him. This was one of the divisions of the royal people, and it was appointed to follow this course; their two other divisions, namely, the greater whose ruler was Idanthysus, and the third whose king was Taxakis, were to unite, and taking with them also the Geloni and Budini, to draw off like the others at the Persian approach, always keeping one day's march ahead of the enemy, avoiding a confrontation and doing what had been determined. First, then, they were to retreat in a straight line toward the countries which refused their alliance, so as to involve these, too, in the war; for if they did not of their own accord support the war against the Persians, they must be involved against their will; and after that, the division was to turn back to its own country, and attack the enemy, if in deliberation they thought this best.

121 Ἰ Ταῦτα οἱ Σκύθαι βουλευσάμενοι ὑπηντίαζον τὴν Δαρείου στρατιήν, προδρόμους ἀποστείλαντες τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἀρίστους. τὰς δὲ ἀμάξας ἐν τῇσι σφι διαιτᾶτο τὰ τέκνα καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες πάσας καὶ τὰ πρόβατα πάντα, πλὴν ὅσα σφι ἐς φορβὴν ἱκανὰ ἦν τοσαῦτα ὑπολιπόμενοι, τὰ ἄλλα ἅμα τῇσι ἀμάξῃσι προέπεμψαν, ἐντειλάμενοι αἰεὶ τὸ πρὸς βορέῳ ἐλαύνειν.

121. Determined on this plan, the Scythians sent an advance guard of their best horsemen to meet Darius' army. As for the wagons in which their children and wives lived, all these they sent forward, with instructions to drive always northward; and they sent all their flocks with the wagons, keeping none back except what was required for their food.

122 Ἰ Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ προεκομίζετο. τῶν δὲ Σκυθέων οἱ πρόδρομοι ὥς εὗρον τοὺς Πέρσας ὅσον τε τριῶν ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπέχοντας ἀπὸ

τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, οὗτοι μὲν τούτους εὐρόντες, ἡμέρης ὁδῷ προέχοντες, ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυόμενα λεαίνοντες, 2 οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον ἐπιφανεῖσαν τῶν Σκυθέων τὴν ἵππον, ἐπήσαν κατὰ στίβον αἰεὶ ὑπαγόντων· καὶ ἔπειτα (πρὸς γὰρ τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρέων ἴθυσαν) οἱ Πέρσαι ἐδίωκον πρὸς ἡῷ τε καὶ ἰθὺ Ταναΐδος. 3 διαβάντων δὲ τούτων τὸν Τάναιν ποταμὸν οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπιδιαβάντες ἐδίωκον, ἐς ὃ τῶν Σαυροματέων τὴν χώραν διεξελθόντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων.

122. After this convoy was first sent on its way, the advance guard of the Scythians found the Persians about a three days' march distant from the Ister; and having found them they camped a day's march ahead of the enemy and set about scorching the earth of all living things. When the Persians saw the Scythian cavalry appear, they marched on its track, the horsemen always withdrawing before them; and then, making for the one Scythian division, the Persians held on in pursuit toward the east and the Tanaïs river; when the horsemen crossed this, the Persians crossed also, and pursued until they had marched through the land of the Sauromatae to the land of the Budini.

123 1 Ὅσον μὲν δὴ χρόνον οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν διὰ τῆς Σκυθικῆς καὶ τῆς Σαυρομάτιδος χώρας, οἱ δὲ εἶχον οὐδὲν σίνεσθαι ἄτε τῆς χώρας ἐούσης χέρσου· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων χώραν ἐσέβαλλον, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐντυχόντες τῷ ξυλίνῳ τείχεϊ, ἐκλελοιπότες τῶν Βουδίνων καὶ κεκενωμένου τοῦ τείχεος πάντων, ἐνέπρησαν αὐτό. 2 τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες εἶποντο αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω κατὰ στίβον, ἐς ὃ διεξελθόντες ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἔρημον ἀπίκοντο. ἡ δὲ ἔρημος αὕτη ὑπὸ οὐδαμῶν νέμεται ἀνδρῶν, κέεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Βουδίνων χώρας ἐοῦσα πληθος ἐπτὰ ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ. 3 ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἐρήμου Θυσσαγέται οἰκεῖουσιν, ποταμοὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τέσσερες μεγάλοι ῥέοντες διὰ Μαιητέων ἐκδιδοῦσιν ἐς τὴν λίμνην τὴν καλομένην Μαιῆτιν, τοῖσι οὐνόματα κέεται τάδε, Λύκος Ὅαρος Τάναις Σύργις.

123. As long as the Persians were traversing the Scythian and Sauromatic territory there was nothing for them to harm, as the land was dry and barren. But when they entered the country of the Budini, they found themselves before the wooden-walled town; the Budini had abandoned it and left nothing in it, and the Persians burnt the

town. Then going forward still on the horsemen's track, they passed through this country into desolation, which is inhabited by no one; it lies to the north of the Budini and its breadth is a seven days' march. Beyond this desolation live the Thyssagetae; four great rivers flow from their country through the land of the Maeetians, and issue into the lake called the Maeetian; their names are Lycus, Oarus, Tanaïs, Syrgis.

124 1 Ἐπεὶ ὦν ὁ Δαρεῖος ἦλθε εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, παυσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου ἵδρυσεν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ὀάρῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ὀκτὼ τεῖχεα ἐτείχεε μεγάλα, ἴσον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντα, σταδίους ὡς ἐξήκοντα μάλιστα κη· τῶν ἑτὶ εἰς ἐμὲ τὰ ἐρείπια σόα ἦν. 2 ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτος πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτράπετο, οἱ διωκόμενοι Σκύθαι περιελθόντες τὰ κατ' ὑπερθε ὑπέστρεφον εἰς τὴν Σκυθικὴν. ἀφανισθέντων δὲ τούτων τὸ παράπαν, ὥς οὐκέτι ἐφαντάζοντό σφι, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Δαρεῖος τεῖχεα μὲν ἐκεῖνα ἡμίεργα μετήκε, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποστρέψας ἦεν πρὸς ἐσπέρην, δοκέων τούτους τε πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας εἶναι καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην σφέας φεύγειν.

124. When Darius came into the desolate country, he halted in his pursuit and camped on the Oarus river, where he built eight great forts, the ruins of which were standing even in my lifetime, all at an equal distance of about seven miles from one another. While he was occupied with these, the Scythians whom he was pursuing doubled north and turned back into Scythia. Then, when they had altogether vanished and were no longer within the Persians' sight, Darius left those forts only half finished, and he too doubled about and marched west, thinking that those Scythians were the whole army, and that they were fleeing toward the west.

125 1 Ἐλαύνων δὲ τὴν ταχίστην τὸν στρατὸν ὡς εἰς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἀπῆκετο, ἐνέκυρσε ἀμφοτέρησι τῇσι μοίρῃσι τῶν Σκυθῶν, ἐντυχὼν δὲ ἐδίωκε ὑπεκφέροντας ἡμέρης ὁδῷ. 2 καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει ἐπιῶν ὁ Δαρεῖος, οἱ Σκύθαι κατὰ τὰ βεβουλευμένα ὑπέφευγον εἰς τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίην, πρώτην δὲ εἰς τῶν Μελαγχλαίνων τὴν γῆν. 3 ὡς δὲ ἐσβαλόντες τούτους ἐτάραξαν οἱ τε Σκύθαι καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι, κατηγέοντο οἱ Σκύθαι εἰς τῶν Ἀνδροφάγων τοὺς χώρους· ταραχθέντων δὲ καὶ τούτων ὑπῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν Νευρίδα· ταρασσομένων δὲ καὶ τούτων ἦσαν ὑποφεύγοντες οἱ Σκύθαι εἰς τοὺς

Ἀγαθύρσους. 4 Ἀγαθύρσοι δὲ ὀρέοντες καὶ τοὺς ὁμοῦρους
φεύγοντας ὑπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ τεταραγμένους, πρὶν ἢ σφί ἐμβαλεῖν
τοὺς Σκύθας πέμπαντες κήρυκα ἀπηγόρευον Σκύθησι μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν
τῶν σφετέρων οὖρων, προλέγοντες ὥς εἰ πειρήσονται ἐσβαλόντες,
σφίσι πρῶτα διαμαχήσονται. 5 Ἀγαθύρσοι μὲν προείπαντες ταῦτα
ἐβοήθειον ἐπὶ τοὺς οὖρους, ἐρύκειν ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐπιόντας·
Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ καὶ Ἀνδροφάγοι καὶ Νευροὶ ἐσβαλόντων τῶν
Περσέων ἅμα Σκύθησι οὔτε πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο ἐπιλαθόμενοι τε
τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἔφευγον αἰεὶ τὸ πρὸς βορέῳ ἐς τὴν ἔρημον
τεταραγμένοι. 6 οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐς μὲν τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους οὐκέτι
ἀπείπαντας ἀπικνέοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Νευρίδος χώρας ἐς τὴν
σφετέρην κατηγέοντο τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι.

125. But when he came by forced marches into Scythia, he met
the two divisions of the Scythians, and pursued them, who always
kept a day's march away from him; and because Darius would not
stop pursuing them, the Scythians, according to the plan they had
made, fell back before him to the countries of those who had refused
their alliance, to the land of the Black-cloaks first. The Scythians and
Persians burst into their land, agitating them; and from there, the
Scythians led the Persians into the country of the Man-eaters,
agitating them too; from there, they drew off into the country of the
Neuri and, agitating them also, fled to the Agathyrsi. But the
Agathyrsi, seeing their neighbors fleeing panic-stricken at the
Scythians' approach, before the Scythians could break into their land
sent a herald to forbid them to set foot across their borders, warning
the Scythians that if they tried to break through they would have to
fight with the Agathyrsi first. With this warning, the Agathyrsi
mustered on their borders, intending to stop the invaders. When the
Persians and the Scythians broke into their lands, the Blackcloaks
and Man-eaters and Neuri put up no resistance, but forgot their
threats and fled panic-stricken north into the desolate country. But
warned off by the Agathyrsi, the Scythians made no second attempt
on that country, but led the Persians from the lands of the Neuri into
Scythia.

126 1 Ὡς δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγίνετο καὶ οὐκ ἐπαύετο, πέμψας
Δαρεῖος ἱππέα παρὰ τὸν Σκυθέων βασιλέα Ἰδάνθυρσον ἔλεγε τάδε.

“δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, τί φεύγεις αἰεὶ, ἐξέόν τοι τῶνδε τὰ ἕτερα ποιέειν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀξιόχρεος δοκέεις εἶναι σεωυτῷ τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι ἀντιωθῆναι, σὺ δὲ τάς τε καὶ παυσάμενος πλάνης μάχεσθαι· εἰ δὲ συγγινώσκειαι εἶναι ἡσσω, σὺ δὲ καὶ οὕτω παυσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου δεσπότη τῷ σῷ δῶρα φέρων γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐλθὲ ἐς λόγους,,.

126. As this went on for a long time and did not stop, Darius sent a horseman to Idanthysus the Scythian king, with this message: “You crazy man, why do you always run, when you can do otherwise? If you believe yourself strong enough to withstand my power, stand and fight and stop running; but if you know you are the weaker, then stop running like this and come to terms with your master, bringing gifts of earth and water.”

127 1 Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Σκυθέων βασιλεὺς Ἰδάνθυρσος λέγει τάδε. “οὕτω τὸ ἐμὸν ἔχει, ὦ Πέρσα. ἐγὼ οὐδένα κω ἀνθρώπων δείσας ἔφυγον οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε νῦν σὲ φεύγω, οὐδέ τι νεώτερον εἰμι ποιήσας νῦν ἢ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐώθεα ποιέειν. 2 ὃ τι δὲ οὐκ αὐτίκα μάχομαι τοι, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο σημανέω. ἡμῖν οὔτε ἄστεα οὔτε γῆ πεφυτευμένη ἐστί, τῶν πέρι δέισαντες μὴ ἀλῶ, ἢ καρῇ ταχύτερον ἂν ὑμῖν συμμίσοιμεν ἐς μάχην. εἰ δὲ δέοι πάντως ἐς τοῦτο κατὰ τάχος ἀπικνέεσθαι, τυγχάνουσι ἡμῖν ἐόντες τάφοι πατρώιοι. 3 φέρετε, τούτους ἀνευρόντες συγγέειν πειρᾶσθε αὐτούς, καὶ γνώσεσθε τότε εἴτε ὑμῖν μαχησόμεθα περὶ τῶν τάφων εἴτε καὶ οὐ μαχησόμεθα. πρότερον δέ, ἢν μὴ ἡμέας λόγος αἰρέῃ, οὐ συμμίξομεν τοι. 4 ἀμφὶ μὲν μάχῃ τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω, δεσπότης δὲ ἐμοὺς ἐγὼ Δία τε νομίζω τὸν ἐμὸν πρόγονον καὶ Ἰστίην τὴν Σκυθέων βασιλείαν μούνους εἶναι. σοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν δώρων γῆς τε καὶ ὕδατος δῶρα πέμψω τοιαῦτα οἷα σοὶ πρέπει ἐλθεῖν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ὅτι δεσπότης ἔφησας εἶναι ἐμός, κλαίειν λέγω,, τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἢ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ῥῆσις.

127. Idanthysus the Scythian king replied: “It is like this with me, Persian: I never ran from any man before out of fear, and I am not running from you now; I am not doing any differently now than I am used to doing in time of peace, too. As to why I do not fight with you at once, I will tell you why. We Scythians have no towns or cultivated land, out of fear for which, that the one might be taken or the other wasted, we would engage you sooner in battle. But if all you want is to come to that quickly, we have the graves of our

fathers. Come on, find these and try to destroy them: you shall know then whether we will fight you for the graves or whether we will not fight. Until then, unless we have reason, we will not engage with you. As to fighting, enough; as to masters, I acknowledge Zeus my forefather and Hestia queen of the Scythians only. As for you, instead of gifts of earth and water I shall send such as ought to come to you; and for your boast that you are my master, I say ‘Weep!’” Such is the proverbial “Scythian speech.”

128 1 Ὁ μὲν δὴ κῆρυξ οἰχώκεε ἀγγελέων ταῦτα Δαρείῳ, οἱ δὲ Σκυθέων βασιλέες ἀκούσαντες τῆς δουλосύνης τὸ οὔνομα ὀργῆς ἐπλήσθησαν. 2 τὴν μὲν δὴ μετὰ Σαυροματέων μοῖραν ταχθεῖσαν, τῆς ἦρχε Σκώπασις, πέμπουσι Ἴωσι κελεύοντες ἐς λόγους ἀπικέσθαι, τούτοις οἱ τὸν Ἴστρον ἐξευγμένον ἐφρούρεον· αὐτῶν δὲ τοῖσι ὑπολειπομένοις ἔδοξε πλανᾶν μὲν μηκέτι Πέρσας, σῖτα δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἀναιρεομένοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι. νωμῶντες ὧν σῖτα ἀναιρεομένους τοὺς Δαρείου ἐποίεον τὰ βεβουλευμένα. 3 ἡ μὲν δὴ ἵππος τὴν ἵππον αἰεὶ τράπεσκε ἡ τῶν Σκυθέων, οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσέων ἱππῶται φεύγοντες ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τὸν πεζόν, ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ἂν ἐπεκούρεε· οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐσαράζαντες τὴν ἵππον ὑπέστρεφον τὸν πεζὸν φοβεόμενοι. ἐποιέοντο δὲ καὶ τὰς νύκτας παραπλησίας προσβολὰς οἱ Σκύθαι.

128. So the herald went to carry this message to Darius; but the Scythian kings were filled with anger when they heard the word “slavery”. They then sent the division of the Scythians to which the Sauromatae were attached, and which was led by Scopasis, to speak with those Ionians guarding the bridge over the Ister; as for those of the Scythians who remained behind, it was decided that they should no longer decoy the Persians, but attack them whenever they were foraging for provision. So they watched for the time when Darius’ men were foraging, and did as they had planned. The Scythian horse always routed the Persian horse, and when the Persian cavalry would fall back in flight on their infantry, the infantry would come up to their aid; and the Scythians, once they had driven in the horse, turned back for fear of the infantry. The Scythians attacked in this fashion by night as well as by day.

129 1 Τὸ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι τε ἦν σύμμαχον καὶ τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἀντίζοον ἐπιτιθεμένοις τῷ Δαρείου στρατοπέδῳ, θῶμα μέγιστον

ἐρέω, τῶν τε ὄνων ἢ φωνὴ καὶ τῶν ἡμίονων τὸ εἶδος. 2 οὔτε γὰρ ὄνον οὔτε ἡμίονον γῇ ἢ Σκυθικῇ φέρει, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, οὐδὲ ἔστι ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ πάσῃ χώρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὔτε ὄνος οὔτε ἡμίονος διὰ τὰ ψύχρα. ὑβρίζοντες ὦν οἱ ὄνοι ἐτάρασσον τὴν ἵππον τῶν Σκυθέων. 3 πολλάκις δὲ ἐπελανθόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας μετὰ ὅπως ἀκούσειαν οἱ ἵπποι τῶν ὄνων τῆς φωνῆς, ἐταράσσοντο τε ὑποστρεφόμενοι καὶ ἐν θώματι ἔσκον, ὀρθὰ ἰστάντες τὰ ὦτα, ἅτε οὔτε ἀκούσαντες πρότερον φωνῆς τοιαύτης οὔτε ἰδόντες τὸ εἶδος.

129. Very strange to say, what aided and thwarted the Scythians in their attacks on Darius' army was the braying of the asses and the appearance of the mules. For, as I have before indicated, Scythia produces no asses or mules; and there is not in most of Scythia an ass or a mule, because of the cold. Therefore the asses frightened the Scythian horses when they brayed loudly; and often, when they were in the act of charging the Persians, the horses would shy in fear if they heard the asses bray or would stand still with ears erect, never having heard a noise like it or seen a like creature.

130 1 Ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐπὶ σμικρόν τι ἐφέροντο τοῦ πολέμου. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ὅπως τοὺς Πέρσας ἴδοιεν τεθορυβημένους, ἵνα παραμένοιεν τε ἐπὶ πλέω χρόνον ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ καὶ παραμένοντες ἀνιώατο τῶν πάντων ἐπιδευέες ἐόντες, ἐποίεον τοιαύδε· ὅπως τῶν προβάτων τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν καταλίποιν μετὰ τῶν νομέων, αὐτοὶ ἂν ὑπεξήλαινον ἐς ἄλλον ἄλλον χωρὸν. οἱ δὲ ἂν Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες λάβεσκον τὰ πρόβατα καὶ λαβόντες ἐπείροντο ἂν τῷ πεποιημένῳ.

130. The Persians thus gained very little in the war, for when the Scythians saw that the Persians were shaken, they formed a plan to have them remain longer in Scythia and, remaining, be distressed by lack of necessities: they would leave some of their flocks behind with the shepherds, moving away themselves to another place; and the Persians would come and take the sheep, and be encouraged by this achievement.

131 1 Πολλάκις δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου, τέλος Δαρεῖος τε ἐν ἀπορίῃσι εἶχετο, καὶ οἱ Σκυθέων βασιλεῖς μαθόντες τοῦτο ἔπεμπον κήρυκα δῶρα Δαρεῖω φέροντα ὀρνιθὰ τε καὶ μὺν καὶ βάτραχον καὶ

οιστοὺς πέντε. 2 Πέρσαι δὲ τὸν φέροντα τὰ δῶρα ἐπειρώτεον τὸν νόον τῶν διδομένων. ὁ δὲ οὐδέν. ἔφη οἱ ἐπεστάλθαι ἄλλο ἢ δόντα τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι· αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκέλευε, εἰ σοφοί εἰσι, γνῶναι τὸ θέλει τὰ δῶρα λέγειν.

131. After such a thing had happened several times, Darius was finally at a loss; and when they perceived this, the Scythian kings sent a herald to Darius with the gift of a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. The Persians asked the bearer of these gifts what they meant; but he said that he had only been told to give the gifts and then leave at once; he told the Persians to figure out what the presents meant themselves, if they were smart enough.

132 1 Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Πέρσαι ἐβουλεύοντο. Δαρείου μὲν νυν ἡ γνώμη ἦν Σκύθας ἐσωτῶ διδόναι σφέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, εἰκάζων τῇδε, ὥς μῦς μὲν ἐν γῇ γίνεται καρπὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ σιτεόμενος, βάτραχος δὲ ἐν ὕδατι, ὄρνις δὲ μάλιστα ἔοικε ἵπῳ, τοὺς δὲ οἰστοὺς ὥς τὴν ἐσωτῶν ἀλκὴν παραδιδούσι. 2 αὕτη μὲν Δαρεῖῳ ἀπεδέδεκτο ἡ γνώμη. συνεστήκεε δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ἡ Γοβρύεω, τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐνὸς τῶν τὸν Μάγον κατελόντων, εἰκάζοντος τὰ δῶρα λέγειν 3 “ἢν μὴ ὄρνιθες γενόμενοι ἀναπτήσθε ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὧ Πέρσαι, ἢ μύες γενόμενοι κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύητε, ἢ βάτραχοι γενόμενοι ἐς τὰς λίμνας ἐσπηδήσητε, οὐκ ἀπονοστήσετε ὀπίσω ὑπὸ τῶνδε τῶν τοξευμάτων βαλλόμενοι,·.

132. When they heard this, the Persians deliberated. Darius' judgment was that the Scythians were surrendering themselves and their earth and their water to him; for he reasoned that a mouse is a creature found in the earth and eating the same produce as men, and a frog is a creature of the water and a bird particularly like a horse; and the arrows signified that the Scythians surrendered their fighting power. This was the opinion declared by Darius; but the opinion of Gobryas, one of the seven who had slain the Magus, was contrary to it. He reasoned that the meaning of the gifts was, “Unless you become birds, Persians, and fly up into the sky, or mice and hide in the earth, or frogs and leap into the lakes, you will be shot by these arrows and never return home.”

133 1 Πέρσαι μὲν δὴ τὰ δῶρα εἵκαζον. ἡ δὲ Σκυθέων μία μοῖρα ἡ ταχθεῖσα πρότερον μὲν παρὰ τὴν Μαιητὶν λίμνην φρουρέειν, τότε δὲ

ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον Ἴωσι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν, ὥς ἀπύκετο ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, ἔλεγε τάδε. 2 “ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἐλευθερίην ἤκομεν ὑμῖν φέροντες, ἣν πέρ γε ἐθέλητε ἐσακούειν. πυνθανόμεθα γὰρ Δαρεῖον ἐντείλασθαι ὑμῖν ἐξήκοντα ἡμέρας μούνας φρουρήσαντας τὴν γέφυραν, αὐτοῦ μὴ παραγενομένου ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην. 3 νῦν ὧν ὑμεῖς τάδε πολεῦντες ἐκτὸς μὲν ἔσσεσθε πρὸς ἐκείνου αἰτίης, ἐκτὸς δὲ πρὸς ἡμέων· τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας παραμείναντες τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀπαλλάσσεσθε,,. οὗτοι μὲν νυν ὑποδεξαμένων Ἴωνων ποιήσιν ταῦτα ὀπίσω τὴν ταχίστην ἐπείγοντο.

133. The Persians reasoned thus about the gifts. But when the first division of the Scythians came to the bridge — the division that had first been appointed to stand on guard by the Maeetian lake and had now been sent to the Ister to speak with the Ionians — they said, “Ionians, we have come to bring you freedom, if you will only listen to us. We understand that Darius has directed you to guard the bridge for sixty days only, and if he does not come within that time, then to go away to your homes. Now then, do what will leave you guiltless in his eyes as in ours: stay here for the time appointed; and after that, leave.” So the Ionians promised to do this, and the Scythians made their way back with all haste.

134 1 Πέρσησι δὲ μετὰ τὰ δῶρα ἐλθόντα Δαρεῖω ἀντετάχθησαν οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες Σκύθαι πεζῶ καὶ ἵπποισι ὥς συμβαλέοντες. τεταγμένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Σκύθησι λαγὸς ἐς τὸ μέσον διήϊξε. τῶν δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι ὥρων τὸν λαγὸν ἐδίωκον. ταραχθέντων δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων καὶ βοῇ χρεωμένων, εἶρετο ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων τὸν θόρυβον· πυθόμενος δὲ σφέας τὸν λαγὸν διώκοντας, εἶπε ἄρα πρὸς τοὺς περ ἐώθεε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα λέγειν 2 “οὗτοι ὧνδρες ἡμέων πολλὸν καταφρονέουσι, καὶ μοι νῦν φαίνεται Γοβρύης εἶπαι περὶ τῶν Σκυθικῶν δώρων ὀρθῶς. ὥς ὧν οὕτω ἤδη δοκεόντων καὶ αὐτῷ μοι ἔχειν, βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς δεῖ, ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς ἡ κομιδὴ ἡμῖν ἔσται τὸ ὀπίσω,,. πρὸς ταῦτα Γοβρύης εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ σχεδὸν μὲν καὶ λόγῳ ἠπιστάμην τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ἀπορίην, ἐλθὼν δὲ μᾶλλον ἐξέμαθον, ὁρέων αὐτοὺς ἐμπαίζοντας ἡμῖν. 3 νῦν ὧν μοι δοκεῖ, ἐπεὰν τάχιστα νῦξ ἐπέλθῃ, ἐκκαύσαντας τὰ πυρὰ ὡς ἐώθαμεν καὶ ἄλλοτε ποιεῖν, τῶν στρατιωτέων τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους ἐς τὰς τάλαιπωρίας ἐξαπατήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ὄνους πάντας καταδήσαντας

ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ἰθῦσαι Σκύθας λύσοντας τὴν γέφυραν, ἢ καὶ τι Ἴωσι δόξας τὸ ἡμέας οἶον τε ἔσται ἐξεργάσασθαι,.

134. But after sending the gifts to Darius, the Scythians who had remained there came out with foot and horse and offered battle to the Persians. But when the Scythian ranks were set in order, a rabbit ran out between the armies; and every Scythian that saw it gave chase. So there was confusion and shouting among the Scythians; Darius asked about the clamor among the enemy; and when he heard that they were chasing a rabbit, he said to those with whom he was accustomed to speak, “These men hold us in deep contempt; and I think now that Gobryas’ opinion of the Scythian gifts was true. Since, then, my own judgment agrees with his, we need to consider carefully how we shall return safely.” To this Gobryas said : “O King, I understood almost by reason alone how difficult it would be to deal with these Scythians; but when I came here, I understood even better, watching them toying with us. Now then, my advice is that at nightfall we kindle our campfires in the usual way, deceive those in our army who are least fit to endure hardship, and tether all our asses here, and ourselves depart, before the Scythians can march straight to the Ister to break up the bridge, or the Ionians take some action by which we may well be ruined.”

135 Ἡ Γοβρύης μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευε. μετὰ δὲ νύξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ Δαρεῖος ἐχρᾶτο τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ· τοὺς μὲν καματηροὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ἦν ἐλάχιστος ἀπολλυμένων λόγος, καὶ τοὺς ὄνους πάντας καταδήσας κατέλιπε αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. 2 κατέλιπε δὲ τοὺς τε ὄνους καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενέας τῆς στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα οἱ μὲν ὄνοι βοὴν παρέχωνται· οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἀσθενεῖς μὲν εἵνεκεν κατελείποντο, προφάσιος δὲ τῆσδε δηλαδή, ὥς αὐτὸς μὲν σὺν τῷ καθαρῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπιθήσεσθαι μέλλοι τοῖσι Σκύθησι, οὗτοι δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ῥυοῖατο. 3 ταῦτα τοῖσι ὑπολελειμμένοις ὑποθέμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ πυρὰ ἐκκαύσας τὴν ταχίστην ἐπέειπε ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον. οἱ δὲ ὄνοι ἐρημωθέντες τοῦ ὁμίλου οὕτω δὴ μᾶλλον πολλῷ ἴεσαν τῆς φωνῆς· ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι τῶν ὄνων πάγχυ κατὰ χώραν ἤλπιζον τοὺς Πέρσας εἶναι.

135. This was Gobryas’ advice, and at nightfall Darius followed

it. He left the men who were worn out, and those whose loss mattered least to him, there in the camp, and all the asses, too, tethered. His reasons for leaving the asses, and the infirm among his soldiers, were the following: the asses, so that they would bray; the men, who were left because of their infirmity, he pretended were to guard the camp while he attacked the Scythians with the fit part of his army. Giving this order to those who were left behind, and lighting campfires, Darius made all haste to reach the Ister. When the asses found themselves deserted by the multitude, they brayed the louder for it; and the Scythians heard them and assumed that the Persians were in the place.

136 1 Ἡμέρης δὲ γενομένης γνόντες οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες ὥς προδεδομένοι εἶεν ὑπὸ Δαρείου, χεῖράς τε προτείνοντο τοῖσι Σκύθησι καὶ ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα· οἱ δὲ ὥς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα τὴν ταχίστην συστραφέντες, αἱ τε δύο μοῖραι τῶν Σκυθέων καὶ ἡ μία καὶ Σαυρομάται καὶ Βουδῖνοι καὶ Γελωνοί, ἐδίωκον τοὺς Πέρσας ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ. 2 ἅτε δὲ τοῦ Περσικοῦ μὲν τοῦ πολλοῦ ἐόντος πεζοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς οὐκ ἐπισταμένου, ὥστε οὐ τετμημένων τῶν ὁδῶν, τοῦ δὲ Σκυθικοῦ ἰππότεω καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐπισταμένου, ἀμαρτόντες ἀλλήλων, ἔφθησαν πολλῶ οἱ Σκύθαι τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἀπικόμενοι. 3 μαθόντες δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας οὐκ ἂν ἀπιγμένους ἔλεγον πρὸς τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐόντας ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ “ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, αἱ τε ἡμέραι ὑμῖν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ διοίχονται καὶ οὐ ποιεέτε δίκαια ἔτι παραμένοντες. 4 ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ πρότερον δειμαίνοντες ἐμένετε, νῦν λύσαντες τὸν πόρον τὴν ταχίστην ἅπιτε χαίροντες ἐλεύθεροι, θεοῖσί τε καὶ Σκύθησι εἰδότες χάριν. τὸν δὲ πρότερον ἐόντα ὑμέων δεσπότην ἡμεῖς παραστησόμεθα οὕτω ὥστε ἐπὶ μηδαμῶς ἔτι ἀνθρώπους αὐτὸν στρατεύσασθαι,.

136. But when it was day, the men left behind perceived that Darius had betrayed them, and they held out their hands to the Scythians and explained the circumstances; they, when they heard this, assembled their power in haste, the two divisions of their horde and the one division that was with the Sauromatae and Budini and Geloni, and made straight for the Ister in pursuit of the Persians. And as the Persian army was for the most part infantry and did not know the roads (which were not marked), while the Scythians were

horsemen and knew the short cuts, they went wide of each other, and the Scythians reached the bridge long before the Persians. There, perceiving that the Persians had not yet come, they said to the Ionians, who were in their ships, "Ionians, the days have exceeded the number, and you are wrong to be here still. Since it was fear that kept you here, now break the bridge in haste and go, free and happy men, thanking the gods and the Scythians. The one that was your master we shall impress in such a way that he will never lead an army against anyone again."

137 1 Πρὸς ταῦτα Ἴωνες ἐβουλευόντο. Μιλτιάδεω μὲν τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, στρατηγέοντος καὶ τυραννεύοντος Χερσονησιτέων τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, ἦν γνώμη πείθεσθαι Σκύθησι καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν Ἰωνίην, 2 Ἰστιαίου δὲ τοῦ Μιλησίου ἐναντίη ταύτῃ, λέγοντος ὥς νῦν μὲν διὰ Δαρεῖον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τυραννεύει πόλιος· τῆς Δαρείου δὲ δυνάμιος κατααιρεθείσης οὔτε αὐτὸς Μιλησίων οἷος τε ἔσσεσθαι ἄρχειν οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα οὐδαμῶν· βουλήσεσθαι γὰρ ἐκάστην τῶν πολιῶν δημοκρατέεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννεύεσθαι. 3 Ἰστιαίου δὲ γνώμην ταύτην ἀποδεικνυμένου αὐτίκα πάντες ἦσαν τετραμμένοι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν γνώμην, πρότερον τὴν Μιλτιάδεω αἰρεόμενοι.

137. Then the Ionians held a council. Miltiades the Athenian, general and sovereign of the Chersonesites of the Hellespont, advised that they do as the Scythians said and set Ionia free. But Histiaeus of Miletus advised the opposite. He said, "It is owing to Darius that each of us is sovereign of his city; if Darius' power is overthrown, we shall no longer be able to rule, I in Miletus or any of you elsewhere; for all the cities will choose democracy rather than despotism." When Histiaeus explained this, all of them at once inclined to his view, although they had first sided with Miltiades.

138 1 Ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι οἱ διαφέροντές τε τὴν ψῆφον καὶ ἔόντες λόγου πρὸς βασιλέος, Ἑλλησποντίων μὲν τύραννοι Δάφνις τε Ἀβυδηνὸς καὶ Ἴπποκλος Λαμψακηνὸς καὶ Ἡρόφαντος Παριηνὸς καὶ Μητρόδωρος Προκοννήσιος καὶ Ἀρισταγόρης Κυζικηνὸς καὶ Ἀρίστων Βυζάντιος. 2 οὗτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἀπ' Ἰωνίης δὲ Στράτις τε Χῖος καὶ Αἰάκης Σάμιος καὶ Λαοδάμας Φωκαεὺς καὶ Ἰστιαῖος Μιλήσιος, τοῦ ἦν γνώμη ἡ προκειμένη ἐναντίη τῇ Μιλτιάδεω. Αἰολέων δὲ παρῆν λόγιμος μούνος

Ἀρισταγόρης, Κυμαῖος.

138. Those high in Darius' favor who gave their vote were Daphnis of Abydos, Hippoclus of Lampsacus, Herophantus of Parium, Metrodorus of Proconnesus, Aristagoras of Cyzicus, Ariston of Byzantium, all from the Hellespont and sovereigns of cities there; and from Ionia, Strattis of Chios, Aiaces of Samos, Laodamas of Phocaea, and Histiaeus of Miletus who opposed the plan of Miltiades. As for the Aeolians, their only notable man present was Aristagoras of Cymae.

139 1 Οὗτοι ὧν ἐπέιτε τὴν Ἰστιαίου αἰρέοντο γνώμην, ἔδοξε σφι πρὸς ταύτῃ τάδε ἔργα τε καὶ ἔπεα προσθεῖναι, τῆς μὲν γεφύρης λύειν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σκύθας ἐόντα, λύειν δὲ ὅσον τόξευμα ἐξικνέεται, ἵνα καὶ ποιέειν τι δοκέωσι ποιεῦντες μηδὲν καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι μὴ πειρώατο βιώμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι διαβῆναι τὸν Ἴστρον κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν, εἰπεῖν τε λύοντας τῆς γεφύρης τὸ ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἔχον ὡς πάντα ποιήσουσι τὰ Σκύθησι ἐστὶ ἐν ἡδονῇ. 2 ταῦτα μὲν προσέθηκαν τῇ γνώμῃ. μετὰ δὲ ἐκ πάντων ὑπεκρίνατο Ἰστιαῖος τάδε λέγων. Ἄνδρες Σκύθαι, χρηστὰ ἤκετε φέροντες καὶ ἐς καιρὸν, ἐπείγεσθε· καὶ τά τε ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν, χρηστῶς ὁδοῦται καὶ τὰ ἀπ' ἡμέων ἐς ὑμέας ἐπιτηδέως ὑπηρετέεται. ὥς γὰρ ὁρᾶτε, καὶ λύομεν τὸν πόρον καὶ προθυμίην πᾶσαν ἔξομεν θέλοντες εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι. 3 ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡμεῖς τάδε λύομεν, ὑμέας καιρός ἐστι δίξησθαι ἐκείνους, εὐρόντας δὲ ὑπὲρ τε ἡμέων καὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν τίσασθαι οὕτω ὡς κείνους πρέπει,.

139. When these accepted Histiaeus' view, they decided to act upon it in the following way: to break as much of the bridge on the Scythian side as a bowshot from there carried, so that they seem to be doing something when in fact they were doing nothing, and that the Scythians not try to force their way across the bridge over the Ister; and to say while they were breaking the portion of the bridge on the Scythian side, that they would do all that the Scythians desired. This was the plan they adopted; and then Histiaeus answered for them all, and said, "You have come with good advice, Scythians, and your urgency is timely: you guide us well and we do you a convenient service; for, as you see, we are breaking the bridge, and will be diligent about it, as we want to be free. But while we are breaking the bridge, this is your opportunity to go and find the

Persians, and when you have found them, punish them as they deserve on our behalf and on your own.”

140 1 Σκύθαι μὲν τὸ δεύτερον Ἴωσι πιστεύσαντες λέγειν ἀληθέα ὑπέστρεφον ἐπὶ ζήτησιν τῶν Περσέων, καὶ ἡμάρτανον πάσης τῆς ἐκείνων διεξόδου. αἴτιοι δὲ τούτου αὐτοὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ἐγένοντο, τὰς νομὰς τῶν ἵππων τὰς ταύτῃ διαφθείραντες καὶ τὰ ὕδατα συγχώσαντες. 2 εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα μὴ ἐποίησαν, παρεῖχε ἄν σφι, εἰ ἐβούλοντο, εὐπετέως ἐξευρεῖν τοὺς Πέρσας. νῦν δὲ τὰ σφι ἐδόκεε ἄριστα βεβουλευσθαι, κατὰ ταῦτα ἐσφάλισαν. 3 Σκύθαι μὲν νυν τῆς σφετέρης χώρας τῇ χιλὸς τε τοῖσι ἵπποισι καὶ ὕδατα ἦν, ταύτῃ διεξιόντες ἐδίζηντο τοὺς ἀντιπολεμίους, δοκέοντες καὶ ἐκείνους διὰ τοιούτων τὴν ἀπόδρησιν ποιέεσθαι. οἱ δὲ δὴ Πέρσαι τὸν πρότερον ἐωυτῶν γενόμενον στίβον, τοῦτον φυλάσσοντες ἦσαν, καὶ οὕτω μόγις εὔρον τὸν πόρον. 4 οἷα δὲ νυκτός τε ἀπικόμενοι καὶ λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρης ἐντυχόντες, ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρώδιην ἀπίκοντο μὴ σφεας οἱ Ἴωνες ἔωσι ἀπολελοιπότες.

140. So the Scythians, trusting the Ionians' word once more, turned back to look for the Persians; but they missed the way by which their enemies returned. The Scythians themselves were to blame for this, because they had destroyed the horses' pasturage in that region and blocked the wells. Had they not done, they could, if they had wished, easily have found the Persians. But as it was, that part of their plan which they had thought the best was the very cause of their going astray. So the Scythians went searching for their enemies through the parts of their own country where there was forage for the horses and water, supposing that they, too, were heading for such places in their flight; but the Persians kept to their own former tracks, and so with much trouble they found the crossing. But as they arrived at night and found the bridge broken, they were in great alarm lest the Ionians had abandoned them.

141 1 Ἦν δὲ περὶ Δαρεῖον ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος φωνέων μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων· τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα καταστάντα ἐπὶ τοῦ χεῖλεος τῷ Ἰστρου ἐκέλευε Δαρεῖος καλέειν Ἰστιαῖον Μιλήσιον. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐποίεε ταῦτα, Ἰστιαῖος δὲ ἐπακούσας τῷ πρώτῳ κελεύσματι τὰς τε νέας ἀπάσας παρεῖχε διαπορθμεύειν τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἔζευξε.

141. There was an Egyptian with Darius whose voice was the

loudest in the world; Darius had this man stand on the bank of the Ister and call to Histiaeus the Milesian. This the Egyptian did; Histiaeus heard and answered the first shout, and sent all the ships to ferry the army over, and repaired the bridge.

142 1 Πέρσαι μὲν ὧν οὕτω ἐκφεύγουσι Σκύθαι δὲ διζήμενοι καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἤμαρτον τῶν Περσέων, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὡς ἐόντας Ἴωνας ἐλευθέρους κακίστους τε καὶ ἀνανδροτάτους κρίνουσι εἶναι ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο δέ, ὡς δούλων ἐόντων τὸν λόγον ποιούμενοι, ἀνδράποδα φιλοδέσποτα φασὶ εἶναι καὶ ἄδρηστα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Σκύθησι ἐς Ἴωνας ἀπεῖρριπται.

142. Thus the Persians escaped. The Scythians sought the Persians, but missed them again. Their judgment of the Ionians is that if they are regarded as free men they are the basest and most craven in the world; but if they are reckoned as slaves, none love their masters more, or desire less to escape. Thus have the Scythians taunted the Ionians.

143 1 Δαρεῖος δὲ διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης πορευόμενος ἀπίκητο ἐς Σηστὸν τῆς Χερσονήσου. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν διέβη τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λείπει δὲ στρατηγὸν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Μεγάβαζον ἄνδρα Πέρσην· τῷ Δαρεῖος κοτὲ ἔδωκε γέρας, τοιόνδε εἶπας ἐν Πέρσῃσι ἔπος. 2 ὀρμημένου Δαρείου ροιάς τρώγειν, ὡς ἄνοιξε τάχιστα τὴν πρώτην τῶν ροιέων, εἶρετο αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφεὸς Ἀρτάβανος ὃ τι βούλοισι' ἂν οἱ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος γενέσθαι ὅσοι ἐν τῇ ροίῃ κόκκοι· Δαρεῖος δὲ εἶπε Μεγαβάζους ἂν οἱ τοσοῦτους ἀριθμὸν γενέσθαι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπήκοον. 3 ἐν μὲν δὴ Πέρσῃσι ταῦτά μιν εἶπας ἐτίμα, τότε δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπέλιπε στρατηγὸν ἔχοντα τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ὀκτὼ μυριάδας.

143. Darius marched through Thrace to Sestos on the Chersonesus; from there, he crossed over with his ships to Asia, leaving Megabazus as his commander in Europe, a Persian whom he once honored by saying among the Persians what I note here: Darius was about to eat pomegranates, and no sooner had he opened the first of them than his brother Artabanus asked him what he would like to have as many of as there were seeds in his pomegranate; then Darius said that he would rather have that many men like Megabazus than make all Hellas subject to him. By speaking thus among Persians, the

king honored Megabazus; and now he left him behind as his commander, at the head of eighty thousand of his army.

144 1 Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Μεγάβαζος εἶπας τότε τὸ ἔπος ἐλίπετο ἀθάνατον μνήμην πρὸς Ἑλλησποντίων. 2 γενόμενος γὰρ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπύθετο ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτεσι πρότερον Καλχηδονίους κτίσαντας τὴν χώραν Βυζαντίων, πυθόμενος δὲ ἔφη Καλχηδονίους τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυγχάνειν ἐόντας τυφλοῦς· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦ καλλίονος παρέοντος κτίζε χώρου τὸν αἰσχίονα ἐλέσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἦσαν τυφλοί. 3 οὗτος δὴ ὢν τότε ὁ Μεγάβαζος στρατηγὸς λειφθεὶς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ Ἑλλησποντίων τοὺς μὴ μηδίζοντας κατεστρέφετο.

144. This Megabazus is forever remembered by the people of the Hellespont for replying, when he was told at Byzantium that the people of Calchedon had founded their town seventeen years before the Byzantines had founded theirs, that the Calchedonians must at that time have been blind, for had they not been, they would never have chosen the worse site for their city when they might have had the better. This Megabazus, left now as commander in the country, subjugated all the people of the Hellespont who did not take the side of the Persians.

145 1 Οὗτος μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔρησε. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον χρόνον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Λιβύην ἄλλος στρατιῆς μέγας στόλος, διὰ πρόφασιν τὴν ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι προδιηγησάμενος πρότερον τάδε. 2 τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐπιβατέων παίδων παῖδες ἐξελασθέντες ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν τῶν ἐκ Βραυρῶνος ληισαμένων τὰς Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας, ὑπὸ τούτων ἐξελασθέντες ἐκ, Λήμνου οἴχοντο πλέοντες ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα, ἰζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Τηϋγέτῳ πῦρ ἀνέκαιον. 3 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἰδόντες ἄγγελον ἔπεμπον πευσόμενοι τίνες τε καὶ ὁκόθεν εἰσί· οἱ δὲ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ εἰρωτῶντι ἔλεγον ὥς εἶησαν μὲν Μινύαι, παῖδες δὲ εἶεν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀργοὶ πλεόντων ἡρώων, προσσχόντας δὲ τούτους ἐς Λῆμνον φυτεῦσαι σφέας. 4 οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκηκοότες τὸν λόγον τῆς γενεῆς τῶν Μινυέων, πέμψαντες τὸ δεύτερον εἰρώτων τί θέλοντες ἤκοιεν τε ἐς τὴν χώραν καὶ πῦρ αἴθοιεν. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ἐκβληθέντες ἦκειν ἐς τοὺς πατέρας· δικαιοῦτατον γὰρ εἶναι οὕτω τοῦτο γίνεσθαι. δέεσθαι δὲ οἰκέειν ἅμα τοῦτοις μοῖραν τε τιμέων μετέχοντες καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπολαχόντες. 5 Λακεδαιμονίοισι δὲ ἔαδε δέκεσθαι τοὺς Μινύας ἐπ' οἷσι θέλουσι αὐτοί. μάλιστα δὲ ἐνήγε

σφέας ὥστε ποιέειν ταῦτα τῶν Τυνδαριδέων ἢ ναυτιλίῃ ἐν τῇ Ἀργοί. δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μινύας γῆς τε μετέδοσαν καὶ ἐς φυλὰς διεδάσαντο. οἱ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν γάμους ἔγημαν, τὰς δὲ ἐκ Λήμνου ἤγοντο ἐξέδοσαν ἄλλοισι.

145. At the same time that he was doing this, another great force was sent against Libya, for the reason that I shall give after I finish the story that I am going to tell now. The descendants of the crew of the Argo were driven out by the Pelasgians who carried off the Athenian women from Brauron; after being driven out of Lemnos by them, they sailed away to Lacedaemon, and there camped on Teūgetum and kindled a fire. Seeing it, the Lacedaemonians sent a messenger to inquire who they were and where they came from. They answered the messenger that they were Minyae, descendants of the heroes who had sailed in the Argo and put in at Lemnos and there begot their race. Hearing the story of the lineage of the Minyae, the Lacedaemonians sent a second time and asked why they had come into Laconia and kindled a fire. They replied that, having been expelled by the Pelasgians, they had come to the land of their fathers, as was most just; and their wish was to live with their fathers' people, sharing in their rights and receiving allotted pieces of land. The Lacedaemonians were happy to receive the Minyae on the terms which their guests desired; the chief cause of their consenting was that the Tyndaridae had been in the ship's company of the Argo; so they received the Minyae and gave them land and distributed them among their own tribes. The Minyae immediately married, and gave in marriage to others the women they had brought from Lemnos.

146 1 Χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διεξελθόντος αὐτίκα οἱ Μινύαι ἐξύβρισαν, τῆς τε βασιληίης μεταίτεοντες καὶ ἄλλα ποιέοντες οὐκ ὅσια. 2 τοῖσι ὧν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἔδοξε αὐτοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι, συλλαβόντες δὲ σφέας κατέβαλον ἐς ἐρκτήν. κτείνουσι δὲ τοὺς ἄν κτείνωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι νυκτός, μετ' ἡμέρην δὲ οὐδένα. 3 ἐπεὶ ὧν ἔμελλον σφέας καταχρήσασθαι, παραιτήσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Μινυέων, εὐδοῖαι ἀσταί τε καὶ τῶν πρώτων Σπαρτιητέων θυγατέρες, ἐσελθεῖν τε ἐς τὴν ἐρκτήν καὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν ἐκάστη τῷ ἐωυτῆς ἀνδρί. οἱ δὲ σφέας παρῆκαν, οὐδένα δόλον δοκέοντες ἐξ αὐτέων ἔσεσθαι. 4 αἱ δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἐσηλθον, ποιέουσι τοιάδε· πᾶσαν τὴν εἶχον

ἐσθῆτα παραδοῦσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι αὐταὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔλαβον, οἱ δὲ Μινύαι ἐνδύντες τὴν γυναικὴν ἐσθῆτα ἅτε γυναῖκες ἐξήρισαν ἔξω, ἐκφυγόντες δὲ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἵζοντο αὖτις ἐς τὸ Τηϋγετον.

146. But in no time these Minyae became imperious, demanding an equal right to the kingship, and doing other impious things; hence the Lacedaemonians resolved to kill them, and they seized them and cast them into prison. (When the Lacedaemonians execute, they do it by night, never by day.) Now when they were about to kill the prisoners, the wives of the Minyae, who were natives of the country, daughters of leading Spartans, asked permission to enter the prison and each converse with her husband; the Lacedaemonians granted this, not expecting that there would be any treachery from them. But when the wives came into the prison, they gave their husbands all their own garments, and themselves put on the men's clothing; so the Minyae passed out in the guise of women dressed in women's clothing; and thus escaping, once more camped on Teūgetum.

147 1 Τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον Θήρας ὁ Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκεος ἔστελλε ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος· 2 ἦν δὲ ὁ Θήρας οὗτος, γένος ἐὼν Καδμεῖος, τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφεὸς τοῖσι Ἀριστοδήμου παισὶ Εὐρυσθένει καὶ Προκλές. ἐόντων δὲ ἔτι τῶν παίδων τούτων νηπίων ἐπιτροπαίην εἶχε ὁ Θήρας τὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιληίην. 3 αὐξηθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀδελφιδέων καὶ παραλαβόντων τὴν ἀρχήν, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Θήρας δεινὸν ποιεύμενος ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπεῖτε ἐγεύσατο ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἔφη μένειν ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι ἀλλ' ἀποπλεύσεσθαι ἐς τοὺς συγγενέας. 4 ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ νῦν Θήρῃ καλεομένη νήσῳ, πρότερον δὲ Καλλίστῃ τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ, ἀπόγονοι Μεμβλιάρου τοῦ Ποικίλεω ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος. Κάδμος γὰρ ὁ Ἀγῆνορος Εὐρώπην διζήμενος προσέσχε ἐς τὴν νῦν Θήρην καλεομένην· προσσχόντι δὲ εἶτε δὴ οἱ ἡ χώρα ἤρεσε, εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι τοῦτο· καταλείπει γὰρ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ ἄλλους τε τῶν Φοινίκων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἐωυτοῦ συγγενέων Μεμβλίарον. 5 οὗτοι ἐνέμοντο τὴν Καλλίστην καλεομένην ἐπὶ γενεάς, πρὶν ἢ Θήραν ἐλθεῖν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, ὁκτώ ἀνδρῶν.

147. Now, about this same time, Theras, a descendant of Polynices through Thersander, Tisamenus, and Autesion, was preparing to lead out colonists from Lacedaemon. This Theras was of

the line of Cadmus and was an uncle on their mother's side to Aristodemus' sons Eurysthenes and Procles; and while these boys were yet children he held the royal power of Sparta as regent; but when his nephews grew up and became kings, then Theras could not endure to be a subject when he had had a taste of supreme power, and said he would no longer stay in Lacedaemon but would sail away to his family. On the island now called Thera, but then Calliste, there were descendants of Membliarus the son of Poeciles, a Phoenician; for Cadmus son of Agenor had put in at the place now called Thera during his search for Europa; and having put in, either because the land pleased him, or because for some other reason he desired to do so, he left on this island his own relation Membliarus together with other Phoenicians. These dwelt on the island of Calliste for eight generations before Theras came from Lacedaemon.

148 1 Ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ ὧν ὁ Θήρας λεὼν ἔχων ἀπὸ τῶν φυλέων ἔστελλε, συνοικήσων τούτοις καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐξελὼν αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ κάρτα οἰκηιούμενος. 2 ἐπεῖτε δὲ καὶ οἱ Μινύαι ἐκδράντες ἐκ τῆς ἐρκτῆς ἴζοντο ἐς τὸ Τηϋγετον, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βουλευομένων σφέας ἀπολλύναι παραιτέεται ὁ Θήρας, ὅπως μήτε φόνος γένηται, αὐτός τε ὑπεδέκετο σφέας ἐξάξειν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. 3 συγχωρησάντων δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, τρισὶ τριηκοντέροισι ἐς τοὺς Μεμβιάρου ἀπογόνους ἔπλωσε, οὗτι πάντας ἄγων τοὺς Μινύας ἀλλ' ὀλίγους τινάς. 4 οἱ γὰρ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν ἐτράποντο ἐς τοὺς Παρωρεάτας καὶ Καύκωνας, τούτους δὲ ἐξελάσαντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἕξ μοίρας διεῖλον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἔκτισαν πόλιας τάσδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι, Λέπρεον Μάκιστον Φρίζας Πύργον Ἐπιον Νούδιον. τουτέων δὲ τὰς πλεῦνας ἐπ' ἐμέο Ἥλειοι ἐπόρθησαν. τῇ δὲ νήσῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκιστέω Θήρα ἢ ἐπωνυμίῃ ἐγένετο.

148. It was these that Theras was preparing to join, taking with him a company of people from the tribes; his intention was to settle among the people of Calliste and not drive them out but claim them as in fact his own people. So when the Minyae escaped from prison and camped on Teügetum, and the Lacedaemonians were planning to put them to death, Theras interceded for their lives, that there might be no killing, promising to lead them out of the country himself. The Lacedaemonians consented to this, and Theras sailed with three

thirty-oared ships to join the descendants of Membliarus, taking with him not all the Minyae but only a few; for the greater part of them made their way to the lands of the Paroreatae and Caucones, and after having driven these out of their own country, they divided themselves into six companies and established the cities of Lepreum, Macistus, Phrixa, Pyrgus, Epium, and Nudium in the land they had won; most of these were in my time taken and sacked by the Eleans. As for the island Calliste, it was called Thera after its colonist.

149 1 Ὁ δὲ παῖς οὐ γὰρ ἔφη οἱ συμπλεύσεσθαι, τοιγαρῶν ἔφη αὐτὸν καταλείψειν ὅν ἐν λύκοισι. ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔπεος τούτου οὖνομα τῷ νεηνίσκῳ τούτῳ Οἰόλυκος ἐγένετο, καὶ κῶς τὸ οὖνομα τοῦτο ἐπεκράτησε. Οἰολύκου δὲ γίνεται Αἰγεύς, ἐπ' οὗ Αἰγεῖδαι καλεῶνται φυλὴ μεγάλη ἐν Σπάρτῃ. 2 τοῖσι δὲ ἐν τῇ φυλῇ ταύτῃ ἀνδράσι οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν τὰ τέκνα, ἰδρύσαντο ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἑρινύων τῶν Λαΐου τε καὶ Οἰδιπόδεω ἰρόν· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὑπέμειναν.... τὸντο τοῦτο καὶ ἐν Θῇῃ τοῖσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων γεγρονόσι.

149. But as Theras' son would not sail with him, his father said that he would leave him behind as a sheep among wolves; after which saying the boy got the nickname of Oeolycus, and it so happened that this became his customary name. He had a son, Aegeus, from whom the Aegidae, a great Spartan clan, take their name. The men of this clan, finding that none of their children lived, set up a temple of the avenging spirits of Laïus and Oedipus, by the instruction of an oracle, after which their children lived. It fared thus, too, with the children of the Aegidae at Thera.

150 1 Μέχρι μὲν νυν τούτου τοῦ λόγου Λακεδαιμόνιοι Θηραίοισι κατὰ ταυτὰ λέγουσι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μῦθοι Θηραῖοι ὧδε γενέσθαι λέγουσι. 2 Γριννος ὁ Αἰσανίου ἐὼν Ψῆρα τούτου ἀπόγονος καὶ βασιλεύων Θήρης τῆς νήσου ἀπῆκετο ἐς Δελφούς, ἄγων ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἑκατόμβην· εἶποντο δὲ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ Βάττος ὁ Πολυμνήστου, ἐὼν γένος Εὐφημίδης τῶν Μινυέων. 3 χρεωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Γρίνῳ τῷ, βασιλείᾳ τῶν Θηραίων περὶ ἄλλων χρᾶ ἢ Πυθίῃ κτίζειν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλιν. ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων “ἐγὼ μὲν ὧναξ πρεσβύτερός τε ἤδη εἰμὶ καὶ βαρὺς ἀείρεσθαι· σὺ δὲ τινὰ τῶνδε τῶν νεωτέρων κέλευε ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ὅμα τε ἔλεγε ταῦτα καὶ ἐδείκνυε ἐς τὸν Βάττον. 4 τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα. μετὰ δὲ ἀπελθόντες ἀλογίην εἶχον

τοῦ χρηστηρίου, οὔτε Λιβύην εἰδότες ὅκου γῆς εἶη οὔτε τολμῶντες ἐς ἀφανὲς χρῆμα ἀποστέλλειν ἀποικίην.

150. So far in the story the Lacedaemonian and Theraean records agree; for the rest, we have only the word of the Theraeans. Grinnus son of Aesanius, king of Thera, a descendant of this same Theras, came to Delphi bringing a hecatomb from his city; among others of his people, Battus son of Polymnestus came with him, a descendant of Euphemus of the Minyan clan. When Grinnus king of Thera asked the oracle about other matters, the priestess' answer was that he should found a city in Libya. "Lord, I am too old and heavy to stir; command one of these younger men to do this," answered Grinnus, pointing to Battus as he spoke. No more was said then. But when they departed, they neglected to obey the oracle, since they did not know where Libya was, and were afraid to send a colony out to an uncertain destination.

151 1 Ἑπτὰ δὲ ἐτέων μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ὕε τὴν Θήρην, ἐν τοῖσι τὰ δένδρεα πάντα σφι τὰ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πλὴν ἑνὸς ἐξαυάνθη. χρεωμένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Θηραίοισι προέφερε ἡ Πυθίη τὴν ἐς Λιβύην ἀποικίην. 2 ἐπεῖτε δὲ κακοῦ οὐδὲν ἦν σφι μῆχος, πέμπουσι ἐς Κρήτην ἀγγέλους διζημένους εἴ τις Κρητῶν ἢ μετοίκων ἀπιγμένος εἶη ἐς Λιβύην. περιπλανώμενοι δὲ αὐτὴν οὗτοι ἀπίκοντο καὶ ἐς Ἴτανον πόλιν, ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ συμμίσγουσι ἀνδρὶ πορφυρεῖ τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Κορώβιος, ὃς ἔφη ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἀπενειχθεὶς ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Λιβύην καὶ Λιβύης ἐς Πλατείαν νῆσον. 3 μισθῷ, δὲ τοῦτον πείσαντες ἤγον ἐς Θήρην, ἐκ δὲ Θήρης ἔπλεον κατάσκοποι ἄνδρες τὰ πρῶτα οὐ πολλοί· κατηγορησαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κορωβίου ἐς τὴν νῆσον ταύτην δὴ τὴν Πλατείαν, τὸν μὲν Κορώβιον λείπουσι, σιτία καταλιπόντες ὅσων δὴ μνηῶν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἔπλεον τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαγγελέοντες Θηραίοισι περὶ τῆς νήσου.

151. For seven years after this there was no rain in Thera; all the trees in the island except one withered. The Theraeans inquired at Delphi again, and the priestess mentioned the colony they should send to Libya. So, since there was no remedy for their ills, they sent messengers to Crete to find any Cretan or traveller there who had travelled to Libya. In their travels about the island, these came to the town of Itanus, where they met a murex fisherman named Corobius,

who told them that he had once been driven off course by winds to Libya, to an island there called Platea. They hired this man to come with them to Thera; from there, just a few men were sent aboard ship to spy out the land first; guided by Corobius to the aforesaid island Platea, these left him there with provision for some months, and themselves sailed back with all speed to Thera to bring news of the island.

152 1 Ἀποδημεόντων δὲ τούτων πλέω χρόνον τοῦ συγκειμένου τὸν Κορώβιον ἐπέλιπε τὰ πάντα, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα νηὺς Σαμίη, τῆς ναύκληρος ἦν Κωλαῖος, πλέουσα ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπηνείχθη ἐς τὴν Πλατέαν ταύτην· πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Σάμιοι παρὰ τοῦ Κορωβίου τὸν πάντα λόγον, σιτία οἱ ἐνιαυτοῦ καταλείπουσι. 2 αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀναχθέντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου καὶ γλιχόμενοι Αἰγύπτου ἔπλεον, ἀποφερόμενοι ἀπηλιώτη ἀνέμῳ· καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει τὸ πνεῦμα, Ἡρακλέας στήλας διεκπερήσαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ταρτησσόν, θεῖη πομπῇ χρεώμενοι. 3 τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον τοῦτο ἦν ἀκήρατον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ὥστε ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι ὀπίσω μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκείην ἴδμεν ἐκ φορτίων ἐκέρδησαν, μετὰ γε Σώστρατον τὸν Λαοδάμαντος Αἰγινήτην· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐκ οἶά τε ἐρίσαι ἄλλον. 4 οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐπικερδίων ἐξελόντες ἕξ τάλαντα ἐποίησαντο χαλκήιον κρητῆρος Ἀργολικοῦ τρόπον· περίξ δὲ αὐτοῦ γρυπῶν κεφαλαὶ πρόκροσσοι/ εἰσι. καὶ ἀνέθηκαν ἐς τὸ Ἡραϊον, ὑποστήσαντες αὐτῷ τρεῖς χαλκέους κολοσσοὺς ἑπταπῆχεας τοῖσι γούνασι ἐρηρυσμένους. 5 Κυρηναίοισι δὲ καὶ Θηραίοισι ἐς Σαμίους ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου πρῶτα φιλῖαι μεγάλαὶ συνεκρήθησαν.

152. But after they had been away for longer than the agreed time, and Corobius had no provisions left, a Samian ship sailing for Egypt, whose captain was Colaeus, was driven off her course to Platea, where the Samians heard the whole story from Corobius and left him provisions for a year; they then put out to sea from the island and would have sailed to Egypt, but an easterly wind drove them from their course, and did not abate until they had passed through the Pillars of Heracles and came providentially to Tartessus. Now this was at that time an untapped market; hence, the Samians, of all the Greeks whom we know with certainty, brought back from it the greatest profit on their wares except Sostratus of Aegina, son of Laodamas; no one could compete with him. The Samians took six talents, a tenth of their profit, and made a bronze vessel with it, like an Argolic cauldron, with griffins' heads projecting from the rim all around; they set this up in their temple of Hera, supporting it with three colossal kneeling figures of bronze, each twelve feet high. What the Samians had done was the beginning of a close friendship between them and the men of Cyrene and Thera.

153 1 Οἱ δὲ Θηραῖοι ἐπεῖτε τὸν Κορώβιον λιπόντες ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Θήρην, ἀπήγγελλον ὥς σφι εἷη νῆσος ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ ἐκτισμένη. Θηραίοισι δὲ ἔαδε ἀδελφεόν τε ἀπ' ἀδελφεοῦ πέμπειν πάλω λαγχάνοντα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν χώρων ἀπάντων ἐπτά ἐόντων ἄνδρας, εἶναι δὲ σφέων καὶ ἡγεμόνα καὶ βασιλέα Βάττον. οὕτω δὲ στέλλουσι δύο πεντηκοντέρους ἐς τὴν Πλατέαν.

153. As for the Theraeans, when they came to Thera after leaving Corobius on the island, they brought word that they had established a settlement on an island off Libya. The Theraeans determined to send out men from their seven regions, taking by lot one of every pair of brothers, and making Battus leader and king of all. Then they manned two fifty-oared ships and sent them to Platea.

154 1 Ταῦτα δὲ Θηραῖοι λέγουσι, τὰ δ' ἐπίλοιπα τοῦ λόγου συμφέρονται ἤδη Θηραῖοι Κυρηναίοισι. Κυρηναῖοι γὰρ τὰ περὶ Βάττον οὐδαμῶς ὁμολογεῖνσι Θηραίοισι λέγουσι γὰρ οὕτω. ἔστι τῆς Κρήτης Ὁαξὸς πόλις, ἐν τῇ ἐγένετο Ἐτέαρχος βασιλεὺς, ὃς ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ ἀμήτορι τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Φρονίμη, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἔγημε ἄλλην

γυναῖκα. 2 ἡ δὲ ἐπεσελθοῦσα ἐδίκαιον καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ εἶναι μητρὺ τῇ Φρονίμῃ, παρέχουσα τε κακὰ καὶ πᾶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ μηχανωμένη, καὶ τέλος μαχλοσύνην ἐπενείκασά οἱ πείθει τὸν ἄνδρα ταῦτα ἔχειν οὕτω. ὁ δὲ ἀναγνωσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔργον οὐκ ὅσιον ἐμηχανᾶτο ἐπὶ τῇ; θυγατρὶ. 3 ἦν γὰρ δὴ Θεμίσων ἀνὴρ Θηραῖος ἔμπορος ἐν τῇ Ὀαζῷ· τοῦτον ὁ Ἐτεάρχος παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ ξείνια ἐξορκοῖ ἥ μὲν οἱ διηκονήσιν ὅ τι ἂν δεηθῇ. ἐπεῖτε δὴ ἐξώρκωσε, ἀγαγὼν οἱ παραδιδοῖ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ ταύτην ἐκέλευε καταποντῶσαι ἀπαγαγόντα. 4 ὁ δὲ Θεμίσων περιημεκτῆσας τῇ ἀπάτῃ τοῦ ὅρκου καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὴν ξεινίην ἐποίεε τοιάδε· παραλαβὼν τὴν παῖδα ἀπέπλεε· ὥς δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πελάγῃ, ἀποσιεύμενος τὴν ἐξόρκωσιν τοῦ Ἐτεάρχου, σχοινίοισι αὐτὴν διαδήσας κατῆκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνασπάσας δὲ ἀπύκετο ἐς τὴν Θήρην.

154. This is what the Theraeans say; and now begins the part in which the Theraean and Cyrenaean stories agree, but not until now, for the Cyrenaean tell a wholly different story about Battus, which is this. There is a town in Crete called Oaxus, of which one Etearchus became ruler. He was a widower with a daughter whose name was Phronime, and he married a second wife. When the second wife came into his house, she thought fit to be the proverbial stepmother to Phronime, ill-treating her and devising all sorts of evil against her; at last she accused the girl of lewdness, and persuaded her husband that the charge was true. So Etearchus was persuaded by his wife and contrived a great sin against his daughter. There was at Oaxus a Theraean trader, one Themison; Etearchus made this man his guest and friend, and got him to swear that he would do him whatever service he desired; then he gave the man his own daughter, telling him to take her away and throw her into the sea. But Themison was very angry at being thus tricked on his oath and renounced his friendship with Etearchus; presently, he took the girl and sailed away, and so as to fulfill the oath that he had sworn to Etearchus, when he was on the high seas he bound her with ropes and let her down into the sea and drew her up again, and presently arrived at Thera.

155 1 Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὴν Φρονίμην παραλαβὼν πολύμνηστος, ἐὼν τῶν Θηραίων ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, ἐπαλλακεύετο. χρόνου δὲ περιούντος ἐξεγένετό οἱ παῖς ἰσχύφωνος καὶ τραυλός, τῷ οὖνομα ἐτέθη Βάττος,

ὥς Θηραῖοι τε καὶ Κυρηναῖοι λέγουσι, ὥς μέντοι ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἄλλο τι·
2 Βάττος δὲ μετωνομάσθη, ἐπεῖτε ἐς Λιβύην ἀπύκετο, ἀπὸ τε τοῦ
χρηστηρίου τοῦ γενομένου ἐν Δελφοῖσι αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς τὴν
ἔσχε τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιούμενος. Λίβυες γὰρ βασιλέα βάττον
καλέουσι, καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέω θεσπίζουσιν τὴν Πυθίην
καλέσαι μιν Λιβυκῇ γλώσσει, εἰδυῖαν ὥς βασιλεὺς ἔσται ἐν Λιβύῃ. 3
ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ἡνδρώθη οὗτος, ἦλθε ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῆς φωνῆς·
ἐπειρωτῶντι δὲ οἱ χρᾶ ἢ Πυθίῃ τάδε. Βάττ' ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθες. ἄναξ δὲ
σε Φοῖβος Απόλλων ἐς Λιβύην πέμπει μηλοτρόφον οἰκιστῆρα,
ὥσπερ εἰ εἴποι Ἑλλάδι γλώσσει χρεωμένη “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ φωνὴν
ἦλθες,, 4 ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “ὦναξ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἦλθον παρὰ σέ
χρησάμενος περὶ τῆς φωνῆς, σὺ δέ μοι ἄλλα ἀδύνατα χρᾶς, κελεύων
Λιβύην ἀποικίζειν τέφρῳ δυνάμει, κοίῃ χειρί,, ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε
ἄλλα οἱ χρᾶν· ὥς δε κατὰ ταῦτα ἐθέσπιξέ οἱ καὶ πρότερον, οἷχετο
μεταξὺ ἀπολιπὼν ὁ Βάττος ἐς τὴν Θήρην.

155. There Polymnestus, a notable Theraean, took Phronime and made her his concubine. In time, a son of weak and stammering speech was born to him, to whom he gave the name Battus, as the Theraeans and Cyrenaeans say; but in my opinion the boy was given some other name, and changed it to Battus on his coming to Libya, taking this new name because of the oracle given to him at Delphi and the honorable office which he received. For the Libyan word for king is “Battus,” and this (I believe) is why the Pythian priestess called him so in her prophecy, using a Libyan name because she knew that he was to be king in Libya. For when he grew to adulthood, he went to Delphi to inquire about his voice; and the priestess in answer gave him this: ““Battus, you have come for a voice; but Lord Phoebus Apollo Sends you to found a city in Libya, nurse of sheep,” “ just as if she addressed him using the Greek word for “king,” “Basileus, you have come for a voice,” et cetera. But he answered: “Lord, I came to you to ask about my speech; but you talk of other matters, things impossible to do; you tell me to plant a colony in Libya; where shall I get the power or strength of hand for it?” Battus spoke thus, but as the god would not give him another oracle and kept answering as before, he departed while the priestess was still speaking, and went away to Thera.

156 1 Μετὰ δὲ αὐτῷ τε τούτῳ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Θηραίοισι συνεφέρετο παλιγκότως. ἀγνοεῦντες δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς οἱ Θηραῖοι ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν. 2 ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε συγκτίζουσι Βάττῳ Κυρήνην τῆς Λιβύης ἄμεινον πρήξειν. ἀπέστελλον μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Βάττον οἱ Θηραῖοι δύο πεντηκοντέροισι. πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Λιβύην οὗτοι, οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ὃ τι ποιέωσι ἄλλο, ὀπίσω ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Θήρην. 3 οἱ δὲ Θηραῖοι καταγομένους ἔβαλλον καὶ οὐκ ἔων τῇ γῇ προσίσchein, ἀλλ' ὀπίσω πλῶειν ἐκέλευον. οἱ δὲ ἀναγκασζόμενοι ὀπίσω ἀπέπλεον καὶ ἔκτισαν νῆσον ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ κειμένην, τῇ οὖνομα, ὥς καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, ἐστὶ Βλατέα. λέγεται δὲ ἴση εἶναι ἡ νῆσος τῇ νῦν Κυρηναίων πόλει.

156. But afterward things turned out badly for Battus and the rest of the Theraeans; and when, ignorant of the cause of their misfortunes, they sent to Delphi to ask about their present ills, the priestess declared that they would fare better if they helped Battus plant a colony at Cyrene in Libya. Then the Theraeans sent Battus with two fifty-oared ships; these sailed to Libya, but, not knowing what else to do, presently returned to Thera. There, the Theraeans shot at them as they came to land and would not let the ship put in, telling them to sail back; which they did under constraint of necessity, and planted a colony on an island off the Libyan coast called (as I have said already) Platea. This island is said to be as big as the city of Cyrene is now.

157 1 Ταύτην οἰκέοντες δύο ἔτεα, οὐδὲν γάρ σφι χρηστὸν συνεφέρετο, ἕνα αὐτῶν καταλιπόντες οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐχρέωντο, φάμενοι οἰκέειν τε τὴν Λιβύην καὶ οὐδὲν ἄμεινον πρήσσειν οἰκεῦντες. 2 ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι πρὸς ταῦτα χρᾶ τάδε. αἱ τὸ ἐμεῦ Λιβύην μηλοτρόφον οἶδας ἄμεινον, μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐλθόντος, ἄγαν ἄγαμαι σοφίην σευρῶ. ἀκούσαντες δὲ τούτων οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Βάττον ἀπέπλωον ὀπίσω· οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφεας ἀπίει ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀποικίης, πρὶν δὴ ἀπίκωνται ἐς αὐτὴν Λιβύην. 3 ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ ἀναλαβόντες τὸν ἔλιπον, ἔκτισαν αὐτῆς τῆς Λιβύης χῶρον ἀντίον τῆς νήσου τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Ἄζιρις· τὸν νάπαι τε κάλλισται ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα συγκληίουσι καὶ ποταμὸς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα παραρρέει.

157. Here they lived for two years; but as everything went wrong,

the rest sailed to Delphi leaving one behind, and on their arrival questioned the oracle, and said that they were living in Libya, but that they were no better off for that. Then the priestess gave them this reply: ““If you know Libya nurse of sheep better than I, Though I have been there and you have not, then I am very much astonished at your knowledge.” “ Hearing this, Battus and his men sailed back again; for the god would not let them do anything short of colonizing Libya itself; and having come to the island and taken aboard the one whom they had left there, they made a settlement at a place in Libya itself, opposite the island which was called Aziris. This is a place enclosed on both sides by the fairest of groves, with a river flowing along one side of it.

158 1 Τοῦτον οἶκεον τὸν χῶρον ἕξ ἔτεα, ἐβδόμῳ δὲ σφέας ἔτει παραιτησάμενοι οἱ Λίβυες ὥς ἐς ἀμείνονα χῶρον ἄξουσιν, ἀνέγνωσαν ἐκλιπεῖν. 2 ἦγον δὲ σφέας ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Λίβυες ἀναστήσαντες πρὸς ἐσπέρην, καὶ τὸν κάλλιστον τῶν χώρων ἵνα διεξιόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες μὴ ἴδοιεν, συμμετρησάμενοι τὴν ὥρην τῆς ἡμέρης νυκτὸς παρήγον. ἔστι δὲ τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ οὖνομα Ἰρασα. 3 ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφέας ἐπὶ κρήνην λεγομένην εἶπαι Ἀπόλλωνος εἶπαν “ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐνθαῦτα ὑμῖν ἐπιτήδεον οἰκέειν. ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται,,.

158. Here they dwelt for six years; but in the seventh, the Libyans got them to leave the place, saying that they would lead them to a better; and they brought the Greeks from Aziris and led them west, so calculating the hours of daylight that they led the Greeks past the fairest place in their country, called Irasa, at night, lest the Greeks see it in their journey. Then they brought the Greeks to what is called the Fountain of Apollo, and said to them: “Here, Greeks, it is suitable for you to live; for here the sky is torn.”

159 1 Ἐπὶ μὲν νυν Βάττου τε τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς ζόης, ἄρξαντος ἐπὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα, καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω ἄρξαντος ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεα, οἶκεον οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἐόντες τοσοῦτοι ὅσοι ἀρχὴν ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἐστάλησαν. 2 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου, Βάττου τοῦ εὐδαίμονος καλεομένου, Ἕλληνας πάντας ὥρμησε χρήσασα ἡ Πυθίη πλέειν συνοικήσοντας Κυρηναίοισι Λιβύην· ἐπεκαλέοντο γὰρ οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῶ· 3 ἔχρησε δὲ ὧδε ἔχοντα. ὅς δέ κεν ἐς Λιβύην πολύηρατον ὕστερον ἔλθῃ γᾶς ἀναδαιομένης, μετὰ οἷ ποκα φαμί

μελήσειν. 4 συλλεχθέντος δὲ ὀμίλου πολλοῦ ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην, περιταμνόμενοι γῆν πολλὴν οἱ περίοικοι Λίβυες καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀδικράν, οἷα τῆς τε χώρας στερισκόμενοι καὶ περιωβριζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων, ἐέμψαντες ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀπρίῃ τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεί. 5 ὁ δὲ συλλέξας στρατὸν Αἰγυπτίων πολλὸν ἔπεμψε ἐπὶ τὴν Κυρήνην. οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι ἐκστρατευσάμενοι ἐς Ἰρασα χῶρον καὶ ἐπὶ κρήνην Θέστιν συνέβαλόν τε τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ ἐνίκησαν τῇ συμβολῇ. 6 ἅτε γὰρ οὐ πεπειρημένοι πρότερον οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι Ἑλλήνων καὶ παραχρεώμενοι διεφθάρησαν οὕτω ὥστε ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ἀπενόστησαν ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἀντὶ τούτων Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμόμενοι Ἀπρίῃ ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

159. Now in the time of Battus the founder of the colony, who ruled for forty years, and of his son Arcesilaus who ruled for sixteen, the inhabitants of Cyrene were no more in number than when they had first gone out to the colony. But in the time of the third ruler, Battus, who was called the Fortunate, the Pythian priestess warned all Greeks by an oracle to cross the sea and live in Libya with the Cyrenaeans; for the Cyrenaeans invited them, promising a distribution of land; and this was the oracle: ““Whoever goes to beloved Libya after The fields are divided, I say shall be sorry afterward.” “ So a great multitude gathered at Cyrene, and cut out great tracts of land from the territory of the neighboring Libyans. Robbed of their lands and treated violently by the Cyrenaeans, these then sent to Egypt together with their king, whose name was Adicran, and put their affairs in the hands of Apries, the king of that country. Apries mustered a great force of Egyptians and sent it against Cyrene; the Cyrenaeans marched out to Irasa and the Thestes spring, and there fought with the Egyptians and beat them; for the Egyptians had as yet had no experience of Greeks, and despised their enemy; as a result of which, they were so utterly destroyed that few of them returned to Egypt. Because of this misfortune, and because they blamed him for it, the Egyptians revolted from Apries.

160 1 Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Βάττου παῖς γίνεται Ἀρκεσίλειος. ὃς βασιλεύσας πρῶτα τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῖσι ἐστασίασε, ἐς ὃ μιν οὗτοι ἀπολιπόντες οἶχοντο ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον τῆς Λιβύης καὶ ἐπ’

έωυτῶν βαλόμενοι ἔκτισαν πόλιν ταύτην ἥ τότε καὶ νῦν Βάρκη κλέεται· κτίζοντες δὲ ἅμα αὐτὴν ἀπιστᾶσι ἀπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων τοὺς Λίβυας. 2 μετὰ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐς τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους τε τῶν Λιβύων καὶ ἀποστάντας τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἐστρατεύετο· οἱ δὲ Λίβυες δέισαντες αὐτὸν οἶχοντο φεύγοντες πρὸς τοὺς ἠοίους τῶν Λιβύων. 3 ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως εἶπετο φεύγουσι, ἐς οὗ ἐν Λεύκωνί τε τῆς Λιβύης ἐγίνετο ἐπιδιώκων καὶ ἔδοξε τοῖσι Λίβυσι ἐπιθέσθαι οἱ. συμβαλόντες δὲ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Κυρηναίους τοσοῦτο ὥστε ἑπτακισχιλίους ὀπλίτας Κυρηναίων ἐνθαῦτα πεσεῖν. 4 μετὰ δὲ τὸ τρῶμα τοῦτο Ἀρκεσίλεων μὲν κάμνοντά τε καὶ φάρμακον πεπωκότα ὁ ἀδελφεὸς Ἀλιάρχος ἀποπνίγει, Ἀλιάρχον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ Ἀρκεσίλεω δόλφ κτείνει, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Ἐρυξώ.

160. This Battus had a son Arcesilaus; on his first coming to reign, he quarrelled with his brothers, until they left him and went away to another place in Libya, where they founded a city for themselves, which was then and is now called Barce; and while they were founding it, they persuaded the Libyans to revolt from the Cyrenaeans. Then Arcesilaus led an army into the country of the Libyans who had received his brothers and had also revolted; and they fled in fear of him to the eastern Libyans. Arcesilaus pursued them until he came in his pursuit to Leucon in Libya, where the Libyans resolved to attack him; they engaged, and so wholly overcame the Cyrenaeans that seven thousand Cyrenaean soldiers were killed there. After this disaster, Arcesilaus, being worn down and having taken a drug, was strangled by his brother Learchus; Learchus was deftly killed by Arcesilaus' wife, Eryxo.

161 1 Διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν βασιλίην τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω ὁ παῖς Βάττος, χαλός τε ἐὼν καὶ οὐκ ἀρτίπους. οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι πρὸς τὴν καταλαβοῦσαν συμφορὴν ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησομένους ὄντινα τρόπον καταστησάμενοι κάλλιστα ἂν οἰκείοιεν. 2 ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἐκέλευε ἐκ Μαντινέης τῆς Ἀρκάδων καταρτιστῆρα ἀγαγέσθαι. αἷτεον ὧν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, καὶ οἱ Μαντινέες ἔδοσαν ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Δημῶναξ. 3 οὗτος ὧν ὠνὴρ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην καὶ μαθὼν ἕκαστα τοῦτο μὲν τριφύλους ἐποίησε σφεας, τῇδε διαθείς· Θηραίων μὲν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων μίαν μοῖραν ἐποίησε, ἄλλην δὲ Πελοποννησίων καὶ Κρητῶν, τρίτην δὲ

νησιωτέων πάντων. τοῦτο δὲ τῷ βασιλεί Βάττω τεμένεα ἐξελὼν καὶ ἱρwsύνας, τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ πρότερον εἶχον οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐς μέσον τῷ δήμῳ ἔθηκε.

161. Arcesilaus' kingship passed to his son Battus, who was lame and infirm in his feet. The Cyrenaeans, in view of the affliction that had overtaken them, sent to Delphi to ask what political arrangement would enable them to live best; the priestess told them bring a mediator from Mantinea in Arcadia. When the Cyrenaeans sent their request, the Mantineans gave them their most valued citizen, whose name was Demonax. When this man came to Cyrene and learned everything, he divided the people into three tribes; of which the Theraeans and dispossessed Libyans were one, the Peloponnesians and Cretans the second, and all the islanders the third; furthermore, he set apart certain domains and priesthoods for their king Battus, but all the rest, which had belonged to the kings, were now to be held by the people in common.

162 1 Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ Βάττου οὕτω διετέλεε ἔοντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τούτου παιδὸς Ἀρκεσίλεω πολλὴ ταραχὴ περὶ τῶν τιμῶν ἐγένετο. 2 Ἀρκεσίλεως γὰρ ὁ Βάττου τε τοῦ χωλοῦ καὶ Φερετίμης οὐκ ἔφη ἀνέξεσθαι κατὰ τὰ ὁ Μαντινεὺς Δημῶναξ ἔταξε, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε τὰ τῶν προγόνων γέρεα. ἐνθεῦτεν στασιάζων ἐσσώθη καὶ ἔφυγε ἐς Σάμον, ἥ δὲ μήτηρ οἱ ἐς Σαλαμίνα τῆς Κύπρου ἔφυγε. 3 τῆς δὲ Σαλαμίνας τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπεκράτεε Εὐέλθων, ὃς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θυμητήριον, ἐὸν ἀξιοθέητον ἀνέθηκε, τὸ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίῳ θησαυρῷ κέεται. ἀπικομένη δὲ παρὰ τοῦτον ἡ Φερετίμη ἐδέετο στρατιῆς ἢ κατὰξει σφέας ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην. 4 ὁ δὲ Εὐέλθων πᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιὴν οἱ ἐδίδου· ἡ δὲ λαμβάνουσα τὸ διδόμενον καλὸν μὲν ἔφη καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι, κάλλιον δὲ ἐκείνο, τὸ δοῦναί οἱ δεομένην στρατιήν. 5 τοῦτο ἐπὶ παντὶ γὰρ τῷ διδομένῳ ἔλεγε, τελευταῖόν οἱ ἐξέπεμψε δῶρον ὁ Εὐέλθων ἄτρακτον χρύσειον καὶ ἡλακάτην, προσῆν δὲ καὶ εἴριον. ἐπειτάσης δὲ αὐτὶς τῆς Φερετίμης τῷτο ἔπος, ὁ Εὐέλθων ἔφη τοιούτοισι γυναῖκας δωρέεσθαι ἄλλ' οὐ στρατιῇ.

162. During the life of this Battus, these ordinances held good, but in the time of his son Arcesilaus much contention arose about the king's rights. Arcesilaus, son of the lame Battus and Pheretime, would not abide by the ordinances of Demonax, but demanded back

the prerogatives of his forefathers, and made himself head of a faction; but he was defeated and banished to Samos, and his mother fled to Salamis in Cyprus. Now Salamis at this time was ruled by Evelthon, who dedicated that marvellous censer at Delphi which stands in the treasury of the Corinthians. Pheretime came to him, asking him for an army to bring her and her son back to Cyrene; Evelthon was willing to give her everything else, only not an army, and when she accepted what he gave her, she said that it was fine, but it would be better to give her an army as she asked. This she said whatever the gift, until at last Evelthon sent her a golden spindle and distaff, and wool, and when Pheretime uttered the same words as before, he answered that these, and not armies, were gifts for women.

163 1 Ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔων ἐν Σάμῳ συνήγειρε πάντα ἄνδρα ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῶ· συλλεγομένου δὲ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ, ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφοὺς Ἀρκεσίλεως χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ περὶ κατόδου. 2 ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ τάδε. “ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερας Βᾶττους καὶ Ἀρκεσίλεως τέσσερας, ὀκτὼ ἀνδρῶν γενεάς, διδοῖ ὑμῖν Λοξίης βασιλεύειν Κυρήνης, 3 πλεον μέντοι τούτου οὐδὲ πειρᾶσθαι παραινέει. σὺ μέντοι ἥσυχος εἶναι κατελθὼν ἐς τὴν σεωυτοῦ. ἦν δὲ τὴν κάμινον εὗρης πλὴν ἀμφορέων, μὴ ἐξοπτήσης τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἀλλ’ ἀπόπεμπε κατ’ οὔρον· εἰ δὲ ἐξοπτήσεις τὴν κάμινον, μὴ ἐσέλθῃς ἐς τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀποθανέαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ταῦρος ὁ καλλιστεύων,,. ταῦτα ἡ Πυθίη Ἀρκεσίλεω χρᾶ.

163. Meanwhile Arcesilaus was in Samos, collecting all the men that he could and promising them a new division of land; and while a great army was thus gathering, he made a journey to Delphi, to ask the oracle about his return. The priestess gave him this answer: ““For the lifetimes of four Battuses and four Arcesilauses, eight generations of men, Loxias grants to your house the kingship of Cyrene; more than this he advises you not even to try. But you, return to your country and live there in peace. But if you find the oven full of amphora, do not bake the amphora, but let them go unscathed. And if you bake them in the oven, do not go into the tidal place; for if you do, then you shall be killed yourself, and also the bull that is fairest of the herd.”“ This was the oracle given by the priestess to Arcesilaus.

164 1 Ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου κατῆλθε ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην, καὶ ἐπικρατήσας τῶν πρηγμάτων τοῦ μαντηίου οὐκ ἐμέμνητο, ἀλλὰ δίκας τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας αἶτεε τῆς ἐωυτοῦ φυγῆς. 2 τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπαλλάσσοντο, τοὺς δὲ τινὰς χειρωσάμενος ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐς Κύπρον ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ διαφθορῇ. τούτους μὲν νυν Κνίδιοι ἀπενειχθέντας πρὸς τὴν σφετέρην ἐρρύσαντο καὶ ἐς Θήρην ἀπέστειλαν· ἐτέρους δὲ τινὰς τῶν Κυρηναίων ἐς πύργον μέγαν Ἀγλωμάχου καταφυγόντας ιδιωτικὸν ὕλην περινήσας ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐνέπρησε. 3 μαθὼν δὲ ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι τὸ μαντήιον ἐὼν τοῦτο, ὅτι μιν ἡ Πυθίη οὐκ ἔα εὐρόντα ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἐξοπτῆσαι, ἔργετο ἐκὼν τῆς τῶν Κυρηναίων πόλιος, δειμαίνων τε τὸν κεχρησμένον θάνατον καὶ δοκέων ἀμφίρρυτον τὴν Κυρήνην εἶναι. 4 εἶχε δὲ γυναῖκα συγγενέα ἐωυτοῦ, θυγατέρα δὲ τῶν Βαρκαίων τοῦ βασιλέως, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀλάζειρ· παρὰ τοῦτον ἀπικνέεται, καὶ μιν Βαρκαῖοι τε ἄνδρες καὶ τῶν ἐκ Κυρήνης φυγάδων τινὲς καταμαθόντες ἀγοράζοντα κτείνουσι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν πενθερὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀλάζειρα. Ἀρκεσίλεως μὲν νυν εἴτε ἐκὼν εἴτε ἀέκων ἁμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησιμοῦ ἐξέπλησε μοῖραν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ.

164. But he returned to Cyrene with the men from Samos, and having made himself master of it he forgot the oracle, and demanded justice upon his enemies for his banishment. Some of these left the country altogether; others, Arcesilaus seized and sent away to Cyprus to be killed there. These were carried off their course to Cnidus, where the Cnidians saved them and sent them to Thera. Others of the Cyrenaeans fled for refuge into a great tower that belonged to one Aglomachus, a private man, and Arcesilaus piled wood around it and burnt them there. Then, perceiving too late that this was the meaning of the Delphic oracle which forbade him to bake the amphora if he found them in the oven, he deliberately refrained from going into the city of the Cyrenaeans, fearing the death prophesied and supposing the tidal place to be Cyrene. Now he had a wife who was a relation of his, a daughter of Alazir king of the Barcaeans, and Arcesilaus went to Alazir; but men of Barce and some of the exiles from Cyrene were aware of him and killed him as he walked in the town, and Alazir his father-in-law too. So Arcesilaus whether with or without

meaning to missed the meaning of the oracle and fulfilled his destiny.

165 1 Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ Φερετίμη, ἕως μὲν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλῃως ἐν τῇ Βάρκῃ διαιτᾷτο ἐξεργασμένος ἐωυτῷ κακόν, ἥ δὲ εἶχε αὐτῇ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ γέρεα ἐν Κυρήνῃ καὶ τᾶλλα νεμομένη καὶ ἐν βουλῇ παρίζουσα. 2 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἔμαθε ἐν τῇ Βάρκῃ ἀποθανόντα οἱ τὸν παῖδα, φεύγουσα οἰχώκεε ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἦσαν γάρ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλῃω εὐεργεσίαι ἐς Καμβύσεια τὸν Κύρου πεποιημένοι· οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλῃως ὃς Κυρήνην Καμβύσῃ ἔδωκε καὶ φόρον ἐτάξατο. 3 ἀπικομένη δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἡ Φερετίμη Ἀρυάνδεω ἰκέτις ἕζετο, τιμωρῆσαι ἐωυτῇ κελεύουσα, προισχομένη πρόφασιν ὥς διὰ τὸν μηδισμόν ὁ παῖς οἱ τέθηκε.

165. While Arcesilaus was living at Barce, accomplishing his own destruction, his mother Pheretime held her son's prerogative at Cyrene, where she administered all his business and sat with others in council. But when she learned of her son's death at Barce, she made her escape to Egypt, trusting to the good service which Arcesilaus had done Cambyses the son of Cyrus; for this was the Arcesilaus who gave Cyrene to Cambyses and agreed to pay tribute. So, on her arrival in Egypt, Pheretime supplicated Aryandes, asking that he avenge her, on the plea that her son had been killed for allying himself with the Medes.

166 1 Ὁ δὲ Ἀρυάνδης ἦν οὗτος τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὑπαρχος ὑπὸ Καμβύσειω κατεστεῶς, ὃς ὑστέρω χρόνῳ τούτων παρισούμενος Δαρεῖω διεφθάρη. πυθόμενος γὰρ καὶ ἰδὼν Δαρεῖον ἐπιθυμέοντα μνημόσυνον ἐωυτοῦ λιπέσθαι τοῦτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλῳ εἶη βασιλείᾳ κατεργασμένον, ἐμιμέετο τοῦτον, ἐς οὗ ἔλαβε τὸν μισθόν. 2 Δαρεῖος μὲν γὰρ χρυσίον καθαρώτατον ἀπεψήσας ἐς τὸ δυνατώτατον νόμισμα ἐκόψατο, Ἀρυάνδης δὲ ἄρχων Αἰγύπτου ἀργύριον τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίησε, καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ ἀργύριον καθαρώτατον τὸ Ἀρυανδικόν. μαθὼν δὲ μιν Δαρεῖος ταῦτα ποιεῦντα, αἰτίην οἱ ἄλλην ἐπενείκας ὥς οἱ ἐνανίσταται, ἀπέκτεινε.

166. This Aryandes had been appointed viceroy of Egypt by Cambyses; at a later day, he was put to death for making himself equal to Darius. For, learning and seeing that Darius desired to leave a memorial of himself such as no king ever had, Aryandes imitated him, until he got his reward; for Darius had coined money out of

gold refined to an extreme purity, and Aryandes, then ruling Egypt, made a similar silver coinage; and now there is no silver money so pure as is the Aryandic. But when Darius heard that Aryandes was doing so, he put him to death, not on this charge but as a rebel.

167 1 Τότε δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἀρυάνδης κατοικτεῖρας Φερετίμην διδοῖ αὐτῇ στρατὸν τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἅπαντα καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὸν ναυτικόν· στρατηγὸν δὲ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ Ἄμασιν ἀπέδεξε ἄνδρα Μαράφιον, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Βάδρην ἐόντα Πασαργάδην γένος. 2 πρὶν δὲ ἢ ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν στρατιήν, ὁ Ἀρυάνδης πέμψας ἐς τὴν Βάρκην κήρυκα ἐπυνθάνετο τίς εἴη ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεων ἀποκτείνας. οἱ δὲ Βαρκαῖοι αὐτοῖς ὑπεδέκοντο πάντες· πολλὰ τε γὰρ καὶ κακὰ πάσχειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀρυάνδης οὕτω δὴ τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπέστειλε ἅμα τῇ Φερετίμῃ. 3 αὕτη μὲν νυν αἰτίη πρόσχημα τοῦ στόλου ἐγένετο, ἀπεπέμπετο δὲ ἡ στρατιή, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐπὶ Λιβύης καταστροφῇ. Λιβύων γὰρ δὴ ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐστί, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὀλίγα βασιλέος ἦν ὑπήκοα, τὰ δὲ πλέω ἐφρόντιζε Δαρείου οὐδέν.

167. At this time, Aryandes took pity on Pheretime and gave her all the Egyptian land and sea forces, appointing Amasis, a Maraphian, general of the army, and Badres of the tribe of the Pasargadae, admiral of the fleet. But before despatching the troops, Aryandes sent a herald to Barce to ask who it was who had killed Arcesilaus. The Barcaeans answered that it was the deed of the whole city, for the many wrongs that Arcesilaus had done them; when he heard this, Aryandes sent his troops with Pheretime. This was the pretext; but I myself think that the troops were sent to subjugate Libya. For the Libyan tribes are many and of different kinds, and though a few of them were the king's subjects, the greater part cared nothing for Darius.

168 1 Οἰκέουσι δὲ κατὰ τάδε Λίβυες. ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι Ἀδυρμαχίδαι Λιβύων κατοίκηνται, οἱ νόμοισι μὲν τὰ πλέω Αἰγυπτίοισι χρέωνται, ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι οἷον περ οἱ ἄλλοι Λίβυες. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ψέλιον περὶ ἐκατέρῃ τῶν κνημέων φορέουσι χάλκεον· τὰς κεφαλὰς δὲ κομῶσαι, τοὺς φθειρας ἐπεὰν λάβωσι τοὺς ἐωυτῆς ἐκάστη ἀντιδάκνει καὶ οὕτω ρίπτει. 2 οὗτοι δὲ μούνοι Λιβύων τοῦτο ἐργάζονται, καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ μούνοι τὰς παρθένους

μελλούσας συνοικέειν ἐπιδεικνύουσι. ἥ δὲ ἂν τῷ βασιλεί ἄρεστή γένηται, ὑπὸ τούτου διαπαρθενέυεται. παρήκουσι δὲ οὔτοι οἱ Ἀδυρμαχίδαι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μέχρι λιμένος τῷ οὔνομα Πλυνός ἐστι.

168. Now, concerning the lands inhabited by Libyans, the Adyrmachidae are the people that live nearest to Egypt; they follow Egyptian customs for the most part, but dress like other Libyans. Their women wear twisted bronze ornaments on both legs; their hair is long; each catches her own lice, then bites and throws them away. They are the only Libyans that do this, and who show the king all virgins that are to be married; the king then takes the virginity of whichever of these pleases him. These Adyrmachidae extend from Egypt to the harbor called Plynus.

169 1 Τούτων δὲ ἔχονται Γιλιγάμαι, νεμόμενοι τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην χώραν μέχρι Ἀφροδισιάδος νήσου. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τούτου χώρῳ ἣ τε Πλατέα νῆσος ἐπικέεται, τὴν ἔκτισαν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Μενέλαος λιμὴν ἐστι καὶ Ἄζιρις, τὴν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι οἴκεον, καὶ τὸ σίλφιον ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τούτου· 2 παρήκει δὲ ἀπὸ Πλατέης νήσου μέχρι τοῦ στόματος τῆς Σύρτιος τὸ σίλφιον. νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται οὔτοι παραπλησίοισι τοῖσι ἐτέροισι.

169. Next to them are the Giligamae, who inhabit the country to the west as far as the island of Aphrodisias; in between lies the island of Platea, which the Cyrenaeans colonized, and on the mainland is the harbor called Menelaus, and the Aziris which was a settlement of the Cyrenaeans. Here the country of silphium begins, which reaches from the island of Platea to the entrance of the Syrtis. This people is like the others in its customs.

170 1 Γιλιγαμέων δὲ ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Ἀσβύσται. οὔτοι ὑπὲρ Κυρήνης οἰκεύουσι. ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ οὐ κατήκουσι Ἀσβύσται τὸ γὰρ παρὰ θάλασσαν Κυρηναῖοι νέμονται. τεθριπποβάται δὲ οὐκ ἥκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα Λιβύων εἰσί, νόμους δὲ τοὺς πλεῦνας μιμέεσθαι ἐπιτηδεύουσι τοὺς Κυρηναίων.

170. The next people west of the Giligamae are the Asbystae, who live inland of Cyrene, not coming down to the coast, for that is Cyrenaeen territory. These drive four-horse chariots to a greater extent than any other Libyans; it is their practice to imitate most of the Cyrenaeen customs.

171 1 Ἀσβυστέων δὲ ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Αὐσχίσαι· οὗτοι ὑπὲρ Βάρκης οἰκέουσι, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατ' Εὐεσπερίδας. Αὐσχισέων δὲ κατὰ μέσον τῆς χώρας οἰκέουσι Βάκαλες, ὀλίγον ἔθνος, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατὰ Ταύχειρα πόλιν τῆς Βαρκαίης· νόμοισι δὲ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ὑπὲρ Κυρήνης.

171. Next west of the Asbystae are the Auschisae, dwelling inland of Barce, and touching the coast at Euhesperidae. About the middle of the land of the Auschisae lives the little tribe of the Bacales, whose territory comes down to the sea at Tauchira, a town in the Barcaean country; their customs are the same as those of the dwellers inland of Cyrene.

172 1 Αὐσχισέων δὲ τούτων τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἔχονται Νασαμῶνες, ἔθνος ἐὼν πολλόν, οἱ τὸ θέρος καταλείποντες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ τὰ πρόβατα ἀναβαίνουνσι ἐς Αὐγίλα χῶρον ὁπωριεῦντες τοὺς φοίνικας. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀμφιλαφές πεφύκασι, πάντες ἐόντες καρποφόροι. τοὺς δὲ ἀττελέβους ἐπεὰν θηρεύσωσι, αὐήναντες πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον καταλέουσι καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ γάλα ἐπιπάσσοντες πίνουσι. 2 γυναῖκας δὲ νομίζοντες πολλὰς ἔχειν ἕκαστος ἐπίκοινον αὐτέων τὴν μῆζιν ποιεῦνται τρόπῳ παραπλησίῳ τῷ καὶ Μασσαγέται· ἐπεὰν σκίπωνα προστήσωνται, μίσγονται. πρῶτον δὲ γαμέοντος Νασαμῶνος ἀνδρὸς νόμος ἐστὶ τὴν νύμφην νυκτὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διὰ πάντων διεξελθεῖν τῶν δαιτυμόνων μισγομένην· τῶν δὲ ὡς ἕκαστος οἱ μιχθῇ, διδοῖ δῶρον τὸ ἂν ἔχη φερόμενος ἐξ οἴκου. 3 ὀρκίοισι δὲ καὶ μαντικῇ χρέωνται τοιγῆδε· ὁμνύουσι μὲν τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι ἄνδρας δικαιοτάτους καὶ ἀρίστους λεγομένους γενέσθαι, τούτους, τῶν τύμβων ἀπτόμενοι· μαντεύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων φοιτέοντες τὰ σήματα, καὶ κατευξάμενοι ἐπικατακοιμῶνται· τὸ δ' ἂν ἴδῃ ἐν τῇ, ὅψι ἐνύπνιον, τούτῳ χρᾶται. 4 πίστισι δὲ τοιγῆσινδε χρέωνται· ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς διδοῖ πιεῖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἑτέρου πίνει. ἣν δὲ μὴ ἔχωσι ὕγρον μηδὲν, οἱ δὲ τῆς χαμᾶθεν σποδοῦ λαβόντες λείχουσι.

172. Next west of these Auschisae is the populous country of the Nasamones, who in summer leave their flocks by the sea and go up to the land called Augila to gather dates from the palm-trees that grow there in great abundance and all bear fruit. They hunt locusts, which they dry in the sun, and after grinding sprinkle them into milk and drink it. It is their custom for every man to have many wives;

their intercourse with women is promiscuous, as among the Massagetae; a staff is placed before the dwelling, and then they have intercourse. When a man of the Nasamones weds, on the first night the bride must by custom lie with each of the whole company in turn; and each man after intercourse gives her whatever gift he has brought from his house. As for their manner of swearing and divination, they lay their hands on the graves of the men reputed to have been the most just and good among them, and by these men they swear; their practice of divination is to go to the tombs of their ancestors, where after making prayers they lie down to sleep, and take for oracles whatever dreams come to them. They give and receive pledges by each drinking from the hand of the other party; and if they have nothing liquid, they take the dust of the earth and lick it up.

173 1 Νασαμῶσι δὲ προσόμουροι εἰσὶ Ψύλλοι. οὗτοι ἐξαπολώλασι τρώῳ τοιῷδε· ὁ νότος σφι πνέων ἄνεμος τὰ ἔλυτρα τῶν ὑδάτων ἐξηύνη, ἣ δὲ χώρα σφι ἅπασα ἐντὸς ἐοῦσα τῆς Σύρτιος ἦν ἄνυδρος. οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι κοινῷ λόγῳ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τὸν νότον (λέγω δὲ ταῦτα τὰ λέγουσι Λίβυες), καὶ ἐπεῖτε ἐγίνοντο ἐν τῇ ψάμμῳ, πνεύσας ὁ νότος κατέχωσε σφέας. ἐξαπολομένων δὲ τούτων ἔχουσι τὴν χώραν οἱ Νασαμῶνες.

173. On the borders of the Nasamones is the country of the Psylli, who perished in this way: the force of the south wind dried up their water-tanks, and all their country, lying in the region of the Syrtis, was waterless. After deliberating together, they marched south (I tell the story as it is told by the Libyans), and when they came into the sandy desert, a strong south wind buried them. So they perished utterly, and the Nasamones have their country.

174 1 Τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον ἐν τῇ, θηριώδει οἰκέουσι Γαράμαντες, οἱ πάντα ἄνθρωπον φεύγουσι καὶ παντὸς ὁμιλίην, καὶ οὔτε ὄπλον ἐκτέεται ἀρήιον οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀμύνεσθαι ἐπιστέεται.

174. Inland of these to the south, the Garamantes live in wild beast country. They shun the sight and fellowship of men, and have no weapons of war, nor know how to defend themselves.

175 1 Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νασαμώνων· τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Μάκαι, οἱ λόφους κείρονται,

τὸ μὲν μέσον τῶν τριχῶν ἀνιέντες αὔξεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κείροντες ἐν χροῖ, ἐς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον στρουθῶν καταγαίων δορὰς φορέουσι προβλήματα. 2 διὰ δὲ αὐτῶν Κῖνυψ ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐκ λόφου καλυμένου Χαρίτων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ. ὁ δὲ λόφος οὗτος ὁ Χαρίτων δασὺς ἰδησι ἐστί, εὐούσης τῆς ἄλλης τῆς προκαταλεχθείσης Λιβύης ψιλῆς· ἀπὸ θαλάσσης δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν στάδιοι διηκόσιοι εἰσί.

175. These live inland of the Nasamones; the neighboring seaboard to the west is the country of the Macae, who shave their hair to a crest, leaving that on the top of their heads to grow and shaving clean off what is on either side; in war they carry shields made of ostrich skins. The Cinyps river empties into their sea through their country from a hill called the Hill of the Graces. This hill is thickly wooded, while the rest of Libya of which I have spoken is bare of trees; it is twenty-five miles from the sea.

176 1 Μακέων δὲ τούτων ἐχόμενοι Γινδᾶνες εἰσί, τῶν αἱ γυναῖκες περισφύρια δερμάτων πολλὰ ἐκάστη φορέει κατὰ τοιόνδε τι, ὡς λέγεται· κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον μιχθέντα περισφύριον περιδέεται· ἥ δὲ ἂν πλεῖστα ἔχη, αὕτη ἀρίστη δέδοκται εἶναι ὡς ὑπὸ πλείστων ἀνδρῶν φιληθεῖσα.

176. Next to these Macae are the Gindanes, where every woman wears many leather anklets, because (so it is said) she puts on an anklet for every man with whom she has had intercourse; and she who wears the most is reputed to be the best, because she has been loved by the most men.

177 1 Ἀκτὴν δὲ προέχουσιν ἐς τὸν πόντον τούτων τῶν Γινδάνων νέμονται Λωτοφάγοι, οἱ τὸν καρπὸν μούνον τοῦ λωτοῦ τρώγοντες ζῶουσι. ὁ δὲ τοῦ λωτοῦ καρπὸς ἐστὶ μέγαθος ὅσον τε τῆς σχίνου, γλυκύτητα δὲ τοῦ φοίνικος τῷ καρπῷ προσείκελος. ποιεῦνται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ τούτου οἱ Λωτοφάγοι καὶ οἶνον.

177. There is a headland jutting out into the sea from the land of the Gindanes; on it live the Lotus Eaters, whose only fare is the lotus. The lotus fruit is the size of a mastich-berry: it has a sweet taste like the fruit of a date-palm; the Lotus Eaters not only eat it, but make wine of it.

178 1 Λωτοφάγων δὲ τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχονται Μάχλυνες, τῷ

λωτῷ μὲν καὶ οὗτοι χρεώμενοι, ἀτὰρ ἦσσαν γε τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, κατήκουσι δὲ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν μέγαν τῷ οὐνομα Τρίτων ἐστί· ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ οὗτος ἐς λίμνην μεγάλην Τριτωνίδα. ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ, νῆσος ἐνι τῇ, οὐνομα Φλά. ταύτην δὲ τὴν νῆσον Λακεδαιμονίοισι φασι λόγιον εἶναι κτίσαι.

178. Next to these along the coast are the Machlyes, who also use the lotus, but less than the aforesaid people. Their country reaches to a great river called the Triton, which empties into the great Tritonian lake, in which is an island called Phla. It is said that the Lacedaemonians were told by an oracle to plant a settlement on this island.

179 1 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁδε λόγος λεγόμενος. Ἰήσωνα, ἐπεῖτε οἱ ἐξεργάσθη ὑπὸ τῷ Πηλίῳ ἢ Ἀργῷ, ἐσθέμενον ἐς αὐτὴν ἄλλην τε ἐκατόμβην καὶ δὴ καὶ τρίποδα χάλκεον περιπλῶειν Πελοπόννησον, βουλόμενον ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπικέσθαι. 2 καὶ μιν, ὥς πλέοντα γενέσθαι κατὰ Μαλέην, ὑπολαβεῖν ἄνεμον βορέην καὶ ἀποφέρειν πρὸς τὴν Λιβύην· πρὶν δὲ κατιδέσθαι γῆν, ἐν τοῖσι βράχεσι γενέσθαι λίμνης τῆς Τριτωνίδος. καὶ οἱ ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἐξαγωγὴν λόγος ἐστὶ φανῆναι Τρίτωνα καὶ κελεύειν τὸν Ἰήσωνα ἑωυτῷ δοῦναι τὸν τρίποδα, φάμενόν σφι καὶ τὸν πόρον δέξειν καὶ ἀπήμονας ἀποστελέειν. 3 πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἰήσονος, οὕτω δὴ τὸν τε διέκπλοον τῶν βραχέων δεικνύειν τὸν Τρίτωνα σφι καὶ τὸν τρίποδα θεῖναι ἐν τῷ ἑωυτοῦ ἱρῷ, ἐπιθεσπίσαντά τε τῷ τρίποδι καὶ τοῖσι σὺν Ἰήσωνι σημήναντα τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὥς ἐπεὰν τὸν τρίποδα κομίσηται τῶν ἐγγόνων τις τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ συμπλεόντων, τότε ἐκατὸν πόλιας οἰκῆσαι περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην Ἑλληνίδας πᾶσαν εἶναι ἀνάγκην. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους τῶν Λιβύων κρύψαι τὸν τρίποδα.

179. The following story is also told: it is said that Jason, when the Argo had been built at the foot of Pelion, put aboard besides a hecatomb a bronze tripod, and set out to sail around the Peloponnese, to go to Delphi. But when he was off Malea, a north wind caught and carried him away to Libya; and before he saw land, he came into the shallows of the Tritonian lake. There, while he could find no way out yet, Triton (the story goes) appeared to him and told Jason to give him the tripod, promising to show the sailors the channel and send them on their way unharmed. Jason did, and Triton then showed

them the channel out of the shallows and set the tripod in his own temple; but first he prophesied over it, declaring the whole matter to Jason's comrades: namely, that should any descendant of the Argo's crew take away the tripod, then a hundred Greek cities would be founded on the shores of the Tritonian lake. Hearing this (it is said) the Libyan people of the country hid the tripod.

180 1 Τούτων δὲ ἔχοντας τῶν Μαχλύων Αὐσέες· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Μάχλυες πέριξ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην οἰκέουσι, τὸ μέσον δὲ σφι οὐρίζει ὁ Τρίτων. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μάχλυες τὰ ὀπίσω κομῶσι τῆς κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ Αὐσέες τὰ ἔμπροσθε. 2 ὁρτῇ δὲ ἐνιαυσίῃ Ἀθηναίης αἱ παρθένοι αὐτῶν δίχα διαστᾶσαι μάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλας λίθοις τε καὶ ξύλοις, τῷ αὐθιγενεὶ θεῷ λέγουσαι τὰ πάτρια ἀποτελέειν, τὴν Ἀθηναίην καλέομεν. τὰς δὲ ἀποθνησκούσας τῶν παρθένων ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων ψευδοπαρθένους καλέουσι. 3 πρὶν δὲ ἀνεῖναι αὐτὰς μάχεσθαι, τάδε ποιεῦσι κοινῇ. παρθένον τὴν καλλιστεύουσαν ἐκάστοτε κοσμήσαντες κυνέη τε Κορινθίῃ καὶ πανοπλίῃ Ἑλληνικῇ καὶ ἐπ' ἄρμα ἀναβιβάσαντες περιάγουσι τὴν λίμνην κύκλῳ. 4 ὁτέοις δὲ τὸ πάλαί ἐκόσμεον τὰς παρθένους πρὶν ἢ σφι Ἑλληνας παροικισθῆναι, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκέω δ' ὧν Αἰγυπτίοις ὅπλοις κοσμέεσθαι αὐτὰς· ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ κράνος φημὶ ἀπῖχθαι ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας. 5 τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναίην φασὶ Ποσειδέωνος εἶναι θυγατέρα καὶ τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης, καὶ μιν μεμφεῖσάν τι τῷ πατρὶ δοῦναι ἔωσθαι τῷ Δίῃ, τὸν δὲ Δία ἔωστοῦ μιν ποιήσασθαι θυγατέρα. ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι, μῖξιν δὲ ἐπικοινωνοῦν τῶν γυναικῶν ποιεόνται, οὔτε συνοικέοντες κτηνηδόν τε μισγόμενοι. 6 ἐπεὰν δὲ γυναικὶ τὸ παιδίον ἀδρὸν γένηται, συμφοιτῶσι ἐς τὸν οἶον οἱ ἄνδρες τρίτου μηνός, καὶ τῷ ἂν οἶκῳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ παιδίον, τούτου παῖς νομίζεται.

180. Next to these Machlyes are the Auseans; these and the Machlyes, separated by the Triton, live on the shores of the Tritonian lake. The Machlyes wear their hair long behind, the Auseans in front. They celebrate a yearly festival of Athena, where their maidens are separated into two bands and fight each other with stones and sticks, thus (they say) honoring in the way of their ancestors that native goddess whom we call Athena. Maidens who die of their wounds are called false virgins. Before the girls are set fighting, the whole people choose the fairest maid, and arm her with a Corinthian helmet and

Greek panoply, to be then mounted on a chariot and drawn all along the lake shore. With what armor they equipped their maidens before Greeks came to live near them, I cannot say; but I suppose the armor was Egyptian; for I maintain that the Greeks took their shield and helmet from Egypt. As for Athena, they say that she was daughter of Poseidon and the Tritonian lake, and that, being for some reason angry at her father, she gave herself to Zeus, who made her his own daughter. Such is their tale. The intercourse of men and women there is promiscuous; they do not cohabit but have intercourse like cattle. When a woman's child is well grown, the men assemble within three months and the child is adjudged to be that man's whom it is most like.

181 1 Οὔτοι μὲν οἱ παραθαλάσσιοι τῶν νομάδων Λιβύων εἰρέεται, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἢ θηριώδης ἐστὶ Λιβύη, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς θηριώδους ὄφρῃ ψάμμης κατῆκει παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ Θηβέων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐπ' Ἡρακλέας στήλας. 2 ἐν δὲ τῇ ὄφρῃ ταύτῃ μάλιστα διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ ἄλός ἐστι τρῦφεα κατὰ χόνδρους μεγάλους ἐν κολωνοῖσι, καὶ ἐν κορυφῇσι ἐκάστου τοῦ κολωνοῦ ἀνακοντίζει ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ἄλός ὕδωρ ψυχρόν καὶ γλυκύ, περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἄνθρωποι οἰκεῖουσιν ἔσχατοι πρὸς τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς θηριώδους, πρῶτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Θηβέων διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ Ἀμμώνιοι, ἔχοντες τὸ ἶρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θηβαιοῦ Διός· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Θήβῃσι, ὥς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται μοι, κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Διὸς τῶγαλμα ἐστὶ. 3 τυγχάνει δὲ καὶ ἄλλο σφι ὕδωρ κρηναῖον ἐὼν, τὸ τὸν μὲν ὄρθρον γίνεται χλιαρόν, ἀγορῆς δὲ πληθυσίας ψυχρότερον, μεσαμβρίῃ τε ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ κάρτα γίνεται ψυχρόν· 4 τηνικαῦτα δὲ ἄρδουσι τοὺς κήπους· ἀποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρης ὑπίεται τοῦ ψυχροῦ, ἐς οὗ δύεται τε ὁ ἥλιος καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ γίνεται χλιαρόν. ἐπὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἰὸν ἐς τὸ θερμὸν ἐς μέσας νύκτας πελάζει, τηνικαῦτα δὲ ζέει ἀμβολάδην· παρέρχονται τε μέσαι νύκτες καὶ ψύχεται μέχρι ἐς ἡῶ. ἐπὶ κλησὶν δὲ αὕτη ἡ κρήνη καλέεται ἡλίου.

181. I have now described all the nomadic Libyans who live on the coast. Farther inland than these is that Libyan country which is haunted by wild beasts, and beyond this wild beasts' haunt runs a ridge of sand that stretches from Thebes of Egypt to the Pillars of Heracles. At intervals of about ten days' journey along this ridge

there are masses of great lumps of salt in hills; on the top of every hill, a fountain of cold sweet water shoots up from the midst of the salt; men live around it who are farthest away toward the desert and inland from the wild beasts' country. The first on the journey from Thebes, ten days distant from there, are the Ammonians, who follow the worship of the Zeus of Thebes; for, as I have said before, the image of Zeus at Thebes has the head of a ram. They have another spring of water besides, which is warm at dawn, and colder at market-time, and very cold at noon; and it is then that they water their gardens; as the day declines, the coldness abates, until at sunset the water grows warm. It becomes ever hotter and hotter until midnight, and then it boils and bubbles; after midnight it becomes ever cooler until dawn. This spring is called the Spring of the Sun.

182 1 Μετὰ δὲ Ἀμμωνίους διὰ τῆς ὀφρύης τῆς ψάμμου δι' ἀλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ κολωνός τε ἄλός ἐστι ὁμοίος τῷ Ἀμμωνίῳ καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι· τῷ δὲ χώρῳ τούτῳ οὖνομα Αὐγίλα ἐστί. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χώρον οἱ Νασαμῶνες ὁπωριεῦντες τοὺς φοίνικας φοιτῶσι.

182. At a distance of ten days' journey again from the Ammonians along the sandy ridge, there is a hill of salt like that of the Ammonians, and springs of water, where men live; this place is called Augila; it is to this that the Nasamones come to gather palm-fruit.

183 1 Ἀπὸ δὲ Αὐγίλων διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ἀλλέων ὁδοῦ ἕτερος ἄλός κολωνός καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ φοίνικες καρποφόροι πολλοί, κατὰ περ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἐτέροισι· καὶ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέουσι ἐν αὐτῷ τοῖσι οὖνομα Γαράμαντες ἐστί, ἔθνος μέγα ἰσχυρῶς, οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλα γῆν ἐπιφορέοντες οὕτω σπεύρουσι. 2 συντομώτατον δ' ἐστί ἐς τοὺς Λωτοφάγους, ἐκ τῶν τριήκοντα ἡμερέων ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁδός ἐστι· ἐν τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ὀπισθονόμοι βόες γίνονται· ὀπισθονόμοι δὲ διὰ τόδε εἰσι. τὰ κέρεια ἔχουσι κεκυφότα ἐς τὸ ἔμπροσθε· 3 διὰ τοῦτο ὀπίσω ἀναχωρέοντες νέμονται· ἐς γὰρ τὸ ἔμπροσθε οὐκ οἷοι τε εἰσὶ προεμβαλλόντων ἐς τὴν γῆν τῶν κερέων. ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν διαφέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων βοῶν ὅτι μὴ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ δέρμα ἐς παχύτητά τε καὶ τριῖνιν. 4 οἱ Γαράμαντες δὴ οὗτοι τοὺς τρωγλοδύτας Αἰθίοπας θηρεύουσι τοῖσι τεθρίπποισι· οἱ γὰρ τρωγλοδύται Αἰθίοπες πόδας

τάχιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων εἰσὶ τῶν ἡμεῖς περὶ λόγους ἀποφερομένους ἀκούομεν. σιτέονται δὲ οἱ τραγλοδύται ὄφεις καὶ σαύρους καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἐρπετῶν· γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐδεμιῇ ἄλλῃ παρομοίῃν νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τετρίγασι κατὰ περ αἱ νυκτερίδες.

183. After ten days' journey again from Augila there is yet another hill of salt and springs of water and many fruit-bearing palms, as at the other places; men live there called Garamantes, an exceedingly great nation, who sow in earth which they have laid on the salt. The shortest way to the Lotus Eaters' country is from here, thirty days' journey distant. Among the Garamantes are the cattle that go backward as they graze, the reason being that their horns curve forward; therefore, not being able to go forward, since the horns would stick in the ground, they walk backward grazing. Otherwise, they are like other cattle, except that their hide is thicker and harder to the touch. These Garamantes go in their four-horse chariots chasing the cave-dwelling Ethiopians: for the Ethiopian cave-dwellers are swifter of foot than any men of whom tales are brought to us. They live on snakes and lizards and such-like creeping things. Their speech is like no other in the world: it is like the squeaking of bats.

184 1 Ἀπὸ δὲ Γαραμάντων δι' ἀλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ ἄλλος ἄλός τε κολωνὸς καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι τοῖσι οὖνομα ἐστὶ Ἀτάραντες, οἱ ἀνώνυμοι εἰσὶ μῦθοι ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· ἀλέσι μὲν γάρ σφι ἐστὶ Ἀτάραντες οὖνομα, ἐνὶ δὲ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν οὖνομα οὐδὲν κέεται. 2 οὗτοι τῷ ἡλίῳ ὑπερβάλλοντι καταρῶνται καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ λοιδορεῖνται, ὅτι σφέας καίων ἐπιτρίβει, αὐτούς τε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. 3 μετὰ δὲ δι' ἀλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ἄλλος κολωνὸς ἄλός καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι. ἔχεται δὲ τοῦ ἄλός Τούτου ὄρος τῷ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Ἄτλας, ἔστι δὲ στεινὸν καὶ κυκλοτερές πάντη, ὑψηλὸν δὲ οὕτω δὴ τι λέγεται ὥς τὰς κορυφὰς αὐτοῦ οὐκ οἶα τε εἶναι ἰδέσθαι. οὐδέποτε γὰρ αὐτὰς ἀπολείπειν νέφεα οὔτε θέρεος οὔτε χειμῶνος. τοῦτο τὸν κίονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι εἶναι. 4 ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ ὄρεος οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι ἐπώνυμοι ἐγένοντο· καλέονται γὰρ δὴ Ἄτλαντες. λέγονται δὲ οὔτε ἐμψυχον οὐδὲν σιτέεσθαι οὔτε ἐνύπνια ὁρᾶν.

184. Another ten days' journey from the Garamantes there is again a salt hill and water, where men live called Atarantes. These are the only men whom we know who have no names; for the whole people are called Atarantes, but no man has a name of his own. When the sun is high, they curse and very foully revile him, because his burning heat afflicts their people and their land. After another ten days' journey there is again a hill of salt, and water, and men living there. Near to this salt is a mountain called Atlas, whose shape is slender and conical; and it is said to be so high that its heights cannot be seen, for clouds are always on them winter and summer. The people of the country call it the pillar of heaven. These men get their name, which is Atlantes, from this mountain. It is said that they eat no living creature, and see no dreams in their sleep.

185 1 Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀτλάντων τούτων ἔχω τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν ἐν τῇ ὄφρῳ κατοικημένων καταλέξαι, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτων οὐκέτι. διήκει δ' ὧν ἡ ὄφρυς μέχρι Ἡρακλέων στηλέων καὶ τὸ ἔξω τουτέων. 2 ἔστι δὲ ἄλός τε μέταλλον ἐν αὐτῇ διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέοντες. τὰ δὲ οἰκία τούτοις πᾶσι ἐκ τῶν ἀλίνων χόνδρων οἰκοδομέαται. ταῦτα γὰρ ἤδη τῆς Λιβύης ἄνομβρα ἐστί· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἡδυνέατο μένειν οἱ τοῖχοι ἐόντες ἄλινοι, εἰ ὕε. 3 ὁ δὲ ἄλς αὐτόθι καὶ λευκὸς καὶ πορφύρεος τὸ εἶδος ὀρύσσεται. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ὄφρυς τὸ πρὸς νότου καὶ ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς Λιβύης ἔρημος καὶ ἄνυδρος καὶ ἄθηρος καὶ ἄνομβρος καὶ ἄξυλος ἐστὶ ἡ χώρα, καὶ ἱκμάδος ἐστὶ ἐν αὐτῇ οὐδέν.

185. I know and can tell the names of all the peoples that live on the ridge as far as the Atlantes, but no farther than that. But I know this, that the ridge reaches as far as the Pillars of Heracles and beyond them. There is a mine of salt on it every ten days' journey, and men live there. Their houses are all built of blocks of the salt; for these are parts of Libya where no rain falls; for the walls, being of salt, could not stand firm if there were rain. The salt there is both white and purple. Beyond this ridge, the southern and inland parts of Libya are desolate and waterless: there are no wild beasts, no rain, no forests; this region is wholly without moisture.

186 1 Οὕτω μὲν μέχρι τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου νομάδες εἰσὶ κρεοφάγοι τε καὶ γαλακτοπόται Λίβυες, καὶ θηλέων τε

βοῶν οὐτι γεύόμενοι, διότι περ οὐδὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ὅς οὐ τρέφοντες. 2 βοῶν μὲν νυν θηλέων οὐδ' αἱ Κυρηναίων γυναῖκες δικαιούσι πατέεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἴσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νηστηίας αὐτῇ καὶ ὀρτὰς ἐπιτελέουσι. αἱ δὲ τῶν Βαρκαίων γυναῖκες οὐδὲ ὕων πρὸς τῇσι βουσί γεύονται.

186. Thus from Egypt to the Tritonian lake, the Libyans are nomads that eat meat and drink milk; for the same reason as the Egyptians too profess, they will not touch the flesh of cows; and they rear no swine. The women of Cyrene, too, consider it wrong to eat cows' flesh, because of the Isis of Egypt; and they even honor her with fasts and festivals; and the Barcaean women refuse to eat swine too, as well as cows.

187 1 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἔχει. τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρης τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης οὐκέτι νομάδες εἰσὶ Λίβυες οὐδὲ νόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρεώμενοι, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰ παιδία ποιεῦντες οἷον τι καὶ οἱ νομάδες ἐώθασι ποιέειν. 2 οἱ γὰρ δὴ τῶν Λιβύων νομάδες, εἰ μὲν πάντες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ποιεῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν συχνοὶ τοιάδε· τῶν παιδίων τῶν σφετέρων, ἐπεὰν τετραέτεα γένηται, οἷσπῃ προβάτων καίουσι τὰς ἐν τῇσι κορυφῇσι φλέβας, μετεξέτεροι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς ἐν τοῖσι κροτάφοισι, τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὥς μὴ σφεας ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον καταρρέον φλέγμα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς δηλέηται. 3 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σφέας λέγουσι εἶναι ὑγιηροτάτους· εἰσὶ γὰρ ὥς ἀληθέως οἱ Λίβυες ἀνθρώπων πάντων ὑγιηρότατοι τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, εἰ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, ὑγιηρότατοι δ' ὧν εἰσὶ. ἦν δὲ καίουσι τὰ παιδία σπασμὸς ἐπιγένηται, ἐξεύρηται σφι ἄκος· τράγου γὰρ οὖρον σπείσαντες ῥύονται σφέα. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Λίβυες.

187. Thus it is with this region. But west of the Tritonian lake the Libyans are not nomads; they do not follow the same customs, or treat their children as the nomads do. For the practice of many Libyan nomads (I cannot say absolutely whether it is the practice of all) is to take their children when four years old, and to burn the veins of their scalps or sometimes of their temples with grease of sheep's wool, so that the children may never afterward be afflicted by phlegm draining from the head. They say that this makes their children quite healthy. In fact, the Libyans are the healthiest of all men whom we know; whether it is because of this practice, I cannot

say absolutely; but they certainly are healthy. When the children smart from the pain of the burning, the Libyans have found a remedy; they soothe them by applications of goats' urine. This is what the Libyans themselves say.

188 1 Θυσίαι δὲ τοῖσι νομάσι εἰσι αἶδε. ἐπεὰν τοῦ ὠτὸς ἀπάρξωνται τοῦ κτήneos, ῥιπτέουσι ὑπὲρ τὸν δόμον, τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀποστρέφουσι τὸν αὐχένα αὐτοῦ· θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ μούνοισι. τοῦτοισι μὲν νυν πάντες Λίβυες θύουσι, ἀτὰρ οἱ περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην νέμοντες τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ μάλιστα, μετὰ δὲ τῷ Τρίτῳ καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέωνι.

188. The nomads' way of sacrificing is to cut a piece from the victim's ear for first-fruits and throw it over the house; then they wring the victim's neck. They sacrifice to no gods except the sun and moon; that is, this is the practice of the whole nation; but the dwellers by the Tritonian lake sacrifice to Athena chiefly, and next to Triton and Poseidon.

189 1 Τὴν δὲ ἄρα ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὰς αἰγίδας τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐκ τῶν Λιβυσσέων ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες· πλὴν γὰρ ἢ ὅτι σκυτίνη ἢ ἐσθῆς τῶν Λιβυσσέων ἐστὶ καὶ οἱ θύσανοι οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰγίδων αὐτῇσι οὐκ ὄφινες εἰσι ἀλλὰ ἱμάντινοι, τά γε ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ τὸντὸ ἔσταλται. 2 καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα κατηγορεῖ ὅτι ἐκ Λιβύης ἦκει ἢ στολή τῶν Παλλαδίων· αἰγέας γὰρ περιβάλλονται ψιλὰς περὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα θυσανωτάς αἱ Λίβυσσαι κεχριμένας ἐρευθεδάνῳ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν αἰγέων τουτέων αἰγίδας οἱ Ἕλληνες μετωνόμασαν. 3 δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ὀλολυγὴ ἐν ἱροῖσι ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον γενέσθαι· κάρτα γὰρ ταύτῃ χρέωνται καλῶς αἱ Λίβυσσαι. καὶ τέσσερας ἵππους συζευγνύει παρὰ Λιβύων οἱ Ἕλληνες μεμαθήκασι.

189. It would seem that the robe and aegis of the images of Athena were copied by the Greeks from the Libyan women; for except that Libyan women dress in leather, and that the tassels of their goatskin cloaks are not snakes but thongs of hide, in everything else their equipment is the same. And in fact, the very name betrays that the attire of the statues of Pallas has come from Libya; for Libyan women wear the hairless tasselled "aegea" over their dress, colored with madder, and the Greeks have changed the name of these aegeae into their "aegides." Furthermore, in my opinion the

ceremonial chant first originated in Libya: for the women of that country chant very tunefully. And it is from the Libyans that the Greeks have learned to drive four-horse chariots.

190 1 Θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας οἱ νομάδες κατὰ περ οἱ Ἑλληνες, πλὴν Νασαμώνων· οὗτοι δὲ κατημένους θάπτουσι, φυλάσσοντες, ἐπεὰν ἀπιῇ τὴν ψυχὴν, ὅκως μιν κατίσουσι μηδὲ ὕπτιος ἀποθανέεται. οἰκήματα δὲ σύμπηκτα ἐξ ἀνθερίκων ἐνείρμενων περὶ σχοίνους ἐστί, καὶ ταῦτα περιφορητά. νόμοισι μὲν τοιοῦτοισι οὗτοι χρέωνται.

190. The dead are buried by the nomads in Greek fashion, except by the Nasamones. They bury their dead sitting, being careful to make the dying man sit when he releases his spirit, and not die lying supine. Their dwellings are constructed of asphodel stalks twined about reeds; they can be carried here and there. Such are the Libyan customs.

191 1 Τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ Αὐσέων ἔχονται ἀροτῆρες ἤδη Λίβυες καὶ οἰκίας νομίζοντες ἐκτῆσθαι, τοῖσι οὐνομα κέεται Μάξυες. οἱ τὰ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῶν κεφαλῶν κομῶσι, τὰ δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ κείρουσι, τὸ δὲ σῶμα χρίονται μίλτῳ. φασὶ δὲ οὗτοι εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀνδρῶν. 2 ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ τῆς Λιβύης ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέρην πολλῶ θηριωδεστέρα τε καὶ δασυτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν νομάδων χώρας. 3 ἡ μὲν γὰρ δὴ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῆς Λιβύης, τὴν οἱ νομάδες νέμονται, ἐστὶ ταπεινὴ τε καὶ ψαμμώδης μέχρι τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἡ τῶν ἀροτήρων ὀρεινὴ τε κάρτα καὶ δασέα καὶ θηριώδης· 4 καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄφεις οἱ ὑπερμεγάθεις καὶ οἱ λέοντες κατὰ τούτους εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντές τε καὶ ἄρκτοι καὶ ἀσπίδες τε καὶ ὄνοι οἱ τὰ κέρεια ἔχοντες καὶ οἱ κυνοκέφαλοι καὶ οἱ ἀκέφαλοι οἱ ἐν τοῖσι στήθεσι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες, ὥς δὴ λέγονται γε ὑπὸ Λιβύων, καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες ἄγριαι, καὶ ἄλλα πλήθει πολλὰ θηρία ἀκατάγευστα.

191. West of the Triton river and next to the Aseans begins the country of Libyans who cultivate the soil and possess houses; they are called Maxyes; they wear their hair long on the right side of their heads and shave the left, and they paint their bodies with vermilion. These claim descent from the men who came from Troy. Their country, and the rest of the western part of Libya, is much fuller of

wild beasts and more wooded than the country of the nomads. For the eastern region of Libya, which the nomads inhabit, is low-lying and sandy as far as the Triton river; but the land west of this, where the farmers live, is exceedingly mountainous and wooded and full of wild beasts. In that country are the huge snakes and the lions, and the elephants and bears and asps, the horned asses, the dog-headed and the headless men that have their eyes in their chests, as the Libyans say, and the wild men and women, besides many other creatures not fabulous.

192 1 Κατὰ τοὺς νομάδας δὲ ἐστὶ τούτων οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τοιάδε, πύγαργοι καὶ ζορκάδες καὶ βουβάλιες καὶ ὄνοι, οὐκ οἱ τὰ κέρα ἔχοντες ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄποτοι (οὐ γὰρ δὴ πίνουσι), καὶ ὄρυες, τῶν τὰ κέρα τοῖσι φοίνιξι οἱ πήχες ποιεῦνται (μέγαθος δὲ τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο κατὰ βούν ἐστι), 2 καὶ βασσάρια καὶ ὕαινοι καὶ ὕστριχες καὶ κριοὶ ἄγριοι καὶ δίκτυες καὶ θῶες καὶ πάνθηρες καὶ βόρυες, καὶ κροκόδειλοι ὅσον τε τριπήχες χερσαῖοι, τῇσι σαύρησι ἐμπερέστατοι, καὶ στρουθοὶ κατάγαιοι, καὶ ὄφεις μικροί, κέρας ἔν ἑκαστος ἔχοντες· ταυτὰ τε δὴ αὐτόθι ἐστὶ θηρία καὶ τὰ περ τῇ ἄλλῃ, πλὴν ἐλάφου τε καὶ ὕος ἀγρίου· ἔλαφος δὲ καὶ ὕς ἄγριος ἐν Λιβύῃ πάνπαν οὐκ ἔστι. 3 μυῶν δὲ γένεα τριζὰ αὐτόθι ἔστι· οἱ μὲν δίποδες καλέονται, οἱ δὲ ζεγέριες (τὸ δὲ οὖνομα τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν Λιβυστικόν, δύναται δὲ κατ' Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν βουνοί), οἱ δὲ ἐχινέες. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ γαλαῖ ἐν τῷ σιλφίῳ γινόμεναι τῇσι Ταρτησσίῃσι ὁμοιόταται. τοσαῦτα μὲν νυν θηρία ἢ τῶν νομάδων Λιβύων γῇ ἔχει, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἱστορέοντες ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἰοί τε ἐγενόμεθα ἐξικέσθαι.

192. But in the nomads' country there are none of these; but there are others, white-rumped antelopes, gazelles, hartebeest, asses, not the horned asses, but those that are called "undrinking" (for indeed they never drink), the oryx, whose horns are made the horns of the lyre (this is a beast the size of a bull), foxes, hyenas, porcupines, wild rams, the dictys, jackals, panthers, the borys, land crocodiles sixty inches long, very like lizards, and ostriches and little one-horned serpents; all these beasts besides those that are elsewhere too, except deer and wild boar; of these two kinds there are none at all in Libya. There are in this country three kinds of mice, the two-footed, the "zegeries" (this is a Libyan word, meaning in our language "hills"),

and the bristly-haired, as they are called. There are also weasels found in the silphium, very like to the weasels of Tartessus. So many are the wild creatures of the nomads' country, as far as by our utmost enquiry we have been able to learn.

193 1 Μαξύων δὲ Λιβύων Ζαύηκες ἔχονται, τοῖσι αἱ γυναῖκες ἥνιοχεῦσι τὰ ἄρματα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον.

193. Next to the Maxyes of Libya are the Zauokes, whose women drive their chariots to war.

194 1 Τούτων δὲ Γύζαντες ἔχονται, ἐν τοῖσι μέλι πολλὸν μὲν μέλισσαι κατεργάζονται, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλέον λέγεται δημοεργοὺς ἄνδρας ποιεῖν. μιλοῦνται δ' ὧν πάντες οὔτοι καὶ πιθηκοφαγέουσι. οἱ δὲ σφι ἄφθονοι ὅσοι ἐν τοῖσι ὄρεσι γίνονται.

194. Next to these are the Gyzantes, where much honey is made by bees, and much more yet (so it is said) by craftsmen. It is certain that they all paint themselves with vermilion and eat apes, with which their mountains swarm.

195 1 Κατὰ τούτους δὲ λέγουσι Καρχηδόνιοι κεῖσθαι νῆσον τῇ οὔνομα εἶναι Κύρανιν, μῆκος μὲν διηκοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ στερινήν, διαβατὸν ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου, ἐλαιέων τε μεστήν καὶ ἀμπέλων. 2 λίμνην δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ εἶναι, ἐκ τῆς αἰ παρθένου τῶν ἐπιχωρίων περοῖσι ὀρνίθων κεχριμένοισι πίσση ἐκ τῆς ἰλύος ψῆγμα ἀναφέρουσι χρυσοῦ. ταῦτα εἰ μὲν ἔστι ἀληθές οὐκ οἶδα, τὰ δὲ λέγεται γράφω· εἴη δ' ἂν πᾶν, ὅκου καὶ ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ἐκ λίμνης καὶ ὕδατος πίσσαν ἀναφερομένην αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ὤρων. 3 εἰσὶ μὲν καὶ πλεῦνες αἱ λίμναι αὐτόθι, ἡ δ' ὧν μεγίστη αὐτέων ἐβδομήκοντα ποδῶν πάντη, βάθος δὲ διόργυιος ἐστί· ἐς ταύτην κοντὸν κατιεῖσι ἐπ' ἄκρῳ μυρσίνην προσδῆσαντες καὶ ἔπειτα ἀναφέρουσι τῇ μυρσίνῃ πίσσαν, ὁδμὴν μὲν ἔχουσαν ἀσφάλτου, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς Πιερικῆς πίσσης ἀμείνω. ἐσχέουσι δὲ ἐς λάκκον ὀρωρυγμένον ἀγχοῦ τῆς λίμνης. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀθροίσωσι συγνήν, οὕτω ἐς τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου καταχέουσι. 4 ὁ τι δ' ἂν ἐσπέσῃ ἐς τὴν λίμνην, ὑπὸ γῆν ἰὸν ἀναφαίνεται ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ· ἡ δὲ ἀπέχει ὥς τέσσερα στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης. οὕτω ὧν καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου τῆς ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ κειμένης οἰκότα ἐστὶ ἀληθείη.

195. Off their coast (the Carthaginians say) lies an island called Cyrauis, twenty-five miles long and narrow across, accessible from

the mainland; it is full of olives and vines. It is said that there is a lake on this island from which the maidens of the country draw gold-dust out of the mud on feathers smeared with pitch. I do not know whether this is true; I just write what is said. But all things are possible; for I myself saw pitch drawn from the water of a pool in Zacynthus. The pools there are numerous; the greatest of them is seventy feet long and broad, and twelve feet deep. Into this they drop a pole with a myrtle branch fastened to its end, and bring up pitch on the myrtle, smelling like asphalt, and for the rest better than the pitch of Pieria. Then they pour it into a pit that they have dug near the pool; and when a fair amount is collected there, they fill their vessels from the pit. Whatever falls into the pool is carried under the ground and appears again in the sea, which is about a half a mile distant from the pool. So, then, the story that comes from the island lying off the Libyan coast is like the truth, too.

196 1 Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τάδε Καρχηδόνιοι. εἶναι τῆς Λιβύης χῶρόν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἔξω Πρακλέων στηλέων κατοικημένους· ἐς τοὺς ἐπεὰν ἀπίκωνται καὶ ἐξέλωνται τὰ φορτία, θέντες αὐτὰ ἐπεξῆς παρὰ τὴν κυματωγὴν, ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα τύφειν καπνόν. τοὺς δ' ἐπιχωρίους ἰδομένους τὸν καπνὸν ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἔπειτα ἀντὶ τῶν φορτίων χρυσὸν τιθέναι καὶ ἐξαναχωρέειν πρόσω ἀπὸ τῶν φορτίων. 2 τοὺς δὲ Καρχηδονίους ἐκβάντας σκέπτεσθαι, καὶ ἦν μὲν φαίνεται σφι ἄξιος ὁ χρυσὸς τῶν φορτίων, ἀνελόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσονται, ἦν δὲ μὴ ἄξιος, ἐσβάντες ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ πλοῖα κατέαται· οἱ δὲ προσελθόντες ἄλλον πρὸς ὧν ἔθηκαν χρυσόν, ἐς οὗ ἂν πείθωσι. ἀδικεῖν δὲ οὐδετέρους. 3 οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἄπτεσθαι πρὶν ἂν σφι ἀπισωθῇ τῇ ἀξίῃ τῶν φορτίων, οὔτ' ἐκείνους τῶν φορτίων ἄπτεσθαι πρότερον ἢ αὐτοῖς τὸ χρυσίον λάβωσι.

196. Another story is told by the Carthaginians. There is a place in Libya, they say, where men live beyond the Pillars of Heracles; they come here and unload their cargo; then, having laid it in order along the beach, they go aboard their ships and light a smoking fire. The people of the country see the smoke, and, coming to the sea, they lay down gold to pay for the cargo, and withdraw from the wares. Then the Carthaginians disembark and examine the gold; if it seems to them a fair price for their cargo, they take it and go away; but if not,

they go back aboard and wait, and the people come back and add more gold until the sailors are satisfied. In this transaction, it is said, neither party defrauds the other: the Carthaginians do not touch the gold until it equals the value of their cargo, nor do the people touch the cargo until the sailors have taken the gold.

197 1 Οὗτοι μὲν εἰσὶ τοὺς ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν Λιβύων ὀνομάσαι, καὶ τούτων οἱ πολλοὶ βασιλέος τοῦ Μήδων οὔτε τι νῦν οὔτε τότε ἐφόρτιζον οὐδέν. 2 τοσόνδε δὲ ἔτι ἔχω εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, ὅτι τέσσερα ἔθνεα νέμεται αὐτὴν καὶ οὐ πλέω τούτων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα τῶν ἐθνέων τὰ δὲ δύο οὐ, Λίβυες μὲν καὶ Αἰθίοπες αὐτόχθονες, οἱ μὲν τὰ πρὸς βορρῶ οἱ δὲ τὰ πρὸς νότου τῆς Λιβύης οἰκέοντες, Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Ἑλληνες ἐπήλυδες.

197. These are all the Libyans whom we can name, and the majority of their kings cared nothing for the king of the Medes at the time of which I write, nor do they care for him now. I have this much further to say of this country: four nations and no more, as far as we know, inhabit it, two of which are aboriginal and two not; the Libyans in the north and the Ethiopians in the south of Libya are aboriginal; the Phoenicians and Greeks are later settlers.

198 1 Δοκέει δέ μοι οὐδ' ἀρετὴν εἶναι τις ἢ Λιβύη σπουδαίῃ ὥστε ἢ Ἀσίῃ ἢ Εὐρώπῃ παραβληθῆναι, πλὴν Κίνυπος μούνης· τὸ γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸ οὐνομα ἢ γῆ τῷ ποταμῷ ἔχει. 2 αὕτη δὲ ὁμοίῃ τῇ ἀρίστῃ γέων Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν οὐδὲ ἔοικε οὐδὲν τῇ ἄλλῃ Λιβύῃ. μελάγγαιός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἔπυδρος πίδαξι, καὶ οὔτε αὐχμοῦ φροντίζουσα οὐδὲν οὔτε ὄμβρον πλέω πιοῦσα δεδήληται. ὕεται γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα τῆς Λιβύης. τῶν δὲ ἐκφορίων τοῦ καρποῦ ταῦτα μέτρα τῇ Βαβυλωνίῃ γῇ κατίσταται. ἀγαθὴ δὲ γῆ καὶ τὴν Εὐεσπερίται νέμονται· 3 ἐπ' ἑκατοστὰ γάρ, ἐπεὰν αὐτὴ ἐωυτῆς ἄριστα ἐνείκη, ἐκφέρει, ἢ δὲ ἐν τῇ Κίνυπὶ ἐπὶ τριηκόσια.

198. In my opinion, there is in no part of Libya any great excellence for which it should be compared to Asia or Europe, except in the region which is called by the same name as its river, Cinyps. But this region is a match for the most fertile farmland in the world, nor is it at all like to the rest of Libya. For the soil is black and well-watered by springs, and has no fear of drought, nor is it harmed by drinking excessive showers (there is rain in this part of Libya). Its

yield of grain is of the same measure as in the land of Babylon. The land inhabited by the Euhesperitae is also good; it yields at the most a hundredfold; but the land of the Cinyps region yields three hundredfold.

199 1 Ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἡ Κυρηναίη χώρα, ἐοῦσα ὑψηλοτάτῃ ταύτης τῆς Λιβύης τὴν οἱ νομάδες νέμονται, τρεῖς ὥρας ἐν ἐωυτῇ ἀξίας θώματος. πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῶν καρπῶν ὀργᾶ ἁμᾶσθαι τε καὶ τρυγᾶσθαι· τούτων τε δὴ συγκεκομισμένων τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν θαλασσιδίων χώρων τὰ μέσα ὀργᾶ συγκομίζεσθαι, τὰ βουνούς καλέουσι· 2 συγκεκόμισται τε οὗτος ὁ μέσος καρπὸς καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ κατυπερτάτῃ τῆς γῆς πεπαίνεται τε καὶ ὀργᾶ, ὥστε ἐκπέποται τε καὶ καταβέβρωται ὁ πρῶτος καρπὸς καὶ ὁ τελευταῖος συμπαραγίνεται. οὕτω ἐπ' ὀκτὼ μῆνας Κυρηναίους ὁπώρα ἐπέχει. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω.

199. The country of Cyrene, which is the highest part of the Libya that the nomads inhabit, has the marvellous advantage of three harvest seasons. The fruits of the earth are ripe for reaping and picking on the coast first; when these have been gathered, the middle region above the coast, which they call the Hills, is ripe for gathering; and no sooner has this yield of the middle country been gathered than the highest-lying crops are mellow and ripe, so that the latest fruits of the earth are coming in when the earliest are already spent by way of food and drink. Thus the Cyrenaeans have a harvest lasting eight months. Enough of these matters, then.

200 1 Οἱ δὲ Φερετίμης τιμωροὶ Πέρσαι ἐπεῖτε ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου σταλέντες ὑπὸ Ἀρυάνδεω ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Βάρκην, ἐπολιόρκεον τὴν πόλιν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω· τῶν δὲ πᾶν γὰρ ἦν τὸ πλῆθος μεταίτιον, οὐκ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους. 2 ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἐπολιόρκεον τὴν Βάρκην ἐπὶ μῆνας ἐννέα, ὀρύσσοντες τε ὀρύγματα ὑπόγαια φέροντα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ προσβολὰς καρτερὰς ποιεύμενοι. τὰ μὲν νυν ὀρύγματα ἀνὴρ χαλκεὺς ἀνεῦρε ἐπιχάλκῳ ἀσπίδι, ὧδε ἐπιφρασθεῖς· περιφέρων αὐτὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχεος προσῖσχε πρὸς τὸ δάπεδον τῆς πόλιος. 3 τὰ μὲν δὲ ἄλλα ἔσκε κωφὰ πρὸς τὰ προσῖσχε, κατὰ δὲ τὰ ὀρυσσόμενα ἠχέεσκε ὁ χαλκὸς τῆς ἀσπίδος. ἀντορύσσοντες δ' ἂν ταύτῃ οἱ Βαρκαῖοι ἔκτεινον τῶν Περσέων τοὺς γεωρυχέοντας. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὕτω

ἐξευρέθη, τὰς δὲ προσβολὰς ἀπεκρούοντο οἱ Βαρκαῖοι.

200. Now when the Persians that Aryandes sent from Egypt to avenge Pheretime came to Barce, they laid siege to the city, demanding the surrender of those who were guilty of the murder of Arcesilaus: but the Barcaeans, whose whole people were accessory to the deed, would not yield. The Persians besieged Barce for nine months, digging underground passages leading to the walls, and making violent assaults. As for the tunnels, a blacksmith discovered them by the means of a bronze shield, and this is how he found them: carrying the shield around the inner side of the walls, he struck it against the ground of the city; all the other places which he struck returned a dull sound; but where there were tunnels, the bronze of the shield rang clear. Here the Barcaeans made a counter-tunnel and killed those Persians who were digging underground. Thus the tunnels were discovered, and the assaults were repelled by the townsfolk.

201 1 Χρόνον δὲ δὴ πολλὸν τριβομένων καὶ πιπτόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἦσσαν τῶν Περσέων, Ἀμασις ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ πεζοῦ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. μαθὼν τοὺς Βορκαίους ὡς κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐκ αἰρετοὶ εἶναι, δόλῳ δὲ αἰρετοί, ποιεῖ τοιάδε· νυκτὸς τάφρην ὀρύζας εὐρέαν ἐπέτεινε ξύλα ἀσθενέα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, κατύπερθε δὲ ἐπιπολῆς τῶν ξύλων χοῦν γῆς ἐπεφόρησε ποιέων τῇ ἄλλῃ γῇ ἰσόπεδον. 2 ἅμα ἡμέρη δὲ ἐς λόγους προεκαλέετο τοὺς Βαρκαίους· οἱ δὲ ἀσπαστῶς ὑπήκουσαν, ἐς ὃ σφι ἔαδε ὁμολογίῃ χρήσασθαι. τὴν δὲ ὁμολογίην ἐποιεῦντο τοιήνδε τινά, ἐπὶ τῆς κρυπτῆς τάφρου τάμοντες ὄρκια, ἔστ' ἂν ἡ γῇ αὕτη οὕτω ἔχῃ, μένειν τὸ ὄρκιον κατὰ χώραν, καὶ Βαρκαίους τε ὑποτελέειν φάναι ἀξίην βασιλείᾳ καὶ Πέρσας μηδὲν ἄλλο νεοχμοῦν κατὰ Βαρκαίους. 3 μετὰ δὲ τὸ ὄρκιον Βαρκαῖοι μὲν πιστεύσαντες τοῦτοισι αὐτοῖ τε ἐξήσαν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἔων παριέναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸν βουλόμενον, τὰς πάσας πύλας ἀνοίξαντες. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καταρρήξαντες τὴν κρυπτὴν γέφυραν ἔθεον ἔσω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. κατέρρηξαν δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τὴν ἐποίησαν γέφυραν, ἵνα ἐμπεδορκέοιεν, ταμόντες τοῖσι Βαρκαίοισι χρόνον μένειν αἰεὶ τὸ ὄρκιον ὅσον ἂν ἡ γῇ μένῃ κατὰ τότε εἴχε· καταρρήξασι δὲ οὐκέτι ἔμενε τὸ ὄρκιον κατὰ χώραν.

201. When much time had been spent and many on both sides (not less of the Persians than of their enemies) slain, Amasis the general of the foot soldiers devised a plot, knowing that Barce could not be taken by force but might be taken by guile: he dug by night a wide trench and laid frail planks across it, which he then covered over with a layer of earth level with the ground about it. Then when day came, he invited the Barcaeans to confer with him, and they readily consented; at last all agreed to conditions of peace. This was done thus: standing on the hidden trench, they gave and accepted a sworn assurance that their treaty would hold good while the ground where they stood was unchanged; the Barcaeans promised to pay a due sum to the king, and the Persians to do the Barcaeans no harm. When the sworn agreement was made, the townsfolk, trusting in it and opening all their gates, themselves came out of the city, and let all their enemies who so desired enter within the walls. But the Persians broke down the hidden bridge and ran into the city. They broke down the bridge that they had made, so that they might keep the oath which they had sworn to the Barcaeans: namely, that this treaty would hold good for as long as the ground remained as it was; but if they broke the bridge the treaty held good no longer.

202 1 Τοὺς μὲν νυν αἰτιωτάτους τῶν Βαρκαίων ἡ Φερετίμη, ἐπεῖτε οἱ ἐκ τῶν Περσέων παρεδόθησαν, ἀνεσκολόπισε κύκλῳ τοῦ τεύχεος, τῶν δὲ σφι γυναικῶν τοὺς μαζοὺς ἀποταμοῦσα περιέστιζε καὶ τούτοισι τὸ τεῖχος· 2 τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων λήϊην ἐκέλευε θέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Βαττιάδαι τε καὶ τοῦ φόνου οὐ μεταίτιοι· τούτοισι δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐπέτρεψε ἡ Φερετίμη.

202. When they were delivered to her by the Persians, Pheretime took the most guilty of the Barcaeans and set them impaled around the top of the wall; the breasts of their women she cut off and planted around the wall in like manner. As for the rest of the Barcaeans, she told the Persians to take them as their booty, except those who were of the house of Battus and not accessory to the murder: to these she turned over the city.

203 1 Τοὺς ὧν δὴ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων οἱ Πέρσαι ἀνδραποδισάμενοι ἀπήϊσαν ὀπίσω· καὶ ἐπεῖτε ἐπὶ τῇ Κυρηναίων πόλει

ἐπέστησαν, οἱ Κυρηναῖοι λόγιόν τι ἀποσιεύμενοι διεξῆκαν αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ ἄστεος. 2 διεξιούσης δὲ τῆς στρατιῆς Βάδρης μὲν ὁ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευε αἰρέειν τὴν πόλιν, Ἀμασις δὲ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ οὐκ ἔα· ἐπὶ Βάρκην γὰρ ἀποσταλῆναι μούνην Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν· ἐς ὃ διεξελθοῦσι καὶ ἰζομένοισι ἐπὶ Διὸς Λυκαίου ὄχθον μετεμέλυσέ σφι οὐ σχοῦσι τὴν Κυρήνην. καὶ ἐπειρῶντο τὸ δεύτερον παρίεναι ἐς αὐτήν· οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι οὐ περιώρων. 3 τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσῃσι οὐδενὸς μαχομένου φόβος ἐνέπεσε, ἀποδραμόντες τε ὅσον τε ἐξήκοντα στάδια ἕζοντο· ἰδρυθέντι δὲ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ταύτῃ ἦλθε παρὰ Ἀρυνάνδεω ἄγγελος ἀποκαλέων αὐτοὺς. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι Κυρηναίων δεηθέντες ἐπόδιά σφι δοῦναι ἔτυχον, λαβόντες δὲ ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον. 4 παραλαβόντες δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτοὺς Λίβυες τῆς τε ἐσθῆτος εἵνεκα καὶ τῆς σκευῆς τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπελκομένους ἐφόνευσαν, ἐς ὃ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκοντο.

203. The Persians thus enslaved the rest of the Barcaeans, and went home. When they appeared before the city of Cyrene, the Cyrenaeans let them pass through their city, so that a certain oracle might be fulfilled. As the army was passing through, Badres the admiral of the fleet was for taking the city, but Amasis the general of the land army would not consent, saying that he had been sent against Barce and no other Greek city; at last they passed through Cyrene and camped on the hill of Lycaean Zeus; there they regretted not having taken the city, and tried to enter it again, but the Cyrenaeans would not let them. Then, although no one attacked them, panic seized the Persians, and they fled to a place seven miles distant and camped there; and while they were there, a messenger from Aryandes came to the camp asking them to return. The Persians asked and received from the Cyrenaeans provisions for their march, after which they left to go to Egypt; but then they fell into the hands of the Libyans, who killed the laggards and stragglers of the army for the sake of their garments and possessions; until at last they came to Egypt.

204 1 Οὗτος ὁ Περσέων στρατὸς τῆς Λιβύης ἐκαστάτῳ ἐς Εὐεσπερίδας ἦλθε. τοὺς δὲ ἡνδραποδίσαντο τῶν Βαρκαίων, τούτους δὲ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀνασπάστους ἐποίησαν παρὰ βασιλέα, βασιλεὺς

δέ σφι Δαρεῖος ἔδωκε τῆς Βακτρίας χώρας κόμην ἐγκατοικῆσαι. οἱ δὲ τῇ κόμῃ ταύτῃ οὖνομα ἔθεντο Βάρκην, ἥ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν οἰκεομένη ἐν γῇ τῇ Βακτρίῃ.

204. This Persian force advanced as far as Euhesperidae in Libya and no farther. As for the Barcaeans whom they had taken for slaves, they carried them from Egypt into banishment and brought them to the king, and Darius gave them a town of Bactria to live in. They gave this town the name Barce, and it remained an inhabited place in Bactria until my own lifetime.

205 1 Οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡ Φερετίμη εὖ τὴν ζόην κατέπλεξε. ὥς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης τισαμένη τοὺς Βαρκαίους ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἀπέθανε κακῶς· ζῶσα γὰρ εὐλέων ἐξέζεσε, ὥς ἄρα ἀνθρώποισι αἱ λίην ἰσχυραὶ τιμωρίαι πρὸς θεῶν ἐπίφθονοι γίνονται· ἐκ μὲν δὴ Φερετίμης τῆς Βάττου τοιαύτη τε καὶ τοσαύτη τιμωρὴ ἐγένετο ἐς Βαρκαίους.

205. But Pheretime did not end well, either. For as soon as she had revenged herself on the Barcaeans and returned to Egypt, she met an awful death. For while still alive she teemed with maggots: thus does over-brutal human revenge invite retribution from the gods. That of Pheretime, daughter of Battus, against the Barcaeans was revenge of this nature and this brutality.

Βιβλίο Ε – Τερψιχόρη. Book V.

1 1 οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν Περσέων καταλειφθέντες ὑπὸ Δαρείου, τῶν ὁ Μεγάβαζος ἦρχε, πρῶτους μὲν Περινθίους Ἑλλησποντίων οὐ βουλομένους ὑπηκόους εἶναι Δαρείου κατεστρέψαντο, περιεφθέντας πρότερον καὶ ὑπὸ Παιόνων τρηχέως. 2 οἱ γὰρ ὧν ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος Παῖονες χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Περινθίους, καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀντικατιζόμενοι ἐπικαλέσωνται σφέας οἱ Περίνθιοι ὀνομαστὶ βώσαντες, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιχειρέειν, ἦν δὲ μὴ ἐπιβώσωνται, μὴ ἐπιχειρέειν, ἐποίηον οἱ Παῖονες ταῦτα. ἀντικατιζομένων δὲ τῶν Περινθίων ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, ἐνθαῦτα μουνوماχίᾳ τριφασίῃ ἐκ προκλήσιός σφι ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἵππον ἵπῳ συνέβαλον καὶ κύνᾳ κυνί. 3 νικόντων δὲ τὰ δύο τῶν Περινθίων, ὥς ἐπαιώνιζον κεχαρηκότες, συνεβάλοντο οἱ Παῖονες τὸ χρηστήριον αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἶναι καὶ εἰπὴν κου παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι “νῦν ἂν εἴη ὁ χρησμός ἐπιτελεόμενος ἡμῖν, νῦν ἡμέτερον ἔργον,,,. οὕτω τοῖσι Περινθίοισι παιωνίσασι ἐπιχειρέουσι οἱ Παῖονες, καὶ πολλόν τε ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἔλιπον σφέων ὀλίγους.

1. Those Persians whom Darius had left in Europe under the command of Megabazus, finding the Perinthians unwilling to be Darius' subjects, subdued them before any others of the people of the Hellespont. These Perinthians had already been roughly handled by the Paeonians. For the oracle of the god ordered the Paeonians from the Strymon to march against Perinthus, and if the Perinthians, who were encamped opposite them, should call to them, crying out their name, then to attack them. If, however, there were no such call, they were not to attack. The Paeonians acted accordingly. When the Perinthians set up camp in front of their city, the armies then challenged each other to a threefold duel, in which man was matched against man, horse against horse, and dog against dog. The Perinthians were victorious in two of the combats and raised the cry of “Paeon” in their joy. The Paeonians reasoned that this was what the oracle had spoken of and must have said to each other, “This is surely the fulfillment of the prophecy; now it is time for us to act.” Accordingly, the Paeonians set upon the Perinthians and won a great victory, leaving few of their enemies alive.

2 1 τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Παιόνων πρότερον γενόμενα ὧδε ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας γινομένων τῶν Περινηθίων οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Μεγάβαζος ἐπεκράτησαν πλήθει. 2 ὥς δὲ ἐχειρώθη ἡ Περινήθος, ἤλαυνε Μεγάβαζος τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης, πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων ἡμερούμενος βασιλεί. ταῦτα γάρ οἱ ἐνετέταλτο ἐκ Δαρείου, Θρηίκην καταστρέφεσθαι.

2. This, then, is what the Perinthians had previously suffered at the hands of the Paeonians. Now they fought like brave men for their liberty, but Megabazus and the Persians overcame them by weight of numbers. When Perinthus had been taken, Megabazus marched his army through Thrace, subduing to the king's will every city and every people of that region. For this, the conquest of Thrace, was the charge given him by Darius.

3 1 Θρηίκων δὲ ἔθνος μέγιστον ἐστὶ μετὰ γε Ἰνδοὺς πάντων ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐνὸς ἄρχοιτο ἢ φρονέοι κατὰ τῶντο, ἄμαχόν τ' ἂν εἴη καὶ πολλῷ κράτιστον πάντων ἐθνέων κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμήν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἄπορόν σφι καὶ ἀμήχανον μὴ κοτε ἐγγένηται, εἰσὶ δὴ κατὰ τοῦτο ἀσθενέες. 2 οὐνόματα δ' ἔχουσι πολλὰ κατὰ χώρας ἕκαστοι, νόμοισι δὲ οὗτοι παραπλησίοισι πάντες χρέονται κατὰ πάντα, πλὴν Γετέων καὶ Τραυσῶν καὶ τῶν κατύπερθε Κρηστωναίων οἰκεόντων.

3. The Thracians are the biggest nation in the world, next to the Indians. If they were under one ruler, or united, they would, in my judgment, be invincible and the strongest nation on earth. Since, however, there is no way or means to bring this about, they are weak. The Thracians have many names, each tribe according to its region, but they are very similar in all their customs, save the Getae, the Trausi, and those who dwell above the Crestonaeans.

4 1 τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν Γέται οἱ ἀθανατίζοντες ποιεῦσι, εἰρηταί μοι· Τραυσοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ ταῦτα τοῖσι ἄλλοις Θρηίξι ἐπιτελεύουσι, κατὰ δὲ τὸν γινόμενόν σφι καὶ ἀπογινόμενον ποιεῦσι τοιάδε· 2 τὸν μὲν γενόμενον περιζόμενοι οἱ προσήκοντες ὀλοφύρονται, ὅσα μιν δεῖ ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο ἀναπλῆσαι κακά, ἀνηγεόμενοι τὰ ἀνθρωπία πάντα πάθου· τὸν δ' ἀπογενόμενον παίζοντές τε καὶ ἡδόμενοι γῇ κρύπτουσι, ἐπιλέγοντες ὅσων κακῶν ἐξαπαλλαχθεὶς ἐστὶ ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίῃ.

4. As for the Getae, who claim to be immortal, I have already given an account of their practices. The Trausi, who in all else conform to the customs of other Thracians, do as I will show at the times of birth and death. When a child is born, the kinsmen sit around it and lament all the ills that it must endure from its birth onward, recounting all the sorrows of men. The dead, however, they bury with celebration and gladness, asserting that he is rid of so many ills and has achieved a state of complete blessedness.

5 1 οἱ δὲ κατύπερθε Κρηστωναίων ποιεῦσι τοιαύδε. ἔχει γυναῖκας ἕκαστος πολλά, ἐπεὰν ὧν τις αὐτῶν ἀποθάνῃ, κρίσις γίνεται μεγάλῃ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ φίλων σπουδαὶ ἰσχυραὶ περὶ τοῦδε, ἥτις αὐτέων ἐφιλέετο μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἢ δ' ἂν κριθῇ καὶ τιμηθῇ, ἐγκωμιασθεῖσα ὑπὸ τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν σφάζεται ἐς τὸν τάφον ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκιοτάτου ἐωυτῆς, σφαχθεῖσα δὲ συνθάπτεται τῷ ἀνδρί. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι συμφορὴν μεγάλην ποιεῦνται· ὄνειδος γάρ σφι τοῦτο μέγιστον γίνεται.

5. Those who dwell above the Crestonaeans have yet other practices. Each man has many wives, and at his death there is both great rivalry among his wives and eager contention on their friends' part to prove which wife was best loved by her husband. She to whom the honor is adjudged is praised by men and women alike and then slain over the tomb by her nearest of kin. After the slaying she is buried with the husband. The rest of the wives are greatly displeased by this, believing themselves to be deeply dishonored.

6 1 τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων Θρηίκων ἐστὶ ὁδε νόμος· πωλεῦσι τὰ τέκνα ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ, τὰς δὲ παρθένους οὐ φυλάσσουσι, ἀλλ' ἐῷσι τοῖσι αὐταὶ βούλονται ἀνδράσι μίσγεσθαι· τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἰσχυρῶς φυλάσσουσι καὶ ὠνέονται τὰς γυναῖκας παρὰ τῶν γονέων χρημάτων μεγάλων. 2 καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐστίχθαι εὐγενὲς κέκριται, τὸ δὲ ἄστικτον ἀγεννές. ἀργὸν εἶναι κάλλιστον, γῆς δὲ ἐργάτην ἀτιμότατον· τὸ ζῆν ἀπὸ πολέμου καὶ ληιστύος κάλλιστον.

6. Among the rest of the Thracians, it is the custom to sell their children for export and to take no care of their maidens, allowing them to have intercourse with any man they wish. Their wives, however, they strictly guard, and buy them for a price from the parents. To be tattooed is a sign of noble birth, while to bear no such

marks is for the baser sort. The idler is most honored, the tiller of the soil most scorned; he is held in highest honor who lives by war and robbery.

7 1 οὗτοι μὲν σφέων οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι νόμοι εἰσί, θεοὺς δὲ σέβονται μούνους τούσδε, Ἄρεα καὶ Διόνυσον καὶ Ἄρτεμιν. οἱ δὲ βασιλέες αὐτῶν, πάρεξ τῶν ἄλλων πολιητέων, σέβονται Ἑρμῆν μάλιστα θεῶν, καὶ ὁμνύουσι μόνον τοῦτον, καὶ λέγουσι γεγονέναι ἀπὸ Ἑρμέω ἐωυτούς.

7. These are most notable of their usages. They worship no gods but Ares, Dionysus, and Artemis. Their princes, however, unlike the rest of their countrymen, worship Hermes above all gods and swear only by him, claiming him for their ancestor.

8 1 ταφαὶ δὲ τοῖσι εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν εἰσὶ αἶδε· τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας προτιθεῖσι τὸν νεκρόν, καὶ παντοῖα σφάζαντες ἱρήια εὐωχέονται, προκλαύσαντες πρῶτον· ἔπειτα δὲ θάπτουσι κατακαύσαντες ἢ ἄλλως γῇ κρύψαντες, χῶμα δὲ χέαντες ἀγῶνα τιθεῖσι παντοῖον, ἐν τῷ τὰ μέγιστα ἄεθλα τίθεται κατὰ λόγον μουνوماχίης. ταφαὶ μὲν δὴ Θρηϊκῶν εἰσὶ αἶδε.

8. The wealthy have the following funeral practices. First they lay out the dead for three days, and after killing all kinds of victims and making lamentation, they feast. After that they do away with the body either by fire or else by burial in the earth, and when they have built a barrow, they initiate all kinds of contests, in which the greatest prizes are offered for the hardest type of single combat. Such are the Thracian funeral rites.

9 1 τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορέῳ τῆς χώρας ἔτι ταύτης οὐδεὶς ἔχει φράσαι τὸ ἀτρεκέες οἵτινες εἰσὶ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέοντες αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πέρην ἤδη τοῦ Ἰστρου ἔρημος χώρα φαίνεται ἐοῦσα καὶ ἄπειρος. μούνους δὲ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι οἰκέοντας πέρην τοῦ Ἰστρου ἀνθρώπους τοῖσι οὕνομα εἶναι Σιγύννας, ἐσθῆτι δὲ χρεωμένους Μηδικῇ· 2 τοὺς δὲ ἵππους αὐτῶν εἶναι λασίους ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα ἐπὶ πέντε δακτύλους τὸ βάθος τῶν τριχῶν, μικροὺς δὲ καὶ σιμοὺς καὶ ἀδυνάτους ἄνδρας φέρειν, ζευγνυμένους δὲ ὑπ' ἄρματα εἶναι ὀξυτάτους· ἄρματηλατέειν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. κατήκειν δὲ τούτων τοὺς οὖρους ἀγχοῦ Ἐνετῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀδρίῃ. 3 εἶναι δὲ Μήδων σφέας ἀποίκους λέγουσι. ὅκως δὲ οὗτοι Μήδων ἄποικοι γεγόνασι, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω

ἐπιφράσασθαι, γένοιτο δ' ἂν πᾶν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ. Σιγύννας δ' ὧν καλέουσι Δίγυες οἱ ἄνω ὑπὲρ Μασσαλίας οἰκέοντες τοὺς καπήλους, Κύπριοι δὲ τὰ δόρατα.

9. As for the region which lies north of this country, none can tell with certainty what men dwell there, but what lies beyond the Ister is a desolate and infinitely large tract of land. I can learn of no men dwelling beyond the Ister save certain that are called Sigynnae and wear Median dress. Their horses are said to be covered all over with shaggy hair five fingers' breadth long, and to be small, blunt-nosed, and unable to bear men on their backs, but very swift when yoked to chariots. It is for this reason that driving chariots is the usage of the country. These men's borders, it is said, reach almost as far as the Eneti on the Adriatic Sea. They call themselves colonists from Media. How this has come about I myself cannot understand, but all is possible in the long passage of time. However that may be, we know that the Ligyes who dwell inland of Massalia use the word "sigynnae" for hucksters, and the Cyprians use it for spears.

10 1 ὥς δὲ Θρήικες λέγουσι, μέλισσαι κατέχουσι τὰ πέρην τοῦ Ἴστρου, καὶ ὑπὸ τουτέων οὐκ εἶναι διελθεῖν τὸ προσωτέρω. ἐμοὶ μὲν νυν ταῦτα λέγοντες δοκέουσι λέγειν οὐκ οἰκότα· τὰ γὰρ ζῶα ταῦτα φαίνεται εἶναι δύσριγα· ἀλλὰ μοι τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον ἀοίκητα δοκεῖ εἶναι διὰ τὰ ψύχρα. ταῦτα μὲν νυν τῆς χώρας ταύτης πέρι λέγεται· τὰ παραθαλάσσια δ' ὧν αὐτῆς Μεγάβαζος Περσέων κατήκοα ἐποίηε.

10. According to the Thracians, all the land beyond the Ister is full of bees, and that by reason of these none can travel there. This, to my mind, is not a credible tale, for those creatures are ill able to bear cold. It appears to me rather that it is by reason of the cold that the northern lands are not inhabited. Such, then, are the stories about this region. Whatever the truth may be, Megabazus made its coastal area subject to the Persians.

11 1 Δαρεῖος δὲ ὥς διαβὰς τάχιστα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπίκητο ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐμνήσθη τῆς ἐξ Ἰστιαίου τε τοῦ Μιλησίου εὐεργεσίας καὶ τῆς παραινέσιος τοῦ Μυτιληναίου Κώεω, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ σφέας ἐς Σάρδεις ἐδίδου αὐτοῖσι αἵρεσιν. 2 ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἰστιάιος, ἅτε τυραννεύων τῆς Μιλήτου, τυραννίδος μὲν οὐδεμιῆς προσεχρήριζε, αἰτέει δὲ Μύρκινον τὴν Ἥδωνῶν, βουλόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ πόλιν κτίσαι. οὗτος μὲν

δὴ ταύτην αἰρέεται, ὁ δὲ Κῶης, οἷά τε οὐ τύραννος δημότης τε ἐών, αἰτέει Μυτιλήνης τυραννεῦσαι.

11. As soon as Darius had crossed the Hellespont and come to Sardis, he remembered the good service done him by Histiaeus of Miletus and the counsel of Coes the Mytilenaeon, and after sending for them to come to Sardis, he offered them a choice of whatever they wanted. Histiaeus, seeing that he was tyrant of Miletus, desired no further sovereignty than that, but asked for Myrcinus in the Edonian land so that he might build a city there. This, then, was Histiaeus' choice, but Coes, inasmuch as he was no tyrant but a plain citizen, asked that he might be made tyrant of Mytilene.

12 1 τελεωθέντων δὲ ἀμφοτέροισι, οὗτοι μὲν κατὰ τὰ εἶλοντο ἐτράποντο, Δαρεῖον δὲ συνήνεικε πρῆγμα τοιόνδε ἰδόμενον ἐπιθυμῆσαι ἐντείλασθαι Μεγαβάζω Παίονας ἐλόντα ἀνασπάστους ποιῆσαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης. ἦν Πίγρης καὶ Μαντύης ἄνδρες Παῖονες, οἱ ἐπεῖτε Δαρεῖος διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, αὐτοὶ ἐθέλοντες Παίωνων τυραννεύειν ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι ἀδελφεὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ εὐειδέα. 2 φυλάξαντες δὲ Δαρεῖον προκατιζόμενον ἐς τὸ προάστειον τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε· σκευάσαντες τὴν ἀδελφεὴν ὥς εἶχον ἄριστα, ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἔπεμπον ἄγγος ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔχουσαν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βραχίονος ἵππον ἐπέλκουσαν καὶ κλώθουσιν λίνον. 3 ὥς δὲ παρεξήιε ἡ γυνή, ἐπιμελὲς τῷ Δαρεῖῳ ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ Περσικὰ ἦν οὔτε Λύδια τὰ ποιούμενα ἐκ τῆς γυναικός, οὔτε πρὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας οὐδαμῶν. ἐπιμελὲς δὲ ὥς οἱ ἐγένετο, τῶν δορυφόρων τινὰς πέμπει κελεύων φυλάξαι ὃ τι χρήσεται τῷ ἵππῳ ἢ γυνή. 4 οἱ μὲν δὴ ὀπισθε εἶποντο· ἡ δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἀπῖκετο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ἤρσε τὸν ἵππον, ἄρσασα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄγγος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐμπλησαμένη τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν παρεξήιε, φέρουσα τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἐπέλκουσα ἐκ τοῦ βραχίονος τὸν ἵππον καὶ στρέφουσα τὸν ἄτρακτον.

12. When the wishes of each had been granted, they made their way to the places of their choice, but Darius, as it fell out, saw a sight which put it in his mind to bid Megabazus take the Paeonians and take them from their homes out of Europe into Asia. There were two Paeonians, Pigres and Mantyes, who themselves desired to be rulers of their countrymen. When Darius had crossed into Asia, they came

to Sardis, bringing with them their sister, a tall and beautiful woman. There, waiting till Darius should be sitting in state in the suburb of the Lydian city, they put on their sister the best adornment they had, and sent her to draw water, bearing a vessel on her head, leading a horse by the bridle and spinning flax at the same time. Darius took note of the woman as she passed by him, for what she did was not in the manner of the Persians or Lydians or any of the peoples of Asia. Having taken note of this, he sent some of his guards, bidding them watch what the woman would do with the horse. They, accordingly, followed behind her, and she, coming to the river, watered the horse. When she had done this and had filled her vessel with water, she passed back again by the same way, bearing the water on her head, leading the horse on her arm, and plying her distaff.

13 ἰ θωμάζων δὲ ὁ Δαρεῖος τὰ τε ἤκουσε ἐκ τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ τὰ αὐτὸς ὥρα, ἄγειν αὐτὴν ἐκέλευε ἑωυτῷ ἐς ὄψιν. ὥς δὲ ἄχθη, παρῆσαν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῆς οὐ κη πρόσω σκοπιὴν ἔχοντες τούτων. εἰρωτῶντος δὲ τοῦ Δαρείου ὁποδὰπῃ εἴη, ἔφασαν οἱ νεηνίσκοι εἶναι Παῖονες καὶ ἐκείνην εἶναι σφέων ἀδελφεήν. 2 ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο, τίνες δὲ οἱ Παῖονες ἄνθρωποι εἰσὶ καὶ κοῦ γῆς οἰκημένοι, καὶ τί κεῖνοι ἐθέλοντες ἔλθοιεν ἐς Σάρδις. οἱ δὲ οἱ ἔφραζον ὥς ἔλθοιεν μὲν ἐκεῖνῳ δώσοντες σφέας αὐτούς, εἴη δὲ ἡ Παιονίη ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ πεπολισμένη, ὁ δὲ Στρυμὼν οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, εἴησαν δὲ Τευκρῶν τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἄποικοι. 3 οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἕκαστα ἔλεγον, ὁ δὲ εἰρώτα εἰ καὶ πᾶσαι αὐτόθι αἱ γυναῖκες εἴησαν οὕτω ἐργάτιδες. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἔφασαν προθύμως οὕτω ἔχειν· αὐτοῦ γὰρ ὧν τούτου εἵνεκα καὶ ἐποιέετο.

13. Marvelling at what he heard from his watchers and what he saw for himself, Darius bade the woman be brought before him. When she had been brought, her brothers, who watched all this from a place nearby, came too. Darius asked of what nation she was, and the young man told him that they were Paeonians and that she was their sister. "But who," he answered, "are the Paeonians, and where do they dwell, and with what intent have you come to Sardis?" They told him, that they had come to be his men, that the towns of Paeonia lay on the Strymon, a river not far from the Hellespont, and that they were colonists from the Teucrians of Troy. So they told him all this,

and the king asked them if all the women of their country were so industrious. To this too they very readily answered (for it was for this very purpose that they had come), that it was indeed so.

14 1 ἐνθαῦτα Δαρεῖος γράφει γράμματα Μεγαβάζῳ, τὸν ἔλιπε ἐν τῇ Θρηίκῃ στρατηγόν, ἐντελλόμενος ἐξαναστῆσαι ἐξ ἡθέων Παίονας καὶ παρ' ἐωυτὸν ἀγαγεῖν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν. 2 αὐτίκα δὲ ἱππεὺς ἔθεε φέρων τὴν ἀγγελίην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, περαιωθεὶς δὲ διδοῖ τὸ βυβλίον τῷ Μεγαβάζῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἡγεμόνας ἐκ τῆς Θρηίκης ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Παιονίην.

14. Then Darius wrote a letter to Megabazus, whom he had left as his general in Thrace, bidding him take the Paeonians from their houses, and bring them to him, men, women, and children. Immediately a horseman sped with this message to the Hellespont, and upon crossing it, gave the letter to Megabazus, who, after reading it, took guides from Thrace and led his army to Paeonia.

15 1 πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Παῖονες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ σφέας ἰέναι, ἀλισθέντες ἐξεστρατεύσαντο πρὸς θαλάσσης, δοκέοντες ταύτῃ ἐπιχειρήσειν τοὺς Πέρσας ἐμβάλλοντας. 2 οἱ μὲν δὴ Παῖονες ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι τὸν Μεγαβάζου στρατὸν ἐπιόντα ἐρύκειν· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι συναλίσθαι τοὺς Παῖονας καὶ τὴν πρὸς θαλάσσης ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσοντας, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας τὴν ἄνω ὁδὸν τρέπονται, λαθόντες δὲ τοὺς Παῖονας ἐσπίπτουσι ἐς τὰς πόλιας αὐτῶν ἐούσας ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμους· οἷα δὲ κεινῇσι ἐπιπεσόντες εὐπετέως κατέσχον. 3 οἱ δὲ Παῖονες ὥς ἐπύθοντο ἐχομένας τὰς πόλιας, αὐτίκα διασκεδασθέντες κατ' ἐωυτοὺς ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο καὶ παρεδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Πέρσησι. οὕτω δὴ Παιόνων Σιριοπαϊόνες τε καὶ Παιόπλαι καὶ οἱ μέχρι τῆς Πρασιάδος λίμνης ἐξ ἡθέων ἐξαναστάντες ἦγοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

15. When the Paeonians learned that the Persians were coming against them, they gathered together and marched away to the sea, thinking that the Persians would attempt to attack them by that way. So the Paeonians were ready to withstand the onset of Megabazus' army, but the Persians, learning that the Paeonians had gathered their forces and were guarding the coast route into their country, got guides and marched instead by the highland road. They accordingly

took the Paeonians unaware and won entrance into their cities, which were left without men, and finding these empty at their attack, they easily gained them. The Paeonians, learning that their towns had been taken, straightway disbanded, each going his own way, and surrendered themselves to the Persians. Thus of the Paeonians the Siro-paeones and Paeoplae and all who lived as far as the Prasiad lake were taken away from their homes and led into Asia.

16 1 οἱ δὲ περὶ τε Πάγγαιον ὄρος καὶ Δόβηρας καὶ Ἀγριαῖνας καὶ Ὀδομάντους καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν λίμνην τὴν Πρασιάδα οὐκ ἐχειρώθησαν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου· ἐπειρήθη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ κατοικημένους ἐξαιρέειν ὧδε. ἱκρία ἐπὶ σταυρῶν ὑψηλῶν ἐζευγμένα ἐν μέσῃ ἔστηκε τῇ λίμνῃ, ἔσοδον ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου στερινὴν ἔχοντα μιῇ γεφύρῃ. 2 τοὺς δὲ σταυροὺς τοὺς ὑπεστεῶτας τοῖσι ἱκρίοισι τὸ μὲν κου ἀρχαῖον ἔστησαν κοινῇ πάντες οἱ πολῆται, μετὰ δὲ νόμῳ χρεώμενοι ἰσθᾶσι τοιῶδε· κομίζοντες ἐξ ὄρεος τῷ οὐνομα ἐστὶ Ὅρβηλος, κατὰ γυναῖκα ἐκάστην ὁ γαμέων τρεῖς σταυροὺς ὑπίστησι· ἄγεται δὲ ἕκαστος συγχὰς γυναῖκας. 3 οἰκέουσι δὲ τοιοῦτον τρόπον, κρατέων ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τῶν ἱκρίων καλύβης τε ἐν τῇ διαιτᾶται καὶ θύρης καταπακτῆς διὰ τῶν ἱκρίων κάτω φερούσης ἐς τὴν λίμνην. τὰ δὲ νήπια παιδία δέουσι τοῦ ποδὸς σπάρτω, μὴ κατακυλισθῇ δειμαίνοντες. 4 τοῖσι δὲ ἵπποισι καὶ τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι παρέχουσι χόρτον ἰχθυῶν· τῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἐστὶ τοσοῦτο ὥστε, ὅταν τὴν θύρην τὴν καταπακτὴν ἀνακλίνῃ, κατιεῖ σχοίνῳ σπυρίδα κεινὴν ἐς τὴν λίμνην, καὶ οὐ πολλόν τινα χρόνον ἐπισχὼν ἀνασπᾷ πλήρεα ἰχθύων. τῶν δὲ ἰχθύων ἐστὶ γένεα δύο, τοὺς καλέουσι ἀππρακάς τε καὶ τίλωνα.

16. But those near the Pangaeian mountains and the country of the Doberes and the Agrianes and the Odomanti and the Prasiad lake itself were never subdued at all by Megabazus. He did in fact try to take the lake-dwellers and did so in the following manner. There is set in the midst of the lake a platform made fast on tall piles, to which one bridge gives a narrow passage from the land. In olden times all the people working together set the piles which support the platform there, but they later developed another method of setting them. The men bring the piles from a mountain called Orbelus, and every man plants three for each of the three women that he weds. Each man has both a hut on the platform and a trap-door in the

platform leading down into the lake. They make a cord fast to the feet of their little children out of fear that they will fall into the water. They give fish as fodder to their horses and beasts of burden, and there is such an abundance of fish that a man can open his trap-door, let down an empty basket by a line into the lake, and draw it up after a short time full of fish. There are two kinds of these, some called “paprakes,” some “tilones.”

17 1 παίωνων μὲν δὴ οἱ χειρωθέντες ἦγοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. Μεγάβαζος δὲ ὡς ἐχειρώσατο τοὺς Παίονας, πέμπει ἀγγέλους ἐς Μακεδονίην ἄνδρας ἑπτὰ Πέρσας, οἱ μετ’ αὐτὸν ἐκείνων ἦσαν δοκιμώτατοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· ἐπέμποντο δὲ οὗτοι παρὰ Ἀμύντην αἰτήσοντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ βασιλεί. 2 ἔστι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Πρασιάδος λίμνης σύντομος κάρτα ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίην· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔχεται τῆς λίμνης τὸ μέταλλον ἐξ οὗ ὕστερον τούτων τάλαντον ἀργυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ἐφοίτα, μετὰ δὲ τὸ μέταλλον Δύσωρον καλεόμενον ὄρος ὑπερβάντα εἶναι ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ.

17. So those of the Paeonians who had been captured were taken into Asia. Then Megabazus, having made the Paeonians captive, sent as messengers into Macedonia the seven Persians who (after himself) were the most honorable in his army. These were sent to Amyntas to demand earth and water for Darius the king. Now there is a very straight way from the Prasiad lake to Macedonia. First there is near the lake that mine from which Alexander later drew a daily revenue of a talent of silver, and when a person has passed the mine, he need only cross the mountain called Dysorum to be in Macedonia.

18 1 οἱ ὧν Πέρσαι οἱ πεμφθέντες οὗτοι παρὰ τὸν Ἀμύντην ὡς ἀπίκοντο, αἰτεῖον ἐλθόντες ἐς ὅψιν τὴν Ἀμύντεω Δαρείῳ βασιλεί γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. ὁ δὲ ταῦτά τε ἐδίδου καὶ σφεας ἐπὶ ξείνια καλεεί, παρασκευασάμενος δὲ δεῖπνον μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἐδέκετο τοὺς Πέρσας φιλοφρόνως. 2 ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δεῖπνου ἐγένοντο, διαπίνοντες εἶπαν οἱ Πέρσαι τάδε. “ξεῖνε Μακεδῶν, ἡμῖν νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, ἐπεὰν δεῖπνον προτιθώμεθα μέγα, τότε καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ τὰς κουριδίας γυναῖκας ἐσάγεσθαι παρέδρους. σύ νυν, ἐπεὶ περ προθύμως μὲν ἐδέξαιο μεγάλως δὲ ξεινίζεις, διδοῖς δὲ βασιλεί Δαρείῳ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ἔπεο νόμῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ,· 3 εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἀμύντης “ὦ Πέρσαι, νόμος μὲν ἡμῖν γε ἐστὶ οὐκ οὗτος, ἀλλὰ κεχωρίσθαι ἄνδρας

γυναικῶν· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐόντες δεσπότηι προσχρηρίζετε τούτων, παρέσται ὑμῖν καὶ ταῦτα,,· εἶπας τοσαῦτα ὁ Ἀμύντης μετεπέμπετο τὰς γυναῖκας· αἱ δ' ἐπεῖτε καλεόμεναι ἦλθον, ἐπεξῆς ἀντία ἴζοντο τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι. 4 ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἰδόμενοι γυναῖκας εὐμόρφους ἔλεγον πρὸς Ἀμύντην φάμενοι τὸ ποιηθὲν τοῦτο οὐδὲν εἶναι σοφόν· κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι ἀρχῆθεν μὴ ἐλθεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας ἢ ἐλθούσας καὶ μὴ παριζομένας ἀντίας ἴζεσθαι ἀλγηδόνας σφίσι ὀφθαλμῶν. 5 ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης ἐκέλευε παρίζειν· πειθομενέων δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτίκα οἱ Πέρσαι μαστῶν τε ἄπτοντο οἷα πλεόνως οἰνωμένοι, καὶ κού τις καὶ φιλέειν ἐπειράτο.

18. The Persians who had been sent as envoys came to Amyntas and demanded earth and water for Darius the king. He readily gave to them what they asked and invited them to be his guests, preparing a dinner of great splendor and receiving them hospitably. After dinner, the Persians said to Amyntas as they sat drinking together, “Macedonian, our host, it is our custom in Persia to bring in also the concubines and wedded wives to sit by the men after the giving of any great banquet. We ask you, then, (since you have received us heartily, are entertaining us nobly and are giving Darius our king earth and water) to follow our custom.” To this Amyntas replied, “We have no such custom, Persians. Among us, men and women sit apart, but since you are our masters and are making this request, it shall be as you desire.” With that, Amyntas sent for the women. Upon being called, the women entered and sat down in a row opposite the Persians. Then the Persians, seeing beautiful women before them, spoke to Amyntas and said that there was no sense in what he had done. It would be better if the women had never come at all than that they should come and not sit beside the men, but sit opposite them to torment their eyes. Amyntas, now feeling compelled to do so, bade the women sit beside them. When the women had done as they were bidden, the Persians, flushed as they were with excess of wine, at once laid hands on the women’s breasts, and one or another tried to kiss them.

19 ὁ Ἀμύντης μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὀρέων ἀτρέμας εἶχε, καίπερ δυσφορέων, οἷα ὑπερδαιμαίνων τοὺς Πέρσας· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντεω παρεὼν τε καὶ ὀρέων ταῦτα, ἅτε νέος τε ἐὼν καὶ κακῶν

ἀπαθής, οὐδαμῶς ἔτι κατέχειν οἶος τε ἦν, ὥστε δὲ βαρέως φέρων εἶπε πρὸς Ἀμύντην τάδε. “ὦ πάτερ, σὺ μὲν εἶκε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἀπιὼν τε ἀναπαύεο, μηδὲ λιπάρει τῇ πόσι· ἐγὼ δὲ προσμένων αὐτοῦ τῇδε πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα παρέξω τοῖσι ξεινοισι,., 2 πρὸς ταῦτα συνιείς Ἀμύντης ὅτι νεώτερα πρήγματα πρήσσειν μέλλοι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, λέγει “ὦ παῖ, σχεδὸν γάρ σευ ἀνακαιομένου συνίημι τοὺς λόγους, ὅτι ἐθέλεις ἐμὲ ἐκπέμψας ποιέειν τι νεώτερον· ἐγὼ ὦν σευ χρηίζω μηδὲν νεοχμῶσαι κατ’ ἄνδρας τούτους, ἵνα μὴ ἐξεργάσῃ ἡμέας, ἀλλὰ ἀνέχου ὁρέων τὰ ποιούμενα· ἀμφὶ δὲ ἀπόδω τῇ ἐμῇ πείσομαί τοι,.,

19. This Amyntas saw, but held his peace despite his anger because he greatly feared the Persians. Amyntas’ son Alexander, however, because of his youth and ignorance of ill deeds, could not bear it longer and said to Amyntas in great wrath, “My father, do as your age demands. Leave us and take your rest; do not continue drinking. I will stay here and give our guests all that is needful.” At this Amyntas saw that Alexander had some wild deed in mind and said, “My son, you are angered, and if I guess your meaning correctly, you are sending me away so that you may do some violent deed. I for my part, for fear that you will bring about our undoing, entreat you not to act rashly against these men, but to bear patiently the sight of what they do. If you want me to leave, to that I consent.”

20 1 ὥς δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης χρηίσας τούτων οἰχώκεε, λέγει ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας “γυναικῶν τουτέων, ὃ ξεῖνοι, ἔστι ὑμῖν πολλὴ εὐπετεία, καὶ εἰ πάσῃσι βούλεσθε μίσγεσθαι καὶ ὁκόσῃσι ὦν αὐτέων. 2 τούτου μὲν περὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποσημανέετε· νῦν δέ, σχεδὸν γὰρ ἤδη τῆς κοίτης ὥρη προσέρχεται ὑμῖν καὶ καλῶς ἔχοντας ὑμέας ὁρῶ μέθης, γυναῖκας ταύτας, εἰ ὑμῖν φίλον ἐστί, ἅπετε λούσασθαι, λουσαμένας δὲ ὀπίσω προσδέκεσθε,., 3 εἶπας ταῦτα, συνέπαινοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, γυναῖκας μὲν ἐξελθούσας ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν γυναικίην, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἴσους τῇσι γυναιξὶ ἀριθμὸν ἄνδρας λειογενεῖους τῇ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐσθῆτι σκευάσας καὶ ἐγγχειρίδια δοὺς ἦγε ἔσω, παράγων δὲ τούτους ἔλεγε τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι τάδε. 4 “ὦ Πέρσαι, οἶκατε πανδαισίῃ τελέῃ ἰστιῆσθαι· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ὅσα εἶχομεν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ οἷά τε ἦν ἐξευρόντας παρέχειν, πάντα ὑμῖν πάρεστι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τόδε τὸ πάντων μέγιστον, τάς τε ἐωυτῶν μητέρας καὶ τὰς ἀδελφεὰς ἐπιδαμνιευόμεθα ὑμῖν, ὥς παντελέως

μάθητε τιμώμενοι πρὸς ἡμέων τῶν περ ἔστε ἄξιοι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βασιλεί τῷ πέμψαντι ἀπαγγείλητε ὡς ἀνὴρ Ἑλλήν Μακεδόνων ὑπαρχος εὖ ὑμέας ἐδέξατο καὶ τραπέζῃ καὶ κοίτῃ,· 5 ταῦτα εἶπας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος παρίζει Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα ὡς γυναῖκα τῷ λόγῳ· οἱ δέ, ἐπεῖτε σφέων οἱ Πέρσαι ψαύειν ἐπειρῶντο, διεργάζοντο αὐτούς.

20. When Amyntas made this request and had gone his way, Alexander said to the Persians, “Sirs, you have full freedom to deal with these women, and may have intercourse with all or any of them. As to that, you may make your own decision, but now, since the hour of your rest is drawing near and I see that you are all completely drunk, allow these women to depart and wash, if this is your desire. When they have washed, wait for them to come to you again.” When he had said this and the Persians had given their consent, he sent the women out and away to their apartments. Alexander then took as many beardless men as there were women, dressed them in the women’s clothes, and gave them daggers. These he brought in, and said to the Persians, “I believe, men of Persia, that you have feasted to your hearts’ content. All that we had and all besides that we could find to give you has been set before you, and now we make you a free gift of our best and most valued possession, our own mothers and sisters. Be aware that in so doing we are giving you all the honor that you deserve, and tell your king who sent you how his Greek viceroy of Macedonia has received you hospitably, providing food and bedfellows.” With that, Alexander seated each of his Macedonians next to a Persian, as though they were women, and when the Persians began to lay hands on them, they were killed by the Macedonians.

21 1 καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τούτῳ τῷ μόρῳ διεφθάρησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ θεραπείῃ αὐτῶν· εἶπετο γὰρ δὴ σφι καὶ ὀχήματα καὶ θεράποντες καὶ ἡ πᾶσα πολλὴ παρασκευή· πάντα δὴ ταῦτα ἅμα πᾶσι ἐκείνοισι ἠφάνιστο. 2 μετὰ δὲ χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ζήτησις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων μεγάλη ἐκ τῶν Περσέων ἐγένετο, καὶ σφεας Ἀλέξανδρος κατέλαβε σοφίῃ, χρήματά τε δούς πολλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὴν τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Γυγαίῃ· δούς δὲ ταῦτα κατέλαβε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος Βουβάρῃ ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τῶν διζημένων τοὺς ἀπολομένους τῷ

στρατηγῷ.

21. This was the way in which they perished, they and all their retinue. Carriages too had come with them, and servants, and all the great train they had. The Macedonians made away with all that, as well as with all the envoys themselves. No long time afterwards the Persians made a great search for these men, but Alexander had cunning enough to put an end to it by the gift of a great sum and his own sister Gygaea to Bubares, a Persian and the general of those who were looking for the slain men. It was in this way, then, that the death of these Persians was kept silent.

22 1 ὁ μὲν νυν τῶν Περσέων τούτων θάνατος οὕτω καταλαμφθεὶς ἐσιγήθη. Ἕλληνας δὲ εἶναι τούτους τοὺς ἀπὸ Περδίκκεω γεγονότας, κατὰ περ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, αὐτὸς τε οὕτω τυγχάνω ἐπιστάμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι ἀποδέξω ὥς εἰσὶ Ἕλληνες, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ διέποντες ἀγῶνα Ἑλληνοδίκαι οὕτω ἔγνωσαν εἶναι. 2 Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀεθλεύειν ἐλομένου καὶ καταβάντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ ἀντιθευσόμενοι Ἑλλήνων ἐξεῖργόν μιν, φάμενοι οὐ βαρβάρων ἀγωνιστέων εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέδεξε ὥς εἶη Ἀργεῖος, ἐκρίθη τε εἶναι Ἕλληνα καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενος στάδιον συνεχέπιπτε τῷ πρώτῳ.

22. Now that these descendants of Perdikkas are Greeks, as they themselves say, I myself chance to know and will prove it in the later part of my history. Furthermore, the Hellenodicae who manage the contest at Olympia determined that it is so, for when Alexander chose to contend and entered the lists for that purpose, the Greeks who were to run against him wanted to bar him from the race, saying that the contest should be for Greeks and not for foreigners. Alexander, however, proving himself to be an Argive, was judged to be a Greek. He accordingly competed in the furlong race and tied step for first place. This, then, is approximately what happened.

23 1 ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω κη ἐγένετο. Μεγάβαζος δὲ ἄγων τοὺς Παίονας ἀπῖκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήποντον· ἐνθεῦτεν διαπεραιωθεὶς ἀπῖκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις. ἅτε δὲ τειχέοντος ἤδη Ἰστιαίου τοῦ Μιλησίου τὴν παρὰ Δαρείου αἰτήσας ἔτυχε μισθὸν δωρεὴν φυλακῆς τῆς σχεδίσης, ἐόντος δὲ τοῦ χώρου τούτου παρὰ Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν τῷ οὐνομα ἐστὶ Μύρκινος, μαθὼν ὁ Μεγάβαζος τὸ ποιούμενον ἐκ τοῦ

Ἰστιαίου, ὥς ἦλθε τάχιστα ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ἄγων τοὺς Παίονας, ἔλεγε Δαρείῳ τάδε. 2 “ὦ βασιλεῦ, κοῖόν τι χρῆμα ἐποίησας, ἀνδρὶ Ἑλληνι δεινῷ τε καὶ σοφῷ δοὺς ἐγκτίσασθαι πόλιν ἐν Θρηίκῃ, ἵνα ἴδῃ τε ναυπηγήσιμος ἐστὶ ἄφθονος καὶ πολλοὶ κωπέες καὶ μέταλλα ἀργύρεα, ὅμιλός τε πολλὸς μὲν Ἑλλήν περιουκείει πολλὸς δὲ βάρβαρος, οἱ προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι ποιήσουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἂν κεῖνος ἐξηγήται καὶ ἡμέρης καὶ νυκτός. 3 σύ νυν τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα παῦσον ταῦτα ποιεῦντα, ἵνα μὴ οἰκῇ πολέμῳ συνέχῃ· τρόπῳ δὲ ἡπίῳ μεταπεμψάμενος παῦσον. ἐπεὰν δὲ αὐτὸν περιλάβῃς, ποιέειν ὅκως μηκέτι κεῖνος ἐς Ἑλλάδας ἀπίξεται.,.

23. Megabazus, bringing with him the Paeonians, came to the Hellespont, and after crossing it from there, he came to Sardis. Histiaeus the Milesian was by this time fortifying the place which he had asked of Darius as his reward for guarding the bridge, a place called Myrcinus by the river Strymon. Megabazus discovered what he was doing, and upon his arrival at Sardis with the Paeonians, he said to Darius, “Sire, what is this that you have done? You have permitted a clever and cunning Greek to build a city in Thrace, where there are abundant forests for ship-building, much wood for oars, mines of silver, and many people both Greek and foreign dwelling around, who, when they have a champion to lead them, will carry out all his orders by day or by night. Stop this man, then, from doing these things so that you will not be entangled in a war with your own subjects, but use gentle means to do so. When you have him in your grasp, see to it that he never returns to Hellas.”

24 1 ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μεγάβαζος εὐπετέως ἔπειθε Δαρεῖον ὥς εὖ προορῶν τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ὁ Δαρεῖος ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ἰστιαῖε, βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος τάδε λέγει. ἐγὼ φροντίζων εὐρίσκω ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι εἶναι οὐδένα σεῦ ἄνδρα εὐνοέστερον· τοῦτο δὲ οὐ λόγοισι ἀλλ’ ἔργοισι οἶδα μαθόν. 2 νῦν ὦν, ἐπινοέω γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλα κατεργάσασθαι, ἀπικέό μοι πάντως, ἵνα τοι αὐτὰ ὑπερθέωμαι.,. τούτοις τοῖσι ἔπεσι πιστεύσας ὁ Ἰστιαῖος, καὶ ἅμα μέγα ποιεύμενος βασιλέος σύμβουλος γενέσθαι, ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις· 3 ἀπικομένων δέ οἱ ἔλεγε Δαρεῖος τάδε. “Ἰστιαῖε, ἐγὼ σε μετεπεμψάμην τῶνδε εἵνεκεν. ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα ἐνόστησα ἀπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ σύ μοι ἐγένεο ἐξ

ὀφθαλμῶν, οὐδέν κω ἄλλο χρῆμα οὕτω ἐν βραχεί ἐπεζήτησα ὥς σέ ἰδεῖν τε καὶ ἐς λόγους μοι ἀπικέσθαι, ἐγνωκὼς ὅτι κτημάτων πάντων ἐστὶ τιμιώτατον ἀνὴρ φίλος συνετός τε καὶ εὖνοος, τά τοι ἐγὼ καὶ ἀμφοτέρω συνειδὼς ἔχω μαρτυρέειν ἐς πρήγματα τὰ ἐμά. 4 νῦν ὦν, εὖ γὰρ ἐποίησας ἀπικόμενος, τάδε τοι ἐγὼ προτείνομαι· Μίλητον μὲν ἔα καὶ τὴν νεόκτιστον ἐν Θρηίκῃ πόλιν, σὺ δέ μοι ἐπόμενος ἐς Σοῦσα ἔχε τά περ ἂν ἐγὼ ἔχω, ἐμός τε σύσσιτος ἐὼν καὶ σύμβουλος,·.

24. Megabazus easily persuaded Darius, who believed that his vision of the future was correct. Presently the king sent a message to Myrcinus which read as follows: “ Histiaeus, these are the words of Darius the king: my thoughts can show me no man who is more devoted to me and my affairs. Not words but deeds have proven this to me. Now, therefore, let nothing prevent you from coming to me so that I may inform you of certain great purposes which I have in mind.” Trusting these words, and proud, moreover, that he would be the king’s counsellor, Histiaeus came to Sardis. When he had come, Darius said to him, “Histiaeus, I will tell you the reason why I sent for you. As soon as I returned from Scythia and you were gone from my sight, there was nothing which I longed for so much as seeing you and speaking with you, for I knew that the most precious of all possessions is a wise and loyal friend. That you are such I can bear witness to as regards my affairs. Now, since you have done well in coming here, I make you this proposal. Leave Miletus and your newly founded Thracian city and follow me to Susa, where you will have all that is mine, sharing my table and my counsels.”

25 1 ταῦτα Δαρεῖος εἶπας, καὶ καταστήσας Ἄρταφρένεα ἀδελφεὸν ἐωυτοῦ ὁμοπάτριον ὑπαρχον εἶναι Σαρδίων, ἀπήλυνε ἐς Σοῦσα ἅμα ἀγόμενος Ἴστιαῖον, Ὅτάνεα δὲ ἀποδέξας στρατηγὸν εἶναι τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνδρῶν· τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Σισάμνην βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης γενόμενον τῶν βασιληῶν δικαστέων, ὅτι ἐπὶ χρήμασι δίκην ἄδικον ἐδίκασε, σφάζας ἀπέδειρε πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπείην, σπαδίξας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ δέρμα ἱμάντας ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔταμε καὶ ἐνέτεινε τὸν θρόνον ἐς τὸν ἵζων ἐδίκασε· 2 ἐντανύσας δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπέδεξε δικαστὴν εἶναι ἀντὶ τοῦ Σισάμνεω, τὸν ἀποκτείνας ἀπέδειρε, τὸν παῖδα τοῦ Σισάμνεω, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ μεμνησθαι ἐν τῷ κατίζων θρόνῳ δικάζει.

25. This, then, is what Darius said, and after appointing Artaphrenes, his father's son, to be viceroy of Sardis, he rode away to Susa, taking Histiaeus with him. First, however, he made Otanes governor of the people on the coast. Otanes' father Sisamnes had been one of the royal judges, and Cambyses had cut his throat and flayed off all his skin because he had been bribed to give an unjust judgment. Then he cut leather strips of the skin which had been torn away and with these he covered the seat upon which Sisamenes had sat to give judgment. After doing this, Cambyses appointed the son of this slain and flayed Sisamnes to be judge in his place, admonishing him to keep in mind the nature of the throne on which he was sitting.

26 1 οὗτος ὢν ὁ Ὀτάνης ὁ ἐγκατιζόμενος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον, τότε διάδοχος γενόμενος Μεγαβάζω τῆς στρατηγίης, Βυζαντίους τε εἶλε καὶ Καλχηδονίους, εἶλε δὲ Ἄντανδρον τὴν ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι γῇ, εἶλε δὲ Λαμπώνιον, λαβὼν δὲ παρὰ Λεσβίων νέας εἶλε Λήμνον τε καὶ Ἴμβρον, ἀμφοτέρας ἔτι τότε ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν οἰκεομένας.

26. This Otanes, then, who sat upon that seat, was now made successor to Megabazus in his governorship. He captured Byzantium, Calchedon, Antandrus in the Troad, and Lamponium, and with ships he had taken from the Lesbians, he took Lemnos and Imbros, both of which were still inhabited by Pelasgians.

27 1 οἱ μὲν δὴ Λήμνιοι καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο εὖ καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκακώθησαν, τοῖσι δὲ περιεοῦσι αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι ὕπαρχον ἐπιστᾶσι Λυκάρητον τὸν Μαιανδρίου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Σάμου ἀδελφεόν. 2 οὗτος ὁ Λυκάρητος ἄρχων ἐν Λήμνῳ τελευτᾷ. αἰτίη δὲ τούτου ἦδε· πάντας ἡνδραποδίζετο καὶ κατεστρέφετο τοὺς μὲν λιποστρατίης ἐπὶ Σκύθας αἰτιώμενος, τοὺς δὲ σίνασθαι τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ὀπίσω ἀποκομιζόμενον.

27. The Lemnians fought well and defended themselves, till at last they were brought to evil plight, and the Persians set as governor over those that were left of them Lycaretus the brother of Maeandrius who had been king of Samos. This Lycaretus met his end while ruling in Lemnos because he tried to enslave and subdue all the people, accusing some of shunning service against the Scythians and others of plundering Darius' army on its way back from Scythia.

28 1 οὗτος δὲ τοσαῦτα ἐξεργάσατο στρατηγήσας. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἄνεσις κακῶν ἦν, καὶ ἤρχετο τὸ δεύτερον ἐκ Νάξου τε καὶ Μιλήτου Ἴωσι γίνεσθαι κακά. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ Νάξος εὐδαιμονίῃ τῶν νήσων προέφερε, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἡ Μίλητος αὐτὴ τε ἐωυτῆς μάλιστα δὴ τότε ἀκμάσασα καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίης ἦν πρόσχημα, κατ'ὑπερθε δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ δύο γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν νοσήσασα ἐς τὰ μάλιστα στάσι, μέχρι οὗ μιν Πάριοι κατήρτισαν· τούτους γὰρ καταρτιστῆρας ἐκ πάντων Ἑλλήνων εἵλοντο οἱ Μιλήσιοι.

28. All this Otanes achieved when he had been made governor. After only a short period of time without evils, trouble began once more to come on the Ionians, and this from Naxos and Miletus. Naxos surpassed all the other islands in prosperity, and at about the same time Miletus, at the height of her fortunes, was the glory of Ionia. Two generations before this, however, she had been very greatly troubled by factional strife, till the Parians, chosen out of all the Greeks by the Milesians for this purpose, made peace among them,

29 1 κατήλλαξαν δὲ σφέας ὧδε Πάριοι. ὥς ἀπίκοντο αὐτῶν ἄνδρες οἱ ἄριστοι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, ὥρων γὰρ δὴ σφεας δεινῶς οἰκοφθορημένους, ἔφασαν αὐτῶν βούλεσθαι διεξελθεῖν τὴν χώραν· ποιεῦντες δὲ ταῦτα καὶ διεξιόντες πᾶσαν τὴν Μιλησίην, ὅκως τινὰ ἴδοιεν ἐν ἀνεστηκυίῃ τῇ χώρῃ ἀγρὸν εὖ ἐξεργασμένον, ἀπεγράφοντο τὸ οὔνομα τοῦ δεσπότεω τοῦ ἀγροῦ. 2 διεξέλασαντες δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν καὶ σπανίους εὐρόντες τούτους, ὥς τάχιστα κατέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ἀλίην ποιησάμενοι ἀπέδεξαν τούτους μὲν πόλιν νέμειν τῶν εὗρον τοὺς ἀγροὺς εὖ ἐξεργασμένους· δοκέειν γὰρ ἔφασαν καὶ τῶν δημοσίων οὕτω δὴ σφεας ἐπιμελήσεσθαι ὥσπερ τῶν σφετέρων· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Μιλησίους τοὺς πρὶν στασιάζοντας τούτων ἔταξαν πεῖθεσθαι.

29. The Parians reconciled them in the following manner. Their best men came to Miletus, and seeing the Milesian households sadly wasted, they said that they desired to go about the country. They then made their way through all the territory of Miletus, and whenever they found any well-tilled farm in the desolation of the land, they wrote down the name of the owner of that farm. After travelling over

the whole country and finding only a few such men, they assembled the people immediately upon their return to the city and appointed as rulers of the state those whose lands they had found well tilled. This they did in the belief that these men were likely to take as good care of public affairs as they had of their own, and they ordained that the rest of the Milesians who had been at feud should obey these men.

30 1 Πάριοι μὲν νυν Μιλησίους οὕτω κατήρτισαν. τότε δὲ ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολίων ὧδε ἤρχετο κακὰ γίνεσθαι τῇ Ἰωνίῃ. ἐκ Νάξου ἔφυγον ἄνδρες τῶν παχέων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, φυγόντες δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μίλητον. 2 τῆς δὲ Μιλήτου ἐτύγχανε ἐπίτροπος ἐὼν Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μολπαγόρεω, γαμβρός τε ἐὼν καὶ ἀνεψιὸς Ἰστιαίου τοῦ Λυσαγόρεω, τὸν ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐν Σούσοισι κατεῖχε· ὁ γὰρ Ἰστιαῖος τύραννος ἦν Μιλήτου καὶ ἐτύγχανε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐὼν ἐν Σούσοισι, ὅτε οἱ Νάξιοι ἦλθον ξεῖνοι πρὶν ἐόντες τῷ Ἰστιαίῳ. 3 ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οἱ Νάξιοι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἐδέοντο τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρεω, εἴ πως αὐτοῖσι παράσχοι δύνανναι τινα καὶ κατέλθοιεν ἐς τὴν ἐσωτῶν. ὁ δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὡς ἦν δι' αὐτοῦ κατέλθωσι ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἄρξει τῆς Νάξου, σκῆψιν δὲ ποιεύμενος τὴν ξεινίην τὴν Ἰστιαίου, τόνδε σφί λόγον προσέφερε. 4 “αὐτὸς μὲν ὑμῖν οὐ φερέγγυός εἰμι δύνανναι παρασχεῖν τοσαύτην ὥστε κατάγειν ἀεκόντων τῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐχόντων Ναξίων· πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὀκτακισχιλίην ἀσπίδα Ναξίοισι εἶναι καὶ πλοῖα μακρὰ πολλὰ· μηχανήσομαι δὲ πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιεύμενος. 5 ἐπινοέω δὲ τῇδε. Ἀρταφρένης μοι τυγχάνει ἐὼν φίλος· ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ὑμῖν Ὑστάσπεος μὲν ἐστὶ παῖς, Δαρείου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφεός, τῶν δ' ἐπιθαλασσιῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἄρχει πάντων, ἔχων στρατιὴν τε πολλὴν καὶ πολλὰς νέας. τοῦτον ὦν δοκέω τὸν ἄνδρα ποιήσειν τῶν ἂν χρηρίζωμεν,·. 6 ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Νάξιοι προσέθεσαν τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ πρήσσειν τῇ δύναιτο ἄριστα, καὶ ὑπίσχεσθαι δῶρα ἐκέλευον καὶ δαπάνην τῇ στρατιῇ ὡς αὐτοὶ διαλύσοντες, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχοντες, ὅταν ἐπιφανέωσι ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πάντα ποιήσειν τοὺς Ναξίους τὰ ἂν αὐτοὶ κελεύωσι, ὥς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας. τῶν γὰρ νήσων τουτέων τῶν Κυκλάδων οὐδεμία κω ἦν ὑπὸ Δαρείῳ.

30. It was in this way that the Parians made peace in Miletus, but now these cities began to bring trouble upon Ionia. Certain men of substance who had been banished by the common people, went in

exile to Miletus. Now it chanced that the deputy ruling Miletus was Aristagoras son of Molpagoras, son-in-law and cousin of that Histiaeus son of Lysagoras whom Darius kept with him at Susa. Histiaeus was tyrant of Miletus but was at Susa when the Naxians, who had been his guests and friends, arrived. When the Naxians came to Miletus, they asked Aristagoras if he could give them enough power to return to their own country. Believing that he would become ruler of Naxos if they were restored to their city with his help and using as a pretext their friendship with Histiaeus, he made them this proposal: "I myself do not have the authority to give you such power as will restore you against the will of the Naxians who hold your city, for I know that the Naxians have eight thousand men that bear shields, and many ships of war. Nevertheless, I will do everything I can to realize your request. This is my plan. Artaphrenes is my friend, and he is not only Hystaspes' son and brother to Darius the king but also governor of all the coastal peoples of Asia. He accordingly has a great army and many ships at his disposal. This man, then, will, I think, do whatever we desire." Hearing this, the Naxians left the matter for Aristagoras to deal with as best he could, asking him to promise gifts and the costs of the army, for which they themselves would pay since they had great hope that when they should appear off Naxos, the Naxians would obey all their commands. The rest of the islanders, they expected, would do likewise since none of these Cycladic islands was as yet subject to Darius.

31 1 ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφρένεα ὡς Νάξος εἴη νῆσος μεγάθι μὲν οὐ μεγάλη, ἄλλως δὲ καλὴ τε καὶ ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἀγχοῦ Ἰωνίης, χρήματα δὲ ἐνὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἀνδράποδα. "σὺ ὢν ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν στρατηλάτεις, κατάγων ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς φυγάδας ἐξ αὐτῆς. 2 καὶ τοι ταῦτα ποιήσαντι τοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶ ἔτοιμα παρ' ἐμοὶ χρήματα μεγάλα πάρεξ τῶν ἀναισιμωμάτων τῇ στρατιῇ· ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ δίκαιον ἡμέας τοὺς ἄγοντας παρέχειν ἐστὶ· τοῦτο δὲ νήσους βασιλείᾳ προσκτήσεται αὐτὴν τε Νάξον καὶ τὰς ἐκ ταύτης ἡρτημένας, Πάρον καὶ Ἄνδρον καὶ ἄλλας τὰς Κυκλάδας καλυμένας. 3 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁρμώμενος εὐπετέως ἐπιθήσεται Εὐβοίῃ νήσῳ μεγάλῃ τε καὶ εὐδαίμονι, οὐκ ἐλάσσονι Κύπρου καὶ κάρτα

εὐπετεῖ αἰρεθῆναι. ἀποχρῶσι δὲ ἑκατὸν νέες ταύτας πάσας χειρώσασθαι,· ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο αὐτὸν τοῖσιδε. 4 “σὺ ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασιλέος ἐξηγητὴς γίνεαι πρηγμάτων ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ταῦτα εὖ παραινέεις πάντα, πλὴν τῶν νεῶν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ· ἀντὶ δὲ ἑκατὸν νεῶν διηκόσιαί τοι ἔτοιμοι ἔσονται ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι. δεῖ δὲ τούτοισι καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλέα συνέπαινον γίνεσθαι,·.

31. Aristagoras came to Sardis and told Artaphrenes that Naxos was indeed an island of no great size, but that it was otherwise a beautiful and noble island lying near Ionia. Furthermore it had a store of wealth and slaves. “Therefore send an army against that country,” he said, “and bring back the men who have been banished from there. If you so do, I have a great sum of money at your disposal, over and above the costs of the force, for it is only fair that we, who bring you, should furnish that. Furthermore, you will win new dominions for the king, Naxos itself and the islands which are its dependents, Paros, Andros, and the rest of those that are called Cyclades. Making these your starting point, you will easily attack Euboea, which is a great and a wealthy island, no smaller than Cyprus and very easy to take. A hundred ships suffice for the conquest of all these.” “This plan which you set forth,” Artaphrenes answered, “is profitable for the king’s house, and all your advice is good except as regards the number of the ships. Not one hundred but two hundred ships will be ready for you when the spring comes. The king too, however, must himself consent to this.”

32 1 ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀρισταγόρης ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσε, περιχαρὴς ἐὼν ἀπήιε ἐς Μίλητον. ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης, ὥς οἱ πέμψαντι ἐς Σοῦσα καὶ ὑπερθέντι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρεω λεγόμενα συνέπαινος καὶ αὐτὸς Δαρεῖος ἐγένετο, παρεσκευάσατο μὲν διηκοσίας τριήρεας, πολλὸν δὲ κάρτα ὄμιλον Περσέων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, στρατηγὸν δὲ τούτων ἀπέδεξε Μεγαβάτην ἄνδρα Πέρσην τῶν Ἀχαιμενιδέων, ἐωυτοῦ τε καὶ Δαρείου ἀνεψιόν, τοῦ Πausanías ὁ Κλεομβρότου Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰ δὴ ἀληθὴς γε ἐστὶ ὁ λόγος, ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ τούτων ἡρμόσατο θυγατέρα, ἔρωτα σχὼν τῆς Ἑλλάδος τύραννος γενέσθαι. ἀποδέξας δὲ Μεγαβάτην στρατηγὸν Ἀρταφρένης ἀπέστειλε τὸν στρατὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀρισταγόρεα.

32. When Aristagoras heard that, he went away to Miletus in great

joy. Artaphrenes sent a messenger to Susa with the news of what Aristagoras said, and when Darius himself too had consented to the plan, he equipped two hundred triremes and a very great company of Persians and their allies in addition. For their general he appointed Megabates, a Persian of the Achaemenid family, cousin to himself and to Darius. This was he whose daughter (if indeed the tale is true) Pausanias the Lacedaemonian, son of Cleombrotus, at a later day betrothed to himself, since it was his wish to possess the sovereignty of Hellas. After appointing Megabates general, Artaphrenes sent his army away to Aristagoras.

33 1 παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάτης τὸν τε Ἀρισταγόρεα ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου καὶ τὴν Ἰάδα στρατιὴν καὶ τοὺς Ναξίους ἔπλεε πρόφασιν ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου, ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Χίῳ, ἔσχε τὰς νέας ἐς Καύκασα, ὡς ἐνθεῦτεν βορρὴ ἀνέμῳ ἐς τὴν Νάξον διαβάλοι. 2 καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔδεε τούτῳ τῷ στόλῳ Ναξίους ἀπολέσθαι, πρῆγμα τοιόνδε συνηνείχθη γενέσθαι. περιόντος Μεγαβάτεω τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν φυλακάς, ἐπὶ νεὸς Μυνδίας ἔτυχε οὐδεις φυλάσσων· ὁ δὲ δεινὸν τι ποιησάμενος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐξευρόντας τὸν ἄρχοντα ταύτης τῆς νεός, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σκύλαξ, τοῦτον δῆσαι διὰ θαλαμῆς διελόντας τῆς νεὸς κατὰ τοῦτο, ἕξω μὲν κεφαλὴν ποιεῦντας ἔσω δὲ τὸ σῶμα. 3 δεθέντος δὲ τοῦ Σκύλακος, ἐξαγγέλλει τις τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ὅτι τὸν ξεινὸν οἱ τὸν Μύνδιον Μεγαβάτης δῆσας λυμαίνοιτο. ὁ δ' ἐλθὼν παραιτέτο τὸν Πέρσῃν, τυγχάνων δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐδέετο, αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἔλυσε. πυθόμενος δὲ κάρτα δεινὸν ἐποίησατο ὁ Μεγαβάτης καὶ ἐσπέρχετο τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ, 4 ὁ δὲ εἶπε “σοὶ δὲ καὶ τούτοισι τοῖσι πρήγμασι τί ἐστι; οὐ σὲ ἀπέστειλε Ἀρταφρένης ἐμέο πείθεσθαι καὶ πλέειν τῇ ἂν ἐγὼ κελεύω; τί πολλὰ πρήσσεις;,, ταῦτα εἶπε ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης. ὁ δὲ θυμωθείς τούτοισι, ὡς νῦν ἐγένετο, ἔπεμπε ἐς Νάξον πλοίῳ ἄνδρας φράσσοντας τοῖσι Ναξίοισι πάντα τὰ παρόντα σφι πρήγματα.

33. Then Megabates, bringing Aristagoras from Miletus, the Ionian army, and the Naxians, pretended to be sailing to the Hellespont, but when he came to Chios, he put in with his ships at Caucasa so that he might cross with a north wind to Naxos. Since it was not fated that the Naxians were to be destroyed by this force, the following things took place. As Megabates was making his rounds

among the ships' watches, it chanced that there was no watch on the ship of Myndus. Megabates, very angry at this, ordered his guards to find the captain of this ship, whose name was Scylax, and thrust him partly through an oar-hole of the ship and bound him there so that his head was outside the ship and his body inside. When Scylax had been bound, someone brought word to Aristagoras, that his Myndian friend was bound and being disgracefully treated by Megabates. Aristagoras then went and pleaded with the Persian for Scylax, but since he obtained nothing that he requested, he went and released the man himself. When Megabates learned this, he took it very badly and was angry at Aristagoras. Aristagoras, however, said, "But you, what have you to do with these matters? Did not Artaphrenes send you to obey me and to sail wherever I bid you? Why are you so meddlesome?" This response on the part of Aristagoras enraged Megabates, who, went night fell, sent men in a boat to Naxos to tell the Naxians of the trouble in store for them.

34 1 οἱ γὰρ ὧν Νάξιοι οὐδὲν πάντως προσεδέκοντο ἐπὶ σφέας τὸν στόλον τοῦτον ὀρμήσασθαι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐπύθοντο, αὐτίκα μὲν ἐσηνεύοντο τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, παρεσκευάσαντο δὲ ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ σῖτα καὶ ποτά, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐσάξαντο. 2 καὶ οὗτοι μὲν παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς παρεσομένου σφι πολέμου· οἱ δ' ἐπεῖτε διέβαλον ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὰς νέας ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πρὸς πεφραγμένους προσεφέροντο καὶ ἐπολιόρκεον μῆνας τέσσερας. 3 ὡς δὲ τὰ τε ἔχοντες ἦλθον χρήματα οἱ Πέρσαι, ταῦτα κατεδεδαπάνητό σφι, καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ προσαναισίμωτο πολλά, τοῦ πλευνός τε ἐδέετο ἢ πολιορκίῃ, ἐνθαῦτα τείχεα τοῖσι φυγάσι τῶν Ναξίων οἰκοδομήσαντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον κακῶς πρήσσοντες.

34. Now the Naxians had no suspicion at all that it was they who were to be attacked by that force. However, when they learned the truth, they immediately brought inside their walls all that was in their fields, stored both meat and drink in case of a siege, and strengthened their walls. The Naxians, then, made all preparations to face the onset of war. When their enemies had brought their ships over from Chios to Naxos, it was a fortified city that they attacked, and for four months they besieged it. When the Persians had exhausted all the money with which they had come, and Aristagoras himself had spent

much beside, they built a stronghold for the banished Naxians, and went off to the mainland in poor spirits since still more money was needed for the siege.

35 1 Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ οὐκ εἶχε τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν τῷ Ἀρταφρένει ἐκτελέσαι· ἅμα δὲ ἐπίεξε μιν ἡ δαπάνη τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπαιτεομένη, ἀρρώδεε τε τοῦ στρατοῦ πρήξαντος κακῶς καὶ Μεγαβάτη διαβεβλημένος, ἐδόκεε τε τὴν βασιλίην τῆς Μιλήτου ἀπαιρεθῆσθαι. 2 ἀρρώδεων δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα ἐβουλεύετο ἀπόστασιν· συνέπιπτε γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἐστιγμένον τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπῆχθαι ἐκ Σούσων παρὰ Ἰστιαίου, σημαίνοντα ἀπίστασθαι Ἀρισταγόρην ἀπὸ βασιλέως. 3 ὁ γὰρ Ἰστιαῖος βουλόμενος τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ σημῆναι ἀποστῆναι ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε ἀσφαλῶς σημῆναι ὥστε φυλασσομενέων τῶν ὁδῶν, ὁ δὲ τῶν δούλων τὸν πιστότατον ἀποξυρήσας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔστιξε καὶ ἀνέμεινε ἀναφῶναι τὰς τρίχας, ὥς δὲ ἀνέφυσαν τάχιστα, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Μίλητον ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίκηται ἐς Μίλητον, κελεύειν Ἀρισταγόρην ξυρήσαντά μιν τὰς τρίχας κατιδέσθαι ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν. τὰ δὲ στίγματα ἐσήμαινε, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ἀπόστασιν. 4 ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐποίεε συμφορὴν ποιεύμενος μεγάλην τὴν ἐωυτοῦ κατοχὴν τὴν ἐν Σούσοισι· ἀποστάσιος ὢν γινομένης πολλὰς εἶχε ἐλπίδας μετήσεσθαι ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, μὴ δὲ νεώτερόν τι ποιεύσης τῆς Μιλήτου οὐδαμὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἥξειν ἔτι ἐλογίζετο.

35. Aristagoras had no way of fulfilling his promise to Artaphrenes, and he was hard-pressed by demands for the costs of the force. Furthermore he feared what might come of the failure of the army and Megabates' displeasure against him. It was likely, he thought, that his lordship of Miletus would be taken away from him. With all these fears in his mind, he began to plan revolt, for it chanced that at that very time there came from Susa Histiaeus' messenger, the man with the marked head, signifying that Aristagoras should revolt from the king. Since Histiaeus desired to give word to Aristagoras that he should revolt and had no other safe way of doing so because the roads were guarded, he shaved and branded the head of his most trustworthy slave. He waited till the hair had grown again, and as soon as it was grown, he sent the man to Miletus with no other message except that when he came to

Miletus he must bid Aristagoras shave his hair and examine his head. The writing branded on it signified revolt, as I have already said. This Histiaeus did because he greatly disliked his detention at Susa and fully expected to be sent away to the coast in the case that there should be a revolt. If, however, Miletus remained at peace, he calculated that he would never return there.

36 1 Ἱστιαῖος μὲν νυν ταῦτα διανοεύμενος ἀπέπεμπε τὸν ἄγγελον, Ἀρισταγόρῃ δὲ συνέπιπτε τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου πάντα ταῦτα συνελθόντα. ἐβουλευέτο ὦν μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων, ἐκφήνας τὴν τε ἐωυτοῦ γνώμην καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἱστιαίου ἀπιγμένα. 2 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες γνώμην κατὰ τὸν ἐξοφύοντο, κελεύοντες ἀπίστασθαι. Ἑκαταῖος δ' ὁ λογοποιὸς πρῶτα μὲν οὐκ ἔα πόλεμον βασιλείᾳ τῶν Περσέων ἀναιρέεσθαι, καταλέγων τὰ τε ἔθνεα πάντα τῶν ἤρχε Δαρεῖος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ. ἐπεῖτε δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, δεύτερα συνεβούλευε ποιεῖν ὅπως ναυκρατέες τῆς θαλάσσης ἔσονται. 3 ἄλλως μὲν νυν οὐδαμῶς ἔφη λέγων ἐνορᾶν ἐσόμενον τοῦτο· ἐπίστασθαι γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Μιλησίων ἐοῦσαν ἀσθενέα· εἰ δὲ τὰ χρήματα κατααιρεθῇ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι, τὰ Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς ἀνέθηκε, πολλὰς εἶχε ἐλπίδας ἐπικρατῆσειν τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ οὕτω αὐτοὺς τε ἔξιν τοῖσι χρήμασι χρᾶσθαι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐ συλήσειν αὐτά. 4 τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἦν ταῦτα μεγάλα, ὥς δεδῆλωται μοι ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγων. αὕτη μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐνίκῃ ἢ γνώμῃ, ἐδόκεε δὲ ὅμως ἀπίστασθαι, ἓνα τε αὐτῶν πλώσαντα ἐς Μυοῦντα ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Νάξου ἀπελθόν, ἐὼν ἐνθαῦτα, συλλαμβάνειν πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐπιπλέοντας στρατηγούς.

36. With this intent, then, Histiaeus sent his messenger, and it chanced that all these things came upon Aristagoras at one and the same time. He accordingly took counsel with the members of his faction, stating his own opinion as well as the message which had come to him from Histiaeus. All the rest spoke their minds to the same effect, favoring revolt, with the exception of Hecataeus the historian who, listing all the nations subject to Darius and all his power, advised them that they should not make war on the king of Persia. When, however, he failed to persuade them, he counselled them that their next best plan was to make themselves masters of the

sea. This, he said, could only be accomplished in one way (Miletus, he knew, was a city of no great wealth), namely if they took away from the temple at Branchidae the treasure which Croesus the Lydian had dedicated there. With this at their disposal, he fully expected them to gain the mastery of the sea. They would then have the use of that treasure and their enemies would not be able to plunder it. The treasure was very great, as I have shown in the beginning of my account. This plan was not approved, and they resolved that they would revolt. One out of their number was to sail to Myus, to the army which had left Naxos and was there, and attempt to seize the generals who were aboard the ships.

37 1 ἀποπεμφθέντος δὲ Ἰητραγόρεω κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ συλλαβόντος δόλῳ Ὀλίατον Ἰβανώλλιος Μυλασσέα καὶ Ἰστιαῖον Τύμνεω Τερμερέα καὶ Κώην Ἐρξάνδρου, τῷ Δαρείῳ Μυτιλήνην ἔδωρήσατο, καὶ Ἀρισταγόρην Ἡρακλείδew Κυμαῖον καὶ ἄλλους συγχούς, οὕτω δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπεστήκεε, πᾶν ἐπὶ Δαρείῳ μηχανώμενος. 2 καὶ πρῶτα μὲν λόγῳ μετεῖς τὴν τυραννίδα ἰσονομίην ἐποίει τῇ Μιλήτῳ, ὥς ἂν ἐκόντες αὐτῷ οἱ Μιλήσιοι συναπισταίητο, μετὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰωνίῃ τὸν τοῦτο ἐποίει, τοὺς μὲν ἐξελαύνων τῶν τυράννων, τοὺς δ' ἔλαβε τυράννους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν συμπλευσασέων ἐπὶ Νάξον, τούτους δὲ φίλα βουλόμενος ποιέεσθαι τῇσι πόλεσι ἐξεδίδου, ἄλλον ἐς ἄλλην πόλιν παραδιδούς, ὅθεν εἴη ἕκαστος.

37. Iatragoras, who had been sent for this very purpose, craftily seized Oliatus of Mylasa son of Ibanollis; Histiaeus of Termera son of Tymnes; Coes son of Erxandrus, to whom Darius gave Mytilene; Aristagoras of Cyme, son of Heraclides; and many others besides. Then Aristagoras revolted openly, devising all he could to harm Darius. First he made pretence of giving up his tyranny and gave Miletus equality of government so that the Milesians might readily join in his revolt. Then he proceeded to do the same things in the rest of Ionia. Some of the tyrants he banished, and as for those tyrants whom he had taken out of the ships that sailed with him against Naxos, he handed them each over to their respective cities, which he wished to please.

38 1 Κώην μὲν νυν Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα παρέλαβον,

ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν, Κυμαῖοι δὲ τὸν σφέτερον αὐτῶν ἀπῆκαν· ὥς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ πλεῖνες ἀπίεσαν. 2 τυράννων μὲν νυν κατάπαυσις ἐγένετο ἀνὰ τὰς πόλεις, Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος ὡς τοὺς τυράννους κατέπαυσε, στρατηγούς ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν πολιῶν κελεύσας ἐκάστους καταστήσαι, δεῦτερα αὐτοὺς ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα τριῆρεϊ ἀπόστολος ἐγένετο· ἔδεε γὰρ δὴ συμμαχίης τινός οἱ μεγάλης ἐξευρεθῆναι.

38. Coes, when the Mytilenaeans received him, was taken out and stoned, but the Cymaeans, as well as most of the others, let their own man go. In this way, then, an end was made of tyrants in the cities. After doing away with the tyrants, Aristagoras of Miletus ordered all the peoples to set up governors in each city. Then he went on an embassy in a trireme to Lacedaemon, for it was necessary for him to find some strong ally.

39 1 τῆς δὲ Σπάρτης Ἀναξανδρίδης μὲν ὁ Λέοντος οὐκέτι περιεὼν ἐβασίλευε ἀλλὰ ἐτετελευτήκει, Κλεομένης δὲ ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew εἶχε τὴν βασιλίην, οὐ κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην σχὼν ἀλλὰ κατὰ γένος. Ἀναξανδρίδῃ γὰρ ἔχοντι γυναῖκα ἀδελφεῆς ἐωυτοῦ θυγατέρα, καὶ ἐούσης ταύτης οἱ καταθυμίας, παῖδες οὐκ ἐγίνοντο. 2 τούτου δὲ τοιούτου ἐόντος, οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπικαλεσάμενοι αὐτὸν “εἴ τοι σὺ σεωυτοῦ μὴ προορᾷς, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ οὐ περιοπτέον, γένος τὸ Εὐρυσθέneos γενέσθαι ἐξίτηλον. σύ νυν τὴν μὲν ἔχεις γυναῖκα, ἐπεῖτε τοι οὐ τίκτει, ἔξεο, ἄλλην δὲ γῆμον· καὶ ποιέων ταῦτα Σπαρτιήτησι ἀδήσεις,,. ὃ δ' ἀμείβετο φᾶς τούτων οὐδέτερα ποιήσῃν, ἐκείνους τε οὐ καλῶς συμβουλευεῖν λεύειν παραινέοντας, τὴν ἔχει γυναῖκα ἐοῦσαν ἀναμάρτητον ἐωυτῷ, ταύτην ἀπέντα ἄλλην ἐσαγαγέσθαι· οὐδέ σφι πείσεσθαι.

39. At Sparta, Anaxandrides the son of Leon, who had been king, was now no longer alive but was dead, and Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides held the royal power. This he had won not by manly merit but by right of birth. Anaxandrides had as his wife his own sister's daughter, and although he was content with her, no children were born to him. Since this was the case, the Ephors called him to them and said, “Even if you have no interest in caring for yourself, we cannot allow the house of Eurysthenes to perish. Therefore send away the wife that you have, seeing that she bears you no children,

and wed another. If you do this, you will please the Spartans.” Anaxandrides, however, said in response that he would do neither of these things and that they were not giving him good advice in bidding him to get rid of his present wife, who was blameless, and to marry another.

40 1 πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ γέροντες βουλευσάμενοι προσέφερον Ἀναξανδρίδῃ τάδε. “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τοι περιεχόμενόν σε ὀρῶμεν τῆς ἔχεις γυναικός, σὺ δὲ ταῦτα ποίεε, καὶ μὴ ἀντίβαινε τούτοισι, ἵνα μὴ τι ἀλλοιὸν περὶ σεῦ Σπαρτιῇται βουλεύσωνται· 2 γυναικὸς μὲν τῆς ἔχεις οὐ προσδεόμεθά σευ τῆς ἐξέσιος, σὺ δὲ ταύτῃ τε πάντα ὅσα νῦν παρέχεις πάρεχε καὶ ἄλλῃν πρὸς ταύτῃ ἐσάγαγε γυναῖκα τεκνοποιόν,,. ταῦτά κη λεγόντων συνεχώρησε ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδης, μετὰ δὲ γυναῖκας ἔχων δύο διξὰς ἰστίας οἶκεε, ποιέων οὐδαμῶς Σπαρτιτικά.

40. Then the Ephors and Elders took counsel, and placed this proposal before Anaxandrides: “Since, as we see, you cling to the wife that you have, carry out our command, and do not hold out against it, bearing in mind that the Spartans will certainly find some other way of dealing with you. As for the wife that you have, we do not ask that you send her away. Keep providing her with all that you give her now and marry another woman in addition who can give you children.” So they spoke, and Anaxandrides consented. Presently he had two wives and kept two households, a thing which is not at all customary at Sparta.

41 1 χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἡ ἐσύστερον ἐπελθοῦσα γυνὴ τίκτει τὸν δὴ Κλεομένεα τοῦτον. καὶ αὕτη τε ἔφεδρον βασιλέα Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἀπέφαινε, καὶ ἡ προτέρη γυνὴ τὸν πρότερον χρόνον ἄτοκος ἐοῦσα τότε κως ἐκύησε, συντυχίῃ ταύτῃ χρησαμένη. 2 ἔχουσαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ οἱ τῆς ἐπελθούσης γυναικὸς οἰκήιοι πυθόμενοι ὥχλεον, φάμενοι αὐτὴν κομπέειν ἄλλως βουλομένην ὑποβαλέσθαι. δεινὰ δὲ ποιούντων αὐτῶν, τοῦ χρόνου συντάμνοντος, ὑπ’ ἀπιστίης οἱ ἔφοροι τίκτουςαν τὴν γυναῖκα περιζόμενοι ἐφύλαξαν. 3 ἡ δὲ ὡς ἔτεκε Δωριέα ἰθέως ἴσχει Λεωνίδην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἰθέως ἴσχει Κλεόμβροτον· οἱ δὲ καὶ διδύμους λέγουσι Κλεόμβροτον καὶ Λεωνίδην γενέσθαι. ἡ δὲ Κλεομένεα τεκοῦσα καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐπελθοῦσα γυνή, ἐοῦσα θυγάτηρ Πρινητάδεω τοῦ

Δημαρμένου, οὐκέτι ἔτικτε τὸ δεύτερον.

41. After no long time the second wife gave birth to Cleomenes. She, then, gave the Spartans an heir to the royal power, and as luck would have it, the first wife, who had been barren before, conceived at that very time. When the friends of the new wife learned that the other woman was pregnant, they began to make trouble for her. They said that she was making an empty boast, so that she might substitute a child. The Ephors were angry, and when her time drew near, they sat around to watch her in childbirth because of their skepticism. She gave birth first to Dorieus, then straightway to Leonidas, and right after him to Cleombrotus. Some, however, say that Cleombrotus and Leonidas were twins. As for the later wife, the mother of Cleomenes and the daughter of Prinetas son of Demarmenus, she bore no more children.

42 1 ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεομένης, ὡς λέγεται, ἦν τε οὐ φρενήρης ἀκρομανῆς τε, ὁ δὲ Δωριεὺς ἦν τῶν ἡλίκων πάντων πρῶτος, εὖ τε ἐπίστατο κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην αὐτὸς σχήσων τὴν βασιληίην. 2 ὥστε ὦν οὕτω φρονέων, ἐπειδὴ ὁ τε Ἀναξανδρίδης ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χρεώμενοι τῷ νόμῳ ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα τὸν πρεσβύτατον Κλεομένεα, ὁ Δωριεὺς δεινὸν τε ποιούμενος καὶ οὐκ ἀξιῶν ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος βασιλεύεσθαι, αἰτήσας λεῶν Σπαρτιήτας ἦγε ἐς ἀποικίην, οὔτε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς ἥντινα γῆν κτίσων ἦ, οὔτε ποιήσας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων· οἷα δὲ βαρέως φέρων, ἀπίει ἐς τὴν Λιβύην τὰ πλοῖα· κατηγέοντο δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες Θηραῖοι. 3 ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Λιβύην οἶκισε χῶρον κάλλιστον τῶν Λιβύων παρὰ Κίνυπα ποταμόν. ἐξελασθεὶς δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν τρίτῳ ἔτει ὑπὸ Μακέων τε Λιβύων καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἀπίκετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον.

42. Now Cleomenes, as the story goes, was not in his right mind and really quite mad, while Dorieus was first among all of his peers and fully believed that he would be made king for his manly worth. Since he was of this opinion, Dorieus was very angry when at Anaxandrides' death the Lacedaemonians followed their custom and made Cleomenes king by right of age. Since he would not tolerate being made subject to Cleomenes, he asked the Spartans for a group of people whom he took away as colonists. He neither inquired of the

oracle at Delphi in what land he should establish his settlement, nor did anything else that was customary but set sail in great anger for Libya, with men of Thera to guide him. When he arrived there, he settled by the Cinyps river in the fairest part of Libya, but in the third year he was driven out by the Macae, the Libyans and the Carchedonians and returned to the Peloponnesus.

43 1 ἐνθαῦτα δέ οἱ Ἀντιχάρης ἀνὴρ Ἐλεώνιος συνεβούλευσε ἐκ τῶν Λαΐου χρησμῶν Ἑρακλείην τὴν ἐν Σικελίῃ κτίζειν, φὰς τὴν Ἑρυκος χώραν πᾶσαν εἶναι Ἑρακλειδέων αὐτοῦ Ἑρακλέος κτησαμένου. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐς Δελφοὺς οἶχeto χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, εἰ αἰρέει ἐπ' ἣν στέλλεται χώραν· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ αἰρήσειν. παραλαβὼν δὲ Δωριεὺς τὸν στόλον τὸν καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἦγε, ἐκομίζετο παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίην.

43. There Antichares, a man of Eleon, advised him, on the basis of the oracles of Laius, to plant a colony at Heraclea in Sicily, for Heracles himself, said Antichares, had won all the region of Eryx, which accordingly belonged to his descendants. When Dorieus heard that, he went away to Delphi to enquire of the oracle if he should seize the place to which he was preparing to go. The priestess responded that it should be so, and he took with him the company that he had led to Libya and went to Italy.

44 1 τὸν χρόνον δὲ τοῦτον, ὥς λέγουσι Συβαρίται, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Τήλυν τὸν ἐωυτῶν βασιλέα ἐπὶ Κρότωνα μέλλειν στρατεύεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ Κροτωνιήτας περιδεέας γενομένους δεηθῆναι Δωριέος σφίσι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τυχεῖν δεηθέντας· συστρατεύεσθαι τε δὴ ἐπὶ Σύβαριν Δωριέα καὶ συνελεῖν τὴν Σύβαριν. 2 ταῦτα μὲν νυν Συβαρίται λέγουσι ποιῆσαι Δωριέα τε καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, Κροτωνιῆται δὲ οὐδένα σφίσι φασὶ ξεῖνον προσεπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Συβαρίτας πολέμου εἰ μὴ Καλλίην τῶν Ἰαμιδέων μάντιν Ἥλειον μούνον, καὶ τοῦτον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· παρὰ Τήλῳς τοῦ Συβαριτέων τυράννου ἀποδράντα ἀπικέσθαι παρὰ σφέας, ἐπεῖτε οἱ τὰ ἱρὰ οὐ προεχώρεε χρηστὰ θυομένῳ ἐπὶ Κρότωνα.

44. Now at this time, as the Sybarites say, they and their king Telys were making ready to march against Croton, and the men of Croton, who were very much afraid, entreated Dorieus to come to their aid. Their request was granted, and Dorieus marched with them

to Sybaris helping them to take it. This is the story which the Sybarites tell of Dorieus and his companions, but the Crotoniats say that they were aided by no stranger in their war with Sybaris with the exception of Callias, an Elean diviner of the Iamid clan. About him there was a story that he had fled to Croton from Telys, the tyrant of Sybaris, because as he was sacrificing for victory over Croton, he could obtain no favorable omens.

45 1 ταῦτα δὲ οὗτοι λέγουσι. μαρτύρια δὲ τούτων ἑκάτεροι ἀποδεικνύουσι τάδε, Συβαρίται μὲν τέμενός τε καὶ νηὸν ἔοντα παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κραθὶν, τὸν ἰδρύσασθαι συνελόντα τὴν πόλιν Δωριέα λέγουσι Ἀθηναίῃ ἐπωνύμῳ Κραθίῃ· τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῦ Δωριέος τὸν θάνατον μαρτύριον μέγιστον ποιεῦνται, ὅτι παρὰ τὰ μεμαντευμένα ποιέων διεφθάρη· εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ παρέπρηξε μηδέν, ἐπ’ ὃ δὲ ἐστάλη ἐποίησε, εἴλε ἂν τὴν Ἐρυκίνην χώραν καὶ ἐλὼν κατέσχε, οὐδ’ ἂν αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ διεφθάρη. 2 οἱ δ’ αὖ Κροτωνιῆται ἀποδεικνύσι Καλλίῃ μὲν τῷ Ἥλειῳ ἐξάϊρετα ἐν γῇ τῇ Κροτωνιήτιδι πολλὰ δοθέντα, τὰ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἐνέμοντο οἱ Καλλίειω ἀπόγονοι, Δωριεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Δωριέος ἀπογόνοισι οὐδέν. καίτοι εἰ συνεπελάβετό γε τοῦ Συβαριτικοῦ πολέμου Δωριεύς, δοθῆναι ἂν οἱ πολλαπλήσια ἢ Καλλίῃ. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἑκάτεροι αὐτῶν μαρτύρια ἀποφαίνονται, καὶ πάρεστι, ὁκοτέροισί τις πείθεται αὐτῶν, τούτοις προσχωρεῖν.

45. This is their tale, and both cities have proof of the truth of what they say. The Sybarites point to a precinct and a temple beside the dry bed of the Crathis, which, they say, Dorieus founded in honor of Athena of Crathis after he had helped to take their city. and find their strongest proof in his death. He perished through doing more than the oracle bade him, for if he had accomplished no more than that which he set out to do, he would have taken and held the Erycine region without bringing about the death of himself and his army. The Crotoniats, on the other hand, show many plots of land which had been set apart for and given to Callias of Elis and on which Callias' posterity dwelt even to my time but show no gift to Dorieus and his descendants. They claim, however, that if Dorieus had aided them in their war with Sybaris, he would have received a reward many times greater than what was given to Callias. This, then is the evidence

brought forward by each party, and each may side with that which seems to him to deserve more credence.

46 1 συνέπλεον δὲ Δωριεὶ καὶ ἄλλοι συγκτίσται Σπαρτιητέων, Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Παραβάτης καὶ Κελέης καὶ Εὐρυλέων· οἱ ἐπεῖτε ἀπίκοντο παντὶ στόλῳ ἐς τὴν Σικελίην, ἀπέθανον μάχῃ ἑσσωθέντες ὑπὸ τε Φοινίκων καὶ Ἑγεσταίων· μόνος δὲ Εὐρυλέων τῶν συγκτιστέων περιεγένετο τούτου τοῦ πάθος. 2 συλλαβὼν δὲ οὗτος τῆς στρατιῆς τοὺς περιγενομένους ἔσχε Μινώην τὴν Σελινουσίῳ ἀποικίην, καὶ συνελευθέρου Σελινουσίους τοῦ μουνάρχου Πειθαγόρου· μετὰ δὲ ὥς τοῦτον κατεῖλε, αὐτὸς τυραννίδι ἐπεχείρησε Σελινούντος καὶ ἐμουνάρχησε χρόνον ἐπ' ὀλίγον· οἱ γάρ μιν Σελινούσιοι ἐπαναστάντες ἀπέκτειναν καταφυγόντα ἐπὶ Διὸς ἀγοραίου βωμόν.

46. Other Spartans too sailed with Dorieus to found his colony, namely, Thessalus, Paraebates, Celees, and Euryleon. When these men had come to Sicily with all their company, they were all overcome and slain in battle by the Phoenicians and Egestans, all, that is, except Euryleon, who was the only settler that survived this disaster. He mustered the remnant of his army and took Minoa, the colony from Selinus, and aided in freeing the people of Selinus from their monarch Pithagoras. After deposing this man, he himself attempted to become tyrant of Selinus but was monarch there for only a little while since the people of the place rose against him and slew him at the altar of Zeus of the marketplace, to which he had fled for refuge.

47 1 συνέσπετο δὲ Δωριεὶ καὶ συναπέθανε Φίλιππος ὁ Βουτακίδεω Κροτωνιῆτης ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἀρμοσάμενος Τήλως τοῦ Συβαρίτεω θυγατέρα ἔφυγε ἐκ Κρότωνος, ψευσθεὶς δὲ τοῦ γάμου οἶχετο πλέων ἐς Κυρήνην, ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ὁρμώμενος συνέσπετο οἰκίῃ τε τριήρῃ καὶ οἰκίῃ ἀνδρῶν δαπάνη, ἐὼν τε Ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ κάλλιστος Ἑλλήνων τῶν κατ' ἐωυτόν. 2 διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐωυτοῦ κάλλος ἠνεύκατο παρὰ Ἑγεσταίων τὰ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἡρώιον ἰδρυσάμενοι θυσίησι αὐτὸν ἱλάσκονται.

47. Philippus of Croton, son of Butacides, was among those who followed Dorieus and were slain with him. He had been betrothed to the daughter of Telys of Sybaris but was banished from Croton.

Cheated out of his marriage, he sailed away to Cyrene, from where he set forth and followed Dorieus, bringing his own trireme and covering all expenses for his men. This Philippus was a victor at Olympia and the fairest Greek of his day. For his physical beauty he received from the Eggestans honors accorded to no one else. They built a hero's shrine by his grave and offer him sacrifices of propitiation.

48 1 Δωριεύς μὲν νυν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐτελεύτησε· εἰ δὲ ἠνέσχετο βασιλευόμενος ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος καὶ κατέμενε ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἐβασίλευσε ἂν Λακεδαιμόνιος· οὐ γάρ τινα πολλὸν χρόνον ἥρξε ὁ Κλεομένης, ἀλλ' ἀπέθανε ἅπαις, θυγατέρα μούνην λιπών, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Γοργώ.

48. Such, then, was the manner of Dorieus' death. Had he endured Cleomenes' rule and stayed at Sparta he would have been king of Lacedaemon, for Cleomenes reigned no long time, and died leaving no son but one only daughter, whose name was Gorgo.

49 1 ἀπικνέεται δὲ ὣν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην Κλεομένεος ἔχοντος τὴν ἀρχήν· τῷ δὴ ἐς λόγους ἦε, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, ἔχων χάλκεον πῖνακα ἐν τῷ γῆς ἀπάσης περίοδος ἐνετέμνητο καὶ θάλασσά τε πᾶσα καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες. 2 ἀπικνεόμενος δὲ ἐς λόγους ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε. “Κλεόμενες, σπουδὴν μὲν τὴν ἐμὴν μὴ θωμάσης τῆς ἐνθαῦτα ἀπίξις· τὰ γὰρ κατήκοντα ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα· Ἰώνων παῖδας δούλους εἶναι ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων ὄνειδος καὶ ἄλγος μέγιστον μὲν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν, ὅσῳ προέστατε τῆς Ἑλλάδος. 3 νῦν ὦν πρὸς θεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνίων ρύσασθε Ἴωνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης ἄνδρας ὁμαίμονας. εὐπετέως δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα οἶά τε χωρέειν ἐστὶ· οὔτε γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἄλκιμοι εἰσὶ, ὑμεῖς τε τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκετε ἀρετῆς πέρι, ἥ τε μάχῃ αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τοιήδε, τόξα καὶ αἰχμὴ βραχέα· ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἔχοντες ἔρχονται ἐς τὰς μάχας καὶ κυρβασίας ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι. 4 οὕτω εὐπετέες χειρωθῆναι εἰσὶ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τοῖσι τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκείνην νεμομένοισι ὅσα οὐδὲ τοῖσι συνάπασι ἄλλοισι, ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ ἀρξαμένοισι, ἄργυρος καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθῆς ποικίλη καὶ ὑποζύγια τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα· τὰ θυμῷ βουλόμενοι αὐτοὶ ἂν ἔχοιτε. 5 κατοίκηνται δὲ ἀλλήλων ἐχόμενοι ὡς ἐγὼ φράσω, Ἴωνων μὲν τῶνδε οἶδε Λυδοί, οἰκέοντές τε χώραν ἀγαθὴν καὶ

πολυαγυρώτατοι έόντες,, δεικνύς δέ έλεγε ταύτα ές τής γής τήν περίοδον, τήν έφέρετο έν τῷ πίνακι έντετμημένην. “Λυδῶν δέ,, έφη λέγων ο Αρισταγόρης “οΐδε έχονται Φρύγες οί πρὸς τήν ήῶ, πολυπροβατώτατοί τε έόντες πάντων τῶν έγῶ οΐδα και πολυκαρπότατοι. 6 Φρυγῶν δέ έχονται Καππαδόκαι, τούς ήμεΐς Συρίους καλέομεν. τούτοιςι δέ πρόσουροι Κίλικες, κατήκοντες έπί θάλασσαν τήνδε, έν τή ήδε Κύπρος νήσος κέεται· οΐ πεντακόσια τάλαντα βασιλεί τόν έπέτειον φόρον έπιτελεΰσι. Κιλικῶν δέ τῶνδε έχονται Αρμένιοι οΐδε, και οΐτοι έόντες πολυπρόβατοι, Αρμενίων δέ Ματινηοί χώρην τήνδε έχοντες. 7 έχεται δέ τούτων γή ήδε Κισσίη, έν τή δή παρὰ ποταμόν τόνδε Χοάσπην κείμενα έστι τὰ Σοΰσα ταύτα, ένθα βασιλεύς τε μέγας δίαιταν ποιέεται, και τῶν χρημάτων οί θησαυροί ένθαΰτα εισί· έλόντες δέ ταύτην τήν πόλιν θαρσέοντες ήδη τῷ Διί πλούτου πέρι έρίζετε. 8 άλλὰ περι μέν χώρης ἄρα οὐ πολλής οὐδὲ οὕτω χρηστῆς και οὖρων σμικρῶν χρεόν έστι ύμέας μάχας αναβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τε Μεσσηνίους έόντας ισοπαλέας και Αρκάδας τε και Αργείους, τοΐςι οὕτε χρυσοῦ έχόμενον έστι οὐδέν οὕτε άργύρου, τῶν πέρι και τινα ένάγει προθυμΐη μαχόμενον άποθνήσκειν· παρέχον δέ τής Ασίας πάσης ἄρχειν εύπετέως, άλλο τι αίρήσεσθε;,, 9 Αρισταγόρης μέν ταύτα έλεξε, Κλεομένης δέ άμείβετο τοΐσιδε. “ᾧ ξείνε Μιλήσιε, αναβάλλομαί τοι ές τρίτην ήμέρην ύποκρινέεσθαι,,.

49. It was in the reign of Cleomenes that Aristagoras the tyrant of Miletus came to Sparta. When he had an audience with the king, as the Lacedaemonians report, he brought with him a bronze tablet on which the map of all the earth was engraved, and all the sea and all the rivers. Having been admitted to converse with Cleomenes, Aristagoras spoke thus to him: “Do not wonder, Cleomenes, that I have been so eager to come here, for our present situation is such that the sons of the Ionians are slaves and not free men, which is shameful and grievous particularly to ourselves but also, of all others, to you, inasmuch as you are the leaders of Hellas. Now, therefore, we entreat you by the gods of Hellas to save your Ionian kinsmen from slavery. This is a thing which you can easily achieve, for the strangers are not valiant men while your valor in war is preeminent. As for their manner of fighting, they carry bows and

short spears, and they go to battle with trousers on their legs and turbans on their heads. Accordingly, they are easy to overcome. Furthermore, the inhabitants of that continent have more good things than all other men together, gold first but also silver, bronze, colored cloth, beasts of burden, and slaves. All this you can have to your heart's desire. The lands in which they dwell lie next to each other, as I shall show: next to the Ionians are the Lydians, who inhabit a good land and have great store of silver.” (This he said pointing to the map of the earth which he had brought engraved on the tablet.) “Next to the Lydians,” said Aristagoras, “you see the Phrygians to the east, men that of all known to me are the richest in flocks and in the fruits of the earth. Close by them are the Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians, and their neighbors are the Cilicians, whose land reaches to the sea over there, in which you see the island of Cyprus lying. The yearly tribute which they pay to the king is five hundred talents. Next to the Cilicians, are the Armenians, another people rich in flocks, and after the Armenians, the Matieni, whose country I show you. Adjoining these you see the Cissian land, in which, on the Choaspes, lies that Susa where the great king lives and where the storehouses of his wealth are located. Take that city, and you need not fear to challenge Zeus for riches. You should suspend your war, then, for strips of land of no great worth — for that fight with with Messenians, who are matched in strength with you, and Arcadians and Argives, men who have nothing in the way of gold or silver (for which things many are spurred by zeal to fight and die). Yet when you can readily be masters of all Asia, will you refuse to attempt it?” Thus spoke Aristagoras, and Cleomenes replied: “Milesian, my guest, wait till the third day for my answer.”

50 1 τότε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤλασαν· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἡ κυρὴ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τῆς ὑποκρίσιος καὶ ἤλθον ἐς τὸ συγκεῖμενον, εἶρετο ὁ Κλεομένης τὸν Ἀρισταγόρην ὀκοσέων ἡμερέων ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἰώνων ὁδὸς εἶη παρὰ βασιλέα. 2 ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης τᾶλλα ἐὼν σοφὸς καὶ διαβάλλων ἐκεῖνον εὖ ἐν τούτῳ ἐσφάλη· χρὲον γάρ μιν μὴ λέγειν τὸ ἐόν, βουλούμενόν γε Σπαρτιήτας ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λέγει δ’ ὦν τριῶν μηνῶν φᾶς εἶναι τὴν ἄνοδον. ὁ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον τὸν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὥρμητο λέγειν περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ,

εἶπε 3 “ὦ ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, ἀπαλλάσσεο ἐκ Σπάρτης πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου· οὐδένα γὰρ λόγον εὐεπὰ λέγεις Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἐθέλων σφέας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τριῶν μηνῶν ὁδὸν ἀγαγεῖν,,.

50. At that time, then, they got so far. When, on the day appointed for the answer, they came to the place upon which they had agreed, Cleomenes asked Aristagoras how many days' journey it was from the Ionian sea to the king. Till now, Aristagoras had been cunning and fooled the Spartan well, but here he made a false step. If he desired to take the Spartans away into Asia he should never have told the truth, but he did tell it, and said that it was a three months' journey inland. At that, Cleomenes cut short Aristagoras' account of the prospective journey. He then bade his Milesian guest depart from Sparta before sunset, for never, he said, would the Lacedaemonians listen to the plan, if Aristagoras desired to lead them a three months' journey from the sea.

51 1 ὁ μὲν Κλεομένης ταῦτα εἶπας ἦι ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης λαβὼν ἱκετηρίην ἦι ἐς τοῦ Κλεομένεος, ἐσελθὼν δὲ ἔσω ἅτε ἱκετεῦων ἐπακοῦσαι ἐκέλευε τὸν Κλεομένεα ἀποπέμψαντα τὸ παιδίον· προσεστῆκε γὰρ δὴ τῷ Κλεομένει ἡ θυγάτηρ, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Γοργώ· τοῦτο δὲ οἱ καὶ μόνον τέκνον ἐτύγχανε ἐὼν ἐτέων ὀκτῶ ἢ ἐννέα ἡλικίην. Κλεομένης δὲ λέγειν μιν ἐκέλευε τὰ βούλεται μηδὲ ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ παιδίου εἵνεκα. 2 ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἄρχετο ἐκ δέκα τάλαντων ὑπισχνόμενος, ἦν οἱ ἐπιτελέσῃ τῶν ἐδέετο. ἀνανεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεομένεος προέβαινε τοῖσι χρήμασι ὑπερβάλλων ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης, ἐς οὗ πεντήκοντά τε τάλαντα ὑπεδέδεκτο καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἠυδάξατο “πάτερ, διαφθερέει σε ὁ ξεῖνος, ἦν μὴ ἀποστὰς ἴης,,. 3 ὃ τε δὴ Κλεομένης ἡσθεὶς τοῦ παιδίου τῇ παραινέσει ἦι ἐς ἕτερον οἶκημα, καὶ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπαλλάσσετο τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο ἐπὶ πλέον ἔτι σημῆναι περὶ τῆς ἀνόδου τῆς παρὰ βασιλέα.

51. Cleomenes went to his house after this exchange, but Aristagoras took a suppliant's garb and followed him there. Upon entering, he used a suppliant's right to beg Cleomenes to listen to him. He first asked Cleomenes to send away the child, his daughter Gorgo, who was standing by him. She was his only child, and was about eight or nine years of age. Cleomenes bade him say whatever

he wanted and not let the child's presence hinder him. Then Aristagoras began to promise Cleomenes from ten talents upwards, if he would grant his request. When Cleomenes refused, Aristagoras offered him ever more and more. When he finally promised fifty talents the child cried out, "Father, the stranger will corrupt you, unless you leave him and go away." Cleomenes was pleased with the child's counsel and went into another room while Aristagoras departed from Sparta, finding no further occasion for telling of the journey inland to the king's palace.

52 1 ἔχει γὰρ ἀμφὶ τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ ὧδε· σταθμοὶ τε πανταχῇ εἰσι βασιλῆιοι καὶ καταλύσεις κάλλισται, διὰ οἰκεομένης τε ἡ ὁδὸς ἅπασα καὶ ἀσφαλὲς. διὰ μὲν γε Λυδίας καὶ Φρυγίας σταθμοὶ τείνοντες εἴκοσι εἰσὶ, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ. 2 ἐκδέκεται δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίας ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμός, ἐπ' ᾧ πύλαι τε ἔπεισι, τὰς διεξελάσαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ οὕτω διεκπερᾶν τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ φυλακτήριον μέγα ἐπ' αὐτῷ. διαβάντι δὲ ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίην καὶ ταύτῃ πορευομένῳ μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Κιλικίων σταθμοὶ δυὼν δέοντες εἰσὶ τριήκοντα, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἑκατόν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι τούτων οὖροισι διζᾶς τε πύλας διεξελᾶς καὶ διζὰ φυλακτήρια παραμείψαι. 3 ταῦτα δὲ διεξελάσαντι καὶ διὰ τῆς Κιλικίας ὁδὸν ποιευμένῳ τρεῖς εἰσι σταθμοί, παρασάγγαι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἥμισυ. οὗρος δὲ Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐστὶ ποταμὸς νηυσιπέρητος, τῷ οὐνομα Εὐφρήτης. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀρμενίῃ σταθμοὶ μὲν εἰσὶ καταγωγέων πεντεκαίδεκα, παρασάγγαι δὲ ἕξ καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ, καὶ φυλακτήριον ἐν αὐτοῖσι. 4 ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐς βάλλοντι ἐς τὴν Ματινηνὴν γῆν σταθμοὶ εἰσι τέσσερες καὶ τριήκοντα, παρασάγγαι δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ποταμοὶ δὲ νηυσιπέρητοι τέσσερες διὰ ταύτης ῥέουσι, τοὺς πᾶσα ἀνάγκη διαπορθμεῦσαι ἐστί, πρῶτος μὲν Τίγρης, μετὰ δὲ δευτέρος τε καὶ τρίτος ὡντὸς ὀνομαζόμενος, οὐκ ὡντὸς ἐὼν ποταμὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ῥέων· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον αὐτῶν καταλεχθεὶς ἐξ Ἀρμενίων ῥέει, ὁ δ' ὕστερον ἐκ Ματινηῶν. 5 ὁ δὲ τέταρτος τῶν ποταμῶν οὐνομα ἔχει Γύνδης, τὸν Κῦρος διέλαβε κοτὲ ἐς διώρυχας ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας. 6 ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς τὴν Κισσίην χώραν μεταβαίνοντι ἔνδεκα σταθμοί, παρασάγγαι δὲ δύο καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ ἐστὶ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Χοάσπην, ἐόντα καὶ τοῦτον νηυσιπέρητον· ἐπ' ᾧ

Σοῦσα πόλις πεπόλισται.

52. Now the nature of this road is as I will show. All along it are the king's road stations and very good resting places, and the whole of it passes through country that is inhabited and safe. Its course through Lydia and Phrygia is of the length of twenty stages, and ninety-four and a half parasangs. Next after Phrygia it comes to the river Halys, where there is both a defile which must be passed before the river can be crossed and a great fortress to guard it. After the passage into Cappadocia, the road in that land as far as the borders of Cilicia is of twenty-eight stages and one hundred and four parasangs. On this frontier you must ride through two defiles and pass two fortresses. Ride past these, and you will have a journey through Cilica of three stages and fifteen and a half parasangs. The boundary of Cilicia and Armenia is a navigable river, the name of which is the Euphrates. In Armenia there are fifteen resting-stages and fifty-six and a half parasangs. Here too there is a fortress. From Armenia the road enters the Matienian land, in which there are thirty-four stages and one hundred and thirty-seven parasangs. Through this land flow four navigable rivers which must be passed by ferries, first the Tigris, then a second and a third of the same name, yet not the same stream nor flowing from the same source. The first-mentioned of them flows from the Armenians and the second from the Matieni. The fourth river is called Gyndes, that Gyndes which Cyrus parted once into three hundred and sixty channels. When this country is passed, the road is in the Cissian land, where there are eleven stages and forty-two and a half parasangs, as far as yet another navigable river, the Choaspes, on the banks of which stands the city of Susa.

53 1 οὗτοι οἱ πάντες σταθμοὶ εἰσι ἔνδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν. καταγωγαὶ μὲν νῦν σταθμῶν τοσαῦτα εἰσὶ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σοῦσα ἀναβαίνουντι. εἰ δὲ ὁρθῶς μεμέτρηται ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ βασιλῆϊ τοῖσι παρασάγγῃσι καὶ ὁ παρασάγγης δύναται τριήκοντα στάδια, ὥσπερ οὗτός γε δύναται ταῦτα, ἐκ Σαρδίων στάδια ἐστὶ ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα τὰ Μεμνόνια καλεόμενα πεντακόσια καὶ τρισχίλια καὶ μύρια, παρασαγγέων ἐόντων πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίων. πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατόν στάδια ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη διεξιούσι ἀναισιμοῦνται ἡμέραι ἀπαρτὶ ἑνενήκοντα.

53. Thus the sum total of stages is one hundred and eleven. So many resting-stages, then, are there in the journey up from Sardis to Susa. If I have accurately counted the parasangs of the royal road, and the parasang is of thirty furlongs' length, which assuredly it is, then between Sardis and the king's abode called Memnonian there are thirteen thousand and five hundred furlongs, the number of parasangs being four hundred and fifty. If each day's journey is one hundred and fifty furlongs, then the sum of days spent is ninety, neither more nor less.

54 1 οὕτω τῷ Μιλησίῳ Ἀρισταγόρῃ εἶπαντι πρὸς Κλεομένεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον εἶναι τριῶν μηνῶν τὴν ἄνοδον τὴν παρὰ βασιλέα ὀρθῶς εἶρητο. εἰ δέ τις τὸ ἀτρεκέστερον τούτων ἔτι δίζηται, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο σημανέω· τὴν γὰρ ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐς Σάρδεις ὁδὸν δεῖ προσλογίσασθαι ταύτη. 2 καὶ δὴ λέγω σταδίους εἶναι τοὺς πάντας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μέχρι Σούσων (τοῦτο γὰρ Μεμνόνειον ἄστνυ καλέεται), τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τετρακισχιλίους καὶ μυρίου· οἱ γὰρ ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐς Σάρδεις εἰσὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι στάδιοι, καὶ οὕτω τρισὶ ἡμέρησι μῆκύνεται ἡ τρίμηνος ὁδός.

54. Aristagoras of Miletus accordingly spoke the truth to Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian when he said that the journey inland was three months long. If anyone should desire a more exact measurement, I will give him that too, for the journey from Ephesus to Sardis must be added to the rest. So, then, from the Greek sea to Susa, which is the city called Memnonian, it is a journey of fourteen thousand and forty stages, for there are five hundred and forty furlongs from Ephesus to Sardis. The three months' journey is accordingly made longer by three days.

55 1 ἀπελυνόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης ἦε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας γενομένης τυράννων ὧδε ἐλευθέρως. ἐπεὶ Ἰππαρχον τὸν Πεισιστράτου, Ἰππίεω δὲ τοῦ τυράννου ἀδελφεόν, ἰδόντα ὄψιν ἐνυπνίου τῷ ἐωυτοῦ πάθει ἐναργεστάτην κτείνουσι Ἀριστογείτων καὶ Ἀρμόδιος, γένος ἐόντες τὰ ἀνέκαθεν Γεφυραῖοι, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτυραννεύοντο Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπ' ἔτεα τέσσερα οὐδὲν ἥσσον ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸ τοῦ.

55. When he was forced to leave Sparta, Aristagoras went to Athens, which had been freed from its ruling tyrants in the manner

that I will show. First Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus and brother of the tyrant Hippias, had been slain by Aristogiton and Harmodius, men of Gephyraean descent. This was in fact an evil of which he had received a premonition in a dream. After this the Athenians were subject for four years to a tyranny not less but even more absolute than before.

56 1 ἡ μὲν νυν ὄψις τοῦ Ἰππάρχου ἐνυπνίου ἦν ἥδε· ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ νυκτὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἰππαρχος ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάνα μέγαν καὶ εὐεῖδέα αἰνίσσεσθαι τάδε τὰ ἔπεα. τλῆθι λέων ἄτλητα παθὼν τετληότι θυμῷ· οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἀδικῶν τίσιν οὐκ ἀποτίσει. 2 ταῦτα δέ, ὥς ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τάχιστα, φανερός ἦν ὑπερτιθέμενος ὀνειροπόλοισι· μετὰ δὲ ἀπειπάμενος τὴν ὄψιν ἔπεμπε τὴν πομπήν, ἐν τῇ δὴ τελευτᾷ.

56. Now this was the vision which Hipparchus saw in a dream: in the night before the Panathenaea he thought that a tall and handsome man stood over him uttering these riddling verses: "O lion, endure the unendurable with a lion's heart. No man on earth does wrong without paying the penalty. " As soon as it was day, he imparted this to the interpreters of dreams, and presently putting the vision from his mind, he led the procession in which he met his death.

57 1 οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ φονέες οἱ Ἰππάρχου, ὥς μὲν αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐγγόνεσαν ἐξ Ἐρετρίης τὴν ἀρχήν, ὥς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀναπυνθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, ἦσαν Φοίνικες τῶν σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικομένων Φοινίκων ἐς γῆν τὴν νῦν Βοιωτὴν καλεομένην, οἴκεον δὲ τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπολαχόντες τὴν Ταναγρικὴν μοῖραν. 2 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ Καδμείων πρότερον ἐξαναστάντων ὑπ' Ἀργείων, οἱ Γεφυραῖοι οὗτοι δεύτερα ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἐξαναστάντες ἐτράποντο ἐπ' Ἀθηνέων. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ σφέας ἐπὶ ῥητοῖσι ἐδέξαντο σφέων αὐτῶν εἶναι πολίτας, πολλῶν τεῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιαπηγῆτων ἐπιτάξαντες ἔργεσθαι.

57. Now the Gephyraean clan, of which the slayers of Hipparchus were members, claim to have come at first from Eretria, but my own enquiry shows that they were among the Phoenicians who came with Cadmus to the country now called Boeotia. In that country the lands of Tanagra were allotted to them, and this is where they settled. The Cadmeans had first been expelled from there by the Argives, and

these Gephyraeans were forced to go to Athens after being expelled in turn by the Boeotians. The Athenians received them as citizens of their own on set terms, debarring them from many practices not deserving of mention here.

58 1 οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες οὗτοι οἱ σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικόμενοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Γεφυραῖοι, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ οἰκήσαντες ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐσήγαγον διδασκάλια ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα, οὐκ ἔοντα πρὶν Ἑλλησι ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, πρῶτα μὲν τοῖσι καὶ ἅπαντες χρέωνται Φοίνικες· μετὰ δὲ χρόνου προβαίνοντος ἅμα τῇ φωνῇ μετέβαλλον καὶ τὸν ῥυθμὸν τῶν γραμμάτων. 2 περιοίκεον δὲ σφέας τὰ πολλὰ τῶν χώρων τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἑλλήνων Ἴωνες, οἱ παραλαβόντες διδαχὴν παρὰ τῶν Φοινίκων τὰ γράμματα, μεταρῥυθμίσαντες σφέων ὀλίγα ἐχρέωντο, χρεώμενοι δὲ ἐφάτισαν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἔφερε, ἐσαγαγόντων Φοινίκων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Φοινικήα κεκληῆσθαι. 3 καὶ τὰς βύβλους διφθέρας καλέουσι ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες, ὅτι κοτὲ ἐν σπάνι βύβλων ἐχρέωντο διφθέρῃσι αἰγέσσι τε καὶ οἰέῃσι· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τοιαύτας διφθέρας γράφουσι.

58. These Phoenicians who came with Cadmus and of whom the Gephyraeans were a part brought with them to Hellas, among many other kinds of learning, the alphabet, which had been unknown before this, I think, to the Greeks. As time went on the sound and the form of the letters were changed. At this time the Greeks who were settled around them were for the most part Ionians, and after being taught the letters by the Phoenicians, they used them with a few changes of form. In so doing, they gave to these characters the name of Phoenician, as was quite fair seeing that the Phoenicians had brought them into Greece. The Ionians have also from ancient times called sheets of papyrus skins, since they formerly used the skins of sheep and goats due to the lack of papyrus. Even to this day there are many foreigners who write on such skins.

59 1 εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Καδμήα γράμματα ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου ἐν Θήβῃσι τῇσι Βοιωτῶν, ἐπὶ τρίποσι τισὶ ἐγκεκολαμμένα, τὰ πολλὰ ὅμοια ἔοντα τοῖσι Ἴωνικοῖσι. ὁ μὲν δὴ εἷς τῶν τριπόδων ἐπίγραμμα ἔχει ἀμφιτρύων μ' ἀνέθηκ' ἐνάρων ἀπὸ Τηλεβοάων. ταῦτα ἡλικίην εἶη ἂν κατὰ Λάιον τὸν Λαβδάκου τοῦ

Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου.

59. I have myself seen Cadmean writing in the temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes of Boeotia engraved on certain tripods and for the most part looking like Ionian letters. On one of the tripods there is this inscription: “Amphitryon dedicated me from the spoils of Teleboae. “ This would date from about the time of Laius the son of Labdacus, grandson of Polydorus and great-grandson of Cadmus.

60 1 ἕτερος δὲ τρίπους ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ λέγει Σκαῖος πυγμαχέων με ἐκηβόλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι νικήσας ἀνέθηκε τειν περικαλλῆς ἄγαλμα. Σκαῖος δ' ἂν εἴη ὁ Ἴπποκόωντος, εἰ δὴ οὗτός γε ἐστὶ ὁ ἀναθεὶς καὶ μὴ ἄλλος τῷτὸ οὖνομα ἔχων τῷ Ἴπποκόωντος, ἡλικίην κατὰ Οἰδίπουν τὸν Λαῖου.

60. A second tripod says, in hexameter verse: “Scaeus the boxer, victorious in the contest, Gave me to Apollo, the archer god, a lovely offering. “ Scaeus the son of Hippocoon, if he is indeed the dedicator and not another of the same name, would have lived at the time of Oedipus son of Laius.

61 1 τρίτος δὲ τρίπους λέγει καὶ οὗτος ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ Λαοδάμας τρίποδ' αὐτὸς ἐνσκόπῳ Ἀπόλλωνι μουναρχέων ἀνέθηκε τειν περικαλλῆς ἄγαλμα. 2 ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Λαοδάμαντος τοῦ Ἑτεοκλέος μουναρχέοντος ἐξανιστέεται Καδμεῖοι ὑπ' Ἀργείων καὶ τρέπονται ἐς τοὺς Ἑγγελέας. οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι ὑπολειφθέντες ὕστερον ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἀναχωρεοῦσι ἐς Ἀθήνας· καὶ σφι ἰρά ἐστὶ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἰδρυμένα, τῶν οὐδὲν μετὰ τοῖσι λοιποῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, ἄλλα τε κεχωρισμένα τῶν ἄλλων ἱρῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀχαιῆς Δῆμητρος ἱρόν τε καὶ ὄργια.

61. The third tripod says, in hexameter verse again: “Laodamas, while he reigned, dedicated this cauldron To Apollo, the sure of aim, as a lovely offering. “ During the rule of this Laodamas son of Eteocles, the Cadmeans were expelled by the Argives and went away to the Encheleis. The Gephyraeans were left behind but were later compelled by the Boeotians to withdraw to Athens. They have certain set forms of worship at Athens in which the rest of the Athenians take no part, particularly the rites and mysteries of Achaean Demeter.

62 1 ἡ μὲν δὴ ὅψις τοῦ Ἰπάρχου ἐνυπνίου καὶ οἱ Γεφυραῖοι ὅθεν

ἐγεγόνεσαν, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Ἱπάρχου φονέες, ἀπήγηταί μοι· δεῖ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἐτι ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἦμα λέξων λόγον, ὥς τυράννων ἐλευθερώθησαν Ἀθηναῖοι. 2 Ἱππίου τυραννεύοντος καὶ ἐμπικραίνοντος Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὸν Ἱπάρχου θάνατον, Ἀλκμεωνίδαι γένος ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ φεύγοντες Πεισιστρατίδας, ἐπεῖτε σφι ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίων φυγάσι πειρωμένοις κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐ προεχώρει κάτοδος, ἀλλὰ προσέπταιον μεγάλως πειρώμενοι κατιέναι τε καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας, Λειψύδριον τὸ ὑπὲρ Παιονίης τειχίσαντες, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι πᾶν ἐπὶ τοῖσι Πεισιστρατίδῃσι μηχανώμενοι παρ' Ἀμφικτυόνων τὸν νηὸν μισθοῦνται τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι, τὸν νῦν ἐόντα τότε δὲ οὐκῶ, τοῦτον ἐξοικοδομήσαι. 3 οἷα δὲ χρημάτων εὖ ἤκοντες καὶ ἐόντες ἄνδρες δόκιμοι ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι, τὸν τε νηὸν ἐξεργάσαντο τοῦ παραδείγματος κάλλιον τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ συγκειμένου σφι πωρίνου λίθου ποιέειν τὸν νηὸν, Παρίου τὰ ἔμπροσθε αὐτοῦ ἐξεποίησαν.

62. I have told both of the vision of Hipparchus' dream and of the first origin of the Gephyreans, to whom the slayers of Hipparchus belonged. Now I must go further and return to the story which I began to tell, namely how the Athenians were freed from their tyrants. Hippias, their tyrant, was growing ever more bitter in enmity against the Athenians because of Hipparchus' death, and the Alcmeonidae, a family of Athenian stock banished by the sons of Pisistratus, attempted with the rest of the exiled Athenians to make their way back by force and free Athens. They were not successful in their return and suffered instead a great reverse. After fortifying Lipsydrum north of Paeonia, they, in their desire to use all devices against the sons of Pisistratus, hired themselves to the Amphictyons for the building of the temple at Delphi which exists now but was not there yet then. Since they were wealthy and like their fathers men of reputation, they made the temple more beautiful than the model showed. In particular, whereas they had agreed to build the temple of tufa, they made its front of Parian marble.

63 1 ὥς ὧν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐν Δελφοῖσι κατήμενοι ἀνέπειθον τὴν Πυθίην χρήμασι, ὅκως ἔλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων ἄνδρες εἴτε ἰδίῳ στόλῳ εἴτε δημοσίῳ χρησόμενοι, προφέρειν σφι τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλευθεροῦν. 2 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὥς σφι

αἰεὶ τούτῳ πρόφαντον ἐγίνετο, πέμπουσι Ἀγχιμόλιον τὸν Ἀστέρος, ἐόντα τῶν ἀστῶν ἄνδρα δόκιμον, σὺν στρατῷ ἐξελῶντα Πεισιστρατίδας ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὁμῶς καὶ ξεινίους σφι ἐόντας τὰ μάλιστα· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτερα ἐποιεῦντο ἢ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν· πέμπουσι δὲ τούτους κατὰ θάλασσαν πλοίοισι. 3 ὁ μὲν δὴ προσσχὼν ἐς Φάληρον τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπέβησε, οἱ δὲ Πεισιστρατίδαι προπυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐπεκαλέοντο ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἐπικουρίην· ἐπεποίητο γὰρ σφι συμμαχίη πρὸς αὐτούς. Θεσσαλοὶ δέ σφι δεομένοισι ἀπέπεμψαν κοινῇ γνώμῃ χρεώμενοι χιλίην τε ἵππον καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν σφέτερον Κινέην ἄνδρα Κονιαῖον· τοὺς ἐπεῖτε ἔσχον συμμάχους οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, ἐμχανῶντο τοιάδε· 4 κείραντες τῶν Φαληρέων τὸ πεδῖον καὶ ἱπάσιμον ποιήσαντες τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον ἐπῆκαν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὴν ἵππον· ἐμπεσοῦσα δὲ διέφθειρε ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν Ἀγχιμόλιον· τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς νέας κατεῖρξαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος στόλος ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος οὕτω ἀπῆλλαξε, καὶ Ἀγχιμόλιου εἰσὶ ταφαὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἀλωπεκῆσι, ἀγχοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ ἐν Κυνοσάργει.

63. These men, as the Athenians say, established themselves at Delphi and bribed the Pythian priestess to bid any Spartans who should come to inquire of her on a private or a public account to set Athens free. Then the Lacedaemonians, when the same command was ever revealed to them, sent Anchimolius the son of Aster, a citizen of repute, to drive out the sons of Pisistratus with an army despite the fact that the Pisistratidae were their close friends, for the god's will weighed with them more than the will of man. They sent these men by sea on shipboard. Anchimolius put in at Phalerum and disembarked his army there. The sons of Pisistratus, however, had received word of the plan already, and sent to ask help from the Thessalians with whom they had an alliance. The Thessalians, at their entreaty, joined together and sent their own king, Cineas of Conium, with a thousand horsemen. When the Pisistratidae got these allies, they devised the following plan. First they laid waste the plain of Phalerum so that all that land could be ridden over and then launched their cavalry against the enemy's army. Then the horsemen charged and slew Anchimolius and many more of the

Lacedaemonians, and drove those that survived to their ships. Accordingly, the first Lacedaemonian army drew off, and Anchimolius' tomb is at Alopecae in Attica, near to the Heracleum in Cynosarges.

64 1 μετὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέζω στόλον στείλαντες ἀπέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, στρατηγὸν τῆς στρατιῆς ἀποδέξαντες βασιλέα Κλεομένεα τὸν Ἀναξανδρίδew, οὐκέτι κατὰ θάλασσαν στείλαντες ἀλλὰ κατ' ἥπειρον· 2 τοῖσι ἐσβαλοῦσι ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώραν ἢ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἵππος πρώτη προσέμιξε καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολλὸν ἐτράπετο, καὶ σφεων ἔπεσον ὑπὲρ τεσσεράκοντα ἄνδρας· οἱ δὲ περιγεγόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὡς εἶχον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίῃς. Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἅμα Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἐπολιόρκεε τοὺς τυράννους ἀπεργμένους ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ τείχεϊ.

64. After this the Lacedaemonians sent out a greater army to attack Athens, appointing as its general their king Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides. This army they sent not by sea but by land. When they broke into Attica, the Thessalian horsemen were the first to meet them. They were routed after only a short time, and more than forty men were slain. Those who were left alive made off for Thessaly by the nearest way they could. Then Cleomenes, when he and the Athenians who desired freedom came into the city, drove the tyrants' family within the Pelasgic wall and besieged them there.

65 1 καὶ οὐδὲν τι πάντως ἂν ἐξεῖλον Πεισιστρατίδας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπέδρην ἐπενόεον ποιήσασθαι, οἳ τε Πεισιστρατίδαι σίτοισι καὶ ποτοῖσι εὖ παρεσκευάδατο, πολιορκήσαντές τε ἂν ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην. νῦν δὲ συντυχίῃ τοῖσι μὲν κακὴ ἐπεγένετο, τοῖσι δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ αὐτῇ σύμμαχος· ὑπεκτιθέμενοι γὰρ ἔξω τῆς χώρας οἱ παῖδες τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν ἦλωσαν. 2 τοῦτο δὲ ὡς ἐγένετο, πάντα αὐτῶν τὰ πρήγματα συνετετάρακτο, παρέστησαν δὲ ἐπὶ μισθῷ τοῖσι τέκνοισι, ἐπ' οἷσι ἐβούλοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥστε ἐν πέντε ἡμέρησι ἐκχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. 3 μετὰ δὲ ἐξεχώρησαν ἐς Σίγειον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ, ἄρξαντες μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐπ' ἕτεα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα, ἐόντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἀνέκαθεν Πύλιοί τε καὶ Νηλεῖδαι, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γεγονότες καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κόδρον τε καὶ Μέλανθον, οἱ πρότερον

ἐπήλυδες ἐόντες ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίων βασιλέες. 4 ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ καὶ τὸν οὖνομα ἀπεμνημόνευσε Ἴπποκράτης τῷ παιδί θέσθαι τὸν Πεισίστρατον, ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέστορος Πεισιστράτου ποιεύμενος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. 5 οὕτω μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τυράννων ἀπαλλάχθησαν· ὅσα δὲ ἐλευθερωθέντες ἔρξαν ἢ ἔπαθον ἀξιοχρεα ἀπηγήσιος, πρὶν ἢ Ἰωνίην τε ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρισταγόρεα τὸν Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας χρήσαι σφέων βοηθεῖν, ταῦτα πρῶτα φράσω.

65. The Lacedaemonians would never have taken the Pisistratid stronghold. First of all they had no intention to blockade it, and secondly the Pisistratidae were well furnished with food and drink. The Lacedaemonians would only have besieged the place for a few days and then returned to Sparta. As it was, however, there was a turn of fortune which harmed the one party and helped the other, for the sons of the Pisistratid family were taken as they were being secretly carried out of the country. When this happened, all their plans were confounded, and they agreed to depart from Attica within five days on the terms prescribed to them by the Athenians in return for the recovery of their children. Afterwards they departed to Sigeum on the Scamander. They had ruled the Athenians for thirty-six years and were in lineage of the house of Pylos and Neleus, born of the same ancestors as the families of Codrus and Melanthus, who had formerly come from foreign parts to be kings of Athens. It was for this reason that Hippocrates gave his son the name Pisistratus as a remembrance, calling him after Pisistratus the son of Nestor. This is the way, then, that the Athenians got rid of their tyrants. As regards all the noteworthy things which they did or endured after they were freed and before Ionia revolted from Darius and Aristagoras of Miletus came to Athens to ask help of its people, of these I will first give an account.

66 1 Ἀθῆναι, ἐοῦσαι καὶ πρὶν μεγάλαι, τότε ἀπαλλαχθεῖσαι τυράννων ἐγίνοντο μέζονες· ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι δύο ἄνδρες ἐδυνάστευον, Κλεισθένης τε ἀνὴρ Ἀλκμεωνίδης, ὃς περ δὴ λόγον ἔχει τὴν Πυθίην ἀναπεῖσαι, καὶ Ἰσαγόρης Τισάνδρου οἰκίης μὲν ἐὼν δοκίμου, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· θύουσι δὲ οἱ συγγενέες αὐτοῦ Διὶ Καρίῳ. 2 οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐστασίασαν περὶ δυνάμιος, ἐσσούμενος δὲ ὁ

Κλεισθένης τὸν δῆμον προσεταιρίζεται. μετὰ δὲ τετραφύλους ἔοντας Ἀθηναίους δεκαφύλους ἐποίησε, τῶν Ἴωνος παίδων Γελέοντος καὶ Αἰγικόρεος καὶ Ἀργάδεω καὶ Ὀπλητος ἀπαλλάξας τὰς ἐπωνυμίας, ἔξευρὼν δὲ ἐτέρων ἡρώων ἐπωνυμίας ἐπιχωρίων, ἀρεξ Αἴαντος· τοῦτον δὲ ἅτε ἀστυγείτονα καὶ σύμμαχον, ξεῖνον ἔοντα προσέθετο.

66. Athens, which had been great before, now grew even greater when her tyrants had been removed. The two principal holders of power were Cleisthenes an Alcmaeonid, who was reputed to have bribed the Pythian priestess, and Isagoras son of Tisandrus, a man of a notable house but his lineage I cannot say. His kinsfolk, at any rate, sacrifice to Zeus of Caria. These men with their factions fell to contending for power, Cleisthenes was getting the worst of it in this dispute and took the commons into his party. Presently he divided the Athenians into ten tribes instead of four as formerly. He called none after the names of the sons of Ion — Geleon, Aegicores, Argades, and Hoples — but invented for them names taken from other heroes, all native to the country except Aias. Him he added despite the fact that he was a stranger because he was a neighbor and an ally.

67 1 ταῦτα δέ, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἐμμέετο ὁ Κλεισθένης οὗτος τὸν ἑωυτοῦ μητροπάτορα Κλεισθέnea τὸν Σικυῶνος τύραννον. Κλεισθένης γὰρ Ἀργείοισι πολεμήσας τοῦτο μὲν ῥαψωδοὺς ἔπαυσε ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι τῶν Ὀμηρείων ἐπέων εἵνεκα, ὅτι Ἀργεῖοί τε καὶ Ἄργος τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ὑμνέεται· τοῦτο δέ, ἡρώιον γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἔστι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγορῇ τῶν Σικυωνίων Ἀδρήστου τοῦ Ταλαοῦ, τοῦτον ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Κλεισθένης ἔοντα Ἀργεῖον ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. 2 ἔλθων δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐχρηστηριάζετο εἰ ἐκβάλοι τὸν Ἀδρηστον· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ φασα Ἀδρηστον μὲν εἶναι Σικυωνίων βασιλέα, κεῖνον δὲ λευστήρα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτό γε οὐ παρεδίδου, ἀπελθὼν ὀπίσω ἐφρόντιζε μηχανὴν τῇ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀδρηστος ἀπαλλάξεται. ὥς δὲ οἱ ἔξευρῆσθαι ἐδόκεε, πέμψας ἐς Θήβας τὰς Βοιωτίας ἔφη θέλειν ἐπαγαγέσθαι Μελάνιππον τὸν Ἀστακοῦ· οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἔδοσαν. 3 ἐπαγαγόμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν Μελάνιππον τέμενός οἱ ἀπέδεξε ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρυτανεῖῳ καὶ μιν ἵδρυσεν ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῷ ἰσχυροτάτῳ. ἐπηγάγετο δὲ τὸν Μελάνιππον ὁ Κλεισθένης (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο δεῖ ἀπηγγέσθαι) ὥς ἔχθιστον ἔοντα Ἀδρήστῳ, ὃς τὸν τε ἀδελφεόν οἱ Μηκιστέα ἀπεκτόνεε καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν Τυδέα. 4 ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ τὸ

τέμενος ἀπέδεξε, θυσίας τε καὶ ὀρτὰς Ἀδρήστου ἀπελόμενος ἔδωκε τῷ Μελανίπῳ. οἱ δὲ Σικυῶνιοι ἐώθεσαν μεγαλωστὶ κάρτα τιμᾶν τὸν Ἀδρηστον· ἡ γὰρ χώρα ἦν αὕτη Πολύβου, ὁ δὲ Ἀδρηστος ἦν Πολύβου θυγατριδέος, ἅπαις δὲ Πόλυβος τελευτῶν διδοῖ Ἀδρήστῳ τὴν ἀρχήν. 5 τὰ τε δὴ ἄλλα οἱ Σικυῶνιοι ἐτίμων τὸν Ἀδρηστον καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιρον, τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον οὐ τιμῶντες, τὸν δὲ Ἀδρηστον. Κλεισθένης δὲ χοροὺς μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀπέδωκε, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην θυσίην Μελανίπῳ.

67. In doing this, to my thinking, this Cleisthenes was imitating his own mother's father, Cleisthenes the tyrant of Sicyon, for Cleisthenes, after going to war with the Argives, made an end of minstrels' contests at Sicyon by reason of the Homeric poems, in which it is the Argives and Argos which are primarily the theme of the songs. Furthermore, he conceived the desire to cast out from the land Adrastus son of Talaus, the hero whose shrine stood then as now in the very marketplace of Sicyon because he was an Argive. He went then to Delphi, and asked the oracle if he should cast Adrastus out, but the priestess said in response: "Adrastus is king of Sicyon, and you but a stone thrower." When the god would not permit him to do as he wished in this matter, he returned home and attempted to devise some plan which might rid him of Adrastus. When he thought he had found one, he sent to Boeotian Thebes saying that he would gladly bring Melanippus son of Astacus into his country, and the Thebans handed him over. When Cleisthenes had brought him in, he consecrated a sanctuary for him in the government house itself, where he was established in the greatest possible security. Now the reason why Cleisthenes brought in Melanippus, a thing which I must relate, was that Melanippus was Adrastus' deadliest enemy, for Adrastus had slain his brother Mecisteus and his son-in-law Tydeus. Having then designated the precinct for him, Cleisthenes took away all Adrastus' sacrifices and festivals and gave them to Melanippus. The Sicyonians had been accustomed to pay very great honor to Adrastus because the country had once belonged to Polybus, his maternal grandfather, who died without an heir and bequeathed the kingship to him. Besides other honors paid to Adrastus by the Sicyonians, they celebrated his lamentable fate with tragic choruses

in honor not of Dionysus but of Adrastus. Cleisthenes, however, gave the choruses back to Dionysus and the rest of the worship to Melanippus.

68 1 ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Ἀδρηστόν οἱ ἐπεποιήτο, φυλάς δὲ τὰς Δωριέων, ἵνα δὴ μὴ αἱ αὐταὶ ἔωσι τοῖσι Σικωνίοισι καὶ τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι, μετέβαλε ἐς ἄλλα οὐνόματα. ἔνθα καὶ πλεῖστον κατεγέλασε τῶν Σικωνίων· ἐπὶ γὰρ ὅς τε καὶ ὄνου τὰς ἐπωνυμίας μετατιθεὶς αὐτὰ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐπέθηκε, πλὴν τῆς ἐωυτοῦ φυλῆς· ταύτῃ δὲ τὸ οὐνομα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ἀρχῆς ἔθετο. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ Ἀρχέλαοι ἐκαλέοντο, ἕτεροι δὲ Ὑᾶται, ἄλλοι δὲ Ὀνεᾶται, ἕτεροι δὲ Χοιρεᾶται. 2 τοῦτοις τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν φυλέων ἐχρέωντο οἱ Σικυῶνιοι καὶ ἐπὶ Κλεισθέneos ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐκείνου τεθνεῶτος ἔτι ἐπ' ἕτεα ἐξήκοντα· μετέπειτα μέντοι λόγον σφίσι δόντες μετέβαλον ἐς τοὺς Ὑλλέας καὶ Παμφύλους καὶ Δυμανάτας, τετάρτους δὲ αὐτοῖσι προσέθεντο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδρήστου παιδὸς Αἰγιαλέος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιεύμενοι κεκληῖσθαι Αἰγιαλέας.

68. This, then, is what he did regarding Adrastus, but as for the tribes of the Dorians, he changed their names so that these tribes should not be shared by Sicyonians and Argives. In this especially he made a laughing-stock of the Sicyonians, for he gave the tribes names derived from the words 'donkey' and 'pig' changing only the endings. The name of his own tribe, however, he did not change in this way, but rather gave it a name indicating his own rule, calling it Archelaoi, rulers of the people. The rest were Swinites, Assites and Porkites. These were the names of the tribes which the Sicyonians used under Cleisthenes' rule and for sixty years more after his death. Afterwards, however, they took counsel together and both changed the names of three to Hylleis, Pamphyli, and Dymanatae, and added a fourth which they called Aegialeis after Aegialeus son of Adrastus.

69 1 ταῦτα μὲν νυν ὁ Σικυῶνιος Κλεισθένης ἐπεποιήκει· ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀθηναῖος Κλεισθένης ἐὼν τοῦ Σικυωνίου τούτου θυγατρίδεος καὶ τὸ οὐνομα ἐπὶ τούτου ἔχων, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ καὶ οὗτος ὑπεριδὼν Ἴωνας, ἵνα μὴ σφίσι αἱ αὐταὶ ἔωσι φυλαὶ καὶ Ἴωσι, τὸν ὁμώνυμον Κλεισθέnea ἐμμήσατο. 2 ὥς γὰρ δὴ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον πρότερον ἀπωσμένον τότε πάντων πρὸς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ μοῖραν προσεθήκατο, τὰς φυλάς μετωνόμασε καὶ ἐποίησε πλεῦνας ἐξ ἐλασσόνων· δέκα τε δὴ

φυλάρχους ἀντὶ τεσσέρων ἐποίησε, δέκαχα δὲ καὶ τοὺς δήμους κατένειμε ἐς τὰς φυλάς· ἦν τε τὸν δῆμον προσθέμενος πολλῶ κατύπερθε τῶν ἀντιστασιωτέων.

69. This is what the Sicyonian Cleisthenes had done, and the Athenian Cleisthenes, following the lead of his grandfather and namesake, decided out of contempt, I imagine, for the Ionians, that his tribes should not be the same as theirs. When he had drawn into his own party the Athenian people, which was then debarred from all rights, he gave the tribes new names and increased their number, making ten tribe-wardens in place of four, and assigning ten districts to each tribe. When he had won over the people, he was stronger by far than the rival faction.

70 1 ἐν τῷ μέρεϊ δὲ ἐσσούμενος ὁ Ἰσαγόρης ἀντιτεχνᾷται τάδε· ἐπικαλέσεται Κλεομένεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον γενόμενον ἐωυτῷ ξεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς Πεισιστρατιδῶν πολιορκίης· τὸν δὲ Κλεομένεα εἶχε αἰτίη φοιτᾶν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω τὴν γυναῖκα. 2 τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα πέμπων ὁ Κλεομένης ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας κήρυκα ἐξέβαλλε Κλεισθένεα καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλους πολλοὺς Ἀθηναίων, τοὺς ἐναγέας ἐπιλέγων· ταῦτα δὲ πέμπων ἔλεγε ἐκ διδαχῆς τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι καὶ οἱ συστασιῶται αὐτῶν εἶχον αἰτίην τοῦ φόνου τούτου, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ μετεῖχε οὐδ' οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ.

70. Isagoras, who was on the losing side, devised a counter-plot, and invited the aid of Cleomenes, who had been his friend since the besieging of the Pisistratidae. It was even said of Cleomenes that he regularly went to see Isagoras' wife. Then Cleomenes first sent a herald to Athens demanding the banishment of Cleisthenes and many other Athenians with him, the Accursed, as he called them. This he said in his message by Isagoras' instruction, for the Alcmeonidae and their faction were held to be guilty of that bloody deed while Isagoras and his friends had no part in it.

71 1 οἱ δ' ἐναγέες Ἀθηναίων ὧδε ὠνομάσθησαν. ἦν Κύλων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ Ὀλυμπιονίκης· οὗτος ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμησε, προσποιησάμενος δὲ ἐταιρήσθαι τῶν ἡλικιωτέων καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπειρήθη, οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ ἐπικρατῆσαι ἰκέτης ἵζετο πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα. 2 τούτους ἀνιστᾷσι μὲν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῶν ναυκράρων, οἱ περ ἔνεμον τότε τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑπεγγύους πλὴν θανάτου· φονεῦσαι δὲ

αὐτοὺς αἰτὶ ἔχει Ἀλκμεωνίδας. ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς Πεισιστράτου ἡλικίης ἐγένετο.

71. How the Accursed at Athens had received their name, I will now relate. There was an Athenian named Cylon, who had been a winner at Olympia. This man put on the air of one who aimed at tyranny, and gathering a company of men of like age, he attempted to seize the citadel. When he could not win it, he took sanctuary by the goddess' statue. He and his men were then removed from their position by the presidents of the naval boards, the rulers of Athens at that time. Although they were subject to any penalty save death, they were slain, and their death was attributed to the Alcmaeonidae. All this took place before the time of Pisistratus.

72 1 Κλεομένης δὲ ὡς πέμπων ἐξέβαλλε Κλεισθέnea καὶ τοὺς ἐναγέας, Κλεισθένης μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπεξέσχε, μετὰ δὲ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν παρῆν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ὁ Κλεομένης οὐ σὺν μεγάλῃ χειρὶ, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἀγῆλατεί ἐπτακόσια ἐπίστια Ἀθηναίων, τὰ οἱ ὑπέθετο ὁ Ἰσαγόρης. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας δεύτερα τὴν βουλὴν καταλύειν ἐπειρᾶτο, τριηκοσίοισι δὲ τοῖσι Ἰσαγόρειω στασιώτησι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐνεχειρίζε. 2 ἀντισταθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οὐ βουλομένης πεῖθεσθαι, ὃ τε Κλεομένης καὶ ὁ Ἰσαγόρης καὶ οἱ στασιῶται αὐτοῦ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰ αὐτὰ φρονήσαντες ἐπολιόρκεον αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας δύο· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξέρχονται ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἐπετελέετο δὲ τῷ Κλεομένει ἡ φήμη. 3 ὥς γὰρ ἀνέβη ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μέλλων δὴ αὐτὴν κατασχῆσιν, ἦε ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ ὡς προσερέων· ἡ δὲ ἱρεὶ ἐξαναστᾶσα ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, πρὶν ἢ τὰς θύρας αὐτὸν ἀμείψαι, εἶπε “ὦ ξεῖνε Λακεδαιμόνιε, πάλιν χώρεε μηδὲ ἔσιθι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν· οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν Δωριεῦσι παριέναι ἐνθαῦτα,· ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ γύναι, ἀλλ’ οὐ Δωριεύς εἰμι ἀλλ’ Ἀχαιοός,· 4 ὁ μὲν δὴ τῇ κληδόνι οὐδὲν χρεώμενος ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ τότε πάλιν ἐξέπιπτε μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἀθηναῖοι κατέδησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ Τιμησίθεον τὸν Δελφόν, τοῦ ἔργα χειρῶν τε καὶ λήματος ἔχοιμ’ ἂν μέγιστα καταλέξαι.

72. When Cleomenes had sent for and demanded the banishment of Cleisthenes and the Accursed, Cleisthenes himself secretly departed. Afterwards, however, Cleomenes appeared in Athens with no great force. Upon his arrival, he, in order to take away the curse, banished seven hundred Athenian families named for him by Isagoras. Having so done he next attempted to dissolve the Council, entrusting the offices of government to Isagoras' faction. The Council, however, resisted him, whereupon Cleomenes and Isagoras and his partisans seized the acropolis. The rest of the Athenians united and besieged them for two days. On the third day as many of them as were Lacedaemonians left the country under truce. The prophetic voice that Cleomenes heard accordingly had its fulfillment, for when he went up to the acropolis with the intention of taking possession of it, he approached the shrine of the goddess to address himself to her. The priestess rose up from her seat, and before he had

passed through the door-way, she said, "Go back, Lacedaemonian stranger, and do not enter the holy place since it is not lawful that Dorians should pass in here. "My lady," he answered, "I am not a Dorian, but an Achaean." So without taking heed of the omen, he tried to do as he pleased and was, as I have said, then again cast out together with his Lacedaemonians. As for the rest, the Athenians imprisoned them under sentence of death. Among the prisoners was Timesitheus the Delphian, whose achievements of strength and courage were quite formidable.

73 1 οὗτοι μὲν νυν δεδεμένοι ἐτελεύτησαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα Κλεισθένεα καὶ τὰ ἐπτακόσια ἐπίστια τὰ διωχθέντα ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος μεταπεμψάμενοι πέμπουσι ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδις, συμμαχίην βουλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Πέρσας· ἠπιστέατο γὰρ σφίσι Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Κλεομένεα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι. 2 ἀπικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐς τὰς Σάρδις καὶ λεγόντων τὰ ἐντεταλμένα, Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Ὑστάσπεος Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος ἐπειρώτα τίνες ἐόντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ κοῦ γῆς οἰκημένοι δεοῖατο Περσέων σύμμαχοι γενέσθαι, πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς τῶν ἀγγέλων ἀπεκορύφου σφι τάδε· εἰ μὲν διδοῦσι βασιλεῖ Δαρεῖω Ἀθηναῖοι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ συμμαχίην σφι συνετίθετο, εἰ δὲ μὴ διδοῦσι, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε. 3 οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι διδόναι ἔφασαν, βουλόμενοι τὴν συμμαχίην ποιήσασθαι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν αἰτίας μεγάλας εἶχον.

73. These men, then, were bound and put to death. After that, the Athenians sent to bring back Cleisthenes and the seven hundred households banished by Cleomenes. Then, desiring to make an alliance with the Persians, they despatched envoys to Sardis, for they knew that they had provoked the Lacedaemonians and Cleomenes to war. When the envoys came to Sardis and spoke as they had been bidden, Artaphrenes son of Hystaspes, viceroy of Sardis, asked them, "What men are you and where do you live, who desire alliance with the Persians?" When he had received the information he wanted from the envoys, he gave them an answer the substance of which was that if the Athenians gave king Darius earth and water, then he would make an alliance with them, but if not, his command was that they should depart. The envoys consulted together, and in their desire to

make the alliance, they consented to give what was asked. They then returned to their own country and were there greatly blamed for what they had done.

74 1 Κλεομένης δὲ ἐπιστάμενος περιυβρίσθαι ἔπεσι καὶ ἔργοισι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων συνέλεγε ἐκ πάσης Πελοποννήσου στρατόν, οὐ φράζων ἐς τὸ συλλέγει, τίσασθαι τε ἐθέλων τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰσαγόρην βουλόμενος τύραννον καταστήσαι· συνεξῆλθε γάρ οἱ οὗτος ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος. 2 Κλεομένης τε δὴ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλε ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα, καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπὸ συνθήματος Οἰνόην αἰρέουσι καὶ Ὑσιᾶς δῆμους τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Χαλκιδέες τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτερα ἐσίνοντο ἐπιόντες χώρους τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, καίπερ ἀμφιβολίῃ ἐχόμενοι, Βοιωτῶν μὲν καὶ Χαλκιδέων ἐς ὕστερον ἔμελλον μνήμην ποιήσεσθαι, Πελοποννησίοισι δὲ ἐοῦσι ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα.

74. Cleomenes, however, fully aware that the Athenians had done him wrong in word and deed, mustered an army from the whole of the Peloponnesus. He did not declare the purpose for which he mustered it, namely to avenge himself on the Athenian people and set up Isagoras, who had come with him out of the acropolis, as tyrant. Cleomenes broke in as far as Eleusis with a great host, and the Boeotians, by a concerted plan, took Oenoe and Hysiae, districts on the borders of Attica, while the Chalcidians attacked on another side and raided lands in Attica. The Athenians, who were now caught in a ring of foes, decided to oppose the Spartans at Eleusis and to deal with the Boeotians and Chalcidians later.

75 1 μελλόντων δὲ συνάψειν τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς μάχην, Κορίνθιοι μὲν πρῶτοι σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δόντες λόγον ὥς οὐ ποιεοίεν δίκαια μετεβάλλοντό τε καὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, μετὰ δὲ Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος, ἐὼν καὶ οὗτος βασιλεὺς Σπαρτιητέων καὶ συνεξαγαγόν τε τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος καὶ οὐκ ἐὼν διάφορος ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ Κλεομένει. 2 ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς διχοστασίης ἐτέθη νόμος ἐν Σπάρτῃ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἔπεσθαι ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἐξιούσης στρατιῆς· τέως γὰρ ἀμφοτέροι εἶποντο· παραλυομένου δὲ τούτων τοῦ ἐτέρου καταλείπεσθαι καὶ τῶν Τυνδαριδέων τὸν ἕτερον· πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἀμφοτέροι ἐπὶ κλητοῖ σφι ἐόντες εἶποντο. 3 τότε δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἐλευσίνι ὁρῶντες οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων τοὺς τε

βασιλέας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐκ ὁμολογέοντας καὶ Κορινθίους ἐκλιπόντας τὴν τάξιν, οἷχοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλασσόμενοι,

75. When the armies were about to join battle, the Corinthians, coming to the conclusion that they were acting wrongly, changed their minds and departed. Later Demaratus son of Ariston, the other king of Sparta, did likewise, despite the fact that he had come with Cleomenes from Lacedaemon in joint command of the army and had not till now been at variance with him. As a result of this dissension, a law was made at Sparta that when an army was despatched, both kings would not be permitted to go with it. Until that time they had both gone together, but now one of the kings was released from service and one of the sons of Tyndarus too could be left at home. Before that time, both of these also were asked to give aid and went with the army. So now at Eleusis, when the rest of the allies saw that the Lacedaemonian kings were not of one mind and that the Corinthians had left their host, they too went off.

76 1 τέταρτον δὴ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπικόμενοι Δωριεῖς, δὶς τε ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἐσβαλόντες καὶ δὶς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτε καὶ Μέγαρα κατοίκισαν· οὗτος ὁ στόλος ἐπὶ Κόδρου βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηναίων ὀρθῶς ἂν καλέοιτο· δεύτερον δὲ καὶ τρίτον ὅτε ἐπὶ Πεισιστρατιδῶν ἐξέλασιν ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπίκοντο, τέταρτον δὲ τότε ὅτε ἐς Ἐλευσίνα Κλεομένης ἄγων Πελοποννησίους ἐσέβαλε. οὕτω τέταρτον τότε Δωριεῖς ἐσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας.

76. This was the fourth time that Dorians had come into Attica. They had come twice as invaders in war and twice as helpers of the Athenian people. The first time was when they planted a settlement at Megara (this expedition may rightly be said to have been in the reign of Codrus), the second and third when they set out from Sparta to drive out the sons of Pisistratus, and the fourth was now, when Cleomenes broke in as far as Eleusis with his following of Peloponnesians. This was accordingly the fourth Dorian invasion of Athens.

77 1 διαλυθέντος ὧν τοῦ στόλου τούτου ἀκλεῶς, ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναῖοι τίνυσθαι βουλόμενοι πρῶτα στρατὴν ποιεῦνται ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι βοηθέουσι ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐριπον.

Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἰδοῦσι τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἔδοξε πρότερον τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι ἢ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι ἐπιχειρέειν. 2 συμβάλλουσι τε δὴ τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πολλῶ ἐκράτησαν, κάρτα δὲ πολλοὺς φονεύσαντες ἑπτακοσίους αὐτῶν ἐζώγησαν. τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ταύτης ἡμέρης οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐβοίαν συμβάλλουσι καὶ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι, νικήσαντες δὲ καὶ τούτους τετρακισχιλίους κληρούχους ἐπὶ τῶν ἵπποβοτέων τῇ χώρῃ λείπουσι. οἱ δὲ ἵπποβοταὶ ἐκαλέοντο οἱ παχέες τῶν Χαλκιδέων. 3 ὅσους δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐζώγησαν, ἅμα τοῖσι Βοιωτῶν ἐζωγημένοισι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ ἐς πέδας δῆσαντες· χρόνῳ δὲ ἔλυσαν σφέας δίμνεως ἀποτιμησάμενοι. τὰς δὲ πέδας αὐτῶν, ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέετο, ἀνεκρέμασαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· αἱ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν περιεοῦσαι, κρεμάμεναι ἐκ τειχέων περιπεφλευσμένων πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μήδου, ἀντίον δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένου. 4 καὶ τῶν λύτρων τὴν δεκάτην ἀνέθηκαν ποιησάμενοι τέθριππον χάλκεον· τὸ δὲ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔστηκε πρῶτον ἐσιόντι ἐς τὰ προπύλαια τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει· ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ οἱ τάδε. ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμου, δεσμῶ ἐν ἀχλυόεντι σιδηρέῳ ἔσβεσαν ὕβριν· τῶν ἵππους δεκάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν.

77. When this force then had been ingloriously scattered, the Athenians first marched against the Chalcidians to punish them. The Boeotians came to the Euripus to help the Chalcidians and as soon as the Athenians saw these allies, they resolved to attack the Boeotians before the Chalcidians. When they met the Boeotians in battle, they won a great victory, slaying very many and taking seven hundred of them prisoner. On that same day the Athenians crossed to Euboea where they met the Chalcidians too in battle, and after overcoming them as well, they left four thousand tenant farmers on the lands of the horse-breeders. Horse-breeders was the name given to the men of substance among the Chalcidians. They fettered as many of these as they took alive and kept them imprisoned with the captive Boeotians. In time, however, they set them free, each for an assessed ransom of two minae. The fetters in which the prisoners had been bound they hung up in the acropolis, where they could still be seen in my time hanging from walls which the Persians' fire had charred, opposite the temple which faces west. Moreover, they made a dedication of a

tenth part of the ransom, and this money was used for the making of a four-horse chariot which stands on the left hand of the entrance into the outer porch of the acropolis and bears this inscription: "Athens with Chalcis and Boeotia fought, Bound them in chains and brought their pride to naught. Prison was grief, and ransom cost them dear. One tenth to Pallas raised this chariot here. "

78 1 Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νυν ἡὔξηντο. δηλοῖ δὲ οὐ κατ' ἐν μοῦνον ἀλλὰ πανταχῇ ἢ ἰσηγορίῃ ὥς ἔστι χρῆμα σπουδαῖον, εἰ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τυραννεύομενοι μὲν οὐδαμῶν τῶν σφέας περιοικεόντων ἦσαν τὰ πολέμια ἀμείνους, ἀπαλλαχθέντες δὲ τυράννων μακρῷ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο. δηλοῖ ὧν ταῦτα ὅτι κατεχόμενοι μὲν ἐθελοκάκεον ὥς δεσπότη ἐργαζόμενοι, ἐλευθερωθέντων δὲ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἑαυτοῦ προεθυμέτο κατεργάζεσθαι.

78. So the Athenians grew in power and proved, not in one respect only but in all, that equality is a good thing. Evidence for this is the fact that while they were under tyrannical rulers, the Athenians were no better in war than any of their neighbors, yet once they got rid of their tyrants, they were by far the best of all. This, then, shows that while they were oppressed, they were, as men working for a master, cowardly, but when they were freed, each one was eager to achieve for himself.

79 1 οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔπρησσαν. Θηβαῖοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς θεὸν ἔπεμπον, βουλόμενοι τίσασθαι Ἀθηναίους. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἀπὸ σφέων μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔφη αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τίσιν, ἐς πολύφημον δὲ ἐξενείκαντας ἐκέλευε τῶν ἄγχιστα δέεσθαι. 2 ἀπελθόντων ὧν τῶν θεοπρόπων, ἐξέφερον τὸ χρηστήριον ἀλίην ποιησάμενοι· ὥς ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ λεγόντων αὐτῶν τῶν ἄγχιστα δέεσθαι, εἶπαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀκούσαντες τούτων "οὐκ ὧν ἄγχιστα ἡμέων οἰκέουσι Ταναγραῖοί τε καὶ Κορωναῖοι καὶ Θεσπιέες; καὶ οὗτοί γε ἅμα ἡμῖν αἰεὶ μαχόμενοι προθύμως συνδιαφέρουσι τὸν πόλεμον· τί δεῖ τούτων γε δέεσθαι; ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ τοῦτο ἢ τὸ χρηστήριον,.,

79. This, then, is the course of action which the Athenians took, and the Thebans, desiring vengeance on Athens, afterwards appealed to Delphi for advice. The Pythian priestess said that the Thebans themselves would not be able to obtain the vengeance they wanted and that they should lay the matter before the "many-voiced" and

entreat their “nearest.” Upon the return of the envoys, an assembly was called and the oracle put before it. When the Thebans heard that they must entreat their “nearest,” they said, “If this is so, our nearest neighbors are the men of Tanagra and Coronea and Thespieae. These are always our comrades in battle and zealously wage our wars. What need, then, is there to entreat them? Perhaps this is the meaning of the oracle.”

80 1 τοιαῦτα ἐπιλεγομένων εἶπε δὴ κοτε μαθὼν τις “ἐγὼ μοι δοκέω συνιέναι τὸ θέλει λέγειν ἡμῖν τὸ μαντήιον. Ἀσωποῦ λέγονται γενέσθαι θυγατέρες Θήβη τε καὶ Αἶγινα· τουτέων ἀδελφεῶν ἑουσέων, δοκέω ἡμῖν Αἰγινητέων δέεσθαι τὸν θεὸν χρῆσαι τιμωρητῆρων γενέσθαι,,. 2 καὶ οὐ γάρ τις ταύτης ἀμείνων γνώμη ἐδόκεε φαίνεσθαι, αὐτίκα πέμψαντες ἐδέοντο Αἰγινητέων ἐπικαλούμενοι κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν σφι βοηθέειν, ὥς ἐόντων ἀγχίστων· οἳ δέ σφι αἰτέουσι ἐπικουρίην τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμπέμπειν ἔφασαν.

80. They reasoned in this way, till at last one understood, and said: “I think that I perceive what the oracle is trying to tell us. Thebe and Aegina, it is said, were daughters of Asopus and sisters. The god’s answer is, I think, that we should ask the Aeginetans to be our avengers.” Seeing that there seemed to be no better opinion before them than this, they sent straightaway to entreat the Aeginetans and invite their aid, since this was the oracle’s bidding, and the Aeginetans were their nearest. These replied to their demand that they were sending the Sons of Aeacus in aid.

81 1 πειρησαμένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίην τῶν Αἰακιδέων καὶ τρηχέως περιεφθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αὗτις οἱ Θηβαῖοι πέμψαντες τοὺς μὲν Αἰακίδας σφι ἀπεδίδοσαν, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐδέοντο. 2 Αἰγινῆται δὲ εὐδαιμονίῃ τε μεγάλῃ ἐπαερθέντες καὶ ἔχθρης παλαιῆς ἀναμνησθέντες ἐχούσης ἐς Ἀθηναίους, τότε Θηβαίων δεηθέντων πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον· 3 ἐπικειμένων γὰρ αὐτῶν Βοιωτοῖσι, ἐπιπλώσαντες μακρῆσι νηυσὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν κατὰ μὲν ἔσυραν Φάληρον κατὰ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίης πολλοὺς δήμους, ποιεῦντες δὲ ταῦτα μεγάλως Ἀθηναίους ἐσικνέοντο.

81. The Thebans took the field on the strength of their alliance

with that family but were soundly beaten by the Athenians. Thereupon they sent a second message to Aegina, giving back the sons of Aeacus and asking for some men instead. The Aeginetans, who were enjoying great prosperity and remembered their old feud with Athens, accordingly made war on the Athenians at the entreaty of the Thebans without sending a herald. While the Athenians were busy with the Boeotians, they descended on Attica in ships of war, and ravaged Phaleron and many other seaboard townships. By so doing they dealt the Athenians a very shrewd blow.

82 1 ἡ δὲ ἔχθρη ἡ προοφειλομένη ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἐκ τῶν Αἰγινητέων ἐγένετο ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοιῆσδε. Ἐπιδαυρίοισι ἡ γῆ καρπὸν οὐδένα ἀνεδίδου. περὶ ταύτης ὧν τῆς συμφορῆς οἱ Ἐπιδαυριοὶ ἐχρέωντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευε Δαμίας τε καὶ Αὐξησίης ἀγάλματα ἰδρύσασθαι καὶ σφι ἰδρυσάμενοισι ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι. 2 ἐπειρώτεον ὧν οἱ Ἐπιδαυριοὶ κότερα χαλκοῦ ποιεῶνται τὰ ἀγάλματα ἢ λίθου· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οὐδέτερά τούτων ἔα, ἀλλὰ ξύλου ἡμέρης ἐλαίης. ἐδέοντο ὧν οἱ Ἐπιδαυριοὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐλαίην σφι δοῦναι ταμέσθαι, ἰρωτάτας δὲ κείνας νομίζοντες εἶναι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐλαίαι ἦσαν ἄλλοθι γῆς οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ἢ ἐν Ἀθήνησι. 3 οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσιδε δώσειν ἔφασαν ἐπ' ᾧ ἀπάξουσιν ἔτεος ἐκάστου τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τε τῇ Πολιάδι ἱρὰ καὶ τῷ Ἑρεχθεῖ. καταινέσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἐπιδαυριοὶ τῶν τε ἐδέοντο ἔτυχον καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐκ τῶν ἐλαιέων τουτέων ποιησάμενοι ἰδρύσαντο· καὶ ἥ τε γῆ σφι ἔφερε καρπὸν καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπετέλεον τὰ συνέθεντο.

82. This was the beginning of the Aeginetans' long-standing debt of enmity against the Athenians. The Epidaurians' land bore no produce. For this reason they inquired at Delphi concerning this calamity, and the priestess bade them set up images of Damia and Auxesia, saying that if they so did their luck would be better. The Epidaurians then asked in addition whether they should make the images of bronze or of stone, and the priestess bade them do neither, but make them of the wood of the cultivated olive. So the men of Epidaurus asked the Athenians to permit them to cut down some olive trees, supposing the olives there to be the holiest. Indeed it is said that at that time there were no olives anywhere save at Athens.

The Athenians consented to give the trees, if the Epidaurians would pay yearly sacred dues to Athena, the city's goddess, and to Erechtheus. The Epidaurians agreed to this condition, and their request was granted. When they set up images made of these olive trees, their land brought forth fruit, and they fulfilled their agreement with the Athenians.

83 1 τοῦτον δ' ἔτι τὸν χρόνον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Αἰγινῆται Ἐπιδαυρίων ἤκουον τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δίκας διαβαίνοντες ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον ἐδίδουσάν τε καὶ ἐλάμβανον παρ' ἀλλήλων οἱ Αἰγινῆται· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε νέας τε πιξάμενοι καὶ ἀγνωμοσύνη χρησάμενοι ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων. 2 ἅτε δὲ ἐόντες διάφοροι ἐδηλέοντο αὐτούς, ὥστε θαλασσοκράτορες ἐόντες, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα τῆς τε Δαμῖς καὶ τῆς Αὐξησίης ὑπαίρρονται αὐτῶν, καὶ σφεα ἐκόμισάν τε καὶ ἰδρύσαντο τῆς σφετέρης χώρας ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῇ Οἷῃ μὲν ἐστὶ οὖνομα, στάδια δὲ μάλιστα κη ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ὡς εἴκοσι ἀπέχει. 3 ἰδρυσάμενοι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ θυσίησιν τε σφέα καὶ χοροῖσι γυναικίοις κερτομίοις ἰλάσκοντο, χορηγῶν ἀποδεικνυμένων ἑκατέρῃ τῶν δαιμόνων δέκα ἀνδρῶν· κακῶς δὲ ἡγόρευον οἱ χοροὶ ἄνδρα μὲν οὐδένα, τὰς δὲ ἐπιχωρίας γυναῖκας. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Ἐπιδαυρίοις αἱ αὐταὶ ἱεροεργίαι· εἰσὶ δέ σφι καὶ ἄρρητοι ἱουργίαι.

83. Now at this time, as before it, the Aeginetans were in all matters still subject to the Epidaurians and even crossed to Epidaurus for the hearing of their own private lawsuits. From this time, however, they began to build ships, and stubbornly revolted from the Epidaurians. In the course of this struggle, they did the Epidaurians much damage and stole their images of Damia and Auxesia. These they took away and set them up in the middle of their own country at a place called Oea, about twenty furlongs distant from their city. Having set them up in this place they sought their favor with sacrifices and female choruses in the satirical and abusive mode. Ten men were appointed providers of a chorus for each of the deities, and the choruses aimed their raillery not at any men but at the women of the country. The Epidaurians too had the same rites, and they have certain secret rites as well.

84 1 κλεφθέντων δὲ τῶνδε τῶν ἀγαλμάτων οἱ Ἐπιδαυριοὶ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις τὰ συνέθεντο οὐκ ἐπετέλεον. πέμψαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι

ἐμήνιον τοῖσι Ἐπιδαυρίοισι· οἱ δὲ ἀπέφαινον λόγῳ ὥς οὐκ ἀδικέοιεν· ὅσον μὲν γὰρ χρόνον εἶχον τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ἐπιτελέειν τὰ συνέθεντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐστερηθῆσθαι αὐτῶν, οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι ἀποφέρειν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτὰ Αἰγινήτας πρήσσεσθαι ἐκέλευον. 2 πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Αἶγιναν πέμψαντες ἀπαίτεον τὰ ἀγάλματα· οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται ἔφασαν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι εἶναι οὐδὲν πρῆγμα.

84. When these images were stolen, the Epidaurians ceased from fulfilling their agreement with the Athenians. Then the Athenians sent an angry message to the Epidaurians who pleaded in turn that they were doing no wrong. “For as long,” they said, “as we had the images in our country, we fulfilled our agreement. Now that we are deprived of them, it is not just that we should still be paying. Ask your dues of the men of Aegina, who have the images.” The Athenians therefore sent to Aegina and demanded that the images be restored, but the Aeginetans answered that they had nothing to do with the Athenians.

85 1 Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νυν λέγουσι μετὰ τὴν ἀπαίτησιν ἀποσταλῆναι τριήρεϊ μῆ τῶν ἀστῶν τούτους οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Αἶγιναν τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα ὥς σφετέρων ξύλων ἐόντα ἐπειρῶντο ἐκ τῶν βάθρων ἐξανασπᾶν, ἵνα σφέα ἀνακομίσωνται. 2 οὐ δυναμένους δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ αὐτῶν κρατῆσαι, περιβαλόντας σχοινία ἔλκειν τὰ ἀγάλματα, καὶ σφι ἔλκουσι βροντὴν τε καὶ ἅμα τῇ βροντῇ σεισμὸν ἐπιγενέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ τριηρίτας τοὺς ἔλκοντας ὑπὸ τούτων ἀλλοφρονῆσαι, παθόντας δὲ τοῦτο κτείνειν ἀλλήλους ἅτε πολεμίους, ἐς ὃ ἐκ πάντων ἓνα λειφθέντα ἀνακομισθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐς Φάληρον.

85. The Athenians report that after making this demand, they despatched one trireme with certain of their citizens who, coming in the name of the whole people to Aegina, attempted to tear the images, as being made of Attic wood, from their bases so that they might carry them away. When they could not obtain possession of them in this manner, they tied cords around the images with which they could be dragged. While they were attempting to drag them off, they were overtaken both by a thunderstorm and an earthquake. This drove the trireme’s crew to such utter madness that they began to slay each other as if they were enemies. At last only one of all was

left, who returned by himself to Phalerum.

86 1 Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσι, Αἰγινῆται δὲ οὐ μὴ νηὶ ἀπικέσθαι Ἀθηναίους· μίαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλεῦνας μῆς, καὶ εἰ σφίσι μὴ ἔτυχον εἶναι νέες, ἀπαμύνεσθαι ἂν εὐπετέως· ἀλλὰ πολλῇσι νηυσὶ ἐπιπλέειν σφίσι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, αὐτοὶ δὲ σφι εἶξαι καὶ οὐ ναυμαχεῖν. 2 οὐκ ἔχουσι δὲ τοῦτο διασημῆναι ἀτρεκέως, οὔτε εἰ ἥσσαντες συγγινωσκόμενοι εἶναι τῇ ναυμαχίῃ κατὰ τοῦτο εἶξαν, οὔτε εἰ βουλόμενοι ποιῆσαι οἷόν τι καὶ ἐποίησαν. 3 Ἀθηναίους μὲν νυν, ἐπεῖτε σφι οὐδεὶς ἐς μάχην κατίστατο, ἀποβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τραπέσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα, οὐ δυναμένους δὲ ἀνασπάσαι ἐκ τῶν βάθρων αὐτὰ οὕτω δὴ περιβαλομένους σχοινία ἔλκειν, ἐς οὗ ἑλκόμενα τὰ ἀγάλματα ἀμφοτέρω τούτῳ ποιῆσαι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, ἄλλῳ δὲ τεῶ· ἐς γούνατα γάρ σφι αὐτὰ πεσεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τούτου χρόνον διατελέειν οὕτω ἔχοντα. 4 Ἀθηναίους μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιεῖν· σφέας δὲ Αἰγινῆται λέγουσι πυθομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὥς μέλλοιεν ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύεσθαι, ἐτοίμους Ἀργεῖους ποιέεσθαι. τοὺς τε δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἀποβεβάναι ἐς τὴν Αἰγιναίην, καὶ ἤκειν βοηθέοντας σφίσι τοὺς Ἀργεῖους καὶ λαθεῖν τε ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου διαβάντας ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ οὐ προακηκοόσι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπιπεσεῖν ὑποταγομένους τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, ἅμα τε ἐν τούτῳ τὴν βροντὴν τε γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν σεισμὸν αὐτοῖσι.

86. This is the Athenian version of the matter, but the Aeginetans say that the Athenians came not in one ship only, for they could easily have kept off a single ship, or several, for that matter, even if they had no navy themselves. The truth was, they said, that the Athenians descended upon their coasts with many ships and that they yielded to them without making a fight of it at sea. They are not able to determine clearly whether it was because they admitted to being weaker at sea-fighting that they yielded, or because they were planning what they then actually did. When, as the Aeginetans say, no man came out to fight with them, the Athenians disembarked from their ships and turned their attention to the images. Unable to drag them from the bases, they fastened cords on them and dragged them until they both — this I cannot believe, but another might — fell on their knees. Both have remained in this position ever since. This is what the Athenians did, but the Aeginetans say that they

discovered that the Athenians were about to make war upon them and therefore assured themselves of help from the Argives. So when the Athenians disembarked on the land of Aegina, the Argives came to aid the Aeginetans, crossing over from Epidaurus to the island secretly. They then fell upon the Athenians unaware and cut them off from their ships. It was at this moment that the thunderstorm and earthquake came upon them

87 1 λέγεται μὲν νυν ὑπ' Ἀργείων τε καὶ Αἰγινητέων τάδε, ὁμολογέεται δὲ καὶ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἓνα μόνον τὸν ἀποσωθέντα αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν γενέσθαι· 2 πλὴν Ἀργεῖοι μὲν λέγουσι αὐτῶν τὸ Ἀττικὸν στρατόπεδον διαφθειράντων τὸν ἓνα τοῦτον περιγενέσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοῦ δαιμονίου· περιγενέσθαι μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον τὸν ἓνα, ἀλλ' ἀπολέσθαι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. κομισθεῖς ἄρα ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπήγγελλε τὸ πάθος· πυθομένας δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπ' Αἴγιναν στρατευσαμένων ἀνδρῶν, δεινόν τι ποιησαμένας κεῖνον μόνον ἐξ ἀπάντων σωθῆναι, πέριξ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον λαβούσας καὶ κεντεύσας τῇσι περόνῃσι τῶν ἱματίων εἰρωτᾶν ἐκάστην αὐτέων ὅκου εἶη ὁ ἑωυτῆς ἀνὴρ. 3 καὶ τοῦτον μὲν οὕτω διαφθαρῆναι, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἔτι τοῦ πάθους δεινότερόν τι δόξαει εἶναι τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔργον. ἄλλῃ μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔχειν ὅτεφ' ζημιώσωσι τὰς γυναῖκας, τὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτα μετέβαλον αὐτέων ἐς τὴν Ἰάδα· ἐφόρεον γὰρ δὴ πρὸ τοῦ αἰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκες ἐσθῆτα Δωρίδα, τῇ Κορινθίῃ παραπλησιωτάτην· μετέβαλον ὧν ἐς τὸν λίνεον κιθῶνα, ἵνα δὴ περόνησι μὴ χρέωνται.

87. This, then, is the story told by the Argives and Aeginetans, and the Athenians too acknowledge that only one man of their number returned safely to Attica. The Argives, however, say that he escaped after they had destroyed the rest of the Athenian force, while the Athenians claim that the whole thing was to be attributed to divine power. This one man did not survive but perished in the following manner. It would seem that he made his way to Athens and told of the mishap. When the wives of the men who had gone to attack Aegina heard this, they were very angry that he alone should be safe. They gathered round him and stabbed him with the brooch-pins of their garments, each asking him where her husband was. This is how this man met his end, and the Athenians found the action of

their women to be more dreadful than their own misfortune. They could find, it is said, no other way to punish the women than changing their dress to the Ionian fashion. Until then the Athenian women had worn Dorian dress, which is very like the Corinthian. It was changed, therefore, to the linen tunic, so that they might have no brooch-pins to use.

88 1 ἔστι δὲ ἀληθεὶ λόγῳ χρεωμένοισι οὐκ Ἴας αὕτη ἢ ἐσθῆς τὸ παλαιὸν ἀλλὰ Κάειρα, ἐπεὶ ἥ γε Ἑλληνικὴ ἐσθῆς πᾶσα ἢ ἀρχαίη τῶν γυναικῶν ἢ αὐτὴ ἦν τὴν νῦν Δωρίδα καλέομεν. 2 τοῖσι δὲ Ἀργείοισι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰγινήτησι καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔτι τότε ποιῆσαι νόμον εἶναι παρὰ σφίσι ἐκατέροισι τὰς περόνας ἡμιολίας ποιέεσθαι τοῦ τότε κατεστεῶτος μέτρου, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῶν θεῶν τουτέων περόνας μάλιστα ἀνατιθέναι τὰς γυναικας, Ἀττικὸν δὲ μήτε τι ἄλλο προσφέρειν πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν μήτε κέραμον, ἀλλ' ἐκ χυτρίδων ἐπιχωρίων νόμον τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτόθι εἶναι πίνειν.

88. The truth of the matter, however, is that this form of dress is not in its origin Ionian, but Carian, for in ancient times all women in Greece wore the costume now known as Dorian. As for the Argives and Aeginetans, this was the reason of their passing a law in both their countries that brooch-pins should be made half as long as they used to be and that brooches should be the principal things offered by women in the shrines of these two goddesses. Furthermore, nothing else Attic should be brought to the temple, not even pottery, and from that time on only drinking vessels made in the country should be used.

89 1 Ἀργείων μὲν νυν καὶ Αἰγινήτων αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκ τόσου κατ' ἔριν τὴν Ἀθηναίων περόνας ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐφόρεον μέζοντας ἢ πρὸ τοῦ, τῆς δὲ ἔχθρης τῆς πρὸς Αἰγινήτας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων γενομένης ἀρχῇ κατὰ τὰ εἶρηται ἐγένετο. τότε δὲ Θηβαίων ἐπικαλεομένων, προθύμως τῶν περὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα γενομένων ἀναμνησκόμενοι οἱ Αἰγινήται ἐβοήθειον τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι. 2 Αἰγινήται τε δὴ ἐδήϊουν τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὰ παραθαλάσσια, καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ὀρμημένοισι ἐπ' Αἰγινήτας στρατεύεσθαι ἦλθε μαντήιον ἐκ Δελφῶν, ἐπισχόντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγινήτων ἀδικίου τριήκοντα ἔτεα, τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ τριηκοστῷ Αἰακῷ τέμενος ἀποδέξαντας ἄρχεσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Αἰγινήτας πολέμου, καὶ σφι χωρήσειν τὰ βούλονται· ἦν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπιστρατεύονται, πολλὰ μὲν

σφέας ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τοῦ χρόνου πείσεσθαι πολλά δὲ καὶ ποιήσῃν, τέλος μέντοι καταστρέψεσθαι. 3 ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ μὲν Αἰακῷ τέμενος ἀπέδεξαν τοῦτο τὸ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορῆς ἴδρυται, τριήκοντα δὲ ἔτεα οὐκ ἀνέσχοντο ἀκούσαντες ὅπως χρεὸν εἶναι ἐπισχεῖν πεπονθότας ὑπ' Αἰγινήτων ἀνάρσια.

89. Ever since that day even to my time the women of Argos and Aegina wore brooch-pins longer than before, by reason of the feud with the Athenians. The enmity of the Athenians against the Aeginetans began as I have told, and now at the Thebans' call the Aeginetans came readily to the aid of the Boeotians, remembering the matter of the images. While the Aeginetans were laying waste to the seaboard of Attica, the Athenians were setting out to march against them, but an oracle from Delphi came to them bidding them to restrain themselves for thirty years after the wrongdoing of the Aeginetans, and in the thirty-first to mark out a precinct for Aeacus and begin the war with Aegina. In this way their purpose would prosper. If, however, they sent an army against their enemies straightaway, they would indeed subdue them in the end but would in the meantime both suffer and do many things. When the Athenians heard this reported to them, they marked out for Aeacus that precinct which is now set in their marketplace, but they could not stomach the order that they must hold their hand for thirty years, seeing that the Aeginetans had dealt them a foul blow.

90 1 ἐς τιμωρίην δὲ παρασκευαζομένοισι αὐτοῖσι ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων πρῆγμα ἐγειρόμενον ἐμπόδιον ἐγένετο. πυθόμενοι γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδέων ἐς τὴν Πυθίην μεμηχανημένα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Πυθίης ἐπὶ σφέας τε καὶ τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο διπλὴν, ὅτι τε ἄνδρας ξείνους σφίσι ἐόντας ἐξεληλάκεσαν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων, καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ποιήσασι χάρις οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο πρὸς Ἀθηναίων. 2 ἔτι τε πρὸς τούτοις ἐνήγον σφέας οἱ χρησμοὶ λέγοντες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι ἐξ Ἀθηναίων, τῶν πρότερον μὲν ἦσαν ἀδαέες, τότε δὲ Κλεομένεος κομίσαντος ἐς Σπάρτην ἐξέμαθον. ἐκτίσατο δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλιος τοὺς χρησμούς, τοὺς ἔκτηντο μὲν πρότερον οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, ἐξελαυνόμενοι δὲ ἔλιπον ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ, καταλειφθέντας δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἀνέλαβε.

90. As they were making ready for vengeance, a matter which took its rise in Lacedaemon hindered them, for when the Lacedaemonians learned of the plot of the Alcmaeonids with the Pythian priestess and of her plot against themselves and the Pisistratidae, they were very angry for two reasons, namely that they had driven their own guests and friends from the country they dwelt in, and that the Athenians showed them no gratitude for their doing so. Furthermore, they were spurred on by the oracles which foretold that many deeds of enmity would be perpetrated against them by the Athenians. Previously they had had no knowledge of these oracles but now Cleomenes brought them to Sparta, and the Lacedaemonians learned their contents. It was from the Athenian acropolis that Cleomenes took the oracles, which had been in the possession of the Pisistratidae earlier. When they were exiled, they left them in the temple from where they were retrieved by Cleomenes.

91 1 τότε δὲ ὥς ἀνέλαβον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς χρησμοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὥρων αὐξομένους καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐτοίμους ἔοντας πείθεσθαι σφίσι, νόφ λαβόντες ὥς ἐλεύθερον μὲν ἔδν τὸ γένος τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἰσόρροπον ἂν τῷ ἐωυτῶν γίνοιτο, κατεχόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τυραννίδος ἀσθενὲς καὶ πειθαρχέσθαι ἔτοιμον· μαθόντες δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα μετεπέμποντο Ἰππὶν τὸν Πεισιστράτου ἀπὸ Σιγείου τοῦ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐς ὃ καταφεύγουσι οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι. 2 ἐπεῖτε δὲ σφι Ἰππίης καλεόμενος ἦκε, μεταπεμψάμενοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἀγγέλους ἔλεγον σφι Σπαρτιῆται τάδε. “ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, συγγινώσκομεν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν οὐ ποιήσασι ὀρθῶς· ἐπαερθέντες γὰρ κιβδήλοισι μαντηίοισι ἄνδρας ξείνους ἔοντας ἡμῖν τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀναδεκομένους ὑποχειρίας παρέξειν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τούτους ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξηλάσαμεν, καὶ ἔπειτα ποιήσαντες ταῦτα δήμῳ ἀχαρίστῳ παρεδώκαμεν τὴν πόλιν· ὃς ἐπεῖτε δι’ ἡμέας ἐλευθερωθεὶς ἀνέκυψε, ἡμέας μὲν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἡμέων περιωβρίσας ἐξέβαλε, δόξαν δὲ φύσας αὐξάνεται, ὥστε ἐκμεμαθήκασι μάλιστα μὲν οἱ περίοικοι αὐτῶν Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Χαλκιδῆες, τάχα δὲ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκμαθήσεται ἁμαρτῶν. 3 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐκεῖνα ποιήσαντες ἡμάρτομεν, νῦν πειρησόμεθα σφέας ἅμα ὑμῖν ἀπικόμενοι τίσασθαι· αὐτοῦ γὰρ τούτου εἶνεκεν τόνδε τε Ἰππὶν μετεπεμψάμεθα καὶ ὑμέας ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, ἵνα κοινῷ τε λόγῳ καὶ κοινῷ στόλῳ ἐσαγαγόντες αὐτὸν ἐς

τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδῶμεν τὰ καὶ ἀπειλόμεθα.,.

91. Now the Lacedaemonians, when they regained the oracles and saw the Athenians increasing in power and in no way inclined to obey them, realized that if the Athenians remained free, they would be equal in power with themselves, but that if they were held down under tyranny, they would be weak and ready to serve a master. Perceiving all this, they sent to bring Pisistratus' son Hippias from Sigeum on the Hellespont, the Pisistratidae's place of refuge. When Hippias arrived, the Spartans sent for envoys from the rest of their allies and spoke to them as follows: "Sirs, our allies, we do acknowledge that we have acted wrongly, for, led astray by lying divinations, we drove from their native land men who were our close friends and promised to make Athens subject to us. Then we handed that city over to a thankless people which had no sooner lifted up its head in the freedom which we gave it, than it insolently cast out us and our king. Now it has bred such a spirit of pride and is growing so much in power, that its neighbors in Boeotia and Chalcis have really noticed it, and others too will soon recognize their error. Since we erred in doing what we did, we will now attempt with your aid to avenge ourselves on them. It is on this account and no other that we have sent for Hippias, whom you see, and have brought you from your cities, namely that uniting our counsels and our power, we may bring him to Athens and restore that which we took away."

92 1 οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐνεδέκετο τοὺς λόγους. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι ἡσυχίην ἤγον, Κορίνθιος δὲ Σωκλῆς ἔλεξε τάδε. 92A. "ἥ δὲ ὅ τε οὐρανὸς ἐνερθε ἔσται τῆς γῆς καὶ ἡ γῆ μετέωρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι νομὸν ἐν θαλάσῃ ἔξουσι καὶ ἰχθύες τὸν πρότερον ἄνθρωποι, ὅτε γε ὑμεῖς ὧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἰσοκρατίας καταλύοντες τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλεις κατάγειν παρασκευάζεσθε, τοῦ οὔτε ἀδικώτερον ἐστὶ οὐδὲν κατ' ἀνθρώπους οὔτε μαιφονώτερον. 2 εἰ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε δοκέει ὑμῖν εἶναι χρηστὸν ὥστε τυραννεύεσθαι τὰς πόλεις, αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι τύραννον καταστησάμενοι παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι οὕτω καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δίξῃσθε κατιστάναι· νῦν δὲ αὐτοὶ τυράννων ἄπειροι ἐόντες, καὶ φυλάσσοντες τοῦτο δεινότατα ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ μὴ γενέσθαι, παραχρᾶσθε ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους. εἰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμπειροι ἔατε κατὰ περ ἡμεῖς, εἴχετε ἂν περὶ

αὐτοῦ γνώμας ἀμείνονας συμβαλέσθαι ἢ περ νῦν. 92B. Κορινθίοισι γὰρ ἦν πόλιος κατάστασις τοιῆδε· ἦν ὀλιγαρχία, καὶ οὗτοι Βακχιάδαι καλεόμενοι ἔνεμον τὴν πόλιν, ἐδίδοσαν δὲ καὶ ἤγοντο ἐξ ἀλλήλων. Ἀμφίονι δὲ ἐόντι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γίνεται θυγάτηρ χωλή· οὖνομα δὲ οἱ ἦν Λάβδα. ταύτην Βακχιαδέων γὰρ οὐδείς ἤθελε γῆμαι, ἴσχει Ἡετίων ὁ Ἐχεκράτεος, δήμου μὲν ἐὼν ἐκ Πέτρης, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν Λαπίθης τε καὶ Καινείδης. 2 ἐκ δὲ οἱ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς οὐδ' ἐξ ἄλλης παῖδες ἐγίνοντο. ἐστάλη ὧν ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ γόνου. ἐσιόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἰθέως ἡ Πυθίη προσαγορεύει τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι. Ἡετίων, οὕτις σε τίει πολύτιμον ἐόντα. Λάβδα κύει, τέξει δ' ὀλοοίτροχον· ἐν δὲ πεσεῖται ἀνδράσι μουνάρχοισι, δικαίωσει δὲ Κόρινθον. 3 ταῦτα χρησθέντα τῷ Ἡετίωνι ἐξαγγέλλεται κως τοῖσι Βακχιάδῃσι, τοῖσι τὸ μὲν πρότερον γενόμενον χρηστήριον ἐς Κόρινθον ἦν ἄσημον, φέρον τε ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἡετίωνος καὶ λέγον ὧδε. αἰετὸς ἐν πέτρῃσι κύει, τέξει δὲ λέοντα καρτερόν ὠμηστήν· πολλῶν δ' ὑπὸ γούνατα λύσει. ταῦτά νυν εὖ φράζεσθε, Κορίνθιοι, οἱ περὶ καλὴν Πειρήνην οἰκεῖτε καὶ ὀφρυόεντα Κόρινθον. 92C. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βακχιάδῃσι πρότερον γενόμενον ἦν ἀτέκμαρτον· τότε δὲ τὸ Ἡετίωνι γενόμενον ὥς ἐπύθοντο, αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ πρότερον συνῆκαν ἐὼν συνωδὸν τῷ Ἡετίωνος. συνέντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἶχον ἐν ἡσυχίῃ, ἐθέλοντες τὸν μέλλοντα Ἡετίωνι γίνεσθαι γόνον διαφθεῖραι. ὥς δ' ἔτεκε ἡ γυνὴ τάχιστα, πέμπουσι σφέων αὐτῶν δέκα ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐν τῷ κατοίκητο ὁ Ἡετίων ἀποκτενέοντας τὸ παιδίον. 2 ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς τὴν Πέτρην καὶ παρελθόντες ἐς τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν Ἡετίωνος αἶτεον τὸ παιδίον· ἡ δὲ Λάβδα εἰδυῖα τε οὐδὲν τῶν εἵνεκα ἐκείνοι ἀπικοίατο, καὶ δοκέουσα σφέας φιλοφροσύνης τοῦ πατρὸς εἵνεκα αἰτέειν, φέρουσα ἐνεχείρισε αὐτῶν ἐνί. τοῖσι δὲ ἄρα ἐβεβούλευτο κατ' ὁδὸν τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν λαβόντα τὸ παιδίον προσουδίσαι. 3 ἐπεὶ ὧν ἔδωκε φέρουσα ἡ Λάβδα, τὸν λαβόντα τῶν ἀνδρῶν θείῃ τύχῃ προσεγέλασε τὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὸν φρασθέντα τοῦτο οἰκτὸς τις ἴσχει ἀποκτεῖναι, κατοικτεῖρας δὲ παραδιδοῖ τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ. οὕτω δὴ διεξῆλθε διὰ πάντων τῶν δέκα παραδιδόμενον, οὐδενὸς βουλομένου διεργάσασθαι. 4 ἀποδόντες ὧν ὀπίσω τῇ τεκούσῃ τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἔξω, ἐστεῶτες ἐπὶ τῶν θυρέων ἀλλήλων ἄπτοντο κατατιώμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ πρώτου λαβόντος, ὅτι οὐκ ἐποίησε κατὰ τὰ δεδογμένα, ἐς ὃ δὴ σφι χρόνου ἐγγινομένου ἔδοξε αὐτίς παρελθόντας πάντας τοῦ φόνου μετίσχειν. 92D. ἔδει δὲ ἐκ τοῦ

Ἡετίωνος γόνου Κορίνθῳ κακὰ ἀναβλαστεῖν. ἡ Λάβδα γὰρ πάντα ταῦτα ἤκουε ἐστεῶσα πρὸς αὐτῇσι τῇσι θύρῃσι· δείσασα δὲ μὴ σφι μεταδόξῃ καὶ τὸ δεύτερον λαβόντες τὸ παιδίον ἀποκτείνωσι, φέρουσα κατακρύπτει ἐς τὸ ἀφραστότατόν οἱ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, ἐς κυψέλην, ἐπισταμένη ὥς εἰ ὑποστρέψαντες ἐς ζήτησιν ἀπικνεοῖατο πάντα ἐρευνήσιν μέλλοιεν· τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐγίνετο. 2 ἐλθοῦσι δὲ καὶ διζημένοισι αὐτοῖσι ὥς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο, ἐδόκεε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποπέμψαντας ὥς πάντα ποιήσειαν τὰ ἐκεῖνοι ἐνετείλαντο. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἀπελθόντες ἔλεγον ταῦτα. 92E. Ἡετίωνι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ παῖς ἠϋζάνετο, καὶ οἱ διαφυγόντι τοῦτον τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπὸ τῆς κυψέλης ἐπωνυμίην Κύψελος οὖνομα ἐτέθη. ἀνδρωθέντι δὲ καὶ μαντευομένῳ Κυψέλῳ ἐγένετο ἀμφιδέξιον χρηστήριον ἐν Δελφοῖσι, τῷ πίσυνος γενόμενος ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ ἔσχε Κόρινθον. ὁ δὲ χρησμὸς ὅδε ἦν. 2 ὄλβιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐμὸν δόμον ἐσκαταβαίνει, Κύψελος Ἡετίδης, βασιλεὺς κλειτοῖο Κορίνθου αὐτὸς καὶ παῖδες, παιδῶν γε μὲν οὐκέτι παῖδες. τὸ μὲν δὲ χρηστήριον τοῦτο ἦν, τυραννέουσας δὲ ὁ Κύψελος τοιοῦτος δὴ τις ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο· πολλοὺς μὲν Κορινθίων ἐδίωξε, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων ἀπεστέρησε, πολλῷ δέ τι πλείστους τῆς ψυχῆς. 92F. ἄρξαντος δὲ τούτου ἐπὶ τριήκοντα ἔτεα καὶ διαπλέξαντος τὸν βίον εὖ, διάδοχός οἱ τῆς τυραννίδος ὁ παῖς Περίανδρος γίνεται. ὁ τοίνυν Περίανδρος κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἦν ἡπιώτερος τοῦ πατρός, ἐπεῖτε δὲ ὠμίλησε δι' ἀγγέλων Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ Μιλήτου τυράννῳ, πολλῷ ἔτι ἐγένετο Κυψέλου μαιφονώτερος. 2 πέμψας γὰρ παρὰ Θρασύβουλον κήρυκα ἐπυνθάνετο ὄντινα ἂν τρόπον ἀσφαλέστατον καταστησάμενος τῶν πρηγμάτων κάλλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύοι. Θρασύβουλος δὲ τὸν ἐλθόντα παρὰ τοῦ Περίανδρου ἐξῆγε ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεος, ἐσβὰς δὲ ἐς ἄρουραν ἐσπαρμένην ἅμα τε διεξήιε τὸ λήιον ἐπειρωτῶν τε καὶ ἀναποδίζων τὸν κήρυκα κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου ἄπιξιν, καὶ ἐκόλουε αἰεὶ ὅκως τινὰ ἴδοι τῶν ἀσταχῶν ὑπερέχοντα, κολουὼν δὲ ἐρρίπτε, ἐς ὃ τοῦ ληίου τὸ κάλλιστόν τε καὶ βαθύτατον διέφθειρε τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ· 3 διεξελθὼν δὲ τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὑποθέμενος ἔπος οὐδὲν ἀποπέμπει τὸν κήρυκα. νοστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον ἦν πρόθυμος πυνθάνεσθαι τὴν ὑποθήκην ὁ Περίανδρος· ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν οἱ ἔφη Θρασύβουλον ὑποθέσθαι, θωμάζειν τε αὐτοῦ παρ' οἶόν μιν ἄνδρα ἀποπέμψειε, ὥς παραπλήγᾳ τε καὶ τῶν ἐωυτοῦ σινάμωρον, ἀπηγεόμενος τά περ πρὸς Θρασυβούλου ὁπώπεε. 92G.

Περίανδρος δὲ συνιείς τὸ ποιηθὲν καὶ νόῳ ἴσχων ὥς οἱ ὑπετίθετο Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ὑπειρόχους τῶν ἀστῶν φονεῦειν, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐξέφαινε ἐς τοὺς πολίτας. ὅσα γὰρ Κύψελος ἀπέλιπε κτείνων τε καὶ διώκων, Περίανδρος σφέα ἀπετέλεσε, μὴ δὲ ἡμέρη ἀπέδυσσε πάσας τὰς Κορινθίων γυναῖκας διὰ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ γυναῖκα Μέλισσαν. 2 πέμψαντι γάρ οἱ ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς ἐπ' Ἀχέροντα ποταμὸν ἀγγέλους ἐπὶ τὸ νεκυομαντήιον παρακαταθήκης περὶ ξεινικῆς οὔτε σημανέειν ἔφη ἡ Μέλισσα ἐπιφανεῖσα οὔτε κατερέειν ἐν τῷ κέεται χώρῳ ἢ παρακαταθήκη· ῥιγοῦν τε γὰρ καὶ εἶναι γυμνή· τῶν γάρ οἱ συγκατέθαψε ἱματίων ὄφελος εἶναι οὐδὲν οὐ κατακαυθέντων· μαρτύριον δὲ οἱ εἶναι ὡς ἀληθέα ταῦτα λέγει, ὅτι ἐπὶ ψυχρὸν τὸν ἵπνον Περίανδρος τοὺς ἄρτους ἐπέβαλε. 3 ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπηγγέλθη τῷ Περιάνδρῳ, πιστὸν γάρ οἱ ἦν τὸ συμβόλαιον ὃς νεκρῷ ἐούσῃ Μελίσσῃ ἐμίγη, ἰθέως δὴ μετὰ τὴν ἀγγελίην κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο ἐς τὸ Ἥραιον ἐξιέναι πάσας τὰς Κορινθίων γυναῖκας. αἱ μὲν δὴ ὡς ἐς ὀρτὴν ἦσαν κόσμῳ τῷ καλλίστῳ χρεώμεναι, ὃ δ' ὑποστήσας τοὺς δορυφόρους ἀπέδυσσε σφέας πάσας ὁμοίως, τὰς τε ἐλευθέρας καὶ τὰς ἀμφιπόλους, συμφορήσας δὲ ἐς ὄρυγμα Μελίσσῃ ἐπευχόμενος κατέκαιε. 4 ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ποιήσαντι καὶ τὸ δεύτερον πέμψαντι ἔφρασε τὸ εἶδωλον τὸ Μελίσσης ἐς τὸν κατέθηκε χώρον τοῦ ξείνου τὴν παρακαταθήκην. τοιοῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν ἐστὶ ἡ τυραννίς, ᾧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τοιούτων ἔργων. 5 ἡμέας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τότε αὐτίκα θῶμα μέγα εἶχε ὅτε ὑμέας εἶδομεν μεταπεμπομένους Ἰππίνην, νῦν τε δὴ καὶ μεζόνως θωμάζομεν λέγοντας ταῦτα, ἐπιμαρτυρόμεθά τε ἐπικαλεόμενοι ὑμῖν θεοὺς τοὺς Ἑλληνίους μὴ κατιστάναι τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλεις. οὐκὼν παύσεσθε ἀλλὰ πειρήσεσθε παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον κατάγοντες Ἰππίνην· ἴστε ὑμῖν Κορινθίους γε οὐ συναινέοντας,·.

92. These were the words of the Lacedaemonians, but their words were ill-received by the greater part of their allies. The rest then keeping silence, Socles, a Corinthian, said, 92A. "In truth heaven will be beneath the earth and the earth aloft above the heaven, and men will dwell in the sea and fishes where men dwelt before, now that you, Lacedaemonians, are destroying the rule of equals and making ready to bring back tyranny into the cities, tyranny, a thing more unrighteous and bloodthirsty than anything else on this earth. If

indeed it seems to you to be a good thing that the cities be ruled by tyrants, set up a tyrant among yourselves first and then seek to set up such for the rest. As it is, however, you, who have never made trial of tyrants and take the greatest precautions that none will arise at Sparta, deal wrongfully with your allies. If you had such experience of that thing as we have, you would be more prudent advisers concerning it than you are now.” 92B. The Corinthian state was ordered in such manner as I will show. There was an oligarchy, and this group of men, called the Bacchiadae, held sway in the city, marrying and giving in marriage among themselves. Now Amphion, one of these men, had a crippled daughter, whose name was Labda. Since none of the Bacchiadae would marry her, she was wedded to Eetion son of Echebrates, of the township of Petra, a Lapith by lineage and of the posterity of Caeneus. When no sons were born to him by this wife or any other, he set out to Delphi to enquire concerning the matter of acquiring offspring. As soon as he entered, the Pythian priestess spoke these verses to him: “Eetion, worthy of honor, no man honors you. Labda is with child, and her child will be a millstone Which will fall upon the rulers and will bring justice to Corinth. “ This oracle which was given to Eetion was in some way made known to the Bacchiadae. The earlier oracle sent to Corinth had not been understood by them, despite the fact that its meaning was the same as the meaning of the oracle of Eetion, and it read as follows: “An eagle in the rocks has conceived, and will bring forth a lion, Strong and fierce. The knees of many will it loose. This consider well, Corinthians, You who dwell by lovely Pirene and the overhanging heights of Corinth. “ 92C. This earlier prophecy had been unintelligible to the Bacchiadae, but as soon as they heard the one which was given to Eetion, they understood it at once, recognizing its similarity with the oracle of Eetion. Now understanding both oracles, they kept quiet but resolved to do away with the offspring of Eetion. Then, as soon as his wife had given birth, they sent ten men of their clan to the township where Eetion dwelt to kill the child. These men came to Petra and passing into Eetion’s courtyard, asked for the child. Labda, knowing nothing of the purpose of their coming and thinking that they wished to see the baby out of affection for its father, brought it and placed it into the

hands of one of them. Now they had planned on their way that the first of them who received the child should dash it to the ground. When, however, Labda brought and handed over the child, by divine chance it smiled at the man who took it. This he saw, and compassion prevented him from killing it. Filled with pity, he handed it to a second, and this man again to a third. In fact it passed from hand to hand to each of the ten, for none would make an end of it. They then gave the child back to its mother, and after going out, they stood before the door reproaching and upbraiding one another, but chiefly him who had first received it since he had not acted in accordance with their agreement. Finally they resolved to go in again and all have a hand in the killing. 92D. Fate, however, had decreed that Eetion's offspring should be the source of ills for Corinth, for Labda, standing close to this door, heard all this. Fearing that they would change their minds and that they would take and actually kill the child, she took it away and hid it where she thought it would be hardest to find, in a chest, for she knew that if they returned and set about searching they would seek in every place — which in fact they did. They came and searched, but when they did not find it, they resolved to go off and say to those who had sent them that they had carried out their orders. They then went away and said this. 92E. Eetion's son, however, grew up, and because of his escape from that danger, he was called Cypselus, after the chest. When he had reached manhood and was seeking a divination, an oracle of double meaning was given him at Delphi. Putting faith in this, he made an attempt on Corinth and won it. The oracle was as follows: "That man is fortunate who steps into my house, Cypselus, son of Eetion, the king of noble Corinth, He himself and his children, but not the sons of his sons." Such was the oracle. Cypselus, however, when he had gained the tyranny, conducted himself in this way: many of the Corinthians he drove into exile, many he deprived of their wealth, and by far the most he had killed. 92F. After a reign of thirty years, he died in the height of prosperity, and was succeeded by his son Periander. Now Periander was to begin with milder than his father, but after he had held converse by messenger with Thrasybulus the tyrant of Miletus, he became much more bloodthirsty than Cypselus. He had sent a herald to Thrasybulus and inquired in what way he would best and

most safely govern his city. Thrasybulus led the man who had come from Periander outside the town, and entered into a sown field. As he walked through the corn, continually asking why the messenger had come to him from Corinth, he kept cutting off all the tallest ears of wheat which he could see, and throwing them away, until he had destroyed the best and richest part of the crop. Then, after passing through the place and speaking no word of counsel, he sent the herald away. When the herald returned to Corinth, Periander desired to hear what counsel he brought, but the man said that Thrasybulus had given him none. The herald added that it was a strange man to whom he had been sent, a madman and a destroyer of his own possessions, telling Periander what he had seen Thrasybulus do. 92G. Periander, however, understood what had been done, and perceived that Thrasybulus had counselled him to slay those of his townsmen who were outstanding in influence or ability; with that he began to deal with his citizens in an evil manner. Whatever act of slaughter or banishment Cypselus had left undone, that Periander brought to accomplishment. In a single day he stripped all the women of Corinth naked, because of his own wife Melissa. Periander had sent messengers to the Oracle of the Dead on the river Acheron in Thesprotia to enquire concerning a deposit that a friend had left, but Melissa, in an apparition, said that she would tell him nothing, nor reveal where the deposit lay, for she was cold and naked. The garments, she said, with which Periander had buried with her had never been burnt, and were of no use to her. Then, as evidence for her husband that she spoke the truth, she added that Periander had put his loaves into a cold oven. When this message was brought back to Periander (for he had had intercourse with the dead body of Melissa and knew her token for true), immediately after the message he made a proclamation that all the Corinthian women should come out into the temple of Hera. They then came out as to a festival, wearing their most beautiful garments, and Periander set his guards there and stripped them all alike, ladies and serving-women, and heaped all the clothes in a pit, where, as he prayed to Melissa, he burnt them. When he had done this and sent a second message, the ghost of Melissa told him where the deposit of the friend had been laid. "This, then, Lacedaimonians, is the nature of tyranny, and such

are its deeds. We Corinthians marvelled greatly when we saw that you were sending for Hippias, and now we marvel yet more at your words to us. We entreat you earnestly in the name of the gods of Hellas not to establish tyranny in the cities, but if you do not cease from so doing and unrighteously attempt to bring Hippias back, be assured that you are proceeding without the Corinthians' consent."

93 1 Σωκλῆς μὲν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου πρεσβεύων ἔλεξε τάδε, Ἰππίης δὲ αὐτὸν ἀμείβετο τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλέσας θεοὺς ἐκείνῳ, ἥ μὲν Κορινθίους μάλιστα πάντων ἐπιποθήσειν Πεισιστρατίδας, ὅταν σφι ἤκωσι ἡμέραι αἱ κύριαι ἀνιᾶσθαι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων. 2 Ἰππίης μὲν τούτοισι ἀμείβωτο οἷα τοὺς χρησμούς ἀτρεκέστατα ἀνδρῶν ἐξεπιστάμενος· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων τέως μὲν εἶχον ἐν ἡσυχίῃ σφέας αὐτούς, ἐπεῖτε δὲ Σωκλέος ἤκουσαν εἴπαντος ἐλευθέρως, ἅπας τις αὐτῶν φωνὴν ῥήξας αἰρέετο τοῦ Κορινθίου τὴν γνώμην, Λακεδαιμονίοισι τε ἐπεμαρτυρέοντο μὴ ποιεῖν μηδὲν νεώτερον περὶ πόλιν Ἑλλάδα.

93. These were the words of Socles, the envoy from Corinth, and Hippias answered, calling the same gods as Socles had invoked to witness, that the Corinthians would be the first to wish the Pisistratidae back, when the time appointed should come for them to be vexed by the Athenians. Hippias made this answer, inasmuch as he had more exact knowledge of the oracles than any man, but the rest of the allies, who had till now kept silence, spoke out when they heard the free speech of Socles and sided with the opinion of the Corinthians, entreating the Lacedaemonians not to harm a Greek city.

94 1 οὕτω μὲν τοῦτο ἐπαύσθη. Ἰππίη δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἀπελαυνομένῳ ἐδίδου μὲν Ἀμύντης ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς Ἀνθεμοῦντα, ἐδίδοσαν δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ Ἰωλκόν. ὁ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερα αἰρέετο, ἀνεχώρει δὲ ὀπίσω ἐς Σίγειον, τὸ εἶλε Πεισίστρατος αἰχμὴ παρὰ Μυτιληναίων, κρατήσας δὲ αὐτοῦ κατέστησε τύραννον εἶναι παῖδα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ νόθον Ἠγησίστρατον, γεγονότα ἐξ Ἀργεῖης γυναικός, ὃς οὐκ ἀμαχητὶ εἶχε τὰ παρέλαβε παρὰ Πεισιστράτου. 2 ἐπολέμεον γὰρ ἔκ τε Ἀχιλλήϊου πόλιος ὀρμώμενοι καὶ Σιγείου ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν Μυτιληναῖοι τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἳ μὲν ἀπαιτέοντες τὴν χώραν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὔτε συγγινωσκόμενοι ἀποδεικνύντες τε λόγῳ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Αἰολεῦσι μετεὸν τῆς Ἰλιάδος χώρας ἢ οὐ καὶ σφίσι καὶ τοῖσι

ἄλλοισι, ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων συνεπρήξαντο Μενέλεω τὰς Ἑλένης ἀρπαγὰς.

94. His plan, then, came to nothing, and Hippias was forced to depart. Amyntas king of the Macedonians offered him Anthemus, and the Thessalians Iolcus, but he would have neither. He withdrew to Sigeum, which Pisistratus had taken at the spear's point from the Mytilenaeans and where he then established as tyrant Hegesistratus, his own bastard son by an Argive woman. Hegesistratus, however, could not keep what Pisistratus had given him without fighting, for there was constant war over a long period of time between the Athenians at Sigeum and the Mytilenaeans at Achilleum. The Mytilenaeans were demanding the place back, and the Athenians, bringing proof to show that the Aeolians had no more part or lot in the land of Ilium than they themselves and all the other Greeks who had aided Menelaus to avenge the rape of Helen, would not consent.

95 1 πολεμεόντων δὲ σφέων παντοῖα καὶ ἄλλα ἐγένετο ἐν τῇσι μάχησι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητὴς συμβολῆς γενομένης καὶ νικόντων Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸς μὲν φεύγων ἐκφεύγει, τὰ δὲ οἱ ὅπλα ἴσχουσι Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ σφεα ἀνεκρέμασαν πρὸς τὸ Ἀθήναιον τὸ ἐν Σιγείῳ. 2 ταῦτα δὲ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν μέλει ποιήσας ἐπιτιθεῖ ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐξαγγελλόμενος τὸ ἐαυτοῦ πάθος Μελανίπῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐταίρῳ. Μυτιληναίους δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίους κατήλλαξε Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου· τούτῳ γὰρ διαιτητῇ ἐπετράποντο· κατήλλαξε δὲ ὧδε, νέμεσθαι ἑκατέρους τὴν ἔχουσι.

95. Among the various incidents of this war, one in particular is worth mention; In the course of a battle in which the Athenians had the upper hand, Alcaeus the poet took to flight and escaped, but his armor was taken by the Athenians and hung up in the temple of Athena at Sigeum. Alcaeus wrote a poem about this and sent it to Mytilene. In it he relates his own misfortune to his friend Melanippus. As for the Mytilenaeans and Athenians, however, peace was made between them by Periander son of Cypselus, to whose arbitration they committed the matter, and the terms of peace were that each party should keep what it had.

96 1 Σίγειον μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοισι. Ἰππίης δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἀπύκετο ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, πᾶν χρῆμα ἐκίνεε,

διαβάλλων τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφρένεα καὶ ποιέων ἅπαντα ὅκως αἱ Ἀθῆναι γενοίατο ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ τε καὶ Δαρείῳ. 2 Ἰππίας τε δὴ ταῦτα ἔπρησσε, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα πέμπουσι ἐς Σάρδεις ἀγγέλους, οὐκ ἐὼντες τοὺς Πέρσας πειθεσθαι Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι φυγάσι. ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ἐκέλευε σφέας, εἰ βουλοίατο σοοὶ εἶναι, καταδέκεσθαι ὀπίσω Ἰππίην. οὐκὼν δὴ ἐνεδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους ἀποφερομένους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι· οὐκ ἐνδεκομένοισι δὲ σφι ἐδέδοκτο ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοῖσι Πέρσησι πολεμίους εἶναι.

96. It was in this way, then, that Sigeum came to be under Athenian rule, but Hippias, having come from Lacedaemon into Asia, left no stone unturned, maligning the Athenians to Artaphrenes, and doing all he could to bring Athens into subjection to himself and Darius. While Hippias was engaged in these activities, the Athenians heard of it and sent messengers to Sardis, warning the Persians not to believe banished Athenians. Artaphrenes, however, bade them receive Hippias back, if they wanted to be safe. When his words were brought back to the Athenians, they would not consent to them, and since they would not consent, it was resolved that they should be openly at war with Persia.

97 1 νομίζουσι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ διαβεβλημένοισι ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ καιρῷ ὁ Μιλήσιος Ἀρισταγόρης, ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου ἐξελασθεὶς ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀπίκετο ἐς Ἀθήνας· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν λοιπέων ἐδυνάστευε μέγιστον. ἐπελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ταῦτα ἔλεγε τὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Περσικοῦ, ὥς οὔτε ἄσπίδα οὔτε δόρυ νομίζουσι εὐπετέες τε χειρωθῆναι εἶησαν. 2 ταῦτά τε δὴ ἔλεγε καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι τάδε, ὥς οἱ Μιλήσιοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶ ἄποικοι, καὶ οἰκός σφεας εἴη ῥύεσθαι δυναμένους μέγα· καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ὑπίσχετο οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος, ἐς ὃ ἀνέπεισε σφέας. πολλοὺς γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι εὐπετέστερον διαβάλλειν ἢ ἓνα, εἰ Κλεομένεα μὲν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον μοῦνον οὐκ οἶός τε ἐγένετο διαβάλλειν, τρεῖς δὲ μυριάδας Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησε τοῦτο. 3 Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν δὴ ἀναπεισθέντες ἐψηφίσαντο εἴκοσι νέας ἀποστεῖλαι βοηθοὺς Ἴωσι, στρατηγὸν ἀποδέξαντες αὐτῶν εἶναι Μελάνθιον ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν ἐόντα τὰ πάντα δόκιμον· αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο Ἑλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροισι.

97. It was when the Athenians had made their decision and were already on bad terms with Persia, that Aristagoras the Milesian, driven from Sparta by Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian, came to Athens, since that city was more powerful than any of the rest. Coming before the people, Aristagoras spoke to the same effect as at Sparta, of the good things of Asia, and how the Persians carried neither shield nor spear in war and could easily be overcome. This he said adding that the Milesians were settlers from Athens, whom it was only right to save seeing that they themselves were a very powerful people. There was nothing which he did not promise in the earnestness of his entreaty, till at last he prevailed upon them. It seems, then, that it is easier to deceive many than one, for he could not deceive Cleomenes of Lacedaemon, one single man, but thirty thousand Athenians he could. The Athenians, now persuaded, voted to send twenty ships to aid the Ionians, appointing for their admiral Melanthius, a citizen of Athens who had an unblemished reputation. These ships were the beginning of troubles for both Greeks and foreigners.

98 1 Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ προπλώσας καὶ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, ἐξευρὼν βούλευμα ἀπ' οὗ Ἴωσι μὲν οὐδεμία ἔμελλε ὠφελίη ἔσσεσθαι, οὐδ' ὧν οὐδὲ τούτου εἵνεκα ἐποίεε ἀλλ' ὅκως βασιλέα Δαρεῖον λυπήσειε, ἔπεμψε ἐς τὴν Φρυγίην ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τοὺς Παίονας τοὺς ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ αἰχμαλώτους γενομένους ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου, οἰκέοντας δὲ τῆς Φρυγίης χῶρόν τε καὶ κώμην ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Παίονας, ἔλεγε τάδε. 2 “ἄνδρες Παῖονες, ἔπεμψέ με Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος σωτηρίην ὑποθησόμενον ὑμῖν, ἣν περ βούλησθε πείθεσθαι. νῦν γὰρ Ἰωνίη πᾶσα ἀπέστηκε ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ὑμῖν παρέχει σῶζεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέρεην αὐτῶν· μέχρι μὲν θαλάσσης αὐτοῖσι ὑμῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἡμῖν ἤδη μελήσει,· 3 ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Παῖονες κάρτα τε ἀσπαστὸν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ ἀναλαβόντες παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἀπεδίδρυσκον ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, οἱ δὲ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ κατέμειναν ἀρρώδησαντες αὐτοῦ. ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ Παῖονες ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐς Χίον διέβησαν. 4 ἐόντων δὲ ἤδη ἐν Χίῳ, κατὰ πόδας ἐληλύθεε Περσέων ἵππος πολλὴ διώκουσα τοὺς Παίονας. ὥς δὲ οὐ κατέλαβον, ἐπηγγέλλοντο ἐς τὴν Χίον τοῖσι Παίοσι ὅκως ἂν ὀπίσω ἀπέλθοιεν. οἱ δὲ Παῖονες τοὺς

λόγους οὐκ ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ Χίου μὲν Χῖοι σφέας ἐς Λέσβον ἤγαγον, Λέσβιοι δὲ ἐς Δορίσκον ἐκόμισαν, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ πεζῇ κομιζόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Παιονίην.

98. Aristagoras sailed before the rest, and when he came to Miletus, he devised a plan from which no advantage was to accrue to the Ionians (nor indeed was that the purpose of his plan, but rather to vex king Darius). He sent a man into Phrygia, to the Paeonians who had been led captive from the Strymon by Megabazus, and now dwelt in a Phrygian territory and village by themselves. When the man came to the Paeonians, he spoke as follows: "Men of Paeonia, I have been sent by Aristagoras, tyrant of Miletus, to show you the way to deliverance, if you are disposed to obey. All Ionia is now in revolt against the king, and it is possible for you to win your own way back safely to your own land, but afterwards we will take care of you." The Paeonians were very glad when they heard that, and although some of them remained where they were for fear of danger, the rest took their children and women and fled to the sea. After arriving there, the Paeonians crossed over to Chios. They were already in Chios, when a great host of Persian horsemen came after them in pursuit. Unable to overtake them, the Persians sent to Chios, commanding the Paeonians to go back. The Paeonians would not consent to this, but were brought from Chios by the Chians to Lesbos and carried by the Lesbians to Doriscus, from where they made their way by land to Paeonia.

99 1 Ἀρισταγόρης δέ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπίκοντο εἴκοσι νηυσί, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι Ἑρετριέων πέντε τριήρεας, οἱ οὐ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν ἐστρατεύοντο ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτῶν Μιλησίων, ὀφειλόμενά σφι ἀποδιδόντες· οἱ γὰρ δὴ Μιλήσιοι πρότερον τοῖσι Ἑρετριεῦσι τὸν πρὸς Χαλκιδέας πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν, ὅτε περ καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσι ἀντία Ἑρετριέων καὶ Μιλησίων Σάμιοι ἐβοήθεον· οὗτοι ὦν ἐπεῖτε σφι ἀπίκοντο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι παρῆσαν, ἐποιέετο στρατηγὴν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς Σάρδεις. 2 αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο ἀλλ' ἔμενε ἐν Μιλήτῳ, στρατηγούς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέδεξε Μιλησίων εἶναι, τὸν ἐωυτοῦ τε ἀδελφεὸν Χαροπῖνον καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν ἄλλον Ἑρμόφαντον.

99. The Athenians came with their twenty ships as well as five triremes of the Eretrians who came to the war to please not the

Athenians but the Milesians themselves, thereby repaying their debt (for the Milesians had once been the allies of the Eretrians in the war against Chalcis, when the Samians came to aid the Chalcidians against the Eretrians and Milesians). When these, then, and the rest of the allies had arrived, Aristagoras planned a march against Sardis. He himself did not go with the army but remained at Miletus, and appointed others to be generals of the Milesians, namely his own brother Charopinus and another citizen named Hermophantus.

100 1 ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ Ἴωνες ἐς Ἔφεσον πλοῖα μὲν κατέλιπον ἐν Κορησῷ τῆς Ἐφεσίδης, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀνέβαινον χειρὶ πολλῇ, ποιεύμενοι Ἐφεσίους ἡγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ. πορευόμενοι δὲ παρὰ ποταμὸν Καῦστριον, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπεῖτε ὑπερβάντες τὸν Τμῶλον ἀπίκοντο, αἰρέουσι Σάρδις οὐδενός σφι ἀντιωθέντος, αἰρέουσι δὲ χωρὶς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τὰλλα πάντα· τὴν δὲ ἀκρόπολιν ἐρρύετο αὐτὸς Ἀρταφρένης ἔχων ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην.

100. When the Ionians had come to Ephesus with this force, they left their ships at Coresus in the Ephesian territory and marched inland with a great host, taking Ephesians to guide them on their way. They made their way along the river Caicus, and after crossing the Tmolus, they came to Sardis and captured it without any resistance. They took all of it except the citadel, which was held by Artaphrenes himself with a great force of men.

101 1 τὸ δὲ μὴ λεηλατῆσαι ἐλόντας σφέας τὴν πόλιν ἔσχε τόδε. ἦσαν ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πλεῦνες καλάμιναι, ὅσαι δ' αὐτέων καὶ πλίνθιναι ἦσαν, καλάμου εἶχον τὰς ὀροφάς· τουτέων δὲ μίαν τῶν τις στρατιωτέων ὥς ἐνέπρησε, αὐτίκα ἀπ' οἰκίης ἐπ' οἰκίην ἰὼν τὸ πῦρ ἐπενέμετο τὸ ἅστυ πᾶν. 2 καιομένου δὲ τοῦ ἁστεος οἱ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ ὅσοι Περσέων ἐνῆσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἀπολαμφθέντες πάντοθεν ὥστε τὰ περιέσχата νεμομένου τοῦ πυρός, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐξήλυσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἁστεος, συνέρρεον ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμόν, ὃς σφι ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ καταφορέων ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορῆς ῥέει καὶ ἔπειτα ἐς τὸν Ἑρμόν ποταμὸν ἐκδιδοῖ, ὃ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν· ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Πακτωλὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀθροιζόμενοι οἱ τε Λυδοὶ καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἠναγκάζοντο ἀμύνεσθαι. 3 οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες ὀρέοντες τοὺς μὲν ἀμυνομένους τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς δὲ σὺν πλήθει πολλῶ προσφερομένους,

ἐξανεχώρησαν δείσαντες πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸν Τμῶλον καλεόμενον, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐπὶ τὰς νέας.

101. They were prevented from plundering the city by the fact that most of the houses in Sardis were made of reeds, and those made of brick had roofs of reeds. Accordingly, when one of these was set on fire by a soldier, the flames spread from house to house all over the whole city. While the city was burning, the Lydians and all the Persians who were in the citadel, being hemmed in on every side since the fire was consuming the outer parts and having no exit from the city, came thronging into the marketplace and to the river Pactolus, which flows through the marketplace carrying down gold dust from Tmolus and issues into the river Hermus, which in turn issues into the sea. They assembled in the marketplace by this Pactolus and were forced to defend themselves there. When the Ionians saw some of their enemies defending themselves and a great multitude of others approaching, they were afraid and withdrew to the mountain called Tmolus, from where they departed to their ships at nightfall.

102 1 καὶ Σάρδιες μὲν ἐνεπρήσθησαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι καὶ ἱρὸν ἐπιχωρίης θεοῦ Κυβήβης· τὸ σκηπτόμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι ὕστερον ἀντενεπίμπρασαν τὰ ἐν Ἑλληνισι ἱρά. τότε δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι οἱ ἐντὸς Ἄλυος ποταμοῦ νομοὺς ἔχοντες, προπυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, συνηλίζοντο καὶ ἐβοήθειον τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι. 2 καὶ κως ἐν μὲν Σάρδισι οὐκέτι ἐόντας τοὺς Ἴωνας εὐρίσκουσι, ἐπόμενοι δὲ κατὰ στίβον αἰρέουσι αὐτοὺς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. καὶ ἀντετάχθησαν μὲν οἱ Ἴωνες, συμβαλόντες δὲ πολλὸν ἐσσώθησαν. 3 καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι φονεύουσι ἄλλους τε ὀνομαστούς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Εὐαλκίδην στρατηγέοντα Ἐρετριέων, στεφανηφόρους τε ἀγῶνας ἀναραιρηκότα καὶ ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδεω τοῦ Κηίου πολλὰ αἰνεθέντα· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπέφυγον τὴν μάχην, ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὰς πόλεις.

102. In the fire at Sardis, a temple of Cybebe, the goddess of that country, was burnt, and the Persians afterwards made this their pretext for burning the temples of Hellas. At this time, the Persians of the provinces this side of the Halys, on hearing of these matters, gathered together and came to aid the Lydians. It chanced that they found the Ionians no longer at Sardis, but following on their tracks,

they caught them at Ephesus. There the Ionians stood arrayed to meet them, but were utterly routed in the battle. The Persians put to the sword many men of renown including Eualcides the general of the Eretrians who had won crowns as victor in the games and been greatly praised by Simonides of Ceos. Those of the Ionians who escaped from the battle fled, each to his city.

103 1 τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο. μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀπολιπόντες τοὺς Ἴωνας, ἐπικαλομένου σφέας πολλὰ δι' ἀγγέλων Ἀρισταγόρεω, οὐκ ἔφασαν τιμωρήσιν σφι. Ἴωνες δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίας στερηθέντες, οὕτω γάρ σφι ὑπῆρχε πεποιημένα ἐς Δαρεῖον, οὐδὲν δὴ ἥσσον τὸν πρὸς βασιλέα πόλεμον ἐσκευάζοντο. 2 πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον Βυζάντιόν τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις πάσας τὰς ταύτῃ ὑπ' ἐωυτοῖσι ἐποιήσαντο, ἐκπλώσαντές τε ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον Καρίης τὴν πολλὴν προσεκτήσαντο σφίσι σύμμαχον εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τὴν Καῦνον πρότερον οὐ βουλομένην συμμαχεῖν, ὥς ἐνέπρησαν τὰς Σάρδεις, τότε σφι καὶ αὕτη προσεγένετο.

103. This, then is how they fared in their fighting. Presently, however, the Athenians wholly separated themselves from the Ionians and refused to aid them, although Aristagoras sent messages of earnest entreaty. Despite the fact that they had been deprived of their Athenian allies, the Ionians fervently continued their war against the king (for they remained committed by what they had done to Darius). They sailed to the Hellespont and made Byzantium and all the other cities of that region subject to themselves. Then sailing out from the Hellespont they gained to their cause the greater part of Caria, for even Caunus, which till then had not wanted to be their ally, now joined itself to them after the burning of Sardis.

104 1 Κύπριοι δὲ ἐθέλονταί σφι πάντες προσεγένοντο πλὴν Ἀμαθουσίων· ἀπέστησαν γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ὧδε ἀπὸ Μήδων. ἡ Ὀνήσιλος Γόργου μὲν τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸς νεώτερος, Χέρσιος δὲ τοῦ Σιρώμου τοῦ Εὐέλθοντος παῖς. 2 οὗτος ὥνῃρ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον τὸν Γόργον παρηγορέετο ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, τότε δέ, ὥς καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐπύθετο ἀπεστάναι, πάγχυ ἐπικείμενος ἐνῆγε· ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Γόργον, ἐνθαῦτά μιν φυλάζας ἐξελθόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Σαλαμινίων ὁ Ὀνήσιλος ἅμα τοῖσι

έωντοῦ στασιώτησι ἀπεκλήρισε τῶν πυλέων. 3 Γόργος μὲν δὴ στερηθεὶς τῆς πόλιος ἔφευγε ἐς Μήδους, Ὀνήσιλος δὲ ἤρχε Σαλαμῖνος καὶ ἀνέπειθε πάντας Κυπρίους συναπίστασθαι. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄλλους ἀνέπεισε, Ἀμαθουσίους δὲ οὐ βουλομένους οἱ πείθεσθαι ἐπολιόρκεε προσκατήμενος.

104. The Cyprians did likewise of their own free will, all save the people of Amathus, for these too revolted from the Medes in such manner as I will show. There was a certain Onesilus, a younger brother of Gorgus king of the Salaminians, son of Chersis, whose father was Siromus, and grandson of Euelthon. This man had often before advised Gorgus to revolt from Darius, and now when he heard that the Ionians too had revolted, he was insistent in striving to move him. When, however, he could not persuade Gorgus, he and his faction waited till his brother had gone out of the city of Salamis, and shut him out of the gates. Gorgus, after having lost his city, took refuge with the Medes, and Onesilus, now king of Salamis, persuaded all Cyprus to revolt with him, all save the Amathusians, who would not consent. He accordingly stationed his forces in front of their city and besieged it.

105 1 Ὀνήσιλος μὲν νυν ἐπολιόρκεε Ἀμαθοῦντα. βασιλείᾳ δὲ Δαρείῳ ὥς ἐξαγγέλῃ Σάρδις ἀλούσας ἐμπεπρῆσθαι ὑπὸ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰόνων, τὸν δὲ ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι τῆς συλλογῆς ὥστε ταῦτα συνυφανθῆναι τὸν Μιλήσιον Ἀρισταγόρην, πρῶτα μὲν λέγεται αὐτόν, ὥς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, Ἰόνων οὐδένα λόγον ποιησάμενον, εὖ εἰδότα ὥς οὗτοί γε οὐ καταπροΐζονται ἀποστάντες, εἰρέσθαι οἵτινες εἶεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μετὰ δὲ πυθόμενον αἰτῆσαι τὸ τόξον, λαβόντα δὲ καὶ ἐπιθέντα δὲ οἰστὸν ἄνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπειναι, καὶ μιν ἐς τὸν ἡέρα βάλλοντα εἰπεῖν 2 “ὦ Ζεῦ, ἐκγενέσθαι μοι Ἀθηναίους τίσασθαι,, εἶπαντα δὲ ταῦτα προστάξαι ἐνὶ τῶν θεραπόντων δαίπνου προκειμένου αὐτῷ ἐς τρεῖς ἐκάστοτε εἰπεῖν “δέσποτα, μέμνεο τῶν Ἀθηναίων,,.

105. Onesilus, then, besieged Amathus. When it was reported to Darius that Sardis had been taken and burnt by the Athenians and Ionians and that Aristagoras the Milesian had been leader of the conspiracy for the making of this plan, he at first, it is said, took no account of the Ionians since he was sure that they would not go

unpunished for their rebellion. Darius did, however, ask who the Athenians were, and after receiving the answer, he called for his bow. This he took and, placing an arrow on it, and shot it into the sky, praying as he sent it aloft, “O Zeus, grant me vengeance on the Athenians.” Then he ordered one of his servants to say to him three times whenever dinner was set before him, “Master, remember the Athenians.”

106 1 προστάξας δὲ ταῦτα εἶπε, καλέσας ἐς ὃψιν Ἰστιαῖον τὸν Μιλήσιον, τὸν ὁ Δαρεῖος κατεῖχε χρόνον ἤδη πολλόν, “πυνθάνομαι Ἰστιαῖε ἐπίτροπον τὸν σόν, τῷ σὺ Μίλητον ἐπέτρεψας, νεώτερα ἐς ἐμὲ πεποιηκέναι πρήγματα· ἄνδρας γάρ μοι ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρης ἡπείρου ἐπαγαγόν, καὶ Ἴωνας σὺν αὐτοῖσι τοὺς δώσοντας ἐμοὶ δίκην τῶν ἐποίησαν, τούτους ἀναγνώσας ἅμα ἐκείνοισι ἔπεσθαι, Σαρδίων με ἀπεστέρησε. νῦν ὢν κῶς τοι ταῦτα φαίνεται ἔχειν καλῶς; 2 κῶς δὲ ἄνευ τῶν σῶν βουλευμάτων τούτων τι ἐπρήχθη; ὅρα μὴ ἐξ ὑστέρης σεωυτὸν ἐν αἰτίῃ σχῆς,·. 3 εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἰστιαῖος “βασιλεῦ, κοῖον ἐφθέγξαιο ἔπος, ἐμὲ βουλευσai πρήγμα ἐκ τοῦ σοί τι ἢ μέγα ἢ σμικρὸν ἐμελλε λυπηρὸν ἀνασχῆσειν; τί δ’ ἂν ἐπιδιζήμενος ποιέοιμι ταῦτα, τεῦ δὲ ἐνδεῆς ἐὼν; τῷ πάρα μὲν πάντα ὅσα περ σοί, πάντων δὲ πρὸς σέο βουλευμάτων ἐπακούειν ἀξιούμαι. 4 ἀλλ’ εἰ περ τι τοιοῦτον οἶον σὺ εἴρηκας πρήσσει ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος, ἴσθι αὐτὸν ἐπ’ ἐωυτοῦ βαλόμενον πεποιηκέναι. ἀρχὴν δὲ ἔγωγε οὐδὲ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον, ὅκως τι Μιλήσιοι καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος νεώτερον πρήσσουσι περὶ πρήγματα τὰ σά. εἰ δ’ ἄρα τι τοιοῦτο ποιέῃσι καὶ σὺ τὸ ἐὸν ἀκήκοας ὃ βασιλεῦ, μάθε οἶον πρήγμα ἐργάσαιο ἐμὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνάσπαστον ποιήσας. 5 Ἴωνες γὰρ οἴκασι ἐμεῦ ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν σφι γενομένου ποιῆσαι τῶν πάλαι ἡμερον εἶχον· ἐμέο δ’ ἂν ἐόντος ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὐδεμία πόλις ὑπεκίνησε. νῦν ὢν ὡς τάχος ἅπες με πορευθῆναι ἐς Ἰωνίην, ἵνα τοι κεῖνά τε πάντα καταρτίσω ἐς τὰυτὸ καὶ τὸν Μιλήτου ἐπίτροπον τοῦτον τὸν ταῦτα μηχανησάμενον ἐγγχειρίθետον παραδῶ. 6 ταῦτα δὲ κατὰ νόον τὸν σόν ποιήσας, θεοὺς ἐπόμνυμι τοὺς βασιλείους μὴ μὲν πρότερον ἐκδύσασθαι τὸν ἔχων κιθῶνα καταβήσομαι ἐς Ἰωνίην, πρὶν ἂν τοι Σαρδῶ νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην δασμοφόρον ποιήσω,·.

106. After giving this order, he called before him Histiaeus the Milesian, whom Darius had kept with him for a long time now, and

said, "I hear, Histiaeus, that the viceregent whom you put in charge of Miletus has done me wrong. He has brought men from the mainland overseas, and persuaded certain Ionians — who shall yet pay me the penalty for their deeds — to follow them and has robbed me of Sardis. Now then, I ask you, do you think that this state of affairs is good? How did such things come to pass without any advice from your side? See to it that you do not have cause to blame yourself hereafter." To this Histiaeus answered: "My lord, what is this you say — that I and none other should devise a plan as a result of which any harm, great or small, was likely to come to you? What desire or feeling of deprivation would prompt me to do such a thing? All that you have is mine, and I am regarded worthy of hearing all your deliberations. If my vicegerent is indeed doing what you say, be assured that he has acted of his own accord. For myself, I cannot even go so far as to believe the report that the Milesians and my vicegerent are doing you some dreadful wrong. If, however, it is true that they are engaged in such activities and what you, O king, have heard has a basis in fact, then you can see how unwisely you acted when you forced me to leave the coast. It would seem, then, that as soon as I was out of sight, the Ionians did exactly what their hearts had long been set on. If I had been in Ionia no city would have stirred. Now send me off to Ionia right away, so that I may restore that country to peace and deliver into your hands that vicegerent of Miletus who has devised all this. Then, when I have done this to your satisfaction, I swear by the gods of your royal house that I will not take off the tunic I am wearing on my arrival in Ionia until I have made Sardo, the largest of the islands, tributary to you."

107 Ἰστιαῖος μὲν λέγων ταῦτα διέβαλλε, Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπειθέτο καὶ μιν ἀπίει, ἐντειλάμενος, ἐπεὰν τὰ ὑπέσχετό οἱ ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ, παραγίνεσθαι οἱ ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα.

107. With these words Histiaeus successfully deceived Darius who gave his consent and let him go, charging Histiaeus to appear before him at Susa when he had achieved what he promised.

108 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡ ἀγγελίη τε περὶ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα ἀνῆκε καὶ Δαρεῖος τὰ περὶ τὸ τόξον ποιήσας Ἰστιαῖον ἐς λόγους ἦλθε καὶ Ἰστιαῖος μεμετιμένος ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐκομίζετο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐν

τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐγένετο τάδε. πολιορκέοντι τῷ Σαλαμινίῳ Ὀνησίλῳ Ἀμαθουσίους ἐξαγγέλλεται νηυσὶ στρατιὴν πολλὴν ἄγοντα Περσικὴν Ἀρτύβιον ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν προσδόκιμον ἐς τὴν Κύπρον εἶναι· 2 πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ὀνήσιλος κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἐπικαλούμενος σφέας, Ἴωνες δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν βουλευσάμενοι ἦκον πολλῷ στόλῳ. Ἴωνές τε δὴ παρῆσαν ἐς τὴν Κύπρον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι νηυσὶ διαβάντες ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίης ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα πεζῇ. τῇσι δὲ νηυσὶ οἱ Φοίνικες περιέπλεον τὴν ἄκρην αἱ καλεῦνται Κληῖδες τῆς Κύπρου.

108. Now while the message concerning Sardis was making its way to the king, and Darius, having done as I said with his bow, held converse with Histiaeus and permitted him to go to the sea, the following events took place. When Onesilus of Salamis was besieging the Amathusians, news was brought him that Artybius, a Persian, was thought to be coming to Cyprus with a great Persian host. Upon hearing this, Onesilus sent heralds all through Ionia to summon the people, and the Ionians, after no long deliberation, came with a great force. So the Ionians were in Cyprus when the Persians, crossing from Cilicia, marched to Salamis by land, and the Phoenicians were sailing around the headland which is called the keys of Cyprus.

109 1 τούτου δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου ἔλεξαν οἱ τύραννοι τῆς Κύπρου, συγκαλέσαντες τῶν Ἰόνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, “ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, αἴρεσιν ὑμῖν δίδομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Κύπριοι ὁκοτέροισι βούλεσθε προσφέρεισθαι, ἢ Πέρσῃσι ἢ Φοίνιξι. 2 εἰ μὲν γὰρ πεζῇ βούλεσθε ταχθέντες Περσέων διαπειρᾶσθαι, ὥρῃ ἂν εἴη ὑμῖν ἐκβάντας ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τάσσεσθαι πεζῇ, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὰς νέας ἐσβαίνειν τὰς ὑμετέρας Φοίνιξι ἀνταγωνιευμένους· εἰ δὲ Φοινίκων μᾶλλον βούλεσθε διαπειρᾶσθαι, ποιέειν χρεὸν ἐστὶ ὑμέας, ὁκότερα ἂν δὴ τούτων ἔλυσθε, ὅπως τὸ κατ’ ὑμέας ἔσται ἢ τε Ἰωνῇ καὶ ἢ Κύπρῳ ἐλευθέρη,· 3 εἶπαν Ἴωνες πρὸς ταῦτα “ἡμέας δὲ ἀπέπεμψε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰόνων φυλάζοντας τὴν θάλασσαν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἵνα Κυπρίοις τὰς νέας παραδόντες αὐτοὶ πεζῇ Πέρσῃσι προσφερώμεθα. ἡμεῖς μὲν νυν ἐπ’ οὗ ἐτάχθημεν, ταύτῃ πειρησόμεθα εἶναι χρηστοί· ὑμέας δὲ χρεὸν ἐστὶ ἀναμνησθέντας οἷα ἐπάσχετε δουλεύοντες πρὸς τῶν Μήδων, γίνεσθαι ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς,·

109. In this turn of affairs, the tyrants of Cyprus called together the generals of the Ionians, and said to them: "Ionians, we Cyprians offer you the choice of engaging either the Persians or the Phoenicians. If you want to draw up your army on land and try your strength against the Persians, then it is time for you to disembark and array yourselves on land and for us to embark in your ships to contend with the Phoenicians. If, however, you desire rather to engage the Phoenicians, do so, but whichever you choose, see to it that Ionia and Cyprus become free." To this the Ionians answered, "We were sent by the common voice of Ionia to guard the seas, not to deliver our ships to men of Cyprus and encounter the Persians on land. We will attempt then to bear ourselves bravely in the task which was given us. It is for you to prove yourselves valiant men, remembering what you suffered when you were enslaved by the Medians."

110 1 Ἴωνες μὲν τούτοισι ἀμείψαντο· μετὰ δὲ ἡκόντων ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Σαλαμινίων τῶν Περσέων, διέτασσον οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Κυπρίων, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους Κυπρίους κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἀντιτάσσοντες, Σαλαμινίων δὲ καὶ Σολίων ἀπολέξαντες τὸ ἄριστον ἀντέτασσον Πέρσῃσι· Ἀρτυβίῳ δὲ τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν Περσέων ἐθελοντῆς ἀντετάσσετο Ὀνήσιλος.

110. This was the Ionians' response, and when the Persian army afterwards arrived on the plain of Salamis, the Cyprian kings ordered their battle line. They drew up the best of the Salaminians and Solians against the Persians, leaving the remaining Cyprians to face the rest of the enemy's army. Onesilus placed himself opposite Artybius, the Persian general.

111 1 ἤλανε δὲ ἵππον ὁ Ἀρτύβιος δεδιδαγμένον πρὸς ὀπλίτην ἵστασθαι ὀρθόν. πυθόμενος ὦν ταῦτα ὁ Ὀνήσιλος, ἦν γάρ οἱ ὑπασπιστὴς γένος μὲν Κάρ τὰ δὲ πολέμια κάρτα δόκιμος καὶ ἄλλως λήματος πλέος, εἶπε πρὸς τοῦτον 2 "πυνθάνομαι τὸν Ἀρτυβίου ἵππον ἱστάμενον ὀρθόν καὶ ποσὶ καὶ στόματι κατεργάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἄν προσενειχθῇ· σὺ ὦν βουλευσάμενος εἰπὲ αὐτίκα ὁκότερον βούλει φυλάξας πληῆσαι, εἴτε τὸν ἵππον εἴτε αὐτὸν Ἀρτύβιον,," 3 εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ ὀπάων αὐτοῦ "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἔτοιμος μὲν ἐγὼ εἰμι ποιέειν καὶ ἀμφοτέρω καὶ τὸ ἕτερον αὐτῶν, καὶ πάντως τὸ ἄν σὺ ἐπιτάσσης· ὥς

μέντοι ἔμοιγε δοκέει εἶναι τοῖσι σοῖσι πρήγμασι προσφερέστερον, φράσω. 4 βασιλέα μὲν καὶ στρατηγὸν χρεὸν εἶναι φημί βασιλεί τε καὶ στρατηγῷ προσφέρεσθαι. ἦν τε γὰρ κατέλῃς ἄνδρα στρατηγόν, μέγα τοι γίνεται, καὶ δεύτερα, ἦν σὲ ἐκεῖνος, τὸ μὴ γένοιτο, ὑπὸ ἀξιοχρέου καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἡμίσεα συμφορῇ· ἡμέας δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρέτας ἐτέροισί τε ὑπὲρέτησι προσφέρεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἵππον· τοῦ σὺ τὰς μηχανὰς μηδὲν φοβηθῇς· ἐγὼ γάρ τοι ὑποδέκομαι μὴ μιν ἄνδρὸς ἔτι γε μηδενὸς στήσεσθαι ἐναντίον,,.

111. Now the horse which Artybius rode was trained to fight with infantrymen by rearing up. Hearing this, Onesilus said to his attendant, a Carian of great renown in war and a valiant man , “I learn that Artybius’ horse rears up and kicks and bites to death whomever he encounters. In light of this decide and tell me straightway which you will watch and strike down, Artybius himself or his horse.” To this his henchman answered, “My King, ready am I to do either or both, whatever you desire. Nevertheless, I will tell you what I think is in your best interest. To my mind, a king and general should be met in battle by a king and general (For if you lay low a man who is a general, you have achieved a great feat. Failing that, if he lays you low, as I pray he may not, it is but half the misfortune to be slain by a noble enemy). For us servants it is fitting that we fight with servants like ourselves and with that horse. Do not fear his tricks, for I promise that he will never again do battle with any man.”

112 1 ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ μεταυτίκα συνέμισγε τὰ στρατόπεδα πεζῇ καὶ νηυσί. νηυσὶ μὲν νυν Ἴωνες ἄκροι γενόμενοι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ὑπερεβάλλοντο τοὺς Φοίνικας, καὶ τούτων Σάμιοι ἡρίστευσαν· πεζῇ δέ, ὥς συνῆλθε τὰ στρατόπεδα, συμπεσόντα ἐμάχοντο. 2 κατὰ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀμφοτέρους τάδε ἐγίνετο· ὥς προσεφέρετο πρὸς τὸν Ὀνήσιλον ὁ Ἀρτύβιος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου κατήμενος, ὁ Ὀνήσιλος κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο τῷ ὑπασπιστῇ παίει προσφερόμενον αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀρτύβιον· ἐπιβαλόντος δὲ τοῦ ἵππου τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀνησίλου ἀσπίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κάρ δρεπάνῳ πλήξας ἀπαράσσει τοῦ ἵππου τοὺς πόδας.

112. This, then, was his response, and immediately afterwards war broke out on land and sea. The Ionians in their ships, displaying surpassing excellence that day, overcame the Phoenicians, and it was

the Samnians who were most brave. On land, when the armies met, they charged and fought. As for the two generals, Artybius rode against Onesilus who as he had agreed with his attendant, dealt Artybius a blow as he bore down upon him. When the horse struck his hooves on Onesilus' shield, the Carian shore away the horse's legs with a stroke of his curved sword.

113 1 Ἀρτύβιος μὲν δὴ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Περσέων ὁμοῦ τῷ ἵππῳ πίπτει αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ. μαχομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, Στησήνωρ τύραννος ἐὼν Κουρίου προδοῖ ἔχων δύναμιν ἀνδρῶν περὶ ἐωυτὸν οὐ σμικρὴν. οἱ δὲ Κουριέες οὗτοι λέγονται εἶναι Ἀργείων ἄποικοι. προδόντων δὲ τῶν Κουριέων αὐτίκα καὶ τὰ Σαλαμινίων πολεμιστήρια ἄρματα τῷτὸ τοῖσι Κουριεῦσι ἐποίεε. γινομένων δὲ τούτων κατυπέρτεροι ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι τῶν Κυπρίων. 2 τετραμμένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἄλλοι τε ἔπεσον πολλοὶ καὶ δὴ καὶ Ὀνήσιλός τε ὁ Χέρσιος, ὃς περ τὴν Κυπρίων ἀπόστασιν ἔπρηξε, καὶ ὁ Σολίων βασιλεὺς Ἀριστόκυπρος ὁ Φιλοκύπρου, Φιλοκύπρου δὲ τούτου τὸν Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἀπικόμενος ἐς Κύπρον ἐν ἔπεσι αἶνεσε τυράννων μάλιστα.

113. It was in this way that Artybius the Persian general, together with his horse, fell. While the rest were still fighting, Stesenor the ruler of Curium, allegedly an Argive settlement, played the traitor with great company of men under him. The war-chariots of the Salaminians immediately followed their lead, and the Persians accordingly gained the upper hand over the Cyprians. So the army was routed, and many were slain, among them Onesilus, son of Chersis, who had contrived the Cyprian revolt, as well as the king of the Solians, Aristocyprus son of Philocyprus, that Philocyprus whom Solon of Athens, when he came to Cyprus, extolled in a poem above all other tyrants.

114 1 Ὀνήσιλου μὲν νυν Ἀμαθούσιοι, ὅτι σφέας ἐπολιόρκησε, ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκόμισαν ἐς Ἀμαθοῦντα καὶ μιν ἀνεκρέμασαν ὑπὲρ τῶν πυλέων· κρεμαμένης δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἤδη ἐούσης κοίλης, ἐσμός μελισσέων ἐσδὺς ἐς αὐτὴν κηρίων μιν ἐνέπλησε. 2 τούτου δὲ γενομένου τοιοῦτου, ἐχρέωντο γὰρ περὶ αὐτῆς οἱ Ἀμαθούσιοι, ἐμαντεύθη σφι τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν κατελόντας θάψαι, Ὀνήσιλῳ δὲ θύειν ὥς ἥρωι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, καὶ σφι ποιεῦσι ταῦτα

ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι.

114. As for Onesilus, the Amathusians cut off his head and brought it to Amathus, where they hung it above their gates, because he had besieged their city. When this head became hollow, a swarm of bees entered it and filled it with their honeycomb. In consequence of this the Amathusians, who had inquired concerning the matter, received an oracle which stated that they should take the head down and bury it, and offer yearly sacrifice to Onesilus as to a hero. If they did this, things would go better for them.

115 1 Αμαθούσιοι μὲν νυν ἐποίευν ταῦτα καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ· Ἴωνες δὲ οἱ ἐν Κύπρῳ ναυμαχίσαντες ἐπεῖτε ἔμαθον τὰ πρήγματα τὰ Ὀνησίλου διεφθαρμένα καὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Κυπρίων πολιορκευμένας τὰς ἄλλας πλὴν Σαλαμῖνος, ταύτην δὲ Γόργῳ τῷ προτέρῳ βασιλεί τοὺς Σαλαμινίους παραδόντας, αὐτίκα μαθόντες οἱ Ἴωνες ταῦτα ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην. 2 τῶν δὲ ἐν Κύπρῳ πολιῶν ἀντέσχε χρόνον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον πολιορκευμένα Ὀλοῖ, τὴν περὶ ὑπορύσσοντες τὸ τεῖχος πέμπτῳ μηνὶ εἶλον οἱ Πέρσαι.

115. This the Amathusians did, and have done to this day. When, however, the Ionians engaged in the sea-battle off Cyprus learned that Onesilus' cause was lost and that the cities of Cyprus, with the exception of Salamis which the Salaminians had handed over to their former king Gorgus, were besieged, they sailed off to Ionia without delay. Soli was the Cyprian city which withstood siege longest; the Persians took it in the fifth month by digging a mine under its walls.

116 1 Κύπριοι μὲν δὴ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐλεύθεροι γενόμενοι αὐτὶς ἐκ νέης κατεδεδούλωντο. Δαυρίσης δὲ ἔχων Δαρείου θυγατέρα καὶ Ὑμαῖς τε καὶ Ὀτάνης ἄλλοι Πέρσαι στρατηγοί, ἔχοντες καὶ οὗτοι Δαρείου θυγατέρας, ἐπιδιώξαντες τοὺς ἐς Σάρδεις στρατευσαμένους Ἴωνων καὶ ἐσαράξαντες σφέας ἐς τὰς νέας, τῇ μάχῃ ὥς ἐπεκράτησαν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπιδιελόμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἐπόρθεον.

116. So the Cyprians, after winning freedom for a year, were enslaved once more. Daurises, Hymaeus, and Otanes, all of them Persian generals and married to daughters of Darius, pursued those Ionians who had marched to Sardis, and drove them to their ships. After this victory they divided the cities among themselves and sacked them.

117 1 Δαυρίσης μὲν τραπόμενος πρὸς τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεις εἶλε μὲν Δάρδανον, εἶλε δὲ Ἄβυδόν τε καὶ Περκώτην καὶ Λάμψακον καὶ Παισόν. ταύτας μὲν ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη αἶρεε, ἀπὸ δὲ Παισοῦ ἐλαύνοντί οἱ ἐπὶ Πάριον πόλιν ἦλθε ἀγγελίη τοὺς Κᾶρας τῷτ' Ἴωσι φρονήσαντας ἀπεστάναι ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἀποστρέψας ὧν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἦλανε τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίην.

117. Daurises made for the cities of the Hellespont and took Dardanus, Abydus, Percote, Lampsacus, and Paesus, each in a single day. Then as he marched from Paesus against Parius, news came to him that the Carians had made common cause with the Ionians and revolted from the Persians. For this reason he turned aside from the Hellespont and marched his army to Caria.

118 1 καὶ κως ταῦτα τοῖσι Καρσὶ ἐξαγγέλθη πρότερον ἢ τὸν Δαυρίσην ἀπικέσθαι· πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κᾶρες συνελέγοντο ἐπὶ Λευκάς τε στήλας καλεομένας καὶ ποταμὸν Μαρσύην, ὃς ῥέων ἐκ τῆς Ἰδριάδος χώρας ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον ἐκδιδοῖ. 2 συλλεχθέντων δὲ τῶν Καρῶν ἐνθαῦτα ἐγίνοντο βουλαι ἄλλαι τε πολλαὶ καὶ ἀρίστη γε δοκέουσα εἶναι ἐμοὶ Πιξωδάρου τοῦ Μανσώλου ἀνδρὸς Κινδυέος, ὃς τοῦ Κιλικίων βασιλέος Συννέσιος εἶχε θυγατέρα· τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε διαβάντας τὸν Μαίανδρον τοὺς Κᾶρας καὶ κατὰ νότου ἔχοντας τὸν ποταμὸν οὕτω συμβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ ἔχοντες ὀπίσω φεύγειν οἱ Κᾶρες αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι γινοίατο ἔτι ἀμείνονες τῆς φύσιος. 3 αὕτη μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐνίκα ἡ γνώμη, ἀλλὰ τοῖσι Πέρσησι κατὰ νότου γίνεσθαι τὸν Μαίανδρον μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσι, δηλαδὴ ἦν φυγὴ τῶν Περσέων γένηται καὶ ἐσσωθέωσι τῇ συμβολῇ, ὥς οὐκ ἀπονοστήσουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσπίπτοντες.

118. It so happened that news of this was brought to the Carians before Daurises' coming, and when the Carians heard, they mustered at the place called the White Pillars by the river Marsyas which flows from the region of Idria and issues into the Maeander. When they had gathered together, many plans were laid before them, the best of which, in my judgment, was that of Pixodarus of Cindya, the son of Mausolus and husband of the daughter of Syennesis, king of Cilicia. He proposed that the Carians should cross the Maeander and fight with the river at their back, so that being unable to flee and compelled to stand their ground they might prove themselves even

braver than nature made them. This opinion, however, did not prevail, and it was decided instead that the Persians and not the Cilicians should have the Maeander at their back, the intent being that if the Persians were overcome in the battle and put to flight, they would not escape but be hurled into the river.

119 1 μετὰ δὲ παρεόντων καὶ διαβάντων τὸν Μαίανδρον τῶν Περσέων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπὶ τῷ Μαρσύῃ ποταμῷ συνέβαλόν τε τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι οἱ Κᾶρες καὶ μάχην ἐμαχέσαντο ἰσχυρὴν καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνον πολλόν, τέλος δὲ ἐσώθησαν διὰ πλῆθος. Περσέων μὲν δὴ ἔπεσον ἄνδρες ἐς δισχιλίους, Καρῶν δὲ ἐς μυρίους. 2 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οἱ διαφυγόντες αὐτῶν κατειλήθησαν ἐς Λάβραυνδα ἐς Διὸς στρατίου ἱρόν, μέγα τε καὶ ἅγιον ἄλσος πλατανίστων. μοῦνοι δὲ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Κᾶρες εἰσὶ οἱ Διὶ στρατίῳ θυσίας ἀνάγουσι. κατειληθέντες δὲ ὧν οὗτοι ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλευόντο περὶ σωτηρίας, ὁκότερα ἢ παραδόντες σφέας αὐτοὺς Πέρσῃσι ἢ ἐκλιπόντες τὸ παράπαν τὴν Ἀσίην ἄμεινον πρήξουσι.

119. Presently, when the Persians had come and had crossed the Maeander, they and the Carians joined battle by the river Marsyas. The Carians fought obstinately and for a long time, but at the last they were overcome by the odds. Of the Persians, as many as two thousand men fell, and of the Carians ten thousand. Those of them who escaped were driven into the precinct of Zeus of Armies at Labraunda, a large and a holy grove of plane-trees. (The Carians are the only people whom we know who offer sacrifices to Zeus by this name.) When they had been driven there, they deliberated how best to save themselves, whether it would be better for them to surrender to the Persians or to depart from Asia.

120 1 βουλευομένοισι δέ σφι ταῦτα παραγίνονται βοηθέοντες Μιλήσιοί τε καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τὰ μὲν πρότερον οἱ Κᾶρες ἐβουλευόντο μετῆκαν, οἱ δὲ αὖτις πολεμέειν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀρτέοντο. καὶ ἐπιούσιν τε τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συμβάλλουσι καὶ μαχεσάμενοι ἐπὶ πλεόν ἢ πρότερον ἐσώθησαν· πεσόντων δὲ τῶν πάντων πολλῶν μάλιστα Μιλήσιοι ἐπλήγησαν.

120. While they took counsel, the Milesians and their allies came to their aid, whereupon the Carians put aside their former plans, and prepared to wage a new war over again. They met the Persian attack

and suffered a heavier defeat in the battle than the first; many of their whole army fell, but the Milesians were hardest stricken.

121 1 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ τρῶμα ἀνέλαβόν τε καὶ ἀνεμαχέσαντο οἱ Κᾶρες· πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς στρατεύεσθαι ὀρμέαται οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφέων, ἐλόχησαν τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὁδόν, ἐς τὴν ἐμπεσόντες οἱ Πέρσαι νυκτὸς διεφθάρησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ αὐτῶν Δαυρίσης καὶ Ἀμόργης καὶ Σισιμάκης· σὺν δέ σφι ἀπέθανε καὶ Μύρσος ὁ Γύγεω. τοῦ δὲ λόχου τούτου ἡγεμὼν ἦν Ἡρακλείδης Ἰβανώλλιος ἀνὴρ Μυλασσεύς.

121. The Carians, however, rallied and fought again after this disaster, for learning that the Persians had set forth to march against their cities, they beset the road with an ambush at Pedasus. The Persians fell into this by night and perished, they and their generals, Daurises and Amorges and Sisimaces. With these fell also Myrsus, son of Gyges. The leader of this ambush was Heraclides of Mylasas, son of Ibanollis.

122 1 οὗτοι μὲν νυν τῶν Περσέων οὕτω διεφθάρησαν· Ὑμαίης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν τῶν ἐπιδιωζάντων τοὺς ἐς Σάρδις στρατευσαμένους Ἴωνων, τραπόμενος ἐς τὸν Προποντίδα εἶλε Κίον τὴν Μυσίην· 2 ταύτην δὲ ἐξελών, ὡς ἐπύθετο τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκλειοιπέναι Δαυρίσην καὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίης, καταλιπὼν τὴν Προποντίδα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἦγε τὸν στρατόν, καὶ εἶλε μὲν Αἰολέας πάντας ὅσοι τὴν Ἰλιάδα νέμονται, εἶλε δὲ Γέργιθας τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν· αὐτὸς τε Ὑμαίης αἰρέων ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα νούσῳ τελευτᾷ ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι.

122. This, then, is how these Persians perished. Hymaees, who had been one of those who went in pursuit of the Ionians who marched on Sardis, now turned towards the Propontis, and there took Cius in Mysia. When he had taken this place and heard that Daurises had left the Hellespont and was marching towards Caria, he left the Propontis and led his army to the Hellespont, making himself master of all the Aeolians who dwell in the territory of Ilium, and of the Gergithae, a remnant of the ancient Trojans. While he was conquering these nations, however, Hymaees himself died of a sickness in the Troad.

123 1 οὗτος μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐτελεύτησε, Ἀρταφρένης δὲ ὁ Σαρδίῳ

ὑπαρχος καὶ Ὀτάνης ὁ τρίτος στρατηγὸς ἐτάχθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν προσεχέα Αἰολίδα στρατεύεσθαι. Ἰωνίης μὲν νυν Κλαζομενὰς αἰρέουσι, Αἰολέων δὲ Κύμην.

123. This is how he met his end, and Artaphrenes, viceroy of Sardis, and Otanes, the third general, were appointed to lead the army against Ionia and the Aeolian territory on its borders. They took Clazomenae in Ionia, and Cyme in Aeolia.

124 1 ἀλικομενέων δὲ τῶν πολιῶν, ἦν γὰρ ὡς διέδεξε Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήσιος ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄκρος, ὃς ταράξας τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ ἐγκερασάμενος πρήγματα μεγάλα δρησὸν ἐβούλευε ὀρέων ταῦτα· πρὸς δέ οἱ καὶ ἀδύνατα ἐφάνη βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ὑπερβαλέσθαι· 2 πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ ὧν συγκαλέσας τοὺς συστασιώτας ἐβουλεύετο, λέγων ὡς ἄμεινον σφίσι εἴη κρησφύγετόν τι ὑπάρχον εἶναι, ἣν ἄρα ἐξωθέωνται ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου, εἴτε δὴ ὧν ἐς Σαρδῶ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τούτου ἄγοι ἐς ἀποικίην, εἴτε ἐς Μύρκινον τὴν Ἠδωνῶν, τὴν Ἰστιαῖος ἐτείχεε παρὰ Δαρείου δωρεὴν λαβόν. ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης.

124. Aristagoras the Milesian, as he clearly demonstrated, was a man of little courage, for after he had disturbed Ionia and thrown all into utter confusion, he, perceiving what he had done, began to deliberate flight. Moreover, it seemed to him to be impossible to overcome Darius. While the cities were being taken, he accordingly called his fellow-rebels together and took counsel with them, saying that it was best for them to have some place of refuge in case they should be thrown out of Miletus. He also asked them whether he should lead them from there to a settlement in Sardo, or Myrcinus in Edonia, which Histiaeus had received as a gift from Darius and fortified.

125 1 Ἑκαταίου μὲν νυν τοῦ Ἠγησάνδρου, ἀνδρὸς λογοποιοῦ, τουτέων μὲν ἐς οὐδετέρην στέλλειν ἔφερε ἡ γνώμη, ἐν Λέρῳ δὲ τῇ νήσῳ τεῖχος οἰκοδομησάμενον ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἣν ἐκπέσῃ ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκ ταύτης ὁρμώμενον κατελεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον.

125. Hecataeus the historian, son of Hegesander, was of the opinion that they should set forth to neither of these places, but that Aristagoras should build a fortress in the island of Leros and reside

there, if he were driven from Miletus. Afterwards, with this as a base, he could return to Miletus.

126 1 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἑκαταῖος συνεβούλευε, αὐτῷ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ἡ πλείστη γνώμη ἦν ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ἀπάγειν. τὴν μὲν δὴ Μίλητον ἐπιτράπει Πυθαγόρῃ ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον ἔπλεε ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην, καὶ ἔσχε τὴν χώραν ἐπ' ἣν ἐστάλη· 2 ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ὁρμώμενος ἀπόλλυται ὑπὸ Θρηίκων αὐτός τε ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, πόλιν περικατήμενος καὶ βουλομένων τῶν Θρηίκων ὑποσπόνδων ἐξιέναι.

126. Such was the advice of Hecataeus, but Aristagoras himself thought it best to depart for Myrcinus. He accordingly entrusted Miletus to Pythagoras, a citizen of repute, and himself sailed to Thrace with any that would follow him and then took possession of the place to which he had come. After this he was put to the sword by the Thracians, he and his army, as he was besieging a town, even though the Thracians were ready to depart from it under treaty.

Βιβλίο ΣΤ – Ερατώ. Book VI.

1 1 Ἀρισταγόρης μὲν νυν Ἰωνίην ἀποστήσας οὕτω τελευτᾷ. Ἰστιαῖος δὲ ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος μεμετιμένος ὑπὸ Δαρείου παρὴν ἐς Σάρδις· ἀπιγμένον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν Σούσων εἶρετο Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος κατὰ κοῖόν τι δοκεῖσι Ἴωνας ἀπεστάναι. ὁ δὲ οὔτε εἰδέναι ἔφη ἐθώμαζέ τε τὸ γεγονός, ὥς οὐδὲν δῆθ' ἐν τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων ἐπιστάμενος. 2 ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ὀρέων αὐτὸν τεχνάζοντα εἶπε, εἰδὼς τὴν ἀτρεκείην τῆς ἀποστάσιος, “οὕτω τοι Ἰστιαῖε ἔχει κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ πρήγματα· τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραψας μὲν σύ, ὑπεδήσατο δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης”.

1. This was the end of Aristagoras, after he had brought about the Ionian revolt. Histiaeus, the tyrant of Miletus, arrived in Sardis after he was let go by Darius. When he came there from Susa, Artaphrenes, the governor of Sardis, asked him for what reason he supposed the Ionians had rebelled; Histiaeus said that he did not know and marvelled at what had happened, pretending to have no knowledge of the present troubles. But Artaphrenes saw that he dissembled and, knowing the exact story of the revolt, said: “I will tell you, Histiaeus, the truth of this business: it was you who stitched this shoe, and Aristagoras who put it on.”

2 1 Ἀρταφρένης μὲν ταῦτα ἐς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἔχοντα εἶπε. Ἰστιαῖος δὲ δείσας ὥς συνιέντα Ἀρταφρένεα ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην ἐπελθοῦσαν νύκτα ἀπέδρη ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐξηπατηκώς· ὃς Σαρδὼ νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην ὑποδεξάμενος κατεργάσασθαι ὑπέδυνε τῶν Ἰόνων τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοῦ πρὸς Δαρεῖον πολέμου. 2 διαβὰς δὲ ἐς Χίον ἐδέθη ὑπὸ Χίων, καταγνωσθεὶς πρὸς αὐτῶν νεώτερα πρήσσειν πρήγματα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ Δαρείου. μαθόντες μέντοι οἱ Χῖοι τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὥς πολέμιος εἶη βασιλεῖ, ἔλυσαν αὐτόν.

2. Thus spoke Artaphrenes regarding the revolt. Histiaeus was frightened by Artaphrenes' understanding of the matter and fled the next night to the sea, for he had deceived Darius by promising to subdue Sardo, the greatest of the islands, while secretly intending to make himself leader of the Ionians in their war against Darius.

Crossing over to Chios, he was taken and bound by the Chians, because they judged him to have been sent by Darius to make trouble for them. But when they learned the whole story of his hostility to the king, they set him free.

3 1 ἐνθαῦτα δὴ εἰρωτώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἴωνων ὁ Ἰστιαῖος κατ' ὃ τι προθύμως οὕτω ἐπέστειλε τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος καὶ κακὸν τοσοῦτον εἶη Ἴωνας ἐξεργασμένος, τὴν μὲν γενομένην αὐτοῖσι αἰτίην οὐ μάλα ἐξέφαινε, ὁ δὲ ἔλεγέ σφι ὡς βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ἐβουλεύσατο Φοίνικας μὲν ἐξαναστήσας ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίῃ κατοικίσαι, Ἴωνας δὲ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ, καὶ τούτων εἵνεκα ἐπιστείλειε. οὐδέν τι πάντως ταῦτα βασιλέος βουλευσαμένου ἐδειμιάτου τοὺς Ἴωνας.

3. Then Histiaeus was asked by the Ionians why he had so zealously ordered Aristagoras to revolt from the king and done the Ionians such great harm. He did not at all reveal the true reason to them, telling them instead that king Darius had planned to remove the Phoenicians and settle them in Ionia, and the Ionians in Phoenicia; for this reason, he said, he had sent the order. The king had made no such plan, but Histiaeus wanted to frighten the Ionians.

4 1 μετὰ δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος δι' ἀγγέλου ποιούμενος Ἑρμίππου ἀνδρὸς Ἀταρνίτεω τοῖσι ἐν Σάρδισι ἐοῦσι Περσέων ἔπεμπε βυβλία, ὡς προλελεσχηνευμένων αὐτῷ ἀποστάσιος πέρι. ὁ δὲ Ἑρμιππος πρὸς τοὺς μὲν ἀπεπέμφθη οὐ διδοῖ, φέρων δὲ ἐνεχείρισε τὰ βυβλία Ἀρταφρένῃ· 2 ὁ δὲ μαθὼν πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον ἐκέλευε τὸν Ἑρμιππον τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου δοῦναι φέροντα τοῖσί περ ἔφερε, τὰ δὲ ἀμοιβαῖα τὰ παρὰ τῶν Περσέων ἀντιπεμπόμενα Ἰστιαίῳ ἐωυτῷ δοῦναι. τούτων δὲ γενομένων φανερῶν ἀπέκτεινε ἐνθαῦτα πολλοὺς Περσέων ὁ Ἀρταφρένης.

4. Then Histiaeus, using Hermippus, a man of Atarneus, as messenger, sent letters to the Persians at Sardis, because they had previously talked with him about revolt. But Hermippus did not give the letters to the men to whom he was sent, and went and delivered them to Artaphrenes instead. Artaphrenes, learning all that was afoot, bade Hermippus carry Histiaeus' letters to those for whom he was bringing them, and give him those which the Persians sent in answer to Histiaeus. Thus these men became known, and then Artaphrenes

put many Persians to death.

5 1 περὶ Σάρδεις μὲν δὴ ἐγίνετο ταραχή. Ἰστιαῖον δὲ ταύτης ἀποσφαλέντα τῆς ἐλπίδος Χῖοι κατήγον ἐς Μίλητον, αὐτοῦ Ἰστιαίου δεηθέντος. οἱ δὲ Μιλήσιοι, ἄσμενοι ἀπαλλαγθέντες καὶ Ἀρισταγόρεω, οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἄλλον τύραννον δέκεσθαι ἐς τὴν χώραν, οἷα ἐλευθερίας γευσάμενοι. 2 καὶ δὴ νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐούσης βίη ἐπειράτο κατιῶν ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, τιτρώσκεται τὸν μηρὸν ὑπὸ τευ τῶν Μιλησίων. ὃ μὲν δὴ ὥς ἀπωστὸς τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γίνεται, ἀπικνέεται ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Χίον· ἐνθεῦτεν δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε τοὺς Χίους ὥστε ἐωυτῷ δοῦναι νέας, διέβη ἐς Μυτιλήνην καὶ ἔπεισε Λεσβίους δοῦναί οἱ νέας. 2 οἱ δὲ πληρώσαντες ὀκτὼ τριήρας ἔπλεον ἅμα Ἰστιαίῳ ἐς Βυζάντιον, ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἰζόμενοι τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐκπλεύσας τῶν νεῶν ἐλάμβανον, πλὴν ἢ ὅσοι αὐτῶν Ἰστιαίῳ ἔφασαν ἔτοιμοι εἶναι πείθεσθαι.

5. So troubles arose in Sardis. Since he failed in this hope, the Chians brought Histiaeus back to Miletus at his own request. But the Milesians were glad enough to be rid of Aristagoras himself, and they had no wish to receive another tyrant into their country now that they had tasted freedom. When Histiaeus tried to force his way into Miletus by night, he was wounded in the thigh by a Milesian. Since he was thrust out from his own city, he went back to Chios; when he could not persuade the Chians to give him ships, he then crossed over to Mytilene and persuaded the Lesbians to give him ships. They manned eight triremes, and sailed with Histiaeus to Byzantium; there they encamped, and seized all the ships that were sailing out of the Euxine, except when the crews consented to serve Histiaeus.

6 1 Ἰστιαῖος μὲν νυν καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐποίευν ταῦτα. ἐπὶ δὲ Μίλητον αὐτὴν ναυτικὸς πολλὸς καὶ πεζὸς ἦν στρατὸς προσδόκιμος· συστραφέντες γὰρ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Περσέων καὶ ἐν ποιήσαντες στρατόπεδον ἤλαυνον ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον, τᾶλλα πολίσματα περὶ ἐλάσσοις ποιησάμενοι. τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Φοίνικες μὲν ἦσαν προθυμότατοι, συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι νεωστὶ κατεστραμμένοι καὶ Κίλικές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι.

6. Such were the doings of Histiaeus and the Mytilenaeans. Against Miletus itself a great fleet and army were expected, for the Persian generals had joined their power together and made one army,

which they led against Miletus, taking less account of the other fortresses. Of the fleet, the Phoenicians were the most eager to fight, and there came with them to the war the newly subdued Cyprians, and the Cilicians and Egyptians.

7 1 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίην ἐστρατεύοντο, Ἴωνες δὲ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἔπεμπον προβούλους σφέων αὐτῶν ἐς Πανιώνιον. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τούτοισι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χώρον καὶ βουλευομένοισι ἔδοξε πεζὸν μὲν στρατὸν μηδένα συλλέγειν ἀντίξοον Πέρσῃσι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τείχεα ῥύεσθαι αὐτοὺς Μιλησίους, τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν πληροῦν ὑπολιπομένους μηδεμίαν τῶν νεῶν πληρώσαντας δὲ συλλέγεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Λάδην προναυμαχήσοντας τῆς Μιλήτου. ἡ δὲ Λάδη ἐστὶ νῆσος μικρὴ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει τῇ Μιλησίων κειμένη.

7. These were coming to attack Miletus and the rest of Ionia. When the Ionians learned of it, they sent deputies to take counsel for them in the Panionium. When they came to that place and consulted, they resolved not to collect a land army to meet the Persians, but to leave the Milesians to defend their walls themselves, and to man their fleet to the last ship and gather as quickly as possible at Lade to fight for Miletus at sea. This Lade is a small island lying off the city of Miletus.

8 1 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πεπληρωμένῃσι τῇσι νηυσὶ παρήσαν οἱ Ἴωνες, σὺν δὲ σφι καὶ Αἰολέων ὅσοι τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται. ἐτάσσοντο δὲ ὧδε. τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ εἶχον κέρας αὐτοὶ Μιλήσιοι, νέας παρεχόμενοι ὀγδώκοντα· εἶχοντο δὲ τούτων Πριηνέες δώδεκα νηυσὶ καὶ Μυήσιοι τρισὶ νηυσί, Μυησίων δὲ Τήιοι εἶχοντο ἑπτακαίδεκα νηυσί, Τηίων δὲ εἶχοντο Χίοι ἑκατὸν νηυσί· 2 πρὸς δὲ τούτοισι Ἐρυθραῖοι τε ἐτάσσοντο καὶ Φωκαεῆς, Ἐρυθραῖοι μὲν ὀκτὼ νέας παρεχόμενοι, Φωκαεῆς δὲ τρεῖς· Φωκαέων δὲ εἶχοντο Λέσβιοι νηυσὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἔχοντες τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην κέρας Σάμιοι ἑξήκοντα νηυσί. πάντων δὲ τούτων ὁ σύμπαρ ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τρεῖς καὶ πενήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσιαι τριήρεις.

8. The Ionians then came there with their ships manned, and with them the Aeolians who dwell in Lesbos. This was their order of battle: The Milesians themselves had the eastern wing, bringing eighty ships; next to them were the Prieneans with twelve ships, and

the Myesians with three; next to the Myesians were the Teians with seventeen ships; next to these the Chians with a hundred; near these in the line were the Erythraeans, bringing eight ships, and the Phocaeans with three, and next to these the Lesbians with seventy; last of all in the line were the Samians, holding the western wing with sixty ships. The total number of all these together was three hundred and fifty-three triremes.

9 1 αὗται μὲν Ἰώνων ἦσαν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἦσαν ἑξακόσιαι. ὥς δὲ καὶ αὗται ἀπίκато πρὸς τὴν Μιλησίην καὶ ὁ πεζὸς σφι ἅπας παρῆν, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Περσέων στρατηγοὶ πυθόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰάδων νεῶν καταρρώδησαν μὴ οὐ δυνατοὶ γένωνται ὑπερβαλέσθαι, καὶ οὕτω οὔτε τὴν Μίλητον οἰοί τε ἔωσι ἐξελεῖν μὴ οὐκ ἐόντες ναυκράτορες, πρὸς τε Δαρείου κινδυνεύσωσι κακὸν τι λαβεῖν. 2 ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενοι, συλλέξαντες τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς τυράννους, οἱ ὑπ' Ἀρισταγόρῳ μὲν τοῦ Μιλησίου καταλυθέντες τῶν ἀρχέων ἔφευγον ἐς Μήδους, ἐτύγχανον δὲ τότε συστρατευόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον, τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς παρεόντας συγκαλέσαντες ἔλεγόν σφι τάδε. 3 “ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, νῦν τις ὑμέων εὖ ποιήσας φανήτω τὸν βασιλέος οἶκον· τοὺς γὰρ ἐμουτοῦ ἕκαστος ὑμέων πολιήτας πειράσθω ἀποσχίζων ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ συμμαχικοῦ. προῖσχύμενοι δὲ ἐπαγγείλασθε τάδε, ὥς πείσονται τε ἄχαρι οὐδὲν διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν, οὐδέ σφι οὔτε τὰ ἰρὰ οὔτε τὰ ἴδια ἐμπεπρήσεται, οὐδέ βιαιότερον ἔξουσι οὐδὲν ἢ πρότερον εἶχον. 4 εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ ποιήσουσι, οἱ δὲ πάντως διὰ μάχης ἐλεύσονται, τάδε ἤδη σφι λέγετε ἐπηρεάζοντες, τά περ σφέας κατέξει, ὥς ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐξανδραποδιεῦνται, καὶ ὥς σφέων τοὺς παῖδας ἐκτομίας ποιήσομεν, τὰς δὲ παρθένους ἀνασπάστους ἐς Βάκτρα, καὶ ὥς τὴν χώραν ἄλλοισι παραδώσομεν”.

9. These were the Ionian ships; the ships of the foreigners were six hundred. When these, too, reached the Milesian shore, and all their land power was present, the Persian generals, learning the number of the Ionian ships, feared they would be too weak to overcome the Greeks. If they did not have mastery of the sea, they would not be able to take Miletus, and would be in danger of some evil treatment by Darius. With this in mind, they gathered the tyrants of the Ionians who had been deposed from their governments by Aristagoras of Miletus and had fled to the Medes, and who now were

with the army that was led against Miletus. They gathered as many of these men as were with them and said to them: “Men of Ionia, let each one of you now show that he has done good service to the king’s house; let each one of you try to separate your own countrymen from the rest of the allied power. Set this promise before them: they will suffer no harm for their rebellion, neither their temples nor their houses will be burnt, nor will they in any way be treated more violently than before. But if they will not do so and are set on fighting, then utter a threat that will restrain them: if they are defeated in battle, they will be enslaved; we will make eunuchs of their boys, and carry their maidens captive to Bactra, and hand over their land to others.”

10 1 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἔλεγον τάδε. τῶν δὲ Ἰόνων οἱ τύραννοι διέπεμπον νυκτὸς ἕκαστος ἐς τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ ἐξαγγελλόμενος. οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες, ἐς τοὺς καὶ ἀπίκοντο αὐταὶ αἱ ἀγγελίαι, ἀγνωμοσύνη τε διεχρέωντο καὶ οὐ προσίεντο τὴν προδοσίην· ἑωυτοῖσι δὲ ἕκαστοι ἐδόκεον μούνοισι ταῦτα τοὺς Πέρσας ἐξαγγέλλεσθαι.

10. So they spoke; the Ionian tyrants sent their messages by night, each to his own countrymen. But the Ionians to whom these messages came were stubborn and would have no part of the treachery, each thinking that the Persians made this offer to them alone. This happened immediately after the Persians arrived at Miletus.

11 1 ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἰθέως ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν Μίλητον τῶν Περσέων ἐγίνετο· μετὰ δὲ τῶν Ἰόνων συλλεχθέντων ἐς τὴν Λάδην ἐγίνοντο ἀγοραί, καὶ δὴ κού σφι καὶ ἄλλοι ἡγορόωντο, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ ὁ Φωκαεὺς στρατηγὸς Διονύσιος λέγων τάδε. 2 “ἐπὶ ξυροῦ γὰρ ἀκμῆς ἔχεται ἡμῖν τὰ πρήγματα, ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἢ εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἢ δούλοισι, καὶ τούτοις ὥς δρηπέτησι· νῦν ὧν ὑμεῖς ἦν μὲν βούλησθε τालαιπωρίας ἐνδέκεσθαι, τὸ παραχρῆμα μὲν πόνος ὑμῖν ἔσται, οἰοί τε δὲ ἔσεσθε ὑπερβαλόμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι· εἰ δὲ μαλακίῃ τε καὶ ἀταξίῃ διαχρήσησθε, οὐδεμίαν ὑμέων ἔχω ἐλπίδα μὴ οὐ δώσειν ὑμέας δίκην βασιλεί τῆς ἀποστάσιος. 3 ἀλλ’ ἐμοί τε πείθεσθε καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑμέας αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέψατε· καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγώ, θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων, ὑποδέκομαι ἢ οὐ συμμίζειν τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ συμμίσγοντας πολλὸν ἐλασσωθήσεσθαι”.

11. Then the Ionians who had gathered at Lade held assemblies; among those whom I suppose to have addressed them was Dionysius, the Phocaean general, who spoke thus: “Our affairs, men of Ionia, stand on the edge of a razor, whether to be free men or slaves, and runaway slaves at that. If you now consent to endure hardships, you will have toil for the present time, but it will be in your power to overcome your enemies and gain freedom; but if you will be weak and disorderly, I see nothing that can save you from paying the penalty to the king for your rebellion. Believe me and entrust yourselves to me; I promise you that (if the gods deal fairly with us) either our enemies shall not meet us in battle, or if they do they shall be utterly vanquished.”

12 1 ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἴωνες ἐπιτρέπουσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Διονυσίῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀνάγων ἐκάστοτε ἐπὶ κέρας τὰς νέας, ὅκως τοῖσι ἐρέτησι χρήσαιο διέκπλοον ποιούμενος τῇσι νηυσὶ δι’ ἀλληλέων καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὀπλίσειε, τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρης τὰς νέας ἔχεσκε ἐπ’ ἀγκυρέων, παρεῖχε τε τοῖσι Ἴωσι πόνον δι’ ἡμέρης. 2 μέχρι μὲν νυν ἡμερέων ἑπτὰ ἐπέιθοντό τε καὶ ἐποίευν τὸ κελευόμενον· τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτῃσι οἱ Ἴωνες, οἷα ἀπαθέες ἐόντες πόνων τοιούτων τετρυμένοι τε τάλαιπωρήσι τε καὶ ἡλίῳ, ἔλεξαν πρὸς ἐωυτοὺς τάδε. 3 “τίνα δαιμόνων παραβάντες τάδε ἀναπίμπλαμεν; οἵτινες παραφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου ἀνδρὶ Φωκαεὶ ἀλαζόνι, παρεχομένῳ νέας τρεῖς, ἐπitrέψαντες ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἔχομεν· ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν ἡμέας λυμαίνεται λύμῃσι ἀνηκέστοις, καὶ δὴ πολλοὶ μὲν ἡμέων ἐς νούσους πεπτώκασι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπίδοξοι τὴν τοῦτο πείσεσθαι εἰσί, πρὶν τε τούτων τῶν κακῶν ἡμῖν γε κρέσσον καὶ ὅ τι ὦν ἄλλο παθεῖν ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν δουληίην ὑπομεῖναι ἥτις ἔσται, μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ παρεούσῃ συνέχεσθαι. φέρετε, τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ πειθώμεθα αὐτοῦ”. 4 ταῦτα ἔλεξαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα πειθεσθαι οὐδεὶς ἤθελε, ἀλλ’ οἷα στρατιῇ σκηνὰς τε πηξάμενοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐσκητροφέοντο καὶ ἐσβαίνειν οὐκ ἐθέλεσκον ἐς τὰς νέας οὐδ’ ἀναπειρᾶσθαι.

12. When the Ionians heard this, they put themselves in Dionysius’ hands. He then each day put out to sea with ships in column, using the rowers to pierce each other’s line of ships, and arming the fighting men on board; for the rest of the day he kept the fleet at anchor; all day he made the Ionians work. For seven days

they obeyed him and did his bidding; but on the next day, untried as they were in such labor and worn out by hard work and by the sun, the Ionians began to say each to other: "Against what god have we sinned that we have to fulfill this task? We have lost our minds and launched out into folly, committing ourselves into the hands of this Phocaean braggart, who brings but three ships; and having got us he afflicts us with afflictions incurable. Many of us have fallen sick already, and many are likely to suffer the same thing; instead of these ills, it would be better for us to suffer anything, and endure this coming slavery, whatever it will be, rather than be oppressed by that which is now upon us. Come, let us obey him no longer!" So they spoke, and from then on no man would obey. As if they were an army, they raised tents on the island where they stayed in the shade, and they were unwilling to embark upon their ships or to continue their exercises.

13 1 μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα τὰ γινόμενα ἐκ τῶν Ἴωνων οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Σαμίων ἐνθαῦτα δὴ παρ' Αἰάκεος τοῦ Συλοσῶντος κείνους τοὺς πρότερον ἔπεμπε λόγους ὁ Αἰάκης κελευόντων τῶν Περσέων, δεόμενος σφέων ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἴωνων συμμαχίην· οἱ Σάμιοι ὧν ὁρῶντες ἐοῦσαν ἅμα μὲν ἀταξίην πολλὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἴωνων ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους, ἅμα δὲ κατεφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἀδύνατα τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα ὑπερβαλέσθαι, εὖ δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι ὥς εἰ καὶ τὸ παρεὸν ναυτικὸν ὑπερβαλοῖατο τὸν Δαρεῖον, ἄλλο σφι παρέσται πενταπλήσιον. 2 προφάσιος ὧν ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα εἶδον τοὺς Ἴωνας οὐ βουλομένους εἶναι χρηστούς, ἐν κέρδεϊ ἐποιεῦντο περιποιῆσαι τὰ τε ἱρὰ τὰ σφέτερα καὶ τὰ ἴδια. ὁ δὲ Αἰάκης, παρ' ὅτε τοὺς λόγους ἐδέκοντο οἱ Σάμιοι, παῖς μὲν ἦν Συλοσῶντος τοῦ Αἰάκεος, τύραννος δὲ ἐὼν Σάμου ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιλησίου Ἀρισταγόρεω ἀπεστέρητο τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ περ οἱ ἄλλοι τῆς Ἰωνίης τύραννοι.

13. When the generals of the Samians learned what the Ionians were doing, they recalled that message which Aeaces son of Syloson had already sent them at the Persians' bidding, entreating them to desert the Ionian alliance; seeing great disorder on the Ionian side, they consented to the message; moreover, it seemed impossible to them to overcome the king's power, and they were well assured that if they overcame Darius' present fleet, another one five times as

large would come. Therefore, as soon as they saw the Ionians refusing to be useful, they took up that for a pretext, considering it advantageous to save their own temples and houses. This Aeaces, from whom they received the message, was the son of Syloson son of Aeaces, and had been tyrant of Samos until he was deposed from his rule by Aristagoras of Miletus, just like the other Ionian tyrants.

14 1 τότε ὦν ἐπεὶ ἐπέπλεον οἱ Φοίνικες, οἱ Ἴωνες ἀντανῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας ἐπὶ κέρας. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀγχοῦ ἐγίνοντο καὶ συνέμισγον ἀλλήλοισι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως συγγράψαι οἷτινες τῶν Ἴωνων ἐγίνοντο ἄνδρες κακοὶ ἢ ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ· ἀλλήλους γὰρ καταιτιῶνται. 2 λέγονται δὲ Σάμιοι ἐνθαῦτα κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα πρὸς τὸν Αἰάκεια ἀειράμενοι τὰ ἱστία ἀποπλῶσαι ἐκ τῆς τάξιος ἐς τὴν Σάμον, πλὴν ἑνδεκα νεῶν· τουτέων δὲ οἱ τριήραρχοι παρέμενον καὶ ἐναυμάχεον ἀνηκουστήσαντες τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι· 3 καὶ σφι τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σαμίων ἔδωκε διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα ἐν στήλῃ ἀναγραφῆναι πατρόθεν ὥς ἀνδράσι ἀγαθοῖσι γενομένοισι, καὶ ἔστι αὕτη ἡ στήλη ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ. ἰδόμενοι δὲ καὶ Λέσβιοι τοὺς προσεχέας φεύγοντας τῷτὸ ἐποίησαν τοῖσι Σαμίοισι· ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ πλεῖνες τῶν Ἴωνων ἐποίησαν τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα.

14. Now when the Phoenician fleet came sailing against them, the Ionians put out to sea against them with their ships in column. When they drew near and met each other in battle, which of the Ionians were brave men or cowards then in that sea-fight I cannot exactly say; for they all blame each other. The Samians are said, according to their agreement with Aeaces, to have raised their sails and gone off to Samos, leaving their post, all except eleven ships. The captains of these stood their ground and fought, disobeying their admirals. For this deed the Samian people granted that their names and patronymics should be engraved on a pillar as brave men; this pillar now stands in their market-place. But the Lesbians, seeing their neighbors fleeing, did the same as the Samians; and most of the Ionians did likewise.

15 1 τῶν δὲ παραμεινάντων ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ περιέφθησαν τρηχύτατα Χῖοι ὥς ἀποδεικνύμενοί τε ἔργα λαμπρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἔθελokaκέοντες. παρείχοντο μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, νέας ἑκατόν, καὶ ἐπ' ἑκάστης αὐτέων ἄνδρας τεσσεράκοντα τῶν

ἀστῶν λογάδας ἐπιβατεύοντας. 2 ὀρέοντες δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν συμμάχων προδιδόντας οὐκ ἐδικαίευν γίνεσθαι τοῖσι κακοῖσι αὐτῶν ὅμοιοι, ἀλλὰ μετ' ὀλίγων συμμάχων μεμουνωμένοι διεκπλέοντες ἐναυμάχεον, ἐς ὃ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλόντες νέας συχνὰς ἀπέβαλον τῶν σφετερέων τὰς πλεῦνας.

15. The most roughly handled of those that stood their ground in the sea-fight were the Chians, since they refused to be cowards and achieved deeds of renown. They brought a hundred ships to the fleet, as was mentioned above, and on each ship were forty picked men of their citizens. Seeing themselves betrayed by the greater part of their allies, they did not think it right to act like the worst among them; with only a few allies to aid them they fought on and broke the enemy's line, until they had taken many ships but lost most of their own.

16 1 Χῖοι μὲν δὴ τῇσι λοιπῇσι τῶν νεῶν ἀποφεύγουσι ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν· ὅσοισι δὲ τῶν Χίων ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν αἱ νέες ὑπὸ τρωμάτων, οὗτοι δὲ ὡς ἐδιώκοντο καταφυγγάνουσι πρὸς τὴν Μυκάλην. νέας μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἐποκείλαντες κατέλιπον, οἱ δὲ περὶ ἑκομίζοντο διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου. 2 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσίην κομιζόμενοι οἱ Χῖοι, νυκτός τε γὰρ ἀπίκατο ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἐόντων τῇσι γυναιξὶ αὐτόθι θεσμοφορίων, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι, οὔτε προακηκοότες ὡς εἶχε περὶ τῶν Χίων ἰδόντες τε στρατὸν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐσβεβληκότα, πάγχυ σφέας καταδόξαντες εἶναι κλῶπας καὶ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὰς γυναικας, ἐξεβοήθεον πανδημεὶ καὶ ἔκτεινον τοὺς Χίους.

16. The Chians escaped to their own country with their remaining ships, but the crews of the Chian ships that were damaged and disabled were pursued and took refuge in Mykale. There the men beached and left their ships, and made their way across the mainland. But when the Chians entered the lands of Ephesus on their march, they came by night while the women were celebrating the Thesmophoria; then the Ephesians, never having heard the story of the Chians and seeing an army invading their country, were fully persuaded that these were robbers come after their women; so they mustered all their force and killed the Chians.

17 1 οὗτοι μὲν τοίνυν τοιαύτῃσι περιέπιπτον τύχησι. Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Φωκαεὺς ἐπεῖτε ἔμαθε τῶν Ἰώνων τὰ πρήγματα διεφθαρμένα, νέας

έλων τρεῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέπλεε ἐς μὲν Φώκαιαν οὐκέτι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὡς ἀνδραποδιεῖται σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἴωνίῃ· ὁ δὲ ἰθέως ὡς εἶχε ἔπλεε ἐς Φοινίκην, γαύλους δὲ ἐνθαῦτα καταδύσας καὶ χρήματα λαβὼν πολλὰ ἔπλεε ἐς Σικελίην, ὁρμώμενος δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ληιστῆς κατεστήκεε Ἑλλήνων μὲν οὐδενός, Καρχηδονίων δὲ καὶ Τυρσηνῶν.

17. So these men met with such a fate. As for Dionysius the Phocaean, when he saw that the Ionian cause was lost, he sailed away with the three enemy ships that he had captured; but not to Phocaea, now that he knew well that it would be enslaved with the rest of Ionia; he right away sailed straight to Phoenicia instead, sunk some merchant ships, took a lot of money, and sailed to Sicily; from this base he set himself up as a pirate, robbing Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, but no Greeks.

18 1 οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπέιτε τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐνίκων τοὺς Ἴωνας, τὴν Μίλητον πολιορκέοντες ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ ὑπορύσσοντες τὰ τείχεα καὶ παντοίας μηχανὰς προσφέροντες, αἰρέουσι κατ' ἄκρις ἕκτῳ ἔτει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστάσιος τῆς Ἀρισταγόρεω καὶ ἡνδραποδίσαντο τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε συμπεσεῖν τὸ πάθος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τῷ ἐς Μίλητον γενομένῳ.

18. When the Persians had conquered the Ionians by sea, they laid siege to Miletus by sea and land, mining the walls and using every device against it, until they utterly captured it in the sixth year after the revolt of Aristagoras. They enslaved the city, and thus the calamity agreed with the oracle concerning Miletus.

19 1 χρεωμένοισι γὰρ Ἀργείοισι ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλιος τῆς σφετέρης ἐχρήσθη ἐπίκοινον χρηστήριον, τὸ μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους φέρον, τὴν δὲ παρενθήκην ἔχρησε ἐς Μιλησίους. τὸ μὲν νυν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ἔχον, 2 ἐπεὰν κατὰ τοῦτο γένωμαι τοῦ λόγου, τότε μνησθήσομαι· τὰ δὲ τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι οὐ παρεοῦσι ἔχρησε, ἔχει ὧδε. καὶ τότε δὴ, Μίλητε κακῶν ἐπιμήχανε ἔργων, πολλοῖσιν δεῖπνόν τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα γενήσῃ, σαι δ' ἄλοχοι πολλοῖσι πόδας νίψουσιν κομήταις, νηοῦ δ' ἡμετέρου Διδύμοις ἄλλοισι μελήσει. 3 τότε δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς Μιλησίους κατελάμβανε, ὁκότε ἄνδρες μὲν οἱ πλεῦνες ἐκτείνοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἐόντων κομητέων, γυναῖκες δὲ καὶ τέκνα ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ἐγίνοντο, ἱρὸν δὲ τὸ ἐν Διδύμοισι καὶ ὁ νηὸς τε καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον. συληθέντα

ἐνεπίμπρατο. τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτῳ χρημάτων πολλάκις μνήμην ἐτέρωθι τοῦ λόγου ἐποίησάμην.

19. When the Argives inquired at Delphi about the safety of their city, a common response was given, one part regarding the Argives themselves, but there was an additional response for the Milesians. I will mention the part concerning the Argives when I come to that part of my history; this was the prophecy given to the Milesians in their absence: “Then, Miletus, contriver of evil deeds, For many will you become a banquet and glorious gifts; Your wives will wash the feet of many long-haired men; Other ministers will tend my Didyman shrine! “ All this now came upon the Milesians, since most of their men were slain by the Persians, who wore long hair, and their women and children were accounted as slaves, and the temple at Didyma with its shrine and place of divination was plundered and burnt. Of the wealth that was in this temple I have often spoken elsewhere in my history.

20 1 ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ ζωγρηθέντες τῶν Μιλησίων ἤγοντο ἐς Σοῦσα. βασιλεὺς δὲ σφέας Δαρεῖος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας κατοίκησε ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ καλεομένῃ θαλάσσῃ ἐν Ἄμπῃ πόλιν, παρ' ἣν Τίγρης ποταμὸς παραρρέων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξιεῖ. τῆς δὲ Μιλησίων χώρας αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ πεδῖον, τὰ δὲ ὑπεράκρια ἔδωσαν Καρσί Πηδασεῦσι ἐκτῆσθαι.

20. After that, the captive Milesians were brought to Susa. King Darius did them no further harm, settling them by the sea called Red, in the city of Ampe, by which the river Tigris flows as it issues into the sea. Of the Milesian land the Persians themselves held what was nearest to the city, and the plain, giving the hill country into the possession of Carians from Pedasa.

21 1 παθοῦσι δὲ ταῦτα Μιλησίοισι πρὸς Περσέων οὐκ ἀπέδωσαν τὴν ὁμοίην Συβαρῖται, οἱ Λαῶν τε καὶ Σκίδρον οἶκεον τῆς πόλιος ἀπεστερημένοι. Συβάριος γὰρ ἀλούσης ὑπὸ Κροτωνιτέων Μιλήσιοι πάντες ἡβηδὸν ἀπεκείραντο τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πένθος μέγα προσεθήκαντο· πόλιες γὰρ αὗται μάλιστα δὴ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀλλήλῃσι ἐξεινώθησαν· 2 οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γὰρ δῆλον ἐποίησαν ὑπεραχθεσθέντες τῇ Μιλήτου ἀλώσει τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πολλαχῇ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ποιήσαντι Φρυνίχῳ δρᾶμα Μιλήτου ἄλωσιν καὶ

διδάξαντι ἐς δάκρυά τε ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον, καὶ ἐζημίωσάν μιν ὡς ἀναμνήσαντα οἰκῆια κακὰ χιλίησι δραχμῇσι, καὶ ἐπέταξαν μηδένα χρᾶσθαι τούτῳ τῷ δράματι.

21. Now when the Milesians suffered all this at the hands of the Persians, the Sybarites (who had lost their city and dwelt in Laus and Scidrus) did not give them equal return for what they had done. When Sybaris was taken by the Crotoniates, all the people of Miletus, young and old, shaved their heads and made great public lamentation; no cities which we know were ever so closely joined in friendship as these. The Athenians acted very differently. The Athenians made clear their deep grief for the taking of Miletus in many ways, but especially in this: when Phrynichus wrote a play entitled “The Fall of Miletus” and produced it, the whole theater fell to weeping; they fined Phrynichus a thousand drachmas for bringing to mind a calamity that affected them so personally, and forbade the performance of that play forever.

22 1 Μίλητος μὲν νυν Μιλησίων ἡρήμωτο. Σαμίων δὲ τοῖσι τι ἔχουσι τὸ μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν σφετέρων ποιηθὲν οὐδαμῶς ἥρεσκε, ἐδόκεε δὲ μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην αὐτίκα βουλευομένοισι, πρὶν ἢ σφι ἐς τὴν χώραν ἀπικέσθαι τὸν τύραννον Αἰάκεα, ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκπλέειν μηδὲ μένοντας Μήδοισι τε καὶ Αἰάκει δουλεύειν. 2 Ζαγκλαῖοι γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ Σικελίης τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦτον πέμποντες ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀγγέλους ἐπεκαλέοντο τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐς Καλὴν ἀκτὴν, βουλόμενοι αὐτόθι πόλιν κτίσαι Ἰώνων. ἡ δὲ Καλὴ αὕτη ἀκτὴ καλομένη ἔστι μὲν Σικελῶν, πρὸς δὲ Τυρσηνὴν τετραμμένη τῆς Σικελίης. τούτων ὧν ἐπικαλεομένων οἱ Σάμιοι μοῦνοι Ἰώνων ἐστάλησαν, σὺν δὲ σφι Μιλησίων οἱ ἐκπεφευγότες· ἐν ᾧ τοιόνδε δὴ τι συνήνεικε γενέσθαι.

22. Miletus then was left empty of Milesians. The men of property among the Samians were displeased by the dealings of their generals with the Medes, so after the sea-fight they took counsel immediately and resolved that before Aeaces the tyrant came to their country they would sail to a colony, rather than remain and be slaves of the Medes and Aeaces. The people of Zancle in Sicily about this time sent messengers to Ionia inviting the Ionians to the Fair Coast, desiring there to found an Ionian city. This Fair Coast, as it is called, is in

Sicily, in that part which looks towards Tyrrhenia. At this invitation, the Samians alone of the Ionians, with those Milesians who had escaped, set forth.

23 1 Σάμιοι γὰρ κομιζόμενοι ἐς Σικελίην ἐγίνοντο ἐν Λοκροῖσι τοῖσι Ἐπιζεφυριοῖσι, καὶ Ζαγκλαῖοι αὐτοῖ τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Σκύθης, περικατέατο πόλιν τῶν Σικελῶν ἐξελεῖν βουλόμενοι. 2 μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ῥηγίου τύραννος Ἀναξίλεως, τότε ἔὼν διάφορος τοῖσι Ζαγκλαίοις, συμμίσξας τοῖσι Σαμίοις ἀναπείθει ὥς χρεὸν εἶη Καλὴν μὲν ἀκτὴν, ἐπ' ἣν ἔπλεον, ἔὰν χαίρειν, τὴν δὲ Ζάγκλην σχεῖν εὐδῶσαν ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν. 3 πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Σαμίων καὶ σχόντων τὴν Ζάγκλην, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ζαγκλαῖοι, ὥς ἐπύθοντο ἐχομένην τὴν πόλιν ἐωυτῶν, ἐβοήθεον αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο Ἴπποκράτεα τὸν Γέλης τύραννον· ἦν γὰρ δὴ σφι οὗτος σύμμαχος. 4 ἐπεῖτε δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ὁ Ἴπποκράτης σὺν τῇ στρατιῇ ἦκε βοηθέων, Σκύθην μὲν τὸν μούναρχον τῶν Ζαγκλαίων ὥς ἀποβαλόντα τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἴπποκράτης πεδήσας καὶ τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Πυθογένεα ἐς Ἴνυκα πόλιν ἀπέπεμψε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς Ζαγκλαίους κοινολογησάμενος τοῖσι Σαμίοις καὶ ὅρκους δοὺς καὶ δεξάμενος προέδωκε. 5 μισθὸς δὲ οἱ ἦν εἰρημένος ὃδε ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων, πάντων τῶν ἐπίπλων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων τὰ ἡμίσεια μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα Ἴπποκράτεα λαγχάνειν. 6 τοὺς μὲν δὴ πλεῦνας τῶν Ζαγκλαίων αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ εἶχε δήσας, τοὺς δὲ κορυφαίους αὐτῶν τριηκοσίους ἔδωκε τοῖσι Σαμίοις κατασφάζαι· οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Σάμιοι ἐποίησαν ταῦτα.

23. In their journey a thing happened to them such as I will show. As they voyaged to Sicily, the Samians came to the country of the Epizephyrian Locrians at a time when the people of Zancle and their king (whose name was Scythes) were besieging a Sicilian town desiring to take it. Learning this, Anaxilaus the tyrant of Rhegium, being then in a feud with the Zancleaeans, joined forces with the Samians and persuaded them to leave off their voyage to the Fair Coast and seize Zancle while it was deserted by its men. The Samians consented and seized Zancle; when they learned that their city was taken, the Zancleaeans came to deliver it, calling to their aid Hippocrates the tyrant of Gela, who was their ally. But Hippocrates, when he came bringing his army to aid them, put Scythes the

monarch of Zancle and his brother Pythogenes in chains for losing the city, and sent them away to the city of Inyx. He betrayed the rest of the Zancleaeans to the Samians, with whom he had made an agreement and exchanged oaths. The price which the Samians agreed to give him was that Hippocrates should take for his share half of the movable goods and slaves in the city, and all that was in the country. Most of the Zancleaeans were kept in chains as slaves by Hippocrates himself; he gave three hundred chief men to the Samians to be put to death, but the Samians did not do so.

24 1 Σκύθης δὲ ὁ τῶν Ζαγκλαίων μούναρχος ἐκ τῆς Ἴνυκος ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐς Ἱμέρην, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης παρὴν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ ἀνέβη παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον· καὶ μιν ἐνόμισε Δαρεῖος πάντων ἀνδρῶν δικαιότατον εἶναι, ὅσοι ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος παρ' ἐωυτὸν ἀνέβησαν. 2 καὶ γὰρ παραιτησάμενος βασιλέα ἐς Σικελίην ἀπῆκετο καὶ αὐτὶς ἐκ τῆς Σικελίης ὀπίσω παρὰ βασιλέα, ἐς ὃ γῆραὶ μέγα ὄλβιος ἐὼν ἐτελεύτησε ἐν Πέρσῃσι. Σάμιοι δὲ ἀπαλλαχθέντες Μήδων ἀπονῆτι πόλιν καλλίστην Ζάγκλην περιεβεβλέατο.

24. Scythes the monarch of Zancle escaped from Inyx to Himera, and from there he came to Asia and went up country to king Darius. Darius considered him the most honest man of all who had come up to him from Hellas; for he returned by the king's permission to Sicily and from Sicily back again to Darius, until in old age he ended his life in Persia in great wealth. Without trouble the Samians planted themselves in that most excellent city of Zancle, after they had escaped from the Medes.

25 1 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίην τὴν ὑπὲρ Μιλήτου γενομένην Φοίνικες κελευσάντων Περσέων κατήγον ἐς Σάμον Αἰάκεα τὸν Συλοσῶντος ὡς πολλοῦ τε ἄξιον γενόμενον σφίσι καὶ μεγάλα κατεργασάμενον· 2 καὶ Σαμίοισι μούνοισι τῶν ἀποστάντων ἀπὸ Δαρείου διὰ τὴν ἔκλειπιν τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ οὔτε ἡ πόλις οὔτε τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνεπρήσθη. Μιλήτου δὲ ἀλούσης αὐτίκα Καρίην ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι, τὰς μὲν ἐθέλοντὴν τῶν πολίων ὑποκυψάσας, τὰς δὲ ἀνάγκη προσηγάγοντο.

25. After the fight at sea for Miletus, the Phoenicians at the Persians' bidding brought Aeaces son of Syloson back to Samos, for the high worth of his service to them and for his great achievements.

Because of the desertion of their ships in the sea-fight, the Samians were the only rebel people whose city and temples were not burnt. After Miletus was captured, the Persians at once gained possession of Caria. Some of the towns submitted voluntarily; others were brought over by force.

26 1 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐγίνετο. Ἰστιαῖος δὲ τῷ Μιλησίῳ ἐόντι περὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ συλλαμβάνοντι τὰς Ἰώνων ὀλκάδας ἐκπλεούσας ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐξαγγέλλεται τὰ περὶ τὴν Μίλητον γενόμενα. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑλλησποντον ἔχοντα πρήγματα ἐπιτράπει Βισάλτῃ Ἀπολλοφάνεος παιδί Ἀβυδηνῶ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔχων Λεσβίους ἐς Χίον ἔπλεε, καὶ Χίων φρουρῇ οὐ προσιεμένη μιν συνέβαλε ἐν Κοίλοισι καλεομένοισι τῆς Χίης χώρας. 2 τούτων τε δὴ ἐφόνευσε συχνούς, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Χίων, οἳ δὴ κεκακωμένων ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης, ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἔχων τοὺς λεσβίους ἐπεκράτησε, ἐκ Πολίχνης τῆς Χίων ὁρμώμενος.

26. All this happened so. Histiaeus the Milesian was at Byzantium, seizing the Ionian merchant ships as they sailed out of the Euxine, when he had news of the business of Miletus. Leaving all matters concerning the Hellespont in charge of Bisaltes of Abydos, son of Apollophanes, he himself sailed with the Lesbians to Chios and, when the Chian guardships would not receive him, fought in the Hollows of Chios (as they are called). Many of their crews he killed; the rest of the people of the country, since they were crippled by the sea-fight, were mastered by Histiaeus with his Lesbians, setting out from Polichne in Chios.

27 1 φιλέει δέ κως προσημαίνειν, εὖτ' ἂν μέλλῃ μεγάλα κακὰ ἢ πόλι ἢ ἔθνεϊ ἔσεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ Χίοισι πρὸ τούτων σημήια μεγάλα ἐγένετο· 2 τοῦτο μὲν σφι πέμψασι ἐς Δελφοὺς χορὸν νεηνίων ἑκατὸν δύο μῦνοι τούτων ἀπενόστησαν, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτώ τε καὶ ἐνενήκοντα αὐτῶν λοιμὸς ὑπολαβὼν ἀπήνεικε· τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλι τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον, ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς ναυμαχίης, παισι γράμματα διδασκομένοισι ἐνέπεσε ἡ στέγη, ὥστε ἀπ' ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι παίδων εἷς μῦνος ἀπέφυγε. 3 ταῦτα μὲν σφι σημήια ὁ θεὸς προέδεξε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἡ ναυμαχία ὑπολαβοῦσα ἐς γόνυ τὴν πόλιν ἔβαλε, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐπεγένετο Ἰστιαῖος Λεσβίους ἄγων· κεκακωμένων δὲ τῶν Χίων, καταστροφὴν εὐπετέως αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο.

27. It is common for some sign to be given when great ills

threaten cities or nations; for before all this plain signs had been sent to the Chians. Of a band of a hundred youths whom they had sent to Delphi only two returned, ninety-eight being caught and carried off by pestilence; moreover, at about this same time, a little before the sea-fight, the roof fell in on boys learning their letters: of one hundred and twenty of them one alone escaped. These signs a god showed to them; then the sea-fight broke upon them and beat the city to its knees; on top of the sea-fight came Histiaeus and the Lesbians. Since the Chians were in such a bad state, he easily subdued them.

28 1 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ Θάσον ἄγων Ἴωνων καὶ Αἰολέων συχνούς. περικατημένῳ δέ οἱ Θάσον ἦλθε ἀγγελίη ὥς οἱ Φοίνικες ἀναπλέουσι ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίην. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα Θάσον μὲν ἀπόρθητον λείπει, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Λέσβον ἠπειγέτο ἄγων πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιήν. 2 ἐκ Λέσβου δὲ λιμαινούσης οἱ τῆς στρατιῆς πέρην διαβαίνει, ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος ὥς ἀμήσων τὸν σῖτον τὸν τε ἐνθεῦτεν καὶ τὸν ἐκ Καϊκου πεδίου τὸν τῶν Μυσῶν. ἐν δὲ τούτοισι τοῖσι χωρίοις ἐτύγχανε ἐὼν Ἄρπαγος ἀνὴρ Πέρσης στρατηγὸς στρατιῆς οὐκ ὀλίγης· ὃς οἱ ἀποβάντι συμβαλὼν αὐτὸν τε Ἰστιαῖον ζωγρήν ἔλαβε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν πλεὼν διέφθειρε.

28. Then Histiaeus brought a great force of Ionians and Aeolians against Thasos. While he was besieging Thasos a message came that the Phoenicians were putting out to sea from Miletus to attack the rest of Ionia. When he learned this, he left Thasos unsacked, and hastened instead with all his army to Lesbos. From there, since his army suffered from hunger, he crossed over to reap from Atarneus the corn there and the Mysian corn of the Caicus plain. Now it chanced that in that region was Harpagus, a Persian, with no small force under him; when Histiaeus landed, Harpagus met him in battle and took Histiaeus himself alive and killed most of his army.

29 1 ἐζωγρήθη δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ὧδε. ὥς ἐμάχοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐν τῇ Μαλήνῃ τῆς Ἀταρνείτιδος χώρας, οἱ μὲν συνέστασαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, ἡ δὲ ἵππος ὕστερον ὀρμηθεῖσα ἐπιπίπτει τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. τό τε δὴ ἔργον τῆς ἵππου τοῦτο ἐγένετο, καὶ τετραμμένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐλπίζων οὐκ ἀπολέσθαι ὑπὸ βασιλέος διὰ τὴν παρϋσαν ἀμαρτάδα φιλοψυχὴν τοιήνδε τινὰ ἀναιρέεται· 2 ὥς

φεύγων τε κατελαμβάνετο ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω καὶ ὡς καταιρεόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐμελλε συγκεντηθήσασθαι, Περσίδα γλῶσσαν μετεῖς καταμηνύει ἑωυτὸν ὡς εἶη Ἴστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος.

29. Histiaeus was taken prisoner in this way: the Greeks fought with the Persians at Malene in the country of Atarneus; the armies fought for a long time, until the Persian cavalry charged and fell upon the Greeks. So this was the accomplishment of the cavalry; when the Greeks were routed, Histiaeus, supposing that the king would not put him to death for his present transgression, did what showed that he loved his life too well. He was overtaken in his flight by a Persian, and when he was caught and about to be stabbed, he cried out in the Persian language and revealed himself to be Histiaeus the Milesian.

30 1 εἰ μὲν νυν, ὡς ἐξωγρήθη, ἄχθη ἀγόμενος παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον, ὁ δὲ οὔτ' ἂν ἔπαθε κακὸν οὐδὲν δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἀπῆκ' τ' ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίην· νῦν δέ μιν αὐτῶν τε τούτων εἵνεκα καὶ ἵνα μὴ διαφυγὼν αὐτὶς μέγας παρὰ βασιλείᾳ γένηται, Ἀρταφρένης τε ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος καὶ ὁ λαβὼν Ἄρπαγος, ὡς ἀπῆκετο ἀγόμενος ἐς Σάρδις, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἀνεσταύρωσαν, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ταριχεύσαντες ἀνήνεικαν παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐς Σοῦσα. 2 Δαρεῖος δὲ πυθόμενος ταῦτα καὶ ἐπαιτησάμενος τοὺς ταῦτα ποιήσαντας ὅτι μιν οὐ ζῶντα ἀνήγαγον ἐς ὅσιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ, τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν Ἴστιαίου λούσαντάς τε καὶ περιστείλαντας εὖ ἐνετείλατο θάψαι ὡς ἀνδρὸς μεγάλως ἑωυτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσῃσι εὐεργέτῳ.

30. Now if he had been taken prisoner and brought to king Darius, he would have suffered no harm (to my thinking) and the king would have forgiven his guilt; but as it was, when Histiaeus was brought to Sardis, both because of what he had done, and for fear that he might escape and again win power at the court, Artaphrenes, governor of Sardis, and Harpagus, who had captured him, impaled his body on the spot, and sent his head embalmed to king Darius at Susa. When Darius learned of this, he blamed those who had done it because they had not brought Histiaeus before him alive, and he commanded that the head should be washed and buried with due ceremony, as of a man who had done great good to Darius himself and to Persia.

31 1 τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἰστιαῖον οὕτω ἔσχε. ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Περσέων χειμερίσας περὶ Μίλητον, τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει ὥς ἀνέπλωσε, αἰρέει εὐπετέως τὰς νήσους τὰς πρὸς τῇ ἡπείρῳ κειμένας, Χίον καὶ Λέσβον καὶ Τένεδον. ὅκως δὲ λάβοι τινὰ τῶν νήσων, ὥς ἐκάστην αἰρέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐσαγῆνευον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. 2 σαγηνεύουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὸς ἀψάμενος τῆς χειρὸς ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς βορηῆς ἐπὶ τὴν νοτὶν διήκουσι, καὶ ἔπειτα διὰ πάσης τῆς νήσου διέρχονται ἐκθηρεύοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. αἶρεον δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πόλιας τὰς Ἰάδας κατὰ ταυτά, πλὴν οὐκ ἐσαγῆνευον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οὐ γὰρ οἶά τ' ἦν.

31. Thus it fared with Histiaeus. The Persian fleet wintered at Miletus, and putting out to sea in the next year easily subdued the islands that lie off the mainland, Chios and Lesbos and Tenedos. Whenever they took an island, the foreigners would (net) the people. This is the manner of their doing it: the men link hands and make a line reaching from the northern sea to the southern, and then advance over the whole island hunting the people down. They also captured the Ionian cities of the mainland in the same way, but not by netting the people; for that was not possible.

32 1 ἐνθαῦτα Περσέων οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσαντο τὰς ἀπειλὰς τὰς ἐπητείλυσαν τοῖσι Ἴωσι στρατοπεδευομένοισι ἐναντία σφίσι. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἐπεκράτησαν τῶν πολίων, παῖδὰς τε τοὺς εὐειδεστάτους ἐκλεγόμενοι ἐξέταμνον καὶ ἐποίευν ἀντὶ εἶναι ἐνὸρχιας εὐνούχους καὶ παρθένους τὰς καλλιστενούσας ἀνασπάστους παρὰ βασιλέα· ταυτά τε δὴ ἐποίευν καὶ τὰς πόλιας ἐνεπίμπρασαν αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἱροῖσι. οὕτω τε τὸ τρίτον Ἴωνες κατεδουλώθησαν, πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὸ Λυδῶν, δις δὲ ἐπεξῆς τότε ὑπὸ Περσέων.

32. Then the Persian generals were not false to the threats they had made against the Ionians when they were encamped opposite them. When they had gained mastery over the cities, they chose out the most handsome boys and castrated them, making them eunuchs instead of men, and they carried the fairest maidens away to the king; they did all this, and they burnt the cities with their temples. Thus three times had the Ionians been enslaved, first by the Lydians and now twice in a row by the Persians.

33 1 ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰωνίης ἀπαλλασσόμενος ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς τὰ ἐπ'

ἀριστερὰ ἐσπλέοντι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου αἶρεε πάντα· τὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι Πέρσησι ὑποχείρια ἦν γεγονότα κατ' ἡπειρον. εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ αἶδε τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, Χερσονήσός τε, ἐν τῇ πόλεις συχναὶ ἔννεισι, καὶ Πέρινθος καὶ τὰ τεῖχεα τὰ ἐπὶ Θρηίκης καὶ Σηλυμβρίῃ τε καὶ Βυζάντιον. 2 Βυζάντιοι μὲν νυν καὶ οἱ πέρηθε Καλχηδόνιοι οὐδ' ὑπέμειναν ἐπιπλέοντας τοὺς Φοίνικας, ἀλλ' οἴχοντο ἀπολιπόντες τὴν σφετέρην ἔσω ἐς τὸν Εὐξεινον πόντον, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα πόλιν Μεσαμβρίην οἴκησαν. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες κατακαύσαντες ταύτας τὰς χώρας τὰς καταλεχθείσας τρέπονται ἐπὶ τε Προκόννησον καὶ Ἀρτάκην, πυρὶ δὲ καὶ ταύτας νείμαντες ἔπλεον αὐτὶς ἐς τὴν Χερσονήσον ἐξαιρήσαντες τὰς ἐπιλοίπους τῶν πολιῶν, ὅσας πρότερον προσσχόντες οὐ κατέστυραν. 3 ἐπὶ δὲ Κύζικον οὐδὲ ἔπλωσαν ἀρχήν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ Κυζικηνοὶ ἔτι πρότερον τοῦ Φοινίκων ἐσπλόου ἐγεγόνεσαν ὑπὸ βασιλείῃ, Οἰβάρεϊ τῷ Μεγαβάζου ὁμολογήσαντες τῷ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ ὑπάρχει.

33. Then the fleet departed from Ionia and captured everything which lies to the left of one sailing up the Hellespont; the right side had been subdued by the Persians themselves from the mainland. These are the regions of Europe that belong to the Hellespont: the Chersonese, in which there are many cities; Perinthus, and the forts that lie towards Thrace, and Selymbria and Byzantium. The Byzantines and the Calchedonians beyond them did not even wait for the attack of the Phoenicians, but left their own land and fled away into the Euxine, and there settled in the city of Mesambria. The Phoenicians burnt the aforementioned places and turned against Proconnesus and Artace; after giving these also to the flames they sailed back to the Chersonese to finish off the remaining cities, as many as they had not destroyed at their former landing. But they did not sail against Cyzicus at all; the Cyzicenes had already made themselves the king's subjects before the Phoenician expedition, by an agreement with the governor at Dascyleum, Oebares son of Megabazus.

34 1 τῆς δὲ Χερσονήσου πλὴν Καρδίας πόλιος τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ἐχειρώσαντο οἱ Φοίνικες. ἐτυράννευε δὲ αὐτέων μέχρι τότε Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος τοῦ Στησαγόρεω, κτησαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην πρότερον Μιλτιάδεω τοῦ Κυψέλου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. εἶχον

Δόλογοι Θρήκες τὴν Χερσόνησον ταύτην. οὗτοι ὧν οἱ Δόλογοι πιεσθέντες πολέμῳ ὑπὸ Ἀψινθίων ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμψαν τοὺς βασιλέας περὶ τοῦ πολέμου χρησομένους. 2 ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφί ἀνεῖλε οἰκιστὴν ἐπάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τοῦτον ὃς ἂν σφέας ἀπιόντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρῶτος ἐπὶ ξείνια καλέσῃ. ἰόντες δὲ οἱ Δόλογοι τὴν ἱρὴν ὁδὸν διὰ Φωκέων τε καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἦσαν· καὶ σφεας ὥς οὐδεὶς ἐκάλεε, ἐκτρέπονται ἐπ' Ἀθηνέων.

34. The Phoenicians subdued all the cities in the Chersonese except Cardia. Miltiades son of Cimon son of Stesagoras was tyrant there. Miltiades son of Cypselus had gained the rule earlier in the following manner: the Thracian Dolonci held possession of this Chersonese. They were crushed in war by the Apsinthians, so they sent their kings to Delphi to inquire about the war. The Pythia answered that they should bring to their land as founder the first man who offered them hospitality after they left the sacred precinct. But as the Dolonci passed through Phocis and Boeotia, going along the Sacred Way, no one invited them, so they turned toward Athens.

35 1 ἐν δὲ τῇσι Ἀθήνησι τηνικαῦτα εἶχε μὲν τὸ πᾶν κράτος Πεισίστρατος, ἀτὰρ ἐδυνάστευέ γε καὶ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου ἐὼν οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου, τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰακοῦ τε καὶ Αἰγίνης γεγωνῶς, τὰ δὲ νεώτερα Ἀθηναῖος, Φιλαίου τοῦ Αἴαντος παιδὸς γενομένου πρώτου τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης Ἀθηναίου. 2 οὗτος ὁ Μιλτιάδης κατήμενος ἐν τοῖσι προθύροισι τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ, ὁρέων τοὺς Δολόγκους παριόντας ἐσθῆτα ἔχοντας οὐκ ἐγχωρὶν καὶ αἰχμὰς προσεβόωσατο καὶ σφί προσελθοῦσι ἐπηγγείλατο καταγωγὴν καὶ ξείνια. οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ ξεινισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐξέφαινον πᾶν τὸ μαντήιον, ἐκφάναντες δὲ ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ μιν πείθεσθαι. 3 Μιλτιάδεα δὲ ἀκούσαντα παραντίκα ἔπεισε ὁ λόγος οἷα ἀχθόμενόν τε τῇ Πεισιστράτου ἀρχῇ καὶ βουλόμενον ἐκποδὼν εἶναι. αὐτίκα δὲ ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐπειρησόμενος τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ποιοίη τά περ αὐτοῦ οἱ Δόλογοι προσεδέοντο.

35. At that time in Athens, Pisistratus held all power, but Miltiades son of Cypselus also had great influence. His household was rich enough to maintain a four-horse chariot, and he traced his earliest descent to Aeacus and Aegina, though his later ancestry was Athenian. Philaeus son of Ajax was the first of that house to be an

Athenian. Miltiades was sitting on his porch when he saw the Dolonci go by with their foreign clothing and spears, so he called out to them, and when they came over, he invited them in for lodging and hospitality. They accepted, and after he entertained them, they revealed the whole story of the oracle to him and asked him to obey the god. He was persuaded as soon as he heard their speech, for he was tired of Pisistratus' rule and wanted to be away from it. He immediately set out for Delphi to ask the oracle if he should do what the Dolonci asked of him.

36 1 κελευούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς Πυθίης, οὕτω δὴ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου, Ὀλύμπια ἀναραιοῦς πρότερον τούτων τεθρίπῳ, τότε παραλαβὼν Ἀθηναίων πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον μετέχειν τοῦ στόλου ἔπλεε ἅμα τοῖσι Δολόγκοις, καὶ ἔσχε τὴν χώραν· καὶ μιν οἱ ἐπαγαγόμενοι τύραννον κατεστήσαντο. 2 ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπετείχισε τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐκ Καρδίας πόλιος ἐς Πακτύην, ἵνα μὴ ἔχοιεν σφέας οἱ Ἀψινθιοὶ δηλέεσθαι ἐσβάλλοντες ἐς τὴν χώραν. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι στάδιοι ἑξ τε καὶ τρήκοντα τοῦ ἰσθοῦ· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἰσθοῦ τούτου ἡ Χερσονήσος ἔσω πᾶσα ἐστὶ σταδίων εἴκοσι καὶ τετρακοσίων τὸ μῆκος.

36. The Pythia also bade him do so. Then Miltiades son of Cypselus, previously an Olympic victor in the four-horse chariot, recruited any Athenian who wanted to take part in the expedition, sailed off with the Dolonci, and took possession of their land. Those who brought him appointed him tyrant. His first act was to wall off the isthmus of the Chersonese from the city of Cardia across to Pactye, so that the Apsinthians would not be able to harm them by invading their land. The isthmus is thirty-six stadia across, and to the south of the isthmus the Chersonese is four hundred and twenty stadia in length.

37 1 ἀποτειχίσας ὦν τὸν ἀνχένα τῆς Χερσονήσου ὁ Μιλτιάδης καὶ τοὺς Ἀψινθίους τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ὡσάμενος, τῶν λοιπῶν πρώτοις ἐπολέμησε Λαμψακηνοῖς· καὶ μιν οἱ Λαμψακηνοὶ λοχίσαντες αἰρέουσι ζωγρίῃ. ἦν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης Κροῖσῳ τῷ Λυδῷ ἐν γνώμῃ γεγινώς· πυθόμενος ὦν ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα, πέμπων προηγόρευε τοῖσι Λαμψακηνοῖς μετιέναι Μιλτιάδεα· εἰ δὲ μή σφεας πίτυος τρόπον ἀπέιλε ἐκτρίψειν. 2 πλανωμένων δὲ τῶν Λαμψακηνῶν ἐν τοῖσι

λόγοισι τὸ θέλει τὸ ἔπος εἶναι τό σφι ἀπείλησε ὁ Κροῖσος, πίτυος τρόπον ἐκτρίψειν, μόγις κοτὲ μαθὼν τῶν τις πρεσβυτέρων εἶπε τὸ ἐόν, ὅτι πίτυς μούνη πάντων δενδρέων ἐκκοπεῖσα βλαστὸν οὐδένα μετιεῖ ἀλλὰ πανώλεθρος ἐξαπόλλυται. δεισαντες ὧν οἱ Λαμψακηνοὶ Κροῖσον λύσαντες μετῆκαν Μιλτιάδεα.

37. After Miltiades had pushed away the Apsinthians by walling off the neck of the Chersonese, he made war first on the people of Lampsacus, but the Lampsacenes laid an ambush and took him prisoner. However, Miltiades stood high in the opinion of Croesus the Lydian, and when Croesus heard what had happened, he sent to the Lampsacenes and commanded them to release Miltiades. If they did not do so, he threatened to cut them down like a pine tree. The Lampsacenes went astray in their counsels as to what the utterance meant which Croesus had threatened them with, saying he would devastate them like a pine tree, until at last one of the elders understood and said what it was: the pine is the only tree that once cut down never sends out any shoots; it is utterly destroyed. So out of fear of Croesus the Lampsacenes released Miltiades and let him go.

38 1 οὗτος μὲν δὴ διὰ Κροῖσον ἐκφεύγει, μετὰ δὲ τελευτᾷ ἅπαις, τὴν ἀρχὴν τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα παραδοὺς Στησαγόρῃ τῷ Κίμωνος ἀδελφεοῦ παιδὶ ὁμομητρίου. καὶ οἱ τελευτήσαντι Χερσονησῖται θύουσι ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῇ, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἵππικόν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι, ἐν τῷ Λαμψακηνῶν οὐδενὶ ἐγγίνεται ἀγωνίζεσθαι. 2 πολέμου δὲ ἐόντος πρὸς Λαμψακηνοὺς καὶ Στησαγόρεα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ἅπαιδα, πληγέντα τὴν κεφαλὴν πελέκει ἐν τῷ πρυτανίῳ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αὐτομόλου μὲν τῷ λόγῳ πολεμίου δὲ καὶ ὑποθερμοτέρου τῷ ἔργῳ.

38. So he escaped by the intervention of Croesus, but he later died childless and left his rule and possessions to Stesagoras, the son of his half-brother Cimon. Since his death, the people of the Chersonese offer sacrifices to him as their founder in the customary manner, instituting a contest of horse races and gymnastics. No one from Lampsacus is allowed to compete. But in the war against the Lampsacenes Stesagoras too met his end and died childless; he was struck on the head with an axe in the town-hall by a man who pretended to be a deserter but in truth was an enemy and a man of

violence.

39 1 τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ Στησαγόρεω τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, ἐνθαῦτα Μιλτιάδεα τὸν Κίμωνος, Στησαγόρεω δὲ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἀδελφεόν, καταλαμψόμενον τὰ πρήγματα ἐπὶ Χερσονήσου ἀποστέλλουσι τριήρεϊ οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, οἳ μιν καὶ ἐν Ἀθήνησι ἐποίουν εὖ ὥς οὐ συνειδότες δῆθεν τοῦ πατρὸς Κίμωνος αὐτοῦ τὸν θάνατον, τὸν ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ σημανέω ὥς ἐγένετο. 2 Μιλτιάδης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον εἶχε κατ' οἴκους, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Στησαγόρεα δηλαδὴ ἐπιτιμέων. οἱ δὲ Χερσονησίται πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα συνελέχθησαν ἀπὸ πασέων τῶν πολιῶν οἱ δυναστεύοντες πάντοθεν, κοινῷ δὲ στόλῳ ἀπικόμενοι ὥς συλλυπηθησόμενοι ἐδέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Μιλτιάδης τε δὴ ἴσχει τὴν Χερσόνησον, πεντακοσίους βόσκων ἐπικούρους, καὶ γαμέει Ὀλόρου τοῦ Θρηίκων βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα Ἥγησιπύλην.

39. Stesagoras met his end in this way. The sons of Pisistratus sent Miltiades, son of Cimon and brother of the dead Stesagoras, in a trireme to the Chersonese to take control of the country; they had already treated him well at Athens, feigning that they had not been accessory to the death of Cimon his father, which I will relate in another place. Reaching the Chersonese, Miltiades kept himself within his house, professing thus to honor the memory of his brother Stesagoras. When the people of the Chersonese learned this, their ruling men gathered together from all the cities on every side, and came together in a group to show fellow-feeling with his mourning; but he put them in bonds. So Miltiades made himself master of the Chersonese; there he maintained a guard of five hundred men, and married Hegesipyle the daughter of Olorus, king of Thrace.

40 1 οὗτος δὲ ὁ Κίμωνος Μιλτιάδης νεωστὶ μὲν ἐληλύθει ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον, κατελάμβανε δὲ μιν ἐλθόντα ἄλλα τῶν καταλαβόντων πρηγμάτων χαλεπώτερα. τρίτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔτει πρὸ τούτων Σκύθας ἐκφεύγει. Σκύθαι γὰρ οἱ νομάδες ἐρεθισθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλέος Δαρείου συνεστράφησαν καὶ ἤλασαν μέχρι τῆς Χερσονήσου ταύτης· 2 τούτους ἐπιόντας οὐκ ὑπομείνας ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἔφυγε Χερσόνησον, ἐς ὃ οἱ τε Σκύθαι ἀπαλλάχθησαν καὶ ἐκεῖνον Δόλογοι κατήγαγον ὀπίσω. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τρίτῳ ἔτει πρότερον ἐγγέγονε τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων.

40. But not long after this Miltiades son of Cimon had come to the Chersonese, greater difficulties than the present afflictions overtook him. He had been driven from the country three years before this by the Scythians. The nomadic Scythians, provoked by Darius, gathered themselves together and rode as far as the Chersonese. Miltiades did not await their attack and fled from the Chersonese, until the Scythians departed and the Dolonci brought him back again. All this had happened three years before the matters that now engaged him.

41 1 τότε δὲ πυνθανόμενος εἶναι τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐν Τενέδῳ, πληρώσας τριήρεας πέντε χρημάτων τῶν παρεόντων ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. καὶ ὥσπερ ὁρμήθη ἐκ Καρδίας πόλιος ἔπλεε διὰ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου· παραμείβετό τε τὴν Χερσόνησον καὶ οἱ Φοινικὲς οἱ περιπίπτουσι τῇσι νηυσί. 2 αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ Μιλτιάδης σὺν τῇσι τέσσερσι τῶν νεῶν καταφεύγει ἐς Ἴμβρον, τὴν δὲ οἱ πέμπτην τῶν νεῶν κατέλινον διώκοντες οἱ Φοινικες. τῆς δὲ νεὸς ταύτης ἔτυχε τῶν Μιλτιάδεω παίδων ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἄρχων Μητίοχος, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ὀλόρου τοῦ Θρήικος ἐὼν θυγατρὸς ἀλλ' ἐξ ἄλλης· 3 καὶ τοῦτον ἅμα τῇ νηὶ εἶλον οἱ Φοινικες, καὶ μιν πυθόμενοι ὥς εἶη Μιλτιάδεω παῖς ἀνήγαγον παρὰ βασιλέα, δοκέοντες χάριτα μεγάλην καταθήσεσθαι, ὅτι δὴ Μιλτιάδης γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐν τοῖσι Ἴωσι πείθεσθαι κελεύων τοῖσι Σκύθησι, ὅτε οἱ Σκύθαι προσεδέοντο λύσαντας τὴν σχεδίην ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν ἐσωτῶν. 4 Δαρεῖος δέ, ὥς οἱ Φοινικες Μητίοχον τὸν Μιλτιάδεω ἀνήγαγον, ἐποίησε κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν Μητίοχον, ἀγαθὰ δὲ συχνά· καὶ γὰρ οἶκον καὶ κτῆσιν ἔδωκε καὶ Περσίδα γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς οἱ τέκνα ἐγένετο τὰ ἐς Πέρσας κεκοσμέαται. Μιλτιάδης δὲ ἐξ Ἴμβρου ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

41. But now, learning that the Phoenicians were in Tenedos, he sailed away to Athens with five triremes loaded with the possessions that he had nearby. He set out from Cardia and crossed the Black Bay, and as he was sailing along the Chersonese the Phoenicians fell upon him with their ships. Miltiades himself escaped with four of his ships to Imbros, but the fifth was pursued and overtaken by the Phoenicians. It happened that the captain of this ship was Metiochus, the eldest son of Miltiades by another wife, not the daughter of Olorus the Thracian. The Phoenicians took this man captive with his ship; and when they heard that he was Miltiades' son, they brought

him up to the king, thinking that this would be a very favorable service, because Miltiades had declared his opinion among the Ionians that they should obey the Scythians in their demand to break the bridge of boats and sail away to their homes. But when the Phoenicians brought Miltiades' son Metiochus before him, Darius did him no harm but much good, giving him a house and possessions and a Persian wife, who bore him children who were reckoned as Persians. Miltiades made his way from Imbros to Athens.

42 1 καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον ἐγένετο τούτων ἐς νεῖκος φέρον Ἴωσι, ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν χρήσιμα κάρτα τοῖσι Ἴωσι ἐγένετο τούτου τοῦ ἔτεος· Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος μεταπεμψάμενος ἀγγέλους ἐκ τῶν πολιῶν συνθήκας σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τοὺς Ἴωνας ἠνάγκασε ποιέεσθαι, ἵνα δωσίδικοι εἶεν καὶ μὴ ἀλλήλους φέροιν τε καὶ ἄγοιεν. 2 ταῦτά τε ἠνάγκασε ποιέειν, καὶ τὰς χώρας μετρήσας σφέων κατὰ παρασάγγας, τοὺς καλέουσι οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ τριήκοντα στάδια, κατὰ δὴ τούτους μετρήσας φόρους ἔταξε ἐκάστοισι, οἱ κατὰ χώραν διατελέουσι ἔχοντες ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου αἰεὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ὡς ἐτάχθησαν ἐξ Ἀρταφρένεος· ἐτάχθησαν δὲ σχεδὸν κατὰ ταῦτά καὶ πρότερον εἶχον. καὶ σφι ταῦτα μὲν εἰρηναῖα ἦν.

42. In this year the Persians caused no further trouble for the Ionians, and at this same time certain things happened which greatly benefited the Ionians. Artaphrenes governor of Sardis summoned ambassadors from the cities and compelled the Ionians to make agreements among themselves that they would abide by the law and not rob and plunder each other. He compelled them to do this, and he measured their lands by parasangs, which is the Persian name for a distance of thirty stadia, and ordered that each people should according to this measurement pay a tribute which has remained fixed as assessed by Artaphrenes ever since that time up to this day; the sum appointed was about the same as that which they had rendered before. This then kept them peaceable.

43 1 ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι, τῶν ἄλλων καταλελυμένων στρατηγῶν ἐκ βασιλέος, Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γοβρύεω κατέβαινε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, στρατὸν πολλὸν μὲν κάρτα πεζὸν ἅμα ἀγόμενος πολλὸν δὲ ναυτικόν, ἡλικίην τε νέος ἐὼν καὶ νεωστὶ γεγαμηκὼς βασιλέος Δαρείου θυγατέρα

Ἀρτοζώστην· 2 ἄγων δὲ τὸν στρατὸν τοῦτον ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ νεὸς ἐκομίζετο ἅμα τῇσι ἄλλησι νηυσί, στρατιὴν δὲ τὴν πεζὴν ἄλλοι ἡγεμόνες ἦγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. 3 ὥς δὲ παραπλέων τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπίκετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, ἐνθαῦτα μέγιστον θῶμα ἐρέω τοῖσι μὴ ἀποδεκομένοισι Ἑλλήνων Περσέων τοῖσι ἐπτὰ Ὀτάνεα γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ὥς χρὸν εἶη δημοκρατέεσθαι Πέρσας· τοὺς γὰρ τυράννους τῶν Ἰόνων καταπαύσας πάντας ὁ Μαρδόνιος δημοκρατίας κατίστα ἐς τὰς πόλεις. 4 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἠπειγέτο ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ὥς δὲ συνελέχθη μὲν χρήμα πολλὸν νεῶν συνελέχθη δὲ καὶ πεζὸς στρατὸς πολλός, διαβάντες τῇσι νηυσὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ἐπὶ τε Ἐρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας.

43. But at the beginning of spring the other generals were deposed by the king from their offices, and Mardonius son of Gobryas, a man young in years and recently married to Darius' daughter Artozostre, came down to the coast at the head of a very great army and fleet. When Mardonius reached Cilicia at the head of this army, he himself embarked on shipboard and sailed with the rest of his ships, while other captains led the land army to the Hellespont. When Mardonius arrived in Ionia in his voyage along the coast of Asia, he did a thing which I here set down for the wonder of those Greeks who will not believe Otanes to have declared his opinion among the Seven that democracy was best for Persia: Mardonius deposed all the Ionian tyrants and set up democracies in their cities. He did this and hurried to the Hellespont. When a great multitude of ships and a great army were assembled, the Persians crossed the Hellespont on shipboard and marched through Europe, with Eretria and Athens as their goal.

44 1 αὗται μὲν ὧν σφι πρόσχημα ἦσαν τοῦ στόλου· ἀτὰρ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ὅσας ἂν πλείστας δύνωνται καταστρέφεσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολίων, τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῇσι νηυσὶ Θασίους οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταειραμένους κατεστρέψαντο, τοῦτο δὲ τῷ πεζῷ Μακεδόνας πρὸς τοῖσι ὑπάρχουσι δούλους προσεκτήσαντο· τὰ γὰρ ἐντὸς Μακεδόνων ἔθνεα πάντα σφι ἦν ἤδη ὑποχείρια γεγονότα. 2 ἐκ μὲν δὴ Θάσου διαβαλόντες πέρην ὑπὸ τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκομίζοντο μέχρι Ἀκάνθου, ἐκ δὲ Ἀκάνθου ὁρμώμενοι τὸν Ἄθων περιέβαλλον. ἐπιπεσὼν δὲ σφι

περιπλέουσι βορέης ἄνεμος μέγας τε καὶ ἄπορος κάρτα τρηχέως περιέσπε, πλήθει πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν ἐκβάλλων πρὸς τὸν Ἄθων. 3 λέγεται γὰρ τριηκοσίας μὲν τῶν νεῶν τὰς διαφθαρείσας εἶναι, ὑπὲρ δὲ δύο μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων. ὥστε γὰρ θηριωδεστάτης ἐούσης τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων διεφθείροντο ἀρπαζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰς πέτρας ἀρασσόμενοι· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστέατο καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ῥίγεϊ.

44. This was the stated end of their expedition, but they intended to subdue as many of the Greek cities as they could. Their fleet subdued the Thasians, who did not so much as lift up their hands against it; their land army added the Macedonians to the slaves that they had already, for all the nations nearer to them than Macedonia had been made subject to the Persians before this. Crossing over from Thasos they travelled near the land as far as Acanthus, and putting out from there they tried to round Athos. But a great and irresistible north wind fell upon them as they sailed past and dealt very roughly with them, driving many of their ships upon Athos. It is said that about three hundred ships were lost, and more than twenty thousand men. Since the coasts of Athos abound in wild beasts, some men were carried off by beasts and so perished; others were dashed against the rocks; those who could not swim perished because of that, and still others by the cold.

45 1 ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς οὕτω ἔπρησσε, Μαρδονίῳ δὲ καὶ τῷ πεζῷ στρατοπεδευομένῳ ἐν Μακεδονίῃ νυκτὸς Βρύγοι Θρήικες ἐπεχείρησαν· καὶ σφεων πολλοὺς φονεύουσι οἱ Βρύγοι, Μαρδόνιον δὲ αὐτὸν τρωματίζουσι. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ δουλοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον ἀπανέστη ἐκ τῶν χωρέων τουτέων Μαρδόνιος πρὶν ἢ σφεας ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσατο. 2 τούτους μέντοι καταστρεψάμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὴν ὀπίσω, ἅτε τῷ πεζῷ τε προσπταίσας πρὸς τοὺς Βρύγους καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ μεγάλως περὶ Ἄθων. οὗτος μὲν νυν ὁ στόλος αἰσχυρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος ἀπαλλάχθη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

45. Thus it fared with the fleet; as for Mardonius and his land army, while they were encamped in Macedonia, the Brygi of Thrace attacked them by night and killed many of them, wounding Mardonius himself. But not even these could escape being enslaved

by the Persians; Mardonius did not depart from those lands before he had subjugated them. After conquering them, he led his army away homewards, since the Brygi had dealt a heavy blow to his army and Athos an even heavier blow to his fleet. This expedition after an inglorious adventure returned back to Asia.

46 1 δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τούτων ὁ Δαρεῖος πρῶτα μὲν Θασίους διαβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστυγαιτόνων ὡς ἀπόστασιν μηχανώατο, πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκέλευε σφέας τὸ τεῖχος περιαιρέειν καὶ τὰς νέας ἐς Ἄβδηρα κομίζειν. 2 οἱ γὰρ δὴ Θάσιοι, οἷα ὑπὸ Ἰστιαίου τε τοῦ Μιλησίου πολιορκηθέντες καὶ προσόδων ἐουσέων μεγάλων, ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι χρήμασι νέας τε ναυπηγεύμενοι μακρὰς καὶ τεῖχος ἰσχυρότερον περιβαλλόμενοι. ἡ δὲ πρόσδοξ σφι ἐγίνετο ἔκ τε τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετάλλων. 3 ἐκ μὲν γε τῶν ἐκ Σκαπτησύλης τῶν χρυσέων μετάλλων τὸ ἐπίπαν ὀγδώκοντα τάλαντα προσήιε, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ Θάσῳ ἐλάσσω μὲν τούτων, συχνὰ δὲ οὕτω ὥστε τὸ ἐπίπαν Θασίοισι ἐοῦσι καρπῶν ἀτελέσι προσήιε ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ τῶν μετάλλων ἔτεος ἐκάστου διηκόσια τάλαντα, ὅτε δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον προσῆλθε, τριηκόσια.

46. In the next year after this, Darius first sent a message bidding the Thasians, who were falsely reported by their neighbors to be planning rebellion, to destroy their walls and bring their ships to Abdera. Since they had been besieged by Histiaeus of Miletus and had great revenues, the Thasians had used their wealth to build ships of war and surround themselves with stronger walls. Their revenue came from the mainland and from the mines. About eighty talents on average came in from the gold-mines of the “Dug Forest”, and less from the mines of Thasos itself, yet so much that the Thasians, paying no tax on their crops, drew a yearly revenue from the mainland and the mines of two hundred talents on average, and three hundred when the revenue was greatest.

47 1 εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μέταλλα ταῦτα, καὶ μακρῶ ἦν αὐτῶν θωμασιώτατα τὰ οἱ Φοίνικες ἀνεῦρον οἱ μετὰ Θάσου κτίσαντες τὴν νῆσον ταύτην, ἥτις νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θάσου τούτου τοῦ Φοίνικος τὸ οὐνομα ἔσχε. 2 τὰ δὲ μέταλλα τὰ Φοινικικὰ ταῦτα ἐστὶ τῆς Θάσου μεταξὺ Αἰνύρων τε χώρου καλεομένου καὶ Κοινύρων, ἀντίον δὲ Σαμοθηρικής, ὅρος μέγα ἀνεστραμμένον ἐν τῇ ζητήσι. τοῦτο μὲν νυν

ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον. οἱ δὲ Θάσιοι τῷ βασιλεί κελεύσαντι καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ σφέτερον κατεῖλον καὶ τὰς νέας τὰς πάσας ἐκόμισαν ἐς Ἄβδηρα.

47. I myself have seen these mines; by far the most marvellous were those that were found by the Phoenicians who with Thasos colonized this island, which is now called after that Phoenician Thasos. These Phoenician mines are between the place called Aenyra and Coenyra in Thasos, opposite Samothrace; they are in a great hill that has been dug up in the searching. So much for that. The Thasians at the king's command destroyed their walls and brought all their ships to Abdera.

48 1 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀπεπειρᾶτο ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὃ τι ἐν νόφ' ἔχοιεν, κότερα πολεμέειν ἐωυτῷ ἢ παραδιδόναι σφέας αὐτούς. 2 διέπεμπε ὦν κήρυκας ἄλλους ἄλλη τάξας ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κελεύων αἰτέειν βασιλεί γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. τούτους μὲν δὴ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔπεμπε, ἄλλους δὲ κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὰς ἐωυτοῦ δασμοφόρους πόλιας τὰς παραθαλασσίους, κελεύων νέας τε μακρὰς καὶ ἱππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ποιέεσθαι.

48. Then Darius attempted to learn whether the Greeks intended to wage war against him or to surrender themselves. He sent heralds this way and that throughout Hellas, bidding them demand a gift of earth and water for the king. He despatched some to Hellas, and he sent others to his own tributary cities of the coast, commanding that ships of war and transports for horses be built.

49 1 οὗτοί τε δὴ παρεσκευάζοντο ταῦτα, καὶ τοῖσι ἤκουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυξι πολλοὶ μὲν ἡπειρωτέων ἔδοσαν τὰ προΐσχετο αἰτέων ὁ Πέρσης, πάντες δὲ νησιῶται ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο αἰτήσοντες. οἱ τε δὴ ἄλλοι νησιῶται διδοῦσι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰγινῇται. 2 ποιήσασι δέ σφι ταῦτα ἰθέως Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεκέατο, δοκέοντές τε ἐπὶ σφίσι ἐπέχοντας τοὺς Αἰγινήτας δεδωκέναι ὥς ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύονται, καὶ ἄσμενοι προφάσιος ἐπελάβοντο, φοιτέοντές τε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην κατηγορεῖν τῶν Αἰγινήτεων τὰ πεποιήκοιεν προδόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

49. So the cities set about these preparations. The heralds who went to Hellas received what the king's proclamation demanded from many of those dwelling on the mainland and from all the islanders to whom they came with the demand. Among the islanders who gave

earth and water to Darius were the Aeginetans. The Athenians immediately came down upon them for doing this, for they supposed the Aeginetans to have given the gift out of enmity for Athens, so they might join with the Persians in attacking the Athenians. Gladly laying hold of this pretext, they went to Sparta and there accused the Aeginetans of acting to betray Hellas.

50 1 πρὸς ταύτην δὲ τὴν κατηγορίην Κλεομένης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew βασιλεὺς ἐὼν Σπαρτιτῶν διέβη ἐς Αἴγιναν, βουλόμενος συλλαβεῖν Αἰγινητῶν τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους. 2 ὥς δὲ ἐπειρᾶτο συλλαμβάνων, ἄλλοι τε δὴ ἐγίνοντο αὐτῷ ἀντίξοοι τῶν Αἰγινητῶν, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Κριὸς ὁ Πολυκρίτου μάλιστα, ὃς οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸν οὐδένα ἄξιν χαίροντα Αἰγινητῶν· ἄνευ γάρ μιν Σπαρτιτῶν τοῦ κοινοῦ ποιεῖν ταῦτα, ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἀναγνωσθέντα χρήμασι· ἅμα γὰρ ἂν μιν τῷ ἑτέρῳ βασιλείῳ ἐλθόντα συλλαμβάνειν. 3 ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς τῆς Δημαρήτου. Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπελαυνόμενος ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης εἶρετο τὸν Κριὸν ὃ τι οἱ εἴη τὸ οὔνομα· ὁ δὲ οἱ τὸ ἐὼν ἔφρασε. ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη “ἤδη νῦν καταχαλκοῦ ὧ κριεὶ τὰ κέρα, ὥς συνοισόμενος μεγάλῳ κακῷ”.

50. Regarding this accusation, Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides, king of Sparta, crossed over to Aegina intending to arrest the most culpable of its people. But when he attempted to make the arrests, the Aeginetans opposed him, especially Crius son of Polycritus, who told him he would not take away any Aeginetan with impunity, for he had no authority from the Spartans for what he was doing; instead he had been bribed by the Athenians; otherwise he would have come to make the arrests with the other king. He said this because of a letter from Demaratus. Driven from Aegina, Cleomenes asked Crius his name; and when Crius told him what it was, Cleomenes said to him, “Now is the time to put bronze on your horns, Mr. Ram, for great calamity will confront you.”

51 1 ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὑπομένων Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος διέβαλλε τὸν Κλεομένεα, ἐὼν βασιλεὺς καὶ οὗτος Σπαρτιτῶν, οἰκίῃς δὲ τῆς ὑποδεεστέρης, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὑποδεεστέρης· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γεγόνασι· κατὰ πρεσβυγενεῖην δὲ κως τετίμηται μᾶλλον ἢ Εὐρυσθένης.

51. All this time Demaratus son of Ariston remained at Sparta and

spread evil reports of Cleomenes. This Demaratus was also king of Sparta, but of the inferior house; not indeed inferior in any other regard (for they have a common ancestor), but the house of Eurysthenes has in some sort the greater honor by right of primogeniture.

52 1 Λακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ ὁμολογέοντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῇ λέγουσι αὐτὸν Ἀριστόδημον τὸν Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὑλλου βασιλεύοντα ἀγαγεῖν σφεας ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώραν τὴν νῦν ἐκτέαται, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδας. 2 μετὰ δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολλὸν Ἀριστοδήμῳ τεκεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα, τῇ οὖνομα εἶναι Ἀργεῖην· θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτὴν λέγουσι εἶναι Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκεος· ταύτην δὴ τεκεῖν διδυμα, ἐπιδόντα δὲ τὸν Ἀριστόδημον τὰ τέκνα νούσῳ τελευτᾶν. 3 Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ τοὺς τότε ἔοντας βουλευσάμενοι κατὰ νόμον βασιλέα τῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτερον ποιήσασθαι. οὐκὼν δὴ σφεας ἔχειν ὁκότερον ἔλονται ὥστε καὶ ὁμοίων καὶ ἴσων ἔόντων· οὐ δυναμένους δὲ γνῶναι, ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἐπειρωτᾶν τὴν τεκοῦσαν. 4 τὴν δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὴν φάναι διαγινώσκειν. εἰδυῖαν μὲν καὶ τὸ κάρτα λέγειν ταῦτα, βουλομένην δὲ εἶ κως ἀμφοτέρω γενοίατο βασιλέες. τοὺς ὧν δὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπορέειν, ἀπορέοντας δὲ πέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησομένους ὃ τι χρήσονται τῷ πρήγματι. 5 τὴν δὲ Πυθίην σφέας κελεύειν ἀμφοτέρα τὰ παιδιά ἡγήσασθαι βασιλέας, τιμᾶν δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν γεραίτερον. τὴν μὲν δὴ Πυθίην ταῦτά σφι ἀνελεῖν, τοῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἀπορέουσι οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ὅκως ἐξεύρωσι αὐτῶν τὸν πρεσβύτερον, ὑποθέσθαι ἄνδρα Μεσσηνίου τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Πανίτην· 6 ὑποθέσθαι δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Πανίτην τάδε τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, φυλάξαι τὴν γειναμένην ὁκότερον τῶν παίδων πρότερον λούει καὶ σιτίζει· καὶ ἢν μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα φαίνεται αἰεὶ ποιεῦσα, τοὺς δὲ πᾶν ἔξειν ὅσον τι καὶ δίζηται καὶ θέλουσι ἐξευρεῖν, ἢν δὲ πλανᾶται καὶ ἐκείνη ἐναλλάξ ποιεῦσα, δῆλόν σφι ἔσεσθαι ὥς οὐδὲ ἐκείνη πλέον οὐδὲν οἶδε, ἐπ' ἄλλην τε τραπέσθαι σφέας ὁδόν. 7 ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοὺς Σπαρτιῆτας κατὰ τὰς τοῦ Μεσσηνίου ὑποθήκας φυλάξαντας τὴν μητέρα τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων λαβεῖν κατὰ ταῦτα τιμῶσαν τὸν πρότερον καὶ σίτοισι καὶ λουτροῖσι, οὐκ εἰδυῖαν τῶν εἵνεκεν ἐφυλάσσετο. λαβόντας δὲ τὸ παιδίον τὸ τιμώμενον πρὸς τῆς γειναμένης ὥς ἐὸν πρότερον τρέφειν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ· καὶ οἱ οὖνομα τεθῆναι

Εὐρυσθένεα, τῷ δὲ Προκλέα. 8 τούτους ἀνδρωθέντας αὐτοὺς τε ἀδελφεοὺς ἐόντας λέγουσι διαφόρους εἶναι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζόης ἀλλήλοισι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων γενομένους ὡσαύτως διατελέειν.

52. The Lacedaemonians say (but no poet agrees) that it was Aristodemus son of Aristomachus son of Cleodaeus son of Hyllus, and not his sons, who led them to that land which they now possess. After no long time Aristodemus' wife, whose name was Argeia, bore him offspring; they say she was daughter of Autesion son of Tisamenus son of Thersander son of Polynices; she bore him twins; Aristodemus lived to see the children, then died of a sickness. The Lacedaemonians of that day planned to follow their custom and make the eldest of the children king. But the children were identical in all respects, so the Lacedaemonians did not know which to choose; when they could not judge between them, or perhaps even before this, they asked the mother. She said she knew no better than the Lacedaemonians which was the elder; she knew perfectly well, but she said this because she desired that by some means both might be made kings. The Lacedaemonians were at a loss, so they sent to Delphi to inquire how they should deal with the matter. The priestess bade them make both children kings but give greater honor to the elder. When the priestess gave this response, the Lacedaemonians knew no better than before how to discover the elder child, and a man of Messenia, whose name was Panites, gave them advice: he advised them to watch the mother and see which of the children she washed and fed before the other; if she was seen to do this always in the same order, they would then have all that they sought and desired to discover; but if she changed her practice haphazardly, then it would be manifest to the Lacedaemonians that she knew no more than they did, and they must have recourse to some other means. Then the Spartans did as the Messenian advised; as they watched the mother of Aristodemus' children, they found her always preferring the elder when she fed and washed them, since she did not know why she was being watched. So they took the child that was preferred by its mother and brought it up at public expense as the first-born; and they called it Eurysthenes, and the other Procles. They say that when

these two brothers grew to manhood, they feuded with each other as long as they lived, and their descendants continued to do likewise.

53 1 ταῦτα μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι μόνοι Ἑλλήνων· τάδε δὲ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων ἐγὼ γράφω, τούτους τοὺς Δωριέων βασιλέας μέχρι μὲν δὴ Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης, τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεόντος, καταλεγόμενους ὀρθῶς ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἀποδεικνυμένους ὡς εἰσὶ Ἕλληνες· ἤδη γὰρ τῆνικαῦτα ἐς Ἑλληνας οὗτοι ἐτέλεον. 2 ἔλεξα δὲ μέχρι Περσέος τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἄλλ' οὐκ ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι ἔλαβον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔπεστι ἐπωνυμίῃ Περσεί οὐδεμία πατρὸς θνητοῦ, ὥσπερ Ἡρακλεί Ἀμφιτρυῶν. ἤδη ὦν ὀρθῶ χρεωμένῳ μέχρι Περσέος ὀρθῶς εἴρηται μοι· ἀπὸ δὲ Δανάης τῆς Ἀκρίσιου καταλέγοντι τοὺς ἄνω αἰεὶ πατέρας αὐτῶν φαινοίατο ἂν ἐόντες οἱ τῶν Δωριέων ἡγεμόνες Αἰγύπτιοι ἰθαγενέες.

53. The Lacedaemonians are the only Greeks who tell this story. But in what I write I follow the Greek report, and hold that the Greeks correctly recount these kings of the Dorians as far back as Perseus son of Danae — they make no mention of the god — and prove these kings to be Greek; for by that time they had come to be classified as Greeks. I said as far back as Perseus, and I took the matter no further than that, because no one is named as the mortal father of Perseus, as Amphitryon is named father of Heracles. So I used correct reasoning when I said that the Greek record is correct as far back as Perseus; farther back than that, if the king's ancestors in each generation, from Danae daughter of Acrisius upward, be reckoned, then the leaders of the Dorians will be shown to be true-born Egyptians.

54 1 ταῦτα μὲν νυν κατὰ τὰ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι γεγενηλόγηται· ὡς δὲ ὁ παρὰ Περσέων λόγος λέγεται, αὐτὸς ὁ Περσεὺς ἐὼν Ἀσσύριος ἐγένετο Ἕλλην, ἄλλ' οὐκ οἱ Περσέος πρόγονοι· τοὺς δὲ Ἀκρίσιου γε πατέρας ὁμολογέοντας κατ' οἰκηιότητα Περσεί οὐδέν, τούτους δὲ εἶναι, κατὰ περ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, Αἰγυπτίους.

54. Thus have I traced their lineage according to the Greek story; but the Persian tale is that Perseus himself was an Assyrian, and became a Greek, which his forebears had not been; the Persians say that the ancestors of Acrisius had no bond of kinship with Perseus, and they indeed were, as the Greeks say, Egyptians.

55 1 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν νυν περὶ τούτων εἰρήσθω. ὅ τι δὲ ἔόντες Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ὅ τι ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔλαβον τὰς Δωριέων βασιληίας, ἄλλοισι γὰρ περὶ αὐτῶν εἴρηται, ἔασομεν αὐτά· τὰ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐ κατελάβοντο, τούτων μνήμην ποιήσομαι.

55. Enough of these matters. Why and for what achievements these men, being Egyptian, won the kingship of the Dorians has been told by others, so I will let it go, and will make mention of matters which others have not touched.

56 1 γέρεά τε δὴ τάδε τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι Σπαρτιῆται δεδώκασι, ἱρῳσύνας δύο, Διὸς τε Λακεδαιμόνος καὶ Διὸς οὐρανίου, καὶ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν ἐπ' ἣν ἂν βούλωνται χώραν, τούτου δὲ μηδένα εἶναι Σπαρτιητέων διακωλυτήν, εἰ δὲ μὴ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἄγῃ ἐνέχεσθαι. στρατευομένων δὲ πρώτους ἰέναι τοὺς βασιλέας, ὑστάτους δὲ ἀπιέναι· ἑκατὸν δὲ ἄνδρας λογάδας ἐπὶ στρατιῆς φυλάσσειν αὐτούς· προβάτοισι δὲ χρᾶσθαι ἐν τῇσι ἐξοδίησι ὀκόσοισι ἂν ὧν ἐθέλωσι, τῶν δὲ θυομένων πάντων τὰ δέρματά τε καὶ τὰ νῶτα λαμβάνειν σφεας.

56. These privileges the Spartans have given to their kings: two priesthoods, of Zeus called Lacedaemon and of Zeus of Heaven; they wage war against whatever land they wish, and no Spartan can hinder them in this on peril of being put under a curse; when the armies go forth the kings go out first and return last; one hundred chosen men guard them in their campaigns; they sacrifice as many sheep and goats as they wish at the start of their expeditions, and take the hides and backs of all sacrificed beasts.

57 1 ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐμπολέμια, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τὰ εἰρηναῖα κατὰ τάδε σφι δέδοται. ἦν θυσίη τις δημοτελὴς ποιέηται, πρώτους ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἵζειν τοὺς βασιλέας, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων πρῶτον ἄρχεσθαι διπλήσια νέμοντας ἑκατέρῳ τὰ πάντα ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δαιτυμόνεσι, καὶ σπονδαρχίας εἶναι τούτων καὶ τῶν τυθέντων τὰ δέρματα. 2 νεομηνίας δὲ πάσας καὶ ἐβδόμας ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς δίδοσθαι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἱρήιον τέλεον ἑκατέρῳ ἐς Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ μέδιμνον ἀλφίτων καὶ οἴνου τετάρτην Λακωνικὴν, καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι πᾶσι προεδρίας ἐξαιρέτους. καὶ προξείνους ἀποδεικνύναι τούτοις προσκεῖσθαι τοὺς ἂν ἐθέλωσι τῶν ἀστῶν, καὶ Πυθίους αἰρέεσθαι δύο ἑκάτερον. οἱ δὲ Πύθιοι εἰσὶ θεοπρόποι ἐς Δελφούς, σιτεόμενοι μετὰ

τῶν βασιλέων τὰ δημόσια. 3 μὴ ἔλθοῦσι δὲ τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀποπέμπεσθαι σφι ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἀλφίτων τε δύο χοίνικας ἑκατέρῳ καὶ οἴνου κοτύλην, παρεοῦσι δὲ διπλήσια πάντα δίδοσθαι· τὸν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς ἰδιωτέων κληθέντας ἐπὶ δεῖπνον τιμᾶσθαι. 4 τὰς δὲ μαντηίας τὰς γινομένας τούτους φυλάσσειν, συνειδέναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πυθίους. δικάζειν δὲ μούρους τοὺς βασιλέας τοσάδε μοῦνα, πατρούχου τε παρθένου πέρι, ἐς τὸν ἰκνέεται ἔχειν, ἢν μὴ περ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὴν ἐγγυήσῃ, καὶ ὁδῶν δημοσιέων πέρι· 5 καὶ ἢν τις θετὸν παῖδα ποιέεσθαι ἐθέλῃ, βασιλέων ἐναντίον ποιέεσθαι. καὶ παρίζειν βουλευούσι τοῖσι γέρουσι ἐοῦσι δυῶν δέουσι τριήκοντα· ἢν δὲ μὴ ἔλθωσι, τοὺς μάλιστα σφι τῶν γερόντων προσήκοντας ἔχειν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων γέρεα, δύο ψήφους τιθεμένους, τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἐωυτῶν.

57. Such are their rights in war; in peace the powers given them are as follows: at all public sacrifices the kings first sit down to the banquet and are first served, each of them receiving a portion double of what is given to the rest of the company; they make the first libations, and the hides of the sacrificed beasts are theirs. At each new moon and each seventh day of the first part of the month, a full-grown victim for Apollo's temple, a bushel of barley-meal, and a Laconian quart of wine are given to each from the public store, and chief seats are set apart for them at the games. It is their right to appoint whatever citizens they wish to be protectors of foreigners; and they each choose two Pythians. (The Pythians are the ambassadors to Delphi and eat with the kings at the public expense.) If the kings do not come to the public dinner, two choenixes of barley-meal and half a pint of wine are sent to their houses, but when they come, they receive a double share of everything; and the same honor shall be theirs when they are invited by private citizens to dinner. They keep all oracles that are given, though the Pythians also know them. The kings alone judge cases concerning the rightful possessor of an unwedded heiress, if her father has not betrothed her, and cases concerning public roads. If a man desires to adopt a son, it is done in the presence of the kings. They sit with the twenty-eight elders in council; if they do not come, the elders most closely related to them hold the king's privilege, giving two votes over and above the third which is their own.

58 1 ταῦτα μὲν ζῶσι τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι δέδοται ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, ἀποθανοῦσι δὲ τάδε. ἱππέες περιαγγέλλουσι τὸ γεγονὸς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Λακωνικὴν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν γυναῖκες περιουῶσαι λέβητα κροτέουσι. ἐπεὰν ὧν τοῦτο γίνηται τοιοῦτο, ἀνάγκη ἐξ οἰκίης ἐκάστης ἐλευθέρους δύο καταμιαίνεσθαι, ἄνδρα τε καὶ γυναῖκα· μὴ ποιήσασι δὲ τοῦτο ζημίαι μεγάλαι ἐπικέεται. 2 νόμος δὲ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι κατὰ τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς θανάτους ἐστὶ ὧν τὸς καὶ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ· τῶν γὰρ ὧν βαρβάρων οἱ πλεῖνες τῷ αὐτῷ νόμῳ χρέωνται κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους τῶν βασιλέων. ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἀποθάνῃ βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκ πάσης δεῖ Λακεδαιμόνος, χωρὶς Σπαρτιητέων, ἀριθμῶ τῶν περιοίκων ἀναγκαστοὺς ἐς τὸ κῆδος ἰέναι. 3 τούτων ὧν καὶ τῶν εἰλωτέων καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐπεὰν συλλεχθῶσι ἐς τὸν αὐτὸ πολλαὶ χιλιάδες σύμμιγα τῇσι γυναιξί, κόπτονται τε τὰ μέτωπα προθύμως καὶ οἰμογῇ διαχρέωνται ἀπλῆτῳ, φάμενοι τὸν ὕστατον αἰεὶ ἀπογενόμενον τῶν βασιλέων, τοῦτον δὴ γενέσθαι ἄριστον. ὃς δ' ἂν ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν βασιλέων ἀποθάνῃ, τούτῳ δὲ εἰδῶλον σκευάσαντες ἐν κλίνῃ εὖ ἐστρωμένη ἐκφέρουσι. ἐπεὰν δὲ θάψωσι, ἀγορὴ δέκα ἡμερέων οὐκ ἴσταται σφι οὐδ' ἀρχαιρεσίῃ συνίξει, ἀλλὰ πενθέουσι ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας.

58. The kings are granted these rights from the Spartan commonwealth while they live; when they die, their rights are as follows: Horsemen proclaim their death in all parts of Laconia, and in the city women go about beating on cauldrons. When this happens, two free persons from each house, a man and a woman, are required to wear mourning, or incur heavy penalties if they fail to do so. The Lacedaemonians have the same custom at the deaths of their kings as the foreigners in Asia; most foreigners use the same custom at their kings' deaths. When a king of the Lacedaemonians dies, a fixed number of their subject neighbors must come to the funeral from all Lacedaemon, besides the Spartans. When these and the helots and the Spartans themselves have assembled in one place to the number of many thousands, together with the women, they zealously beat their foreheads and make long and loud lamentation, calling that king that is most recently dead the best of all their kings. Whenever a king dies in war, they make an image of him and carry it out on a well-spread bier. For ten days after the burial there are no assemblies or

elections, and they mourn during these days.

59 1 συμφέρονται δὲ ἄλλο οὗτοι τότε τοῖσι Πέρσησι· ἐπεὰν ἀποθανόντος τοῦ βασιλέος ἄλλος ἐνίστηται βασιλεὺς, οὗτος ὁ ἐσιὼν ἐλευθεροῖ ὅστις τι Σπαρτιητέων τῷ βασιλείῃ ἢ τῷ δημοσίῳ ὥφειλε· ἐν δ' αὖ Πέρσησι ὁ κατιστάμενος βασιλεὺς τὸν προοφειλόμενον φόρον μετιῖ τῇσι πόλισι πάσῃσι.

59. The Lacedaemonians also resemble the Persians in this: when one king is dead and another takes his office, this successor releases from debt any Spartan who owes a debt to the king or to the commonwealth. Among the Persians the king at the beginning of his reign forgives all cities their arrears of tribute.

60 1 συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τάδε Αἰγυπτίοισι Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οἱ κήρυκες αὐτῶν καὶ αὐλῆται καὶ μάγειροι ἐκδέκονται τὰς πατρώϊας τέχνας, καὶ αὐλητῆς τε αὐλητέω γίνεται καὶ μάγειρος μαγείρου καὶ κῆρυξ κήρυκος· οὐ κατὰ λαμπροφωνίην ἐπιτιθέμενοι ἄλλοι σφέας παρακληίουσι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπιτελέουσι.

60. The Lacedaemonians resemble the Egyptians in that their heralds and flute-players and cooks inherit the craft from their fathers, a flute-player's son being a flute-player, and a cook's son a cook, and a herald's son a herald; no others usurp their places, making themselves heralds by loudness of voice; they ply their craft by right of birth. Such is the way of these matters.

61 1 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω γίνεται. τότε δὲ τὸν Κλεομένεα ἐόντα ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ καὶ κοινὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀγαθὰ προεργαζόμενον ὁ Δημάρητος διέβαλε, οὐκ Αἰγινητέων οὕτω κηδόμενος ὥς φθόνῳ καὶ ἄγῃ χρεώμενος. Κλεομένης δὲ νοστήσας ἀπ' Αἰγίνης ἐβούλευε τὸν Δημάρητον παῦσαι τῆς βασιλείης, διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε ἐπίβασιν ἐς αὐτὸν ποιεύμενος. Ἀρίστωνι βασιλεύοντι ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ γήμαντι γυναῖκας δύο παῖδες οὐκ ἐγίνοντο. 2 καὶ οὐ γὰρ συνεγινώσκετο αὐτὸς τούτων εἶναι αἴτιος, γαμέει τρίτην γυναῖκα· ὧδε δὲ γαμέει. ἦν οἱ φίλος τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἀνὴρ, τῷ προσέκειτο τῶν ἀστῶν μάλιστα ὁ Ἀρίστων. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐτύγχανε ἐοῦσα γυνὴ καλλίστη μακρῶ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι καλλίστη ἐξ αἰσχίστης γενομένη. 3 ἐοῦσαν γάρ μιν τὸ εἶδος φλαύρην ἢ τροφὸς αὐτῆς, οἷα ἀνθρώπων τε ὀλβίων θυγατέρα καὶ δυσειδέα ἐοῦσαν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὀρῶσα τοὺς γονέας συμφορὴν τὸ εἶδος αὐτῆς ποιευμένους, ταῦτα

ἕκαστα μαθοῦσα ἐπιφράζεται τοιάδε· ἐφόρει αὐτὴν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης ἱρόν. τὸ δ' ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Θεράπνῃ καλεομένη ὑπερθε τοῦ Φοιβηίου ἱροῦ. ὅπως δὲ ἐνείκειε ἡ τροφός, πρὸς τε τῷγαλμα ἴστα καὶ ἐλίσσεται τὴν θεὸν ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς δυσμορφίης τὸ παιδίον. 4 καὶ δὴ κοτε ἀπιούσῃ ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῇ τροφῷ γυναῖκα λέγεται ἐπιφανῆναι, ἐπιφανεῖσαν δὲ ἐπειρέσθαι μιν ὃ τι φέρει ἐν τῇ ἀγκάλῃ, καὶ τὴν φράσαι ὡς παιδίον φορέει, τὴν δὲ κελεῦσαι οἱ δέξαι, τὴν δὲ οὐ φάναι· ἀπειρήσθαι γάρ οἱ ἐκ τῶν γεναμένων μηδενὶ ἐπιδεικνύναι· τὴν δὲ πάντως ἐωυτῇ κελεῦειν ἐπιδέξαι. 5 ὁρῶσαν δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένην ἰδέσθαι, οὕτω δὴ τὴν τροφὸν δέξαι τὸ παιδίον· τὴν δὲ καταψῶσαν τοῦ παιδίου τὴν κεφαλὴν εἶπαι ὡς καλλιστεύσει πασέων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης μεταπεσεῖν τὸ εἶδος. γαμέει δὲ δὴ μιν ἐς γάμου ὥρην ἀπικομένην Ἄγητος ὁ Ἀλκείδεω, οὗτος δὴ ὁ τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος φίλος.

61. While Cleomenes was in Aegina working for the common good of Hellas, Demaratus slandered him, not out of care for the Aeginetans, but out of jealousy and envy. Once Cleomenes returned home from Aegina, he planned to remove Demaratus from his kingship, using the following affair as a pretext against him: Ariston, king of Sparta, had married twice but had no children. He did not admit that he himself was responsible, so he married a third time. This is how it came about: he had among the Spartans a friend to whom he was especially attached. This man's wife was by far the most beautiful woman in Sparta, but she who was now most beautiful had once been the ugliest. Her nurse considered her inferior looks and how she was of wealthy people yet unattractive, and, seeing how the parents felt her appearance to be a great misfortune, she contrived to carry the child every day to the sacred precinct of Helen, which is in the place called Therapne, beyond the sacred precinct of Phoebus. Every time the nurse carried the child there, she set her beside the image and beseeched the goddess to release the child from her ugliness. Once as she was leaving the sacred precinct, it is said that a woman appeared to her and asked her what she was carrying in her arms. The nurse said she was carrying a child and the woman bade her show it to her, but she refused, saying that the

parents had forbidden her to show it to anyone. But the woman strongly bade her show it to her, and when the nurse saw how important it was to her, she showed her the child. The woman stroked the child's head and said that she would be the most beautiful woman in all Sparta. From that day her looks changed, and when she reached the time for marriage, Agetus son of Alcidas married her. This man was Ariston's friend.

62 1 τὸν δὲ Ἀρίστων ἀκνίζε ἄρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης ὁ ἔρως· μηχανᾶται δὴ τοιαύδε· αὐτὸς τε τῷ ἐταίρῳ, τοῦ ἦν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτῇ, ὑποδέκεται δωτίνην δώσειν τῶν ἐωυτοῦ πάντων ἓν, τὸ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἔλῃται, καὶ τὸν ἐταῖρον ἐωυτῷ ἐκέλευε ὡσαύτως τὴν ὁμοίην δίδοναι· ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν φοβηθεὶς ἀμφὶ τῇ γυναικί, ὀρέων ἐοῦσαν καὶ Ἀρίστωνι γυναικα, καταινέει ταῦτα· ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ ὄρκους ἐπήλασαν. 2 μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ἀρίστων ἔδωκε τοῦτο, ὅ τι δὴ ἦν, τὸ εἴλετο τῶν κειμηλίων τῶν Ἀρίστωνος ὁ Ἄγητος, καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ὁμοίην ζητέων φέρεσθαι παρ' ἐκείνου, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοῦ ἐταίρου τὴν γυναικα ἐπειρᾶτο ἀπάγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ πλὴν τούτου μούνου τὰ ἄλλα ἔφη καταινέσαι· ἀναγκαζόμενος μέντοι τῷ τε ὄρκῳ καὶ τῆς ἀπάτης τῇ παραγωγῇ ἀπειτὴ ἀπάγεσθαι.

62. So love for this woman pricked Ariston, and he contrived as follows: He promised to give to his comrade any one thing out of all he owned, whatever Agetus might choose, and he bade his comrade make him the same promise. Agetus had no fear about his wife, seeing that Ariston was already married, so he agreed and they took oaths on these terms. Ariston gave Agetus whatever it was that he chose out of all his treasures, and then, seeking equal recompense from him, tried to take the wife of his comrade. Agetus said that he had agreed to anything but that, but he was forced by his oath and by the deceitful trick to let his wife be taken.

63 1 οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὴν τρίτην ἐσηγάγετο γυναικα ὁ Ἀρίστων, τὴν δευτέρην ἀποπεμψάμενος. ἐν δὲ οἱ χρόνῳ ἐλάσσονι καὶ οὐ πληρώσασα τοὺς δέκα μῆνας ἡ γυνὴ αὐτῇ τίκτει τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Δημάρητον. 2 καὶ τίς οἱ τῶν οἰκετέων ἐν θάκῳ κατημένῳ μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐξαγγέλλει ὥς οἱ παῖς γέγονε. ὁ δὲ ἐπιστάμενός τε τὸν χρόνον τῷ ἡγάγετο τὴν γυναικα καὶ ἐπὶ δακτύλων συμβαλλόμενος τοὺς μῆνας, εἶπε ἀπομόσας “οὐκ ἂν ἐμὸς εἴη”. τοῦτο ἤκουσαν μὲν οἱ

ἔφοροι, πρῆγμα μέντοι οὐδὲν ἐποίησαντο τὸ παραυτίκα. ὁ δὲ παῖς
ἠϋξέτο, καὶ τῷ Ἀρίστωνι τὸ εἰρημένον μετέμελε· παῖδα γὰρ τὸν
Δημάρητον ἐς τὰ μάλιστά οἱ ἐνόμισε εἶναι. 3 Δημάρητον δὲ αὐτῷ
οὔνομα ἔθετο διὰ τόδε· πρότερον τούτων πανδημεῖ Σπαρτιῇται
Ἀρίστωνι, ὡς ἀνδρὶ εὐδοκιμέοντι διὰ πάντων δὴ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν
ἐν Σπάρτῃ γενομένων, ἀρὴν ἐποίησαντο παῖδα γενέσθαι.

63. In this way Ariston married his third wife, after divorcing the
second one. But his new wife gave birth to Demaratus too soon,
before ten lunar months had passed. When one of his servants
announced to him as he sat in council with the ephors that he had a
son, Ariston, knowing the time of the marriage, counted up the
months on his fingers and swore on oath, “It’s not mine.” The ephors
heard this but did not make anything of it. When the boy grew up,
Ariston regretted having said that, for he firmly believed Demaratus
to be his own son. He named him Demaratus because before his birth
all the Spartan populace had prayed that Ariston, the man most
highly esteemed out of all the kings of Sparta, might have a son.
Thus he was named Demaratus, which means “answer to the people’s
prayer.”

64 1 διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οἱ τὸ οὔνομα Δημάρητος ἐτέθη· χρόνου δὲ
προϊόντος Ἀρίστων μὲν ἀπέθανε, Δημάρητος δὲ ἔσχε τὴν βασιληίην.
ἔδεε δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, ἀνάπυστα γενόμενα ταῦτα καταπαῦσαι Δημάρητον
τῆς βασιληΐας διὰ τὰ.. Κλεομένει διεβλήθη μέγας πρότερόν τε ὁ
Δημάρητος ἀπαγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε
ἐπ’ Αἰγινήτων τοὺς μηδίσαντας διαβάνας Κλεομένους.

64. Time passed and Ariston died, so Demaratus held the
kingship. But it seems that these matters had to become known and
cause Demaratus to lose his kingship. He had already fallen out with
Cleomenes when he had brought the army back from Eleusis, and
now they were even more at odds when Cleomenes crossed over
after the Aeginetans who were Medizing.

65 1 ὁρμηθεὶς ὢν ἀποτίνυσθαι ὁ Κλεομένης συντίθεται Λευτυχίδῃ
τῷ Μενάρῳ τοῦ Ἁγίου, ἐόντι οἰκίᾳ τῆς αὐτῆς Δημαρήτω, ἐπ’ ᾧ τε,
ἦν αὐτὸν καταστήσει βασιλέα ἀντὶ Δημαρήτου, ἔνεται οἱ ἐπ’
Αἰγινήτας. 2 ὁ δὲ Λευτυχίδης ἦν ἐχθρὸς τῷ Δημαρήτῳ μάλιστα
γεγονῶς διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε· ἀρμοσαμένου Λευτυχίδεω Πέρκαλον

τὴν Χίλωνος τοῦ Δημαρμένου θυγατέρα, ὁ Δημάρητος ἐπιβουλεύσας ἀποστερέει Λευτυχίδα τοῦ γάμου, φθάσας αὐτὸς τὴν Πέρκαλον ἀρπάσας καὶ σχὼν γυναῖκα. 3 κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Λευτυχίδῃ ἡ ἔχθρη ἢ ἐς τὸν Δημάρητον ἐγεγόνεε, τότε δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κλεομένηος προθυμίας ὁ Λευτυχίδης κατόμνυται Δημαρήτῳ, φὰς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἰκνεομένως βασιλεύειν Σπαρτιητέων οὐκ ἔοντα παῖδα Ἀρίστωνος· μετὰ δὲ τὴν κατωμοσίην ἐδίδωκε, ἀνασώζων ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔπος τὸ εἶπε Ἀρίστων τότε ὅτε οἱ ἐξήγγειλε ὁ οἰκέτης παῖδα γεγονέναι, ὁ δὲ συμβαλόμενος τοὺς μῆνας ἀπώμοσε φὰς οὐκ ἑωυτοῦ μιν εἶναι. 4 τούτου δὴ ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ῥήματος ὁ Λευτυχίδης ἀπέφαινε τὸν Δημάρητον οὔτε ἐξ Ἀρίστωνος γεγονότα οὔτε ἰκνευμένως βασιλεύοντα Σπάρτης, τοὺς ἐφόρους μάρτυρας παρεχόμενος κείνους οἱ τότε ἐτύγγανον πάρεδροί τε ἔοντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα Ἀρίστωνος.

65. Cleomenes wanted revenge, so he made a deal with Leotychides son of Menares son of Agis, of the same family as Demaratus. The deal was that Leotychides would go with Cleomenes against the Aeginetans if he became king. Leotychides had already become strongly hostile to Demaratus for the following reason: Leotychides was betrothed to Percalus, daughter of Demarmenus, but Demaratus plotted and robbed him of his marriage, stealing Percalus and marrying her first. From this affair Leotychides was hostile toward Demaratus, so at Cleomenes' instigation he took an oath against him, saying that he was not king of the Spartans by right, since he was not Ariston's son. After making this oath, he prosecuted him, recalling that utterance which Ariston had made when the servant told him he had a son, and he counted up the months and swore that it was not his. Taking his stand on this remark, Leotychides declared that Demaratus was not Ariston's son and that he was not rightly king of Sparta, bringing as witnesses the ephors who had been sitting beside Ariston and heard him say this.

66 1 τέλος δὲ ἔόντων περὶ αὐτῶν νεικέων, ἔδοξε Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἐπειρέσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι εἰ Ἀρίστωνος εἴη παῖς ὁ Δημάρητος. 2 ἀνοίστου δὲ γενομένου ἐκ προνοίης τῆς Κλεομένηος ἐς τὴν Πυθίην, ἐνθαῦτα προσποιέεται Κλεομένης Κόβωνα τὸν Ἀριστοφάντου, ἄνδρα ἐν Δελφοῖσι δυναστεύοντα μέγιστον, ὁ δὲ Κόβων Περίαλλαν τὴν πρόμαντιν ἀναπεῖθει τὰ Κλεομένης ἐβούλετο

λέγεσθαι λέγειν. 3 οὕτω δὴ ἡ Πυθίη ἐπειρωτώντων τῶν θεοπρόπων ἔκρινε μὴ Ἀρίστωνος εἶναι Δημάρητον παῖδα. ὑστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ ἀνάπυστα ἐγένετο ταῦτα, καὶ Κόβων τε ἔφυγε ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ Περίαλλα ἡ πρόμαντις ἐπαύσθη τῆς τιμῆς.

66. Disputes arose over it, so the Spartans resolved to ask the oracle at Delphi if Demaratus was the son of Ariston. At Cleomenes' instigation this was revealed to the Pythia. He had won over a man of great influence among the Delphians, Cobon son of Aristophantus, and Cobon persuaded the priestess, Periallus, to say what Cleomenes wanted her to. When the ambassadors asked if Demaratus was the son of Ariston, the Pythia gave judgment that he was not. All this came to light later; Cobon was exiled from Delphi, and Periallus was deposed from her position.

67 1 κατὰ μὲν δὴ Δημάρητου τὴν κατάπαυσιν τῆς βασιλείης οὕτω ἐγένετο, ἔφυγε δὲ Δημάρητος ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐς Μήδους ἐκ τοιοῦδε ὀνειδέος. μετὰ τῆς βασιλείης τὴν κατάπαυσιν ὁ Δημάρητος ἤρχε αἰρεθεὶς ἀρχὴν. 2 ἦσαν μὲν δὴ γυμνοπαιδία, θεωμένου δὲ τοῦ Δημάρητου ὁ Λευτυχίδης γεγωνὼς ἤδη βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς ἀντ' ἐκείνου, πέμψας τὸν θεράποντα ἐπὶ γέλωτί τε καὶ λάσθῃ εἰρώτα τὸν Δημάρητον ὁκοῖόν τι εἴη τὸ ἄρχειν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν. 3 ὁ δὲ ἀλγίστας τῷ ἐπειρωτήματι εἶπε φὰς αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμφοτέρων ἤδη πεπειρῆσθαι, κεῖνον δὲ οὐ, τὴν μέντοι ἐπειρώτησιν ταύτην ἄρξειν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἢ μυρίας κακότητος ἢ μυρίας εὐδαιμονίας. ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ κατακαλυψάμενος ἦε ἐκ τοῦ θεήτρου ἐς τὰ ἐωυτοῦ οἰκία, αὐτίκα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ἔθυε τῷ Διὶ βοῦν, θύσας δὲ τὴν μητέρα ἐκάλεσε.

67. So it was concerning Demaratus' loss of the kingship, and from Sparta he went into exile among the Medes because of the following reproach: after he was deposed from the kingship, he was elected to office. When it was the time of the Gymnopaedia, Leotychides, now king in his place, saw him in the audience and, as a joke and an insult, sent a messenger to him to ask what it was like to hold office after being king. He was grieved by the question and said that he had experience of both, while Leotychides did not, and that this question would be the beginning for Sparta of either immense evil or immense good fortune. He said this, covered his head, left the

theater, and went home, where he immediately made preparations and sacrificed an ox to Zeus. Then he summoned his mother.

68 1 ἀπικομένη δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ἐσθεις ἐς τὰς χειράς οἱ τῶν σπλάγχχνων κατικέτευε, τοιάδε λέγων. “ὦ μήτερ, θεῶν σε τῶν τε ἄλλων καταπτόμενος ἰκετεύω καὶ τοῦ ἑρκείου Διὸς τοῦδε φράσαι μοι τὴν ἀληθειν, τίς μευ ἐστὶ πατὴρ ὀρθῶ λόγῳ. 2 Λευτυχίδης μὲν γὰρ ἔφη ἐν τοῖσι νείκεσι λέγων κυέουσάν σε ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς οὕτω ἐλθεῖν παρὰ Ἀρίστων· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν ματαιότερον λόγον λέγοντες φασὶ σε ἐλθεῖν παρὰ τῶν οἰκετέων τὸν ὀνοφορβόν, καὶ ἐμὲ ἐκείνου εἶναι παῖδα. 3 ἐγὼ σε ὣν μετέρχομαι τῶν θεῶν εἰπεῖν τῶληθές· οὔτε γάρ, εἴ περ πεποίηκας τι τῶν λεγομένων, μούνη δὴ πεποίηκας, μετὰ πολλέων δέ· ὃ τε λόγος πολλὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ ὡς Ἀρίστωνι σπέρμα παιδοποιὸν οὐκ ἐνῆν· τεκεῖν γὰρ ἂν οἱ καὶ τὰς προτέρας γυναικας”.

68. When she came in, he put some of the entrails in her hands and entreated her, saying, “Mother, appealing to Zeus of the household and to all the other gods, I beseech you to tell me the truth. Who is my father? Tell me truly. Leotychides said in the disputes that you were already pregnant by your former husband when you came to Ariston. Others say more foolishly that you approached to one of the servants, the ass-keeper, and that I am his son. I adjure you by the gods to speak what is true. If you have done anything of what they say, you are not the only one; you are in company with many women. There is much talk at Sparta that Ariston did not have child-bearing seed in him, or his former wives would have given him children.”

69 1 ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε, ἥ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “ὦ παῖ, ἐπεῖτε με λιτῇσι μετέρχεαι εἰπεῖν τὴν ἀληθειν, πᾶν ἐς σὲ κατειρήσεται τῶληθές. ὥς με ἠγάγετο Ἀρίστων ἐς ἐωυτοῦ, νυκτὶ τρίτῃ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἤλθέ μοι φάσμα εἰδόμενον Ἀρίστωνι, συνευνηθὲν δὲ τοὺς στεφάνους τοὺς εἶχε ἐμοὶ περιετίθεε. 2 καὶ τὸ μὲν οἰχώκεε, ἦκε δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀρίστων. ὥς δέ με εἶδε ἔχουσιν στεφάνους, εἰρώτα τίς εἶη μοι ὁ δούς· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφάμην ἐκεῖνον, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ὑπέδεκετο. ἐγὼ δὲ κατωμνύμην φαμένη αὐτὸν οὐ ποιεῖν καλῶς ἀπαρνεόμενον· ὀλίγῳ γὰρ τι πρότερον ἐλθόντα καὶ συνευνηθέντα δοῦναί μοι τοὺς στεφάνους. 3 ὀρέων δέ με κατομνυμένην ὁ Ἀρίστων ἔμαθε ὡς θεῖον

εἶη τὸ πρῆγμα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οἱ στέφανοι ἐφάνησαν ἐόντες ἐκ τοῦ ἡρώου τοῦ παρὰ τῇσι θύρῃσι τῇσι αὐλείῃσι ἰδρυμένου, τὸ καλέουσι Ἀστροβάκου, τοῦτο δὲ οἱ μάντιες τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἥρωα ἀναίρεον εἶναι. 4 οὕτω ὃ παῖ ἔχεις πᾶν, ὅσον τι καὶ βούλει πυθέσθαι· ἡ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἥρωος τούτου γέγονας, καὶ τοι πατήρ ἐστι Ἀστρόβακος ὁ ἥρως, ἡ Ἀρίστων· ἐν γάρ σε τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἀναιρέομαι. τῇ δέ σευ μάλιστα κατάπτονται οἱ ἐχθροί, λέγοντες ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρίστων, ὅτε αὐτῷ σὺ ἡγγέλθης γεγεννημένος, πολλῶν ἀκουόντων οὐ φήσειέ σε ἐωυτοῦ εἶναι (τὸν χρόνον γάρ, τοὺς δέκα μῆνας, οὐδέκω ἐξήκειν), αἰδρεῖν τῶν τοιούτων κείνος τοῦτο ἀπερρίψε τὸ ἔπος. 5 τίκτουσι γὰρ γυναῖκες καὶ ἐννεάμηνα καὶ ἐπτάμηνα, καὶ οὐ πᾶσαι δέκα μῆνας ἐκτελέσασαι· ἐγὼ δὲ σὲ ὃ παῖ ἐπτάμηνον ἔτεκον. ἔγνω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρίστων οὐ μετὰ πολλὸν χρόνον ὡς ἀνοίῃ τὸ ἔπος ἐκβάλοι τοῦτο. λόγους δὲ ἄλλους περὶ γενέσιος τῆς σεωυτοῦ μὴ δέκεο· τὰ γὰρ ἀληθέστατα πάντα ἀκήκοας. ἐκ δὲ ὀνοφορβῶν αὐτῷ τε Λευτυχίδῃ καὶ τοῖσι ταῦτα λέγουσι τίκτοιν αἱ γυναῖκες παιδας”.

69. Thus he spoke. His mother answered, “My son, since you adjure me by entreaties to speak the truth, I will speak out to you all that is true. On the third night after Ariston brought me to his house, a phantom resembling him came to me. It came and lay with me and then put on me the garlands which it had. It went away, and when Ariston came in later and saw me with the garlands, he asked who gave them to me. I said he did, but he denied it. I swore an oath that just a little while before he had come in and lain with me and given me the garlands, and I said it was not good of him to deny it. When he saw me swearing, he perceived that this was some divine affair. For the garlands had clearly come from the hero’s precinct which is established at the courtyard doors, which they call the precinct of Astrabacus, and the seers responded that this was the same hero who had come to me. Thus, my son, you have all you want to know. Either you are from this hero and Astrabacus the hero is your father, or Ariston is, for I conceived you that night. As for how your enemies chiefly attack you, saying that Ariston himself, when your birth was announced, denied in front of a large audience that you were his because the ten months had not yet been completed, he spoke an idle word, out of ignorance of such things. Some women

give birth after nine months or seven months; not all complete the ten months. I gave birth to you, my son, after seven months. A little later Ariston himself recognized that he had blurted out that speech because of foolishness. Do not believe other stories about your manner of birth. You have heard the whole truth. May the wife of Leotychides himself, and the wives of the others who say these things, give birth to children fathered by ass-keepers.”

70 1 ἡ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔλεγε, ὁ δὲ πυθόμενός τε τὰ ἐβούλετο καὶ ἐπόδια λαβὼν ἐπορεύετο ἐς Ἥλιν, τῷ λόγῳ φὰς ὥς ἐς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πορεύεται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑποτοπηθέντες Δημάρητον ὀρησμῷ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐδίωκον. 2 καὶ κως ἔφθη ἐς Ζάκυνθον διαβὰς ὁ Δημάρητος ἐκ τῆς Ἥλιδος· ἐπιδιαβάντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοῦ τε ἅπτοντο καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας αὐτοῦ ἀπαίρουνται. μετὰ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἐξεδίδουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ Ζακύνθιοι, ἐνθεῦτεν διαβαίνει ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον. ὁ δὲ ὑπεδέξατό τε αὐτὸν μεγαλῶσι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ πόλιας ἔδωκε. 3 οὕτω ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Δημάρητος καὶ τοιαύτη χρησάμενος τύχη, ἄλλα τε Λακεδαιμονίοισι συχνὰ ἔργοισι τε καὶ γνώμησι ἀπολαμπρυνθείς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα σφι ἀνελόμενος τεθρίπῳ προσέβαλε, μόνος τοῦτο πάντων δὴ τῶν γενομένων βασιλέων ἐν Σπάρτῃ ποιήσας.

70. Thus his mother spoke. After learning what he desired, Demaratus took provisions and travelled to Elis, pretending that he was going to Delphi to inquire of the oracle. But the Lacedaemonians suspected that he planned to escape and went in pursuit. Demaratus somehow went across to Zacynthus from Elis before them; the Lacedaemonians crossed over after him and laid hands on him, carrying off his servants. But the Zacynthians refused to give him up, and later he crossed from there to Asia and went to king Darius, who received him in grand style and gave him lands and cities. So Demaratus reached Asia through such chances, a man who had gained much renown in Lacedaemon by his many achievements and his wisdom, and by conferring on the state the victory in a chariot-race he had won at Olympia; he was the only king of Sparta who did this.

71 1 Λευτυχίδης δὲ ὁ Μενάρεος Δημαρήτου καταπαυσθέντος

διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλίην, καὶ οἱ γίνεται παῖς Ζευξίδημος, τὸν δὴ Κυνίσκον μετεξέτεροι Σπαρτιητέων ἐκάλεον. οὗτος ὁ Ζευξίδημος οὐκ ἐβασίλευσε Σπάρτης· πρὸ Λευτυχίδεω γὰρ τελευτᾷ, λιπὼν παῖδα Ἀρχίδημον. 2 Δευτυχίδης δὲ στερηθεὶς Ζευξιδήμου γαμέει δευτέρην γυναῖκα Εὐρυδάμην τὴν ἐοῦσαν Μενίου ἀδελφεὴν Διακτορίδεω δὲ θυγατέρα, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἔρσεν μὲν γίνεται οὐδέν, θυγάτηρ δὲ Λαμπιτώ, τὴν Ἀρχίδημος ὁ Ζευξιδήμου γαμέει δόντος αὐτῷ Λευτυχίδεω.

71. Leutychides son of Menares succeeded to the kingship after Demaratus was deposed. A son was born to him, Zeuxidemus, called by some of the Spartans Cyniscus. This Zeuxidemus never became king of Sparta, for he died before Leutychides, leaving his son Archidemus. After the loss of Zeuxidemus, Leutychides married a second wife, Eurydame, sister of Menius and daughter of Diactorides; by her he had no male offspring, but a daughter, Lampito, to whom Archidemus son of Zeuxidemus was married by Leutychides.

72 1 οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ Λευτυχίδης κατεγύρα ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀλλὰ τίσιν τοιγύνηδε τινὰ Δημαρήτῳ ἐξέτισε. ἐστρατήγησε Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐς Θεσσαλίην, παρεὼν δὲ οἱ πάντα ὑποχείρια ποιήσασθαι ἐδωροδόκησε ἀργύριον πολλόν· 2 ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ δὲ ἀλοῦς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ἐπικατήμενος χειρίδι πλέη ἀργυρίου, ἔφυγε ἐκ Σπάρτης ὑπὸ δικαστήριον ὑπαχθεὶς, καὶ τὰ οἰκία οἱ κατεσκάφη· ἔφυγε δὲ ἐς Τεγέην καὶ ἐτελεύτησε ἐν ταύτῃ.

72. But Leutychides also did not come to old age in Sparta; he was punished for his dealings with Demaratus as I will show. He led a Lacedaemonian army to Thessaly, and when he could have subdued all the country he took a great bribe. After being caught in the act of hoarding a sleeve full of silver there in the camp, he was brought before a court and banished from Sparta, and his house was destroyed. He went into exile at Tegea and died in that country.

73 1 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐγένετο χρόνῳ ὕστερον· τότε δὲ ὡς τῷ Κλεομένει ὠδώθη τὸ ἐς τὸν Δημάρητον πρῆγμα, αὐτίκα παραλαβὼν Λευτυχίδεα ἦε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγινήτας, δεινόν τινά σφι ἔγκοτον διὰ τὸν προπηλακισμόν ἔχων. 2 οὕτω δὴ οὔτε οἱ Αἰγινῆται, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν βασιλέων ἡκόντων ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἐδικαίευν ἔτι ἀντιβαίνειν, ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἄνδρας δέκα Αἰγινητέων τοὺς πλείστου ἀξίους καὶ

πλούτῳ καὶ γένει· ἦγον καὶ ἄλλους καὶ δὴ καὶ Κριόν τε τὸν Πολυκρίτου καὶ Κάσαυβον τὸν Ἀριστοκράτεος, οἳ περ εἶχον μέγιστον κράτος· ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφέας ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν παραθήκην παρατίθενται ἐς τοὺς ἐχθίστους Αἰγινήτησι Ἀθηναίους.

73. This happened long afterwards. When Cleomenes' dealings with Demaratus came off successfully, he immediately took Leutychides with him and went to punish the Aeginetans, with whom he was terribly angry because of their insulting behavior. When the Aeginetans saw that both kings had come after them, they now deemed it best to offer no further resistance; the kings chose ten men of Aegina who were most honored for wealth and lineage, among them Crius son of Polycritus and Casambus son of Aristocrates, the two most powerful men in Aegina; they carried them to Attica and gave them into the keeping of the Athenians, the bitterest foes of the Aeginetans.

74 1 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κλεομένεα ἐπαίστον γενόμενον κακοτεχνήσαντα ἐς Δημάρητον δεῖμα ἔλαβε Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ ὑπεξέσχε ἐς Θεσσαλίην. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀρκαδίην νεώτερα ἔπρησσε πρήγματα, συνιστὰς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἐπὶ τῇ Σπάρτῃ, ἄλλους τε ὅρκους προσάγων σφι ἣ μὲν ἔψεσθαι σφέας αὐτῷ τῇ ἂν ἐξηγήηται, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Νώνακριν πόλιν πρόθυμος ἦν τῶν Ἀρκάδων τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἀγινέων ἐξορκοῦν τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ. 2 ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλιν λέγεται εἶναι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔστι τοιόνδε τι· ὕδωρ ὀλίγον φαινόμενον ἐκ πέτρης στάζει ἐς ἄγκος, τὸ δὲ ἄγκος αἵμασιῆς τις περιθέει κύκλος. ἡ δὲ Νώνακρις, ἐν τῇ ἣ πηγὴ αὕτη τυγχάνει ἐοῦσα, πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας πρὸς Φενεᾷ.

74. Later Cleomenes' treacherous plot against Demaratus became known; he was seized with fear of the Spartans and secretly fled to Thessaly. From there he came to Arcadia and stirred up disorder, uniting the Arcadians against Sparta; among his methods of binding them by oath to follow him wherever he led was his zeal to bring the chief men of Arcadia to the city of Nonacris and make them swear by the water of the Styx. Near this city is said to be the Arcadian water of the Styx, and this is its nature: it is a stream of small appearance, dropping from a cliff into a pool; a wall of stones runs round the pool. Nonacris, where this spring rises, is a city of Arcadia near

Pheneus.

75 1 μαθόντες δὲ Κλεομένεα Λακεδαιμόνιοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, κατῆγον αὐτὸν δέισαντες ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι ἐς Σπάρτην τοῖσι καὶ πρότερον ἦρχε. κατελθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ὑπέλαβε μανίη νοῦσος, ἐόντα καὶ πρότερον ὑπομαργότερον· ὅκως γὰρ τεῶ ἐντύχοι Σπαρτιητέων, ἐνέχραυε ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ σκῆπτρον. 2 ποιέοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα καὶ παραφρονήσαντα ἔδῃσαν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐν ξύλῳ· ὁ δὲ δεθείς τὸν φύλακον μουνωθέντα ἰδὼν τῶν ἄλλων αἰτέει μάχαιραν· οὐ βουλομένου δὲ τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ φυλάκου διδόναι ἀπέειλε τὰ μιν αὖτις ποιήσει, ἐς ὃ δέισας τὰς ἀπειλὰς ὁ φύλακος (ἦν γὰρ τῶν τις εἰλωτέων) δίδοι οἱ μάχαιραν. 3 Κλεομένης δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸν σίδηρον ἄρχετο ἐκ τῶν κνημέων ἐωυτὸν λωβώμενος· ἐπιτάμνων γὰρ κατὰ μῆκος τὰς σάρκας προέβαινε ἐκ τῶν κνημέων ἐς τοὺς μηρούς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μηρῶν ἐς τε τὰ ἰσχία καὶ τὰς λαπάρας, ἐς ὃ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα ἀπίκετο, καὶ ταύτην καταχορδεύων ἀπέθανε τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ, ὥς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσι Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι τὴν Πυθίην ἀνέγνωσε τὰ περὶ Δημαρήτου λέγειν γενόμενα, ὥς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μοῦνοι λέγουσι, διότι ἐς Ἐλευσίνα ἐσβαλὼν ἔκειρε τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν, ὥς δὲ Ἀργεῖοι, ὅτι ἐξ ἱροῦ αὐτῶν τοῦ Ἄργου Ἀργείων τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης καταγινέων κατέκοπτε καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄλσος ἐν ἀλογίῃ ἔχων ἐνέπρησε.

75. When the Lacedaemonians learned that Cleomenes was doing this, they took fright and brought him back to Sparta to rule on the same terms as before. Cleomenes had already been not entirely in his right mind, and on his return from exile a mad sickness fell upon him: any Spartan that he happened to meet he would hit in the face with his staff. For doing this, and because he was out of his mind, his relatives bound him in the stocks. When he was in the stocks and saw that his guard was left alone, he demanded a dagger; the guard at first refused to give it, but Cleomenes threatened what he would do to him when he was freed, until the guard, who was a helot, was frightened by the threats and gave him the dagger. Cleomenes took the weapon and set about slashing himself from his shins upwards; from the shin to the thigh he cut his flesh lengthways, then from the thigh to the hip and the sides, until he reached the belly, and cut it into strips; thus he died, as most of the Greeks say, because he persuaded the Pythian

priestess to tell the tale of Demaratus. The Athenians alone say it was because he invaded Eleusis and laid waste the precinct of the gods. The Argives say it was because when Argives had taken refuge after the battle in their temple of Argus he brought them out and cut them down, then paid no heed to the sacred grove and set it on fire.

76 1 Κλεομένει γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐχρήσθη Ἄργος αἰρήσειν· ἐπεῖτε δὲ Σπαρτιήτας ἄγων ἀπῖκετο ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἐρασῖνον, ὃς λέγεται ῥέειν ἐκ τῆς Στυμφαλίδος λίμνης· τὴν γὰρ δὴ λίμνην ταύτην ἐς χάσμα ἀφανὲς ἐκδιδούσαν ἀναφαίνεσθαι ἐν Ἀργεῖ, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἤδη τοῦτο ὑπ' Ἀργείων Ἐρασῖνον καλέεσθαι· ἀπικόμενος δ' ὢν ὁ Κλεομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἐσφαγιάζετο αὐτῷ· 2 καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐκαλλιέρεε σὺδαμῶς διαβαίνειν μιν, ἄγασθαι μὲν ἔφη τοῦ Ἐρασίνου οὐ προδιδόντος τοὺς πολίτας, Ἀργεῖους μὲντοι οὐδ' ὥς χαιρήσειν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξαναχωρήσας τὴν στρατιὴν κατήγαγε ἐς Θυρέην, σφαγιασάμενος δὲ τῇ θαλάσσει ταῦρον πλοίοισι σφέας ἤγαγε ἔς τε τὴν Τυρυνθίην χώραν καὶ Ναυπλίην.

76. As Cleomenes was seeking divination at Delphi, the oracle responded that he would take Argos. When he came with Spartans to the river Erasinus, which is said to flow from the Stymphalian lake (this lake issues into a cleft out of sight and reappears at Argos, and from that place onwards the stream is called by the Argives Erasinus) — when Cleomenes came to this river he offered sacrifices to it. The omens were in no way favorable for his crossing, so he said that he honored the Erasinus for not betraying its countrymen, but even so the Argives would not go unscathed. Then he withdrew and led his army seaward to Thyrea, where he sacrificed a bull to the sea and carried his men on shipboard to the region of Tiryns and to Nauplia.

77 1 Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐβοήθειον πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν· ὥς δὲ ἀγχοῦ μὲν ἐγίνοντο τῆς Τίρυνθος, χώρῳ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κεῖται Ἥσιπεια οὖνομα, μεταίχμιον οὐ μέγα ἀπολιπόντες ἕζοντο ἀντίοι τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μάχην οὐκ ἐφοβέοντο, ἀλλὰ μὴ δόλῳ αἰρεθέωσι· 2 καὶ γὰρ δὴ σφι ἐς τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα εἶχε τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐπίκοινα ἔχρησε ἡ Πυθίη τούτοις τε καὶ Μιλησίοις, λέγον ὧδε. Ἄλλ' ὅταν ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρσενα νικήσασα ἐξέλασῃ καὶ κῦδος ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἄρῃται, πολλὰς

Ἀργείων ἀμφιδρυφέας τότε θήσει. ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἀνθρώπων “δεινὸς ὄφις τριέλικτος ἀπώλετο δουρὶ δαμασθεὶς”. 3 ταῦτα δὴ πάντα συνελθόντα τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι φόβον παρεῖχε. καὶ δὴ σφι πρὸς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τῷ κήρυκι τῶν πολεμίων χρᾶσθαι, δόξαν δέ σφι ἐποίεον τοιόνδε· ὅκως ὁ Σπαρτιήτης κῆρυξ προσημαῖνοι τι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἐποίευν καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο.

77. The Argives heard of this and came to the coast to do battle with him. When they had come near Tiryns and were at the place called Hesipeia, they encamped opposite the Lacedaemonians, leaving only a little space between the armies. There the Argives had no fear of fair fighting, but rather of being captured by a trick. This was the affair referred to by that oracle which the Pythian priestess gave to the Argives and Milesians in common, which ran thus: "When the female defeats the male And drives him away, winning glory in Argos, She will make many Argive women tear their cheeks. As someday one of men to come will say: The dread thrice-coiled serpent died tamed by the spear. " All these things coming together spread fear among the Argives. Therefore they resolved to defend themselves by making use of the enemies' herald, and they performed their resolve in this way: whenever the Spartan herald signalled anything to the Lacedaemonians, the Argives did the same thing.

78 1 μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ποιεῦντας τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ὁκοῖόν τι ὁ σφέτερος κῆρυξ σημήνειε, παραγγέλλει σφι, ὅταν σημήνη ὁ κῆρυξ ποιέεσθαι ἄριστον, τότε ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα χωρέειν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους. 2 ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπιτελέα ἐκ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· ἄριστον γὰρ ποιευμένοισι τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι ἐκ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπεκέατο, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφόνευσαν αὐτῶν, πολλῶ δέ τι πλεῦνας ἐς τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Ἄργου καταφυγόντας περὶζόμενοι ἐφύλασσον.

78. When Cleomenes saw that the Argives did whatever was signalled by his herald, he commanded that when the herald cried the signal for breakfast, they should then put on their armor and attack the Argives. The Lacedaemonians performed this command, and when they assaulted the Argives they caught them at breakfast in obedience to the herald's signal; they killed many of them, and far more fled for refuge into the grove of Argus, which the Lacedaemonians encamped around and guarded.

79 1 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐποίεε τοιόνδε. ἔχων αὐτομόλους ἄνδρας καὶ πυνθανόμενος τούτων, ἐξεκάλεε πέμπων κήρυκα ὀνομαστί λέγων τῶν Ἀργείων τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἀπεργγμένους, ἐξεκάλεε δὲ φὰς αὐτῶν ἔχειν τὰ ἄποινα. ἄποινα δὲ ἐστὶ Πελοποννησίοισι δύο

μνέαι τεταγμένοι κατ' ἄνδρα αἰχμάλωτον ἐκτίνειν. κατὰ πεντήκοντα δὴ ὧν τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς ἐκάστους ἐκκαλεύμενος ὁ Κλεομένης ἔκτεινε. 2 ταῦτα δέ κως γινόμενα ἐλελήθεε τοὺς λοιποὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ τεμένει· ἅτε γὰρ πυκνοῦ ἐόντος τοῦ ἄλσεος, οὐκ ὥρων οἱ ἐντὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ὃ τι ἔπρασσον, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτῶν τις ἀναβάς ἐπὶ δένδρον κατεῖδε τὸ ποιούμενον. οὐκὼν δὴ ἔτι καλούμενοι ἐξήσαν.

79. Then Cleomenes' plan was this: He had with him some deserters from whom he learned the names, then he sent a herald calling by name the Argives that were shut up in the sacred precinct and inviting them to come out, saying that he had their ransom. (Among the Peloponnesians there is a fixed ransom of two minae to be paid for every prisoner.) So Cleomenes invited about fifty Argives to come out one after another and murdered them. Somehow the rest of the men in the temple precinct did not know this was happening, for the grove was thick and those inside could not see how those outside were faring, until one of them climbed a tree and saw what was being done. Thereafter they would not come out at the herald's call.

80 1 ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκέλευε πάντα τινὰ τῶν εἰλωτέων περιένειν ὕλην τὸ ἄλσος, τῶν δὲ πειθομένων ἐνέπρησε τὸ ἄλσος. καιομένου δὲ ἤδη ἐπείρετο τῶν τινα αὐτομόλων τίνος εἶη θεῶν τὸ ἄλσος· ὁ δὲ ἔφη Ἀργου εἶναι. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσε, ἀναστενάζας μέγα εἶπε “ὦ Ἀπολλὼν χρηστήριε, ἧ μεγάλως με ἠπάτηκας φάμενος Ἀργὸς αἰρήσειν· συμβάλλομαι δ' ἐξήκειν μοι τὸ χρηστήριον”.

80. Then Cleomenes bade all the helots pile wood about the grove; they obeyed, and he burnt the grove. When the fire was now burning, he asked of one of the deserters to what god the grove belonged; the man said it was of Argos. When he heard that, he groaned aloud, “Apollo, god of oracles, you have gravely deceived me by saying that I would take Argos; this, I guess, is the fulfillment of that prophecy.”

81 1 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κλεομένης τὴν μὲν πλέω στρατιὴν ἀπῆκε ἀπιέναι ἐς Σπάρτην, χιλίους δὲ αὐτὸς λαβὼν τοὺς ἀριστέας ἦε ἐς τὸ Ἥραιον θύσων· βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν θύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ ἱρεὺς ἀπηγόρευε, φὰς οὐκ ὅσιον εἶναι ξείνῳ αὐτόθι θύειν. ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης τὸν ἱρέα ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἰλωτας ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἀπάγοντας

μαστιγῶσαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔθυσσε· ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἀπήιε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην.

81. Then Cleomenes sent most of his army back to Sparta, while he himself took a thousand of the best warriors and went to the temple of Hera to sacrifice. When he wished to sacrifice at the altar the priest forbade him, saying that it was not holy for a stranger to sacrifice there. Cleomenes ordered the helots to carry the priest away from the altar and whip him, and he performed the sacrifice. After doing this, he returned to Sparta.

82 1 νοστήσαντα δέ μιν ὑπῆγον οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐφόρους, φάμενοί μιν δωροδοκήσαντα οὐκ ἐλεῖν τὸ Ἄργος, παρεὼν εὐπετέως μιν ἐλεῖν. ὁ δὲ σφι ἔλεξε, οὔτε εἰ ψευδόμενος οὔτε εἰ ἀληθέα λέγων, ἔχω σαφηνέως εἶπαι, ἔλεξε δ' ὧν φάμενος, ἐπεῖτε δὴ τὸ τοῦ Ἀργου ἱρὸν εἶλον, δοκέειν οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμόν· πρὸς ὧν ταῦτα οὐ δικαιοῦν πειρᾶν τῆς πόλιος, πρὶν γε δὴ ἱροῖσι χρήσεται καὶ μάθῃ εἶτε οἱ ὁ θεὸς παραδιδόῃ εἶτε ἐμποδὼν ἔστηκε· 2 καλλιερειμένῳ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῶν στηθέων φλόγα πυρὸς ἐκλάμψαι, μαθεῖν δὲ αὐτὸς οὕτω τὴν ἀτρεκείην, ὅτι οὐκ αἰρέει τὸ Ἄργος· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐξέλαμψε, αἰρέειν ἂν κατ' ἄκρης τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ τῶν στηθέων δὲ λάμψαντος πᾶν οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ὅσον ὁ θεὸς ἐβούλετο γενέσθαι. ταῦτα λέγων πιστά τε καὶ οἰκότα ἐδόκεε Σπαρτιῆτησι λέγειν, καὶ διέφυγε πολλὸν τοὺς διώκοντας.

82. But after his return his enemies brought him before the ephors, saying that he had been bribed not to take Argos when he might have easily taken it. Cleomenes alleged (whether falsely or truly, I cannot rightly say; but this he alleged in his speech) that he had supposed the god's oracle to be fulfilled by his taking of the temple of Argus; therefore he had thought it best not to make any attempt on the city before he had learned from the sacrifices whether the god would deliver it to him or withstand him; when he was taking omens in Hera's temple a flame of fire had shone forth from the breast of the image, and so he learned the truth of the matter, that he would not take Argos. If the flame had come out of the head of the image, he would have taken the city from head to foot utterly; but its coming from the breast signified that he had done as much as the god willed

to happen. This plea of his seemed to the Spartans to be credible and reasonable, and he far outdistanced the pursuit of his accusers.

83 1 Ἄργος δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχηρώθη οὕτω ὥστε οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτῶν ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἄρχοντές τε καὶ διέποντες, ἐς ὃ ἐπήβησαν οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων παῖδες· ἔπειτα σφέας οὗτοι ἀνακτώμενοι ὀπίσω ἐς ἑωυτοὺς τὸ Ἄργος ἐξέβαλον· ἐξωθεύμενοι δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι μάχη ἔσχον Τίρυνθα. 2 τέως μὲν δὴ σφι ἦν ἄρθμια ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους ἦλθε ἀνὴρ μάντις Κλέανδρος, γένος ἐὼν Φιγαλεὺς ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας· οὗτος τοὺς δούλους ἀνέγνωσε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι δεσπότησι. ἐκ τούτου δὴ πόλεμός σφι ἦν ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνόν, ἐς ὃ δὴ μόγις οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐπεκράτησαν.

83. But Argos was so wholly deprived of men that their slaves took possession of all affairs, ruling and governing until the sons of the slain men grew up. Then they recovered Argos for themselves and cast out the slaves; when they were driven out, the slaves took possession of Tiryns by force. For a while they were at peace with each other; but then there came to the slaves a prophet, Cleander, a man of Phigalea in Arcadia by birth; he persuaded the slaves to attack their masters. From that time there was a long-lasting war between them, until with difficulty the Argives got the upper hand.

84 1 Ἀργεῖοι μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα Κλεομέnea φασὶ μανέντα ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς· αὐτοὶ δὲ Σπαρτιῆται φασὶ ἐκ δαιμονίου μὲν οὐδενὸς μανῆναι Κλεομέnea, Σκύθησι δὲ ὁμιλήσαντά μιν ἀκρητοπότην γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκ τούτου μανῆναι. 2 Σκύθας γὰρ τοὺς νομάδας, ἐπεῖτε σφι Δαρεῖον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν χώραν, μετὰ ταῦτα μεμονέναι μιν τίσασθαι, πέμψαντας δὲ ἐς Σπάρτην συμμαχίην τε ποιέεσθαι καὶ συντίθεσθαι ὡς χρεὸν εἶη αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Σκύθας παρὰ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν πειρᾶν ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσβάλλειν, σφέας δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιῆτας κελεύειν ἐξ Ἐφέσου ὀρμωμένους ἀναβαίνειν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀπαντᾶν. 3 Κλεομέnea δὲ λέγουσι ἠκόντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπὶ ταῦτα ὁμιλέειν σφι μεζόνως, ὁμιλέοντα δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἰκνεομένου μαθεῖν τὴν ἀκρητοποσίην παρ' αὐτῶν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ μανῆναί μιν νομίζουσι Σπαρτιῆται. ἔκ τε τούτου, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπεὰν ζωρότερον βούλωνται πιεῖν, Ἐπισκύθισον λέγουσι. οὕτω δὴ Σπαρτιῆται τὰ περὶ Κλεομέnea λέγουσι· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ τίσιν ταύτην ὁ Κλεομένης Δημαρήτῳ ἐκτίσαι.

84. The Argives say this was the reason Cleomenes went mad and met an evil end; the Spartans themselves say that Cleomenes' madness arose from no divine agent, but that by consorting with Scythians he became a drinker of strong wine, and the madness came from this. The nomadic Scythians, after Darius had invaded their land, were eager for revenge, so they sent to Sparta and made an alliance. They agreed that the Scythians would attempt to invade Media by way of the river Phasis, and they urged the Spartans to set out and march inland from Ephesus and meet the Scythians. They say that when the Scythians had come for this purpose, Cleomenes kept rather close company with them, and by consorting with them more than was fitting he learned from them to drink strong wine. The Spartans consider him to have gone mad from this. Ever since, as they themselves say, whenever they desire a strong drink they call for "a Scythian cup." Such is the Spartan story of Cleomenes; but to my thinking it was for what he did to Demaratus that he was punished thus.

85 1 τελευτήσαντος δὲ Κλεομένεος ὥς ἐπύθοντο Αἰγινῆται, ἔπεμπον ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους καταβωσομένους Λευτυχίδεω περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνησι ὀμήρων ἐχομένων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δικαστήριον συναγαγόντες ἔγνωσαν περιυβρίσθαι Αἰγινήτας ὑπὸ Λευτυχίδεω, καὶ μιν κατέκριναν ἔκδοτον ἄγεσθαι ἐς Αἶγιναν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνησι ἐχομένων ἀνδρῶν. 2 μελλόντων δὲ ἄγειν τῶν Αἰγινήτεων τὸν Λευτυχίδα, εἶπε σφι Θεασίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπεος, ἐὼν ἐν Σπάρτῃ δόκιμος ἀνὴρ, "τί βουλευέσθε ποιεῖν, ἄνδρες Αἰγινῆται; τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σπαρτητέων ἔκδοτον γενόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιητέων ἄγειν; εἰ νῦν ὀργῇ χρεώμενοι ἔγνωσαν οὕτω Σπαρτιῆται, ὅκως ἐξ ὑστέρης μὴ τι ὑμῖν, ἣν ταῦτα πρήσσητε, πανώλεθρον κακὸν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐμβάλωσι". 3 ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Αἰγινῆται ἔσχοντο τῆς ἀγωγῆς, ὁμολογίῃ δὲ ἐχρήσαντο τοιγδε, ἐπισπόμενον Λευτυχίδα ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀποδοῦναι Αἰγινήτησι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

85. When the Aeginetans heard that Cleomenes was dead, they sent messengers to Sparta to cry out against Leutychides concerning the hostages that were held at Athens. The Lacedaemonians then assembled a court and gave judgment that Leutychides had done violence to the Aeginetans; and they condemned him to be given up

and carried to Aegina in requital for the men that were held at Athens. But when the Aeginetans were about to carry Leutychides away, a man of repute at Sparta, Theasides son of Leoprepes, said to them, “Men of Aegina, what are you planning to do? To have the king of the Spartans given up to you by the citizens and carry him away? If the Spartans have now so judged in their anger, see that they do not bring utter destruction upon your country if you do this.” The Aeginetans heard this and refrained from carrying the king away, and made an agreement that Leutychides should go with them to Athens and restore the men to the Aeginetans.

86 1 ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενος Λευτυχίδης ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπαίτεε τὴν παραθήκην, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι προφάσιας εἶλκον οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀποδοῦναι, φάντες δύο σφέας ἐόντας βασιλέας παραθέσθαι καὶ οὐ δικαιοῦν τῷ ἑτέρῳ ἄνευ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀποδιδόναι· 86A. οὐ φαμένων δὲ ἀποδώσειν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔλεξε σφι Λευτυχίδης τάδε. “ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ποιεέτε μὲν ὁκότερα βούλεσθε αὐτοί· καὶ γὰρ ἀποδιδόντες ποιεέτε ὅσια, καὶ μὴ ἀποδιδόντες τὰ ἐναντία τούτων· ὁκοῖον μέντοι τι ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ συνηνείχθη γενέσθαι περὶ παρακαταθήκης, βούλομαι ὑμῖν εἶπαι. 2 λέγομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Σπαρτιῆται γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι κατὰ τρίτην γενεὴν τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέο Γλαῦκον Ἐπικύδεος παῖδα· τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα φαμὲν τά τε ἄλλα πάντα περιήκειν τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀκούειν ἄριστα δικαιοσύνης περὶ πάντων ὅσοι τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οἴκεον. 3 συνενειχθῆναι δέ οἱ ἐν χρόνῳ ἱκνευμένῳ τάδε λέγομεν. ἄνδρα Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σπάρτην βούλεσθαι οἱ ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους προῖσχύμενον τοιάδε. “εἰμὶ μὲν Μιλήσιος, ἦκω δὲ τῆς σῆς Γλαῦκε βουλόμενος δικαιοσύνης ἀπολαῦσαι. 4 ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα, ἐν δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίῃν τῆς σῆς δικαιοσύνης ἦν λόγος πολλός, ἐμεωυτῷ λόγους ἐδίδουν καὶ ὅτι ἐπικίνδυνος ἐστὶ αἰεὶ κοτε ἢ Ἰωνίῃ, ἢ δὲ Πελοπόννησος ἀσφαλέως ἰδρυμένη, καὶ διότι χρήματα οὐδαμὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐστὶ ὁρᾶν ἔχοντας. 5 ταῦτά τε ὧν ἐπιλεγομένῳ καὶ βουλευομένῳ ἔδοξε μοι τὰ ἡμίσεα πάσης τῆς οὐσίης ἐξαργυρώσαντα θέσθαι παρὰ σέ, εὖ ἐξεπισταμένῳ ὥς μοι κείμενα ἔσται παρὰ σοὶ σόα. σὺ δὴ μοι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δέξαι καὶ τάδε τὰ σύμβολα σῶζε λαβών· ὃς δ' ἂν ἔχων ταῦτα ἀπαιτέῃ, τούτῳ ἀποδοῦναι”. 86B. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Μιλήτου ἦκων ξεῖνος τοσαῦτα ἔλεξε, Γλαῦκος δὲ ἐδέξατο

τὴν παρακαταθήκην ἐπὶ τῷ εἰρημένῳ λόγῳ. χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἦλθον εἰς Σπάρτην τούτου τοῦ παραθεμένου τὰ χρήματα οἱ παῖδες, ἐλθόντες δὲ εἰς λόγους τῷ Γλαύκῳ καὶ ἀποδεικνύντες τὰ σύμβολα ἀπαίτεον τὰ χρήματα· 2 ὁ δὲ διωθέετο ἀντυποκρινόμενος τοιαύδε. “οὔτε μέμνημαι τὸ πρῆγμα οὔτε με περιφέρει οὐδὲν εἰδέναι τούτων τῶν ὑμεῖς λέγετε, βούλομαι τε ἀναμνησθεῖς ποιέειν πᾶν τὸ δίκαιον· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἔλαβον, ὀρθῶς ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ εἴ γε ἀρχὴν μὴ ἔλαβον, νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἑλλήνων χρήσομαι ἐς ὑμέας. ταῦτα ὧν ὑμῖν ἀναβάλλομαι κυρώσειν ἐς τέταρτον μῆνα ἀπὸ τοῦδε”. 86C. οἱ μὲν δὴ Μιλήσιοι συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὥς ἀπεστερημένοι τῶν χρημάτων, Γλαῦκος δὲ ἐπορεύετο εἰς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστήριῳ. ἐπειρωτῶντα δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ὄρκῳ τὰ χρήματα λήσεται, ἡ Πυθίη μετέρχεται τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι. 2 Γλαῦκ’ Ἐπικυδεΐδη, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον οὕτω ὄρκῳ νικῆσαι καὶ χρήματα λήσασθαι. ὅμνυ, ἐπεὶ θάνατός γε καὶ εὖορκον μένει ἄνδρα. ἀλλ’ ὄρκου πάς ἐστίν, ἀνώνυμος, οὐδ’ ἐπὶ χεῖρες οὐδὲ πόδες· κραιπνὸς δὲ μετέρχεται, εἰς ὃ κε πᾶσαν συμμάρψας ὀλέση γενεὴν καὶ οἶκον ἅπαντα. ἀνδρὸς δ’ εὖορκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀμείνων. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Γλαῦκος συγγνώμην τὸν θεὸν παραιτέετο αὐτῷ ἴσχειν τῶν ῥηθέντων. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἔφη τὸ πειρηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι ἴσον δύνασθαι. 86D. Γλαῦκος μὲν δὴ μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς Μιλησίους ξείνους ἀποδιδόει σφί τὰ χρήματα. τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκα ὁ λόγος ὅδε ὧς Ἀθηναῖοι ὀρμήθη λέγεσθαι ἐς ὑμέας, εἰρήσεται· Γλαύκου νῦν οὔτε τι ἀπόγονον ἐστὶ οὐδὲν οὔτ’ ἰστίῃ οὐδεμία νομιζομένη εἶναι Γλαύκου, ἐκτέτριπται τε πρόρριζος ἐκ Σπάρτης. οὕτω ἀγαθὸν μηδὲ διανοέεσθαι περὶ παρακαταθήκης ἄλλο γε ἢ ἀπαιτεόντων ἀποδιδόναι”.

86. When Leutychides came to Athens and demanded back the hostages, the Athenians were unwilling to give them back and made excuses, saying that two kings had given them the trust and they deemed it wrong to restore it to one without the other. 86A. When the Athenians refused to give them back, Leutychides said to them: “Men of Athens, do whichever thing you desire. If you give them back, you do righteously; if you do not give them back, you do the opposite. But I want to tell you the story of what happened at Sparta in the matter of a trust. We Spartans say that three generations ago

there was at Lacedaemon one Glaucus, the son of Epicydes. We say that this man added to his other excellences a reputation for justice above all men who at that time dwelt in Lacedaemon. But we say that at the fitting time this befell him: There came to Sparta a certain man of Miletus, who desired to have a talk with Glaucus and made him this offer: 'I am a Milesian, and I have come to have the benefit of your justice, Glaucus. Since there is much talk about your justice throughout all the rest of Hellas, and even in Ionia, I considered the fact that Ionia is always in danger while the Peloponnese is securely established, and nowhere in Ionia are the same men seen continuing in possession of wealth. Considering and taking counsel concerning these matters, I resolved to turn half of my property into silver and deposit it with you, being well assured that it will lie safe for me in your keeping. Accept the money for me, and take and keep these tokens; restore the money to whoever comes with the same tokens and demands it back.' 86B. Thus spoke the stranger who had come from Miletus, and Glaucus received the trust according to the agreement. After a long time had passed, the sons of the man who had deposited the money came to Sparta; they spoke with Glaucus, showing him the tokens and demanding the money back. But Glaucus put them off and answered in turn: 'I do not remember the matter, and nothing of what you say carries my mind back. Let me think; I wish to do all that is just. If I took the money, I will duly restore it; if I never took it at all, I will deal with you according to the customs of the Greeks. I will put off making my decision for you until the fourth month from this day.' 86C. So the Milesians went away in sorrow, as men robbed of their possessions; but Glaucus journeyed to Delphi to question the oracle. When he asked the oracle whether he should seize the money under oath, the Pythian priestess threatened him in these verses: "Glaucus son of Epicydes, it is more profitable now To prevail by your oath and seize the money. Swear, for death awaits even the man who swears true. But Oath has a son, nameless; he is without hands Or feet, but he pursues swiftly, until he catches And destroys all the family and the entire house. The line of a man who swears true is better later on. " When Glaucus heard this, he entreated the god to pardon him for what he had said. The priestess answered that to tempt the god and to do the deed had the

same effect. 86D. So Glaucus summoned the Milesian strangers and gave them back their money. But hear now, Athenians, why I began to tell you this story: there is today no descendant of Glaucus, nor any household that bears Glaucus' name; he has been utterly rooted out of Sparta. So good is it not even to think anything concerning a trust except giving it back on demand!"

87 1 Λευτυχίδης μὲν εἶπας ταῦτα, ὥς οἱ οὐδὲ οὕτω ἐσήκουον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπαλλάσσετο· οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται, πρὶν τῶν πρότερον ἀδικημάτων δοῦναι δίκας τῶν ἐς Ἀθηναίους ὕβρισαν Θηβαίοισι χαριζόμενοι, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε. μεμφόμενοι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ ἀξιοῦντες ἀδικέεσθαι, ὥς τιμωρησόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρεσκευάζοντο· καὶ ἦν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι πεντετηρὶς ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ, λοχήσαντες ὧν τὴν θεωρίδα νέα εἶλον πλήρεα ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Ἀθηναίων, λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔδησαν.

87. Thus spoke Leutychides; but even so the Athenians would not listen to him, and he departed. The Aeginetans, before paying the penalty for the violence they had done to the Athenians to please the Thebans, acted as follows: blaming the Athenians and deeming themselves wronged, they prepared to take vengeance on the Athenians, who were now celebrating a quinquennial festival at Sunium. The Aeginetans set an ambush and captured the sacred ship, with many leading Athenians on board, and put in prison the men they seized.

88 1 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ παθόντες ταῦτα πρὸς Αἰγινητέων οὐκέτι ἀνεβάλλοντο μὴ οὐ τὸ πᾶν μηχανήσασθαι ἐπ' Αἰγινήτησι. καὶ ἦν γὰρ Νικόδρομος Κνοίθου καλεόμενος ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, οὗτος μεμφόμενος μὲν τοῖσι Αἰγινήτησι προτέρην ἑαυτοῦ ἐξέλασιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου, μαθὼν δὲ τότε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀναρτημένους ἔρδειν Αἰγινήτας κακῶς, συντίθεται Ἀθηναίοισι προδοσίην Αἰγίνης, φράσας ἐν τῇ τε ἡμέρῃ ἐπιχειρήσει καὶ ἐκείνους ἐς τὴν ἡκεῖν δεήσει βοηθέοντας.

88. Suffering this from the Aeginetans, the Athenians no longer put off devising all mischief against Aegina. There was a notable man in Aegina, Nicodromus son of Cnoethus by name, who held a grudge against the Aeginetans for his former banishment from the island. When he learned that the Athenians were now set upon

harming the Aeginetans, he agreed to betray Aegina to the Athenians, naming the day when he would make the attempt and when they must come to aid him.

89 1 μετὰ ταῦτα καταλαμβάνει μὲν κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο Ἀθηναίοισι ὁ Νικόδρομος τὴν παλαιὴν καλεομένην πόλιν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐ παραγίνονται ἐς δέον· οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχον ἐοῦσαι νέες σφι ἀξιόμαχοι τῇσι Αἰγινητέων συμβαλεῖν. ἐν ᾧ ὧν Κορινθίων ἐδέοντο χρῆσαι σφίσι νέας, ἐν τούτῳ διεφθάρη τὰ πρήγματα. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἦσαν γάρ σφι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον φίλοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, Ἀθηναίοισι διδοῦσι δεομένοισι εἴκοσι νέας, διδοῦσι δὲ πενταδράχμους ἀποδόμενοι· δωρεὴν γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οὐκ ἐξῆν δοῦναι. ταύτας τε δὴ λαβόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τὰς σφετέρας, πληρώσαντες ἑβδομήκοντα νέας τὰς ἀπάσας, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Αἶγιναν καὶ ὑστέρησαν ἡμέρη μιῇ τῆς συγκειμένης.

89. Later Nicodromus, according to his agreement with the Athenians, took possession of the Old City, as it was called; but the Athenians were not there at the right time, for they did not have ships worthy to fight the Aeginetans. While they were asking the Corinthians to lend them ships, the affair was ruined. The Corinthians at that time were their close friends, so they consented to the Athenians' plea and gave them twenty ships, at a price of five drachmas apiece; by their law they could not make a free gift of them. Taking these ships and their own, the Athenians manned seventy in all and sailed for Aegina, but they came a day later than the time agreed.

90 1 Νικόδρομος δέ, ὥς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὸν καιρὸν οὐ παρεγίνοντο, ἐς πλοῖον ἐσβάς ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης· σὺν δέ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῶν Αἰγινητέων εἶποντο, τοῖσι Ἀθηναῖοι Σούνιον οἰκῆσαι ἔδοσαν. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οὗτοι ὁρμώμενοι ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἤγον τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Αἰγινήτας.

90. When the Athenians did not show up at the right time, Nicodromus took ship and escaped from Aegina. Other Aeginetans followed him, and the Athenians gave them Sunium to dwell in; setting out from there they harried the Aeginetans of the island.

91 1 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὕστερον ἐγίνετο. Αἰγινητέων δὲ οἱ παχέες ἐπαναστάντος τοῦ δήμου σφι ἅμα Νικοδρόμῳ ἐπεκράτησαν, καὶ

ἔπειτα σφέας χειρωσάμενοι ἐξῆγον ἀπολέοντες. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ ἄγος σφι ἐγένετο, τὸ ἐκθύσασθαι οὐκ οἰοί τε ἐγένοντο ἐπιμηχανώμενοι, ἀλλ' ἔφθησαν ἐκπεσόντες πρότερον ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἢ σφι ἦλεον γενέσθαι τὴν θεόν. 2 ἑπτακοσίους γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου ζωγρήσαντες ἐξῆγον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, εἷς δέ τις τούτων ἐκφυγὼν τὰ δεσμὰ καταφεύγει πρὸς πρόθυρα Δήμητρος θεσμοφόρου, ἐπιλαμβανόμενος δὲ τῶν ἐπισπαστήρων εἶχετο· οἱ δὲ ἐπέιτε μιν ἀποσπάσαι οὐκ οἰοί τε ἀπέλκοντες ἐγίνοντο, ἀποκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἤγον οὕτω, αἱ χεῖρες δὲ ἐκεῖναι ἐμπεφυκυῖαι ἦσαν τοῖσι ἐπισπαστῆρσι.

91. But this happened later. The rich men of Aegina gained mastery over the people, who had risen against them with Nicodromus, then made them captive and led them out to be killed. Because of this a curse fell upon them, which despite all their efforts they could not get rid of by sacrifice, and they were driven out of their island before the goddess would be merciful to them. They had taken seven hundred of the people alive; as they led these out for slaughter one of them escaped from his bonds and fled to the temple gate of Demeter the Lawgiver, where he laid hold of the door-handles and clung to them. They could not tear him away by force, so they cut off his hands and carried him off, and those hands were left clinging fast to the door-handles.

92 1 ταῦτα μὲν νυν σφέας αὐτοὺς οἱ Αἰγινῆται ἐργάσαντο, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἤκουσι ἐναυμάχησαν νηυσὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐπεκαλέοντο τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ πρότερον, Ἀργεῖους. καὶ δὴ σφι οὗτοι μὲν οὐκέτι βοηθέουσι, μεμφόμενοι ὅτι Αἰγίναϊαι νέες ἀνάγκη λαμφθεῖσαι ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος ἔσχον τε ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα χώραν καὶ συναπέβησαν Λακεδαιμονίοισι, συναπέβησαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Σικωνιέων νεῶν ἄνδρες τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἐσβολῇ· 2 καὶ σφι ὑπ' Ἀργείων ἐπεβλήθη ζημὴ χίλια τάλαντα ἐκτίσαι, πεντακόσια ἑκατέρους. Σικωνῖοι μὲν νυν συγγνόντες ἀδικῆσαι ὡμολόγησαν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἐκτίσαντες ἀζήμιοι εἶναι, Αἰγινῆται δὲ οὔτε συνεγνώσκοντο ἥσαν τε αὐθαδέστεροι. διὰ δὴ ὧν σφι ταῦτα δεομένοισι ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ δημοσίου οὐδεὶς Ἀργείων ἔτι ἐβοήθεε, ἐθελονταὶ δὲ ἐς χιλίους· ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς στρατηγὸς ἀνὴρ ᾧ οὖνομα Εὐρυβάτης, ἀνὴρ πεντάεθλον ἐπασκήσας. 3 τούτων οἱ πλεῖνες οὐκ

ἀπενόστησαν ὀπίσω, ἀλλ' ἐτελεύτησαν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐν Αἰγίνῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς Εὐρυβάτης μονομαχίην ἐπασκέων τρεῖς μὲν ἄνδρας τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ κτείνει, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου Σωφάνεος τοῦ Δεκελῆος ἀποθνήσκει.

92. Thus the Aeginetans dealt with each other. When the Athenians came, they fought them at sea with seventy ships; the Aeginetans were defeated in the sea-fight and asked for help from the Argives, as they had done before. But this time the Argives would not aid them, holding a grudge because ships of Aegina had been taken by force by Cleomenes and put in on the Argolid coast, where their crews landed with the Lacedaemonians; men from ships of Sicyon also took part in the same invasion. The Argives laid on them the payment of a fine of a thousand talents, five hundred each. The Sicyonians confessed that they had done wrong and agreed to go free with a payment of a hundred talents, but the Aeginetans made no such confession and remained stubborn. For this cause the Argive state sent no one to aid them at their request, but about a thousand came voluntarily, led by a captain whose name was Eurybates, a man who practiced the pentathlon. Most of these never returned, meeting their death at the hands of the Athenians in Aegina; Eurybates himself, their captain, fought in single combat and thus killed three men, but was slain by the fourth, Sophanes the son of Deceles.

93 1 Αἰγινῆται δὲ ἐοῦσι ἀτάκτοις τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις συμβαλόντες τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐνίκησαν, καὶ σφεων νέας τέσσερας αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι εἶλον.

93. The Aeginetan ships found the Athenians in disarray and attacked and overcame them, taking four Athenian ships and their crews.

94 1 Ἀθηναίοις μὲν δὴ πόλεμος συνῆπτο πρὸς Αἰγινήτας. ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τὸ ἐωυτοῦ ἐποίηε, ὥστε ἀναμιμνήσκοντός τε αἰεὶ τοῦ θεράποντος μεμνησθαι μιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Πεισιστρατιδῶν προσκατημένων καὶ διαβαλλόντων Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος ταύτης ἐχόμενος τῆς προφάσιος καταστρέφεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοὺς μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. 2 Μαρδόνιον μὲν δὴ φλαύρως πρήξαντα τῷ στόλῳ παραλύει τῆς στρατηγίης, ἄλλους δὲ στρατηγοὺς ἀποδέξας ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ τε Ἑρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας, Δατίν

τε ἔοντα Μῆδον γένος καὶ Ἀρταφρένεα τὸν Ἀρταφρένεος παῖδα, ἀδελφιδέον ἑωυτοῦ· ἐντειλάμενος δὲ ἀπέπεμπε ἐξανδραποδίσαντας Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἑρέτριαν ἀνάγειν ἑωυτῷ ἐς ὅσιν τὰ ἀνδράποδα.

94. Thus Athens and Aegina grappled together in war. The Persian was going about his own business, for his servant was constantly reminding him to remember the Athenians, and the Pisistratidae were at his elbow maligning the Athenians; moreover, Darius desired to take this pretext for subduing all the men of Hellas who had not given him earth and water. He dismissed from command Mardonius, who had fared so badly on his expedition, and appointed other generals to lead his armies against Athens and Eretria, Datis, a Mede by birth, and his own nephew Artaphrenes son of Artaphrenes; the order he gave them at their departure was to enslave Athens and Eretria and bring the slaves into his presence.

95 1 ὥς δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὗτοι οἱ ἀποδεχθέντες πορευόμενοι παρὰ βασιλέος ἀπίκοντο τῆς Κιλικίης ἐς τὸ Ἀλήιον πεδῖον, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι πεζὸν στρατὸν πολλόν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένον, ἐνθαῦτα στρατοπεδευομένοισι ἐπῆλθε μὲν ὁ ναυτικὸς πᾶς στρατὸς ὁ ἐπιταχθεὶς ἐκάστοισι, παρεγένοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ ἱππαγωγοὶ νέες, τὰς τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει προεῖπε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ δασμοφόροισι Δαρεῖος ἐτοιμάζειν. 2 ἐσβαλόμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἵππους ἐς ταύτας καὶ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐσβιβάσαντες ἐς τὰς νέας, ἔπλεον ἐξακοσίῃσι τριήρεσι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον εἶχον τὰς νέας ἰθὺ τοῦ τε Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῆς Θρηίκης, ἀλλ' ἐκ Σάμου ὁρμώμενοι παρά τε Ἰκάριον καὶ διὰ νήσων τὸν πλόον ἐποιεῦντο, ὥς μὲν ἔμοι δοκέειν, δείσαντες μάλιστα τὸν περίπλοον τοῦ Ἄθω, ὅτι τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει ποιεύμενοι ταύτῃ τὴν κομιδὴν μεγάλως προσέπταισαν· πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ Νάξος σφέας ἠνάγκαζε πρότερον οὐκ ἀλοῦσα.

95. When these appointed generals on their way from the king reached the Aleian plain in Cilicia, bringing with them a great and well-furnished army, they camped there and were overtaken by all the fleet that was assigned to each; there also arrived the transports for horses, which in the previous year Darius had bidden his tributary subjects to make ready. Having loaded the horses into these, and embarked the land army in the ships, they sailed to Ionia with six hundred triremes. From there they held their course not by the

mainland and straight towards the Hellespont and Thrace, but setting forth from Samos they sailed by the Icarian sea and from island to island; this, to my thinking, was because they feared above all the voyage around Athos, seeing that in the previous year they had come to great disaster by holding their course that way; moreover, Naxos was still unconquered and constrained them.

96 1 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰκαρίου πελάγεος προσφερόμενοι προσέμιζαν τῇ Νάξῳ, ἐπὶ ταύτην γὰρ δὴ πρώτην ἐπεῖχον στρατεύεσθαι οἱ Πέρσαι μεμνημένοι τῶν πρότερον οἱ Νάξιοι πρὸς τὰ ὄρεα οἴχοντο φεύγοντες οὐδὲ ὑπέμειναν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἀνδραποδισάμενοι τοὺς κατέλαβον αὐτῶν, ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους ἀνήγοντο.

96. When they approached Naxos from the Icarian sea and came to land (for it was Naxos which the Persians intended to attack first), the Naxians, remembering what had happened before, fled away to the mountains instead of waiting for them. The Persians enslaved all of them that they caught, and burnt their temples and their city. After doing this, they set sail for the other islands.

97 1 ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐποίουν, οἱ Δῆλιοι ἐκκλιπόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Δῆλον οἴχοντο φεύγοντες ἐς Τήνον. τῆς δὲ στρατιῆς καταπλεούσης ὁ Δᾶτις προπλώσας οὐκ ἔα τὰς νέας πρὸς τὴν Δῆλον προσορμίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πέρην ἐν τῇ Ῥηναίῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ πυθόμενος ἵνα ἦσαν οἱ Δῆλιοι, πέμπων κήρυκα ἡγόρευέ σφι τάδε. 2 “ἄνδρες ἱεοί, τί φεύγοντες οἴχεσθε, οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα καταγνόντες κατ’ ἐμεῦ; ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτό γε φρονέω καὶ μοι ἐκ βασιλέος ὧδε ἐπέσταλται, ἐν τῇ χώρῃ οἱ δύο θεοὶ ἐγένοντο, ταύτην μηδὲν σίνεσθαι, μήτε αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν μήτε τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῆς. νῦν ὧν καὶ ἅπιτε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν νῆσον νέμεσθε”. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπεκηρυκέυστο τοῖσι Δηλίοις, μετὰ δὲ λιβανωτοῦ τριηκόσια τάλαντα κατανήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐθυμίσε.

97. While they did this, the Delians also left Delos and fled away to Tenos. As his expedition was sailing landwards, Datis went on ahead and bade his fleet anchor not off Delos, but across the water off Rheneae. Learning where the Delians were, he sent a herald to them with this proclamation: “Holy men, why have you fled away, and so misjudged my intent? It is my own desire, and the king’s

command to me, to do no harm to the land where the two gods were born, neither to the land itself nor to its inhabitants. So return now to your homes and dwell on your island.” He made this proclamation to the Delians, and then piled up three hundred talents of frankincense on the altar and burnt it.

98 1 Δᾶτις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιήσας ἔπλεε ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρέτριαν πρῶτα, ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἴωνας καὶ Αἰολέας. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἐνθεῦτεν ἐξαναχθέντα Δῆλος ἐκινήθη, ὡς ἔλεγον Δῆλιοι, καὶ πρῶτα καὶ ὕστατα μέχρι ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν κου τέρας ἀνθρώποισι τῶν μελλόντων ἔσσεσθαι κακῶν ἔφαινε ὁ θεός. 2 ἐπὶ γὰρ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος καὶ Ξέρξεω τοῦ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξεω τοῦ Ξέρξεω, τριῶν τουτέων ἐπεξῆς γενεῶν, ἐγένετο πλέω κακὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι ἄλλας γενεὰς τὰς πρὸ Δαρείου γενομένας, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων αὐτῇ γενόμενα, τὰ δὲ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν κορυφαίων περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμεόντων. 3 οὕτω οὐδὲν ἦν ἀεικὲς κινήθηναι Δῆλον τὸ πρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἀκίνητον. καὶ ἐν χρησμῷ ἦν γεγραμμένον περὶ αὐτῆς ὧδε. κινήσω καὶ Δῆλον ἀκίνητόν περ ἐοῦσαν. δύναται δὲ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ταῦτα τὰ οὐνόματα, Δαρεῖος ἐρξίης, Ξέρξης ἀρήιος, Ἀρτοξέρξης μέγας ἀρήιος. τούτους μὲν δὴ τοὺς βασιλέας ὧδε ἂν ὀρθῶς κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν σφετέρην Ἑλληνες καλέοιεν.

98. After doing this, Datis sailed with his army against Eretria first, taking with him Ionians and Aeolians; and after he had put out from there, Delos was shaken by an earthquake, the first and last, as the Delians say, before my time. This portent was sent by heaven, as I suppose, to be an omen of the ills that were coming on the world. For in three generations, that is, in the time of Darius son of Hystaspes and Xerxes son of Darius and Artaxerxes son of Xerxes, more ills happened to Hellas than in twenty generations before Darius; some coming from the Persians, some from the wars for preeminence among the chief of the nations themselves. Thus it was no marvel that there should be an earthquake in Delos when there had been none before. Also there was an oracle concerning Delos, where it was written: “I will shake Delos, though unshaken before. “ In the Greek language these names have the following meanings: Darius is the Doer, Xerxes the Warrior, Artaxerxes the Great Warrior.

The Greeks would rightly call the kings thus in their language.

99 1 οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὡς ἀπήειραν ἐκ τῆς Δήλου, προσῖσχον πρὸς τὰς νήσους, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ στρατιὴν τε παρελάμβανον καὶ ὁμήρους τῶν νησιωτέων παῖδας ἐλάμβανον. 2 ὡς δὲ περιπλέοντες τὰς νήσους προσέσχον καὶ ἐς Κάρυστον, οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφι οἱ Καρύστιοι οὔτε ὁμήρους ἐδίδοσαν οὔτε ἔφασαν ἐπὶ πόλιας ἀστυγείτονας στρατεύεσθαι, λέγοντες Ἑρέτριάν τε καὶ Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα τούτους ἐπολιόρκεόν τε καὶ τὴν γῆν σφεων ἔκειρον, ἐς ὃ καὶ οἱ Καρύστιοι παρέστησαν ἐς τῶν Περσέων τὴν γνώμην.

99. Launching out to sea from Delos, the foreigners put in at the islands and gathered an army from there, taking the sons of the islanders for hostages. When in their voyage about the islands they put in at Carystos, the Carystians gave them no hostages and refused to join them against neighboring cities, meaning Eretria and Athens; the Persians besieged them and laid waste their land, until the Carystians too came over to their side.

100 1 Ἑρετριέες δὲ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Περσικὴν ἐπὶ σφέας ἐπιπλέουσιν Ἀθηναίων ἐδεήθησαν σφίσι βοηθοὺς γενέσθαι. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἀπείπαντο τὴν ἐπικουρίην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους τοὺς κληρουχέοντας τῶν ἵπποβοτέων Χαλκιδέων τὴν χώραν, τούτους σφι διδοῦσι τιμωρούς. τῶν δὲ Ἑρετριέων ἦν ἄρα οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς βούλευμα, οἱ μετεπέμποντο μὲν Ἀθηναίους, ἐφρόνεον δὲ διφασίας ιδέας. 2 οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐβουλευόντο ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοίης, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἴδια κέρδεα προσδεκόμενοι παρὰ τοῦ Πέρσεω οἴσεσθαι προδοσίην ἐσκευάζοντο. 3 μαθὼν δὲ τούτων ἑκάτερα ὡς εἶχε Αἰσχίνης ὁ Νόθωνος, ἐὼν τῶν Ἑρετριέων τὰ πρῶτα, φράζει τοῖσι ἥκουσι Ἀθηναίων πάντα τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα, προσεδέετό τε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι σφέας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην, ἵνα μὴ προσαπόλωνται. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα Αἰσχίνῃ συμβουλευσάντι πείθονται.

100. When the Eretrians learned that the Persian expedition was sailing to attack them, they asked for help from the Athenians. The Athenians did not refuse the aid, but gave them for defenders the four thousand tenant farmers who held the land of the Chalcidian horsebreeders. But it seems that all the plans of the Eretrians were unsound; they sent to the Athenians for aid, but their counsels were

divided. Some of them planned to leave the city and make for the heights of Euboea; others plotted treason in hope of winning advantages from the Persians. When Aeschines son of Nothos, a leading man in Eretria, learned of both designs, he told the Athenians who had come how matters stood, and asked them to depart to their own country so they would not perish like the rest. The Athenians followed Aeschines' advice.

101 1 καὶ οὗτοι μὲν διαβάντες ἐς Ὀρωπὸν ἔσωζον σφέας αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πλέοντες κατέσχον τὰς νέας τῆς Ἐρετρικῆς χώρας κατὰ Τέμενος καὶ Χοιρέας καὶ Αἰγίλεα, κατασχόντες δὲ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία αὐτίκα ἵππους τε ἐξεβάλλοντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς προσοισόμενοι τοῖσι ἐχθροῖσι. 2 οἱ δὲ Ἐρετρίεες ἐπεξελθεῖν μὲν καὶ μαχέσασθαι οὐκ ἐποιεῦντο βουλήν, εἰ κως δὲ διαφυλάξαιεν τὰ τεῖχεα, τούτου σφι περὶ ἔμμελε, ἐπεῖτε ἐνίκᾳ μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν. προσβολῇ δὲ γινομένης καρτερῆς πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἔπιπτον ἐπὶ ἑξ ἡμέρας πολλοὶ μὲν ἀμφοτέρων· τῇ δὲ ἐβδόμῃ Εὐφορβὸς τε ὁ Ἀλκιμάχου καὶ Φίλαγρος ὁ Κυνέου ἄνδρες τῶν ἀστῶν δόκιμοι προδιδούσι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι. 3 οἱ δὲ ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἱρὰ συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν, ἀποτινύμενοι τῶν ἐν Σάρδισι κατακαυθέντων ἱρῶν, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠνδραποδίσαντο κατὰ τὰς Δαρείου ἐντολάς.

101. So they saved themselves by crossing over to Oropus; the Persians sailed holding their course for Temenos and Choereae and Aegilea, all in Eretrian territory. Landing at these places, they immediately unloaded their horses and made preparation to attack their enemies. The Eretrians had no intention of coming out and fighting; all their care was to guard their walls if they could, since it was the prevailing counsel not to leave the city. The walls were strongly attacked, and for six days many fell on both sides; but on the seventh two Eretrians of repute, Euphorbus son of Alcimachus and Philagrus son of Cineas, betrayed the city to the Persians. They entered the city and plundered and burnt the temples, in revenge for the temples that were burnt at Sardis; moreover, they enslaved the townspeople, according to Darius' command.

102 1 χειρωσάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἐρέτριαν καὶ ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἔπλεον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν, κατέργοντές τε πολλὸν καὶ

δοκέοντες ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσειν τὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετριάας ἐποίησαν. καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαραθὼν ἐπιτηδεότατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεῦσαι καὶ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Ἐρετρίης, ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγέετο Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου.

102. After subduing Eretria, the Persians waited a few days and then sailed away to the land of Attica, pressing ahead in expectation of doing to the Athenians exactly what they had done to the Eretrians. Marathon was the place in Attica most suitable for riding horses and closest to Eretria, so Hippias son of Pisistratus led them there.

103 1 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὥς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, ἐβοήθουν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα. ἦγον δὲ σφέας στρατηγοὶ δέκα, τῶν ὁ δέκατος ἦν Μιλτιάδης· τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Κίμωνα τὸν Στησαγόρεω κατέλαβε φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Πεισίστρατον τὸν Ἱποκράτους. 2 καὶ αὐτῷ φεύγοντι Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀνελέσθαι τεθρίπῳ συνέβη, καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νίκην ἀνελόμενόν μιν τῷ τῷ ἐξενείκασθαι τῷ ὁμομητρίῳ ἀδελφεῷ Μιλτιάδῃ· μετὰ δὲ τῇ ὑστέρῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἵπποισι νικῶν παραδιδοῖ Πεισιστράτῳ ἀνακηρυχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν νίκην παρὲς τοῦτῳ κατήλθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ ὑπόσπονδος. 3 καὶ μιν ἀνελόμενον τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἵπποισι ἄλλην Ὀλυμπιάδα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων, οὐκέτι περιέοντος αὐτοῦ Πεισιστράτου· κτείνουσι δὲ οὗτοί μιν κατὰ τὸ πρυτανήιον νυκτὸς ὑπείσαντες ἄνδρας. τέθαιπται δὲ Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος, πέρην τῆς διὰ Κοίλης καλεομένης ὁδοῦ· καταντίον δ' αὐτοῦ αἱ ἵπποι τεθάφονται αὗται αἱ τρεῖς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἀνελόμεναι. 4 ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ἵπποι ἤδη τῷ τῷ τοῦτο Εὐαγόρεω Λάκωνος, πλέω δὲ τουτέων οὐδαμαί. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρεσβύτερος τῶν παίδων τῷ Κίμωνι Στησαγόρης ἦν τῇ τῇ παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ Μιλτιάδῃ τρεφόμενος ἐν τῇ Χερσονήσῳ, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος παρ' αὐτῷ Κίμωνι ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι, οὖνομα ἔχων ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς Χερσονήσου Μιλτιάδεω Μιλτιάδης.

103. When the Athenians learned this, they too marched out to Marathon, with ten generals leading them. The tenth was Miltiades, and it had befallen his father Cimon son of Stesagoras to be banished from Athens by Pisistratus son of Hippocrates. While in exile he happened to take the Olympic prize in the four-horse chariot, and by taking this victory he won the same prize as his half-brother

Miltiades. At the next Olympic games he won with the same horses but permitted Pisistratus to be proclaimed victor, and by resigning the victory to him he came back from exile to his own property under truce. After taking yet another Olympic prize with the same horses, he happened to be murdered by Pisistratus' sons, since Pisistratus was no longer living. They murdered him by placing men in ambush at night near the town-hall. Cimon was buried in front of the city, across the road called "Through the Hollow", and buried opposite him are the mares who won the three Olympic prizes. The mares of Evagoras the Laconian did the same as these, but none others. Stesagoras, the elder of Cimon's sons, was then being brought up with his uncle Miltiades in the Chersonese. The younger was with Cimon at Athens, and he took the name Miltiades from Miltiades the founder of the Chersonese.

104 1 οὗτος δὴ ὢν τότε ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἦκων ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου καὶ ἐκπεφυγὼς διπλόον θάνατον ἐστρατήγεε Ἀθηναίων. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπιδιώξαντες μέχρι Ἰμβρου περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιεῦντο λαβεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγαγεῖν παρὰ βασιλέα· 2 ἅμα δὲ ἐκφυγόντα τε τούτους καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ δοκέοντά τε εἶναι ἐν σωτηρίῃ ἦδη, τὸ ἐνθεῦτέν μιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑποδεξάμενοι ὑπὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος τῆς ἐν Χερσονήσῳ. ἀποφυγὼν δὲ καὶ τούτους στρατηγὸς οὕτω Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη, αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.

104. It was this Miltiades who was now the Athenian general, after coming from the Chersonese and escaping a two-fold death. The Phoenicians pursued him as far as Imbros, considering it of great importance to catch him and bring him to the king. He escaped from them, but when he reached his own country and thought he was safe, then his enemies met him. They brought him to court and prosecuted him for tyranny in the Chersonese, but he was acquitted and appointed Athenian general, chosen by the people.

105 1 καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἔόντες ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀποπέμπουσι ἐς Σπάρτην κήρυκα Φειδιππίδην Ἀθηναῖον μὲν ἄνδρα, ἄλλως δὲ ἡμεροδρόμην τε καὶ τοῦτο μελετῶντα· τῷ δὴ, ὥς αὐτός τε ἔλεγε Φειδιππίδης καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἀπήγγελλε, περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Τεγέης ὁ Πᾶν περιπίπτει· 2 βώσαντα δὲ τὸ οὔνομα τοῦ

Φειδιππίδew τὸν Πᾶνα Ἀθηναίοισι κελεῦσαι ἀπαγγεῖλαι, δι' ὃ τι ἐωvτοῦ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμελείην ποιεῦνται ἐόντος εὐνόου Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ πολλαχῇ γεvομένου σφι ἤδη χρησίμου, τὰ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐσομένου. 3 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, καταστάντων σφι εὔ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων, πιστεύσαντες εἶναι ἀληθέα ἰδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει Πανὸς ἱρόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀγγελίης θυσίῃσι ἐπετείοισι καὶ λαμπάδι ἱλάσκονται.

105. While still in the city, the generals first sent to Sparta the herald Philippides, an Athenian and a long-distance runner who made that his calling. As Philippides himself said when he brought the message to the Athenians, when he was in the Parthenian mountain above Tegea he encountered Pan. Pan called out Philippides' name and bade him ask the Athenians why they paid him no attention, though he was of goodwill to the Athenians, had often been of service to them, and would be in the future. The Athenians believed that these things were true, and when they became prosperous they established a sacred precinct of Pan beneath the Acropolis. Ever since that message they propitiate him with annual sacrifices and a torch-race.

106 1 τότε δὲ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Φειδιππίδης οὗτος, ὅτε πέρ οἱ ἔφη καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα φανῆναι, δευτεραῖος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἄστέος ἦν ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔλεγε 2 “ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμέων δέονται σφίσι βοηθῆσαι καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν πόλιν ἀρχαιοτάτην ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι δουλοσύνη περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων· καὶ γὰρ νῦν Ἑρέτριά τε ἠνδραπόδισται καὶ πόλι λογίμῳ ἡ Ἑλλὰς γέγονε ἀσθενεστέρα”. 3 ὁ μὲν δὴ σφι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἀπήγγελλε, τοῖσι δὲ ἔαδε μὲν βοηθέειν Ἀθηναίοισι, ἀδύνατα δὲ σφι ἦν τὸ παραντίκα ποιεῖν ταῦτα, οὐ βουλομένοισι λῦειν τὸν νόμον· ἦν γὰρ ἵσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη, εἰνάτη δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ἐόντος τοῦ κύκλου.

106. This Philippides was in Sparta on the day after leaving the city of Athens, that time when he was sent by the generals and said that Pan had appeared to him. He came to the magistrates and said, “Lacedaemonians, the Athenians ask you to come to their aid and not allow the most ancient city among the Hellenes to fall into slavery at

the hands of the foreigners. Even now Eretria has been enslaved, and Hellas has become weaker by an important city.” He told them what he had been ordered to say, and they resolved to send help to the Athenians, but they could not do this immediately, for they were unwilling to break the law. It was the ninth day of the rising month, and they said that on the ninth they could not go out to war until the moon’s circle was full.

107 1 οὔτοι μὲν νυν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον. τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι κατηγέετο Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα, τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς ὄψιν ἰδὼν τοιγύδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἰππίης τῇ μητρὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ συνευνηθῆναι. 2 συνεβάλετο ὢν ἐκ τοῦ ὀνείρου κατελθὼν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀνασωσάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν τελευτήσῃ ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γηραιός. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ὄψιος συνεβάλετο ταῦτα, τότε δὲ κατηγεόμενος τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ ἐξ Ἑρετρίας ἀπέβησε ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν Στυρέων, καλεομένην δὲ Αἰγλείην, τοῦτο δὲ καταγομένας ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὰς νέας ὄρμιζε οὗτος, ἐκβάντας τε ἐς γῆν τοὺς βαρβάρους διέτασσε. 3 καὶ οἱ ταῦτα διέποντι ἐπῆλθε πταρεῖν τε καὶ βῆξαι μεζόνως ἢ ὡς ἐώθεε· οἷα δὲ οἱ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἐόντι τῶν ὀδόντων οἱ πλεῦνες ἐσεῖοντο· τούτων ὢν ἓνα τῶν ὀδόντων ἐκβάλλει ὑπὸ βίης βήξας· ἐκπεσόντος δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον αὐτοῦ ἐποιέετο σπουδὴν πολλὴν ἐξευρεῖν. 4 ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἐφαίνετό οἱ ὁ ὀδὼν, ἀναστενάξας εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παραστάτας “ἡ γῆ ἦδε οὐκ ἡμετέρη ἐστί, οὐδέ μιν δυνησόμεθα ὑποχειρίην ποιήσασθαι· ὁκόσον δέ τι μοι μέρος μετῆν, ὁ ὀδὼν μετέχει”.

107. So they waited for the full moon, while the foreigners were guided to Marathon by Hippias son of Pisistratus. The previous night Hippias had a dream in which he slept with his mother. He supposed from the dream that he would return from exile to Athens, recover his rule, and end his days an old man in his own country. Thus he reckoned from the dream. Then as guide he unloaded the slaves from Eretria onto the island of the Styrians called Aegilia, and brought to anchor the ships that had put ashore at Marathon, then marshalled the foreigners who had disembarked onto land. As he was tending to this, he happened to sneeze and cough more violently than usual. Since he was an elderly man, most of his teeth were loose, and he lost one of them by the force of his cough. It fell into the sand and he

expended much effort in looking for it, but the tooth could not be found. He groaned aloud and said to those standing by him: "This land is not ours and we will not be able to subdue it. My tooth holds whatever share of it was mine."

108 1 Ἰππίης μὲν δὴ ταύτη τὴν ὄψιν συνεβάλετο ἐξεληλυθέναι. Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ τεταγμένοισι ἐν τεμένει Ἡρακλέος ἐπὶ ἄλθον βοηθέοντες Πλαταιέες πανδημεί. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐδεδώκεσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι οἱ Πλαταιέες, καὶ πόνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι συχνοὺς ἤδη ἀναραιρέατο· ἔδοσαν δὲ ὧδε. 2 πιεζέμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων οἱ Πλαταιέες ἐδίδοσαν πρῶτα παρατυχοῦσι Κλεομένει τε τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδῃ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι σφέας αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ οὐ δεκόμενοι ἔλεγόν σφι τάδε. "ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐκαστέρῳ τε οἰκόμεν, καὶ ὑμῖν τοιήδε τις γίνοιτ' ἂν ἐπικουρίῃ ψυχρῇ· φθαίητε γὰρ ἂν πολλάκις ἐξανδραποδισθέντες ἢ τινα πυθέσθαι ἡμέων. 3 συμβουλευόμεν δὲ ὑμῖν δοῦναι ὑμέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι, πλησιοχώροισι τε ἀνδράσι καὶ τιμωρέειν ἐοῦσι οὐ κακοῖσι". ταῦτα συνεβούλευον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ κατὰ τὴν εὐνοίην οὕτω τῶν Πλαταιέων ὥς βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔχειν πόνους συνεστεῶτας Βοιωτοῖσι. 4 Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν νυν Πλαταιεῦσι ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἠπίστησαν, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων ἰρὰ ποιούντων τοῖσι δωδεκα θεοῖσι ἰκέται ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτούς. Θηβαῖοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Πλαταιέας, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ σφι ἐβοήθουν. 5 μελλόντων δὲ συνάπτειν μάχην Κορίνθιοι οὐ περιεῖδον, παρατυχόντες δὲ καὶ καταλλάξαντες ἐπιτρεψάντων ἀμφοτέρων οὖρισαν τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τοῖσιδε, ἔαν Θηβαίους Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν. Κορίνθιοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γνόντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἀπιοῦσι ἐπεθήκοντο Βοιωτοί, ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ ἐσώθησαν τῇ μάχῃ. 6 ὑπερβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔθηκαν Πλαταιεῦσι εἶναι οὖρους, τούτους ὑπερβάντες τὸν Ἀσωπὸν αὐτὸν ἐποίησαντο οὖρον Θηβαίοισι πρὸς Πλαταιέας εἶναι καὶ Ὑσιᾶς. ἔδοσαν μὲν δὴ οἱ Πλαταιέες σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρηνένῳ, ἦκον δὲ τότε ἐς Μαραθῶνα βοηθέοντες.

108. Hippias supposed that the dream had in this way come true. As the Athenians were marshalled in the precinct of Heracles, the Plataeans came to help them in full force. The Plataeans had put

themselves under the protection of the Athenians, and the Athenians had undergone many labors on their behalf. This is how they did it: when the Plataeans were pressed by the Thebans, they first tried to put themselves under the protection of Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides and the Lacedaemonians, who happened to be there. But they did not accept them, saying, “We live too far away, and our help would be cold comfort to you. You could be enslaved many times over before any of us heard about it. We advise you to put yourselves under the protection of the Athenians, since they are your neighbors and not bad men at giving help.” The Lacedaemonians gave this advice not so much out of goodwill toward the Plataeans as wishing to cause trouble for the Athenians with the Boeotians. So the Lacedaemonians gave this advice to the Plataeans, who did not disobey it. When the Athenians were making sacrifices to the twelve gods, they sat at the altar as suppliants and put themselves under protection. When the Thebans heard this, they marched against the Plataeans, but the Athenians came to their aid. As they were about to join battle, the Corinthians, who happened to be there, prevented them and brought about a reconciliation. Since both sides desired them to arbitrate, they fixed the boundaries of the country on condition that the Thebans leave alone those Boeotians who were unwilling to be enrolled as Boeotian. After rendering this decision, the Corinthians departed. The Boeotians attacked the Athenians as they were leaving but were defeated in battle. The Athenians went beyond the boundaries the Corinthians had made for the Plataeans, fixing the Asopus river as the boundary for the Thebans in the direction of Plataea and Hysiae. So the Plataeans had put themselves under the protection of the Athenians in the aforesaid manner, and now came to help at Marathon.

109 1 τοῖσι δὲ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖσι ἐγίνοντο δίχα αἱ γνώμαι, τῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐόντων συμβαλεῖν (ὀλίγους γὰρ εἶναι στρατιῇ τῇ Μήδων συμβάλλειν) τῶν δὲ καὶ Μιλτιάδεω κελευόντων. 2 ὥς δὲ δίχα τε ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἐνίκα ἢ χεῖρων τῶν γνωμέων, ἐνθαῦτα, ἣν γὰρ ἐνδέκατος ψηφιδοφόρος ὁ τῷ κυάμῳ λαχὼν Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρχεῖν (τὸ παλαιὸν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁμόψηφον τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐποιεῦντο τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι), ἣν δὲ τότε πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος Ἀφιδναῖος·

πρὸς τοῦτον ἐλθὼν Μιλτιάδης ἔλεγε τάδε. 3 “ἐν σοὶ νῦν Καλλίμαχε ἐστὶ ἢ καταδουλῶσαι Ἀθήνας ἢ ἐλευθέρας ποιήσαντα μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον οἷα οὐδὲ Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων λείπουσι. νῦν γὰρ δὴ ἐξ οὗ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς κίνδυνον ἤκουσι μέγιστον, καὶ ἦν μὲν γε ὑποκύψωσι τοῖσι Μήδοισι, δέδοκται τὰ πείσονται παραδεδομένοι Ἰππῆι, ἣν δὲ περιγένηται αὕτη ἢ πόλις, οἷη τε ἐστὶ πρώτη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολιῶν γενέσθαι. 4 κῶς ὦν δὴ ταῦτα οἷά τε ἐστὶ γενέσθαι, καὶ κῶς ἐς σέ τοι τούτων ἀνήκει τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ κῦρος ἔχειν, νῦν ἔρχομαι φράσω. ἡμέων τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐόντων δέκα δίχα γίνονται αἱ γνώμαι, τῶν μὲν κελευόντων τῶν δὲ οὐ συμβάλλειν. 5 ἦν μὲν νυν μὴ συμβάλωμεν, ἔλπομαι τινὰ στάσιν μεγάλην διασεῖσιν ἐμπεσοῦσαν τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα ὥστε μηδίσαι· ἦν δὲ συμβάλωμεν πρὶν τι καὶ σαθρὸν Ἀθηναίων μετεξετέροισι ἐγγενέσθαι, θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων οἷοί τε εἰμὲν περιγενέσθαι τῇ συμβολῇ. 6 ταῦτα ὦν πάντα ἐς σέ νῦν τείνει καὶ ἐκ σέο ἥρτηται. ἦν γὰρ σὺ γνώμη τῇ ἐμῇ προσθῇ, ἔστι τοι πατρίς τε ἐλευθέρη καὶ πόλις πρώτη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι· ἦν δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποσπευδόντων τὴν συμβολὴν ἔλῃ, ὑπάρξει τοι τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία”.

109. The Athenian generals were of divided opinion, some advocating not fighting because they were too few to attack the army of the Medes; others, including Miltiades, advocating fighting. Thus they were at odds, and the inferior plan prevailed. An eleventh man had a vote, chosen by lot to be polemarch of Athens, and by ancient custom the Athenians had made his vote of equal weight with the generals. Callimachus of Aphidnae was polemarch at this time. Miltiades approached him and said, “Callimachus, it is now in your hands to enslave Athens or make her free, and thereby leave behind for all posterity a memorial such as not even Harmodius and Aristogeiton left. Now the Athenians have come to their greatest danger since they first came into being, and, if we surrender, it is clear what we will suffer when handed over to Hippias. But if the city prevails, it will take first place among Hellenic cities. I will tell you how this can happen, and how the deciding voice on these matters has devolved upon you. The ten generals are of divided opinion, some urging to attack, others urging not to. If we do not

attack now, I expect that great strife will fall upon and shake the spirit of the Athenians, leading them to medize. But if we attack now, before anything unsound corrupts the Athenians, we can win the battle, if the gods are fair. All this concerns and depends on you in this way: if you vote with me, your country will be free and your city the first in Hellas. But if you side with those eager to avoid battle, you will have the opposite to all the good things I enumerated.”

110 1 ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μιλτιάδης προσκτᾶται τὸν Καλλίμαχον· προσγενομένης δὲ τοῦ πολεμάρχου τῆς γνώμης ἐκεκύρωτο συμβάλλειν. μετὰ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε συμβάλλειν, ὥς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἐγίνετο πρυτανιή τῆς ἡμέρης, Μιλτιάδῃ παρεδίδουσιν· ὁ δὲ δεκόμενος οὕτω συμβολὴν ἐποιέετο, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῦ πρυτανιή ἐγένετο.

110. By saying this Miltiades won over Callimachus. The polemarch's vote was counted in, and the decision to attack was resolved upon. Thereafter the generals who had voted to fight turned the presidency over to Miltiades as each one's day came in turn. He accepted the office but did not make an attack until it was his own day to preside.

111 1 ὥς δὲ ἐς ἐκεῖνον περιῆλθε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὥς συμβαλέοντες· τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρεος ἡγέετο ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τότε εἶχε οὕτω τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, τὸν πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας τὸ δεξιόν· ἡγεομένου δὲ τούτου ἐξεδέκοντο ὥς ἀριθμέοντο αἱ φυλαὶ ἐχόμεναι ἀλληλέων, τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας Πλαταιέες. 2 ἀπὸ ταύτης [γάρ] σφι τῆς μάχης, Ἀθηναίων θυσίας ἀναγόντων ἐς τὰς πανηγύριαις τὰς ἐν τῇσι πεντετηρίσι γινομένας, κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Πλαταιεῦσι. 3 τότε δὲ τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι ἐγίνετο τοιόνδε τι· τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξισούμενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ τάξιαις ὀλίγαις, καὶ ταύτῃ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἑρρώτο πλήθει.

111. When the presidency came round to him, he arrayed the Athenians for battle, with the polemarch Callimachus commanding the right wing, since it was then the Athenian custom for the

polemarch to hold the right wing. He led, and the other tribes were numbered out in succession next to each other. The Plataeans were marshalled last, holding the left wing. Ever since that battle, when the Athenians are conducting sacrifices at the festivals every fourth year, the Athenian herald prays for good things for the Athenians and Plataeans together. As the Athenians were marshalled at Marathon, it happened that their line of battle was as long as the line of the Medes. The center, where the line was weakest, was only a few ranks deep, but each wing was strong in numbers.

112 1 ὥς δέ σφι διετέτακτο καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγίνετο καλὰ, ἐνθαῦτα ὥς ἀπείθησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δρόμῳ ἵεντο ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἦσαν δὲ στάδιοι οὐκ ἐλάσσονες τὸ μεταίχμιον αὐτῶν ἢ ὀκτώ. 2 οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὀρέοντες δρόμῳ ἐπιόντας παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς δεξόμενοι, μανίην τε τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρίην, ὀρέοντες αὐτοὺς ὀλίγους καὶ τούτους δρόμῳ ἐπειγομένους, οὔτε ἵππου ὑπαρχούσης σφι οὔτε τοξευμάτων. 3 ταῦτα μὲν νυν οἱ βάρβαροι κατεΐκαζον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἀθρόοι προσέμιζαν τοῖσι βαρβάροισι, ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου. πρῶτοι μὲν γάρ Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν δρόμῳ ἐς πολεμίους ἐχρήσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνέσχοντο ἐσθῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ὀρέοντες καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ταύτην ἐσθημένους· τέως δὲ ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι καὶ τὸ οὔνομα τὸ Μήδων φόβος ἀκοῦσαι.

112. When they had been set in order and the sacrifices were favorable, the Athenians were sent forth and charged the foreigners at a run. The space between the armies was no less than eight stadia. The Persians saw them running to attack and prepared to receive them, thinking the Athenians absolutely crazy, since they saw how few of them there were and that they ran up so fast without either cavalry or archers. So the foreigners imagined, but when the Athenians all together fell upon the foreigners they fought in a way worthy of record. These are the first Hellenes whom we know of to use running against the enemy. They are also the first to endure looking at Median dress and men wearing it, for up until then just hearing the name of the Medes caused the Hellenes to panic.

113 1 μαχομένων δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι χρόνος ἐγίνετο πολλός, καὶ τὸ μὲν μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, τῇ Πέρσαι τε αὐτοῖ καὶ Σάκαι ἐτετάχατο· κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι

καὶ ῥήξαντες ἐδίωκον ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ Πλαταιέες· 2 νικῶντες δὲ τὸ μὲν τετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων φεύγειν ἔων, τοῖσι δὲ τὸ μέσον ῥήξασι αὐτῶν συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρα ἀμφοτέρα ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. φεύγουσι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι εἶποντο κόπτοντες, ἐς ὃ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπικόμενοι πῦρ τε αἶτεον καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεῶν.

113. They fought a long time at Marathon. In the center of the line the foreigners prevailed, where the Persians and Sacae were arrayed. The foreigners prevailed there and broke through in pursuit inland, but on each wing the Athenians and Plataeans prevailed. In victory they let the routed foreigners flee, and brought the wings together to fight those who had broken through the center. The Athenians prevailed, then followed the fleeing Persians and struck them down. When they reached the sea they demanded fire and laid hold of the Persian ships.

114 1 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ πολέμαρχος διαφθείρεται, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγαθός, ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε τῶν στρατηγῶν Στησίλεως ὁ Θρασύλεω· τοῦτο δὲ Κυνέγειρος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος ἐνθαῦτα ἐπιλαμβανόμενος τῶν ἀφλάστων νεός, τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεῖς πελέκει πίπτει, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναίων πολλοί τε καὶ ὀνομαστοί.

114. In this labor Callimachus the polemarch was slain, a brave man, and of the generals Stesilaus son of Thrasylaus died. Cynegirus son of Euphorion fell there, his hand cut off with an ax as he grabbed a ship's figurehead. Many other famous Athenians also fell there.

115 1 ἐπτα μὲν δὴ τῶν νεῶν ἐπεκράτησαν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε Ἀθηναῖοι· τῇσι δὲ λοιπῇσι οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανακρουσάμενοι, καὶ ἀναλαβόντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἐν τῇ ἔλιπον τὰ ἐξ Ἑρετρίας ἀνδράποδα, περιέπλεον Σούνιον βουλόμενοι φθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. αἰτὴν δὲ ἔσχε ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι ἐξ Ἀλκμεωνιδέων μηχανῆς αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἐπινοηθῆναι· τούτους γὰρ συνθεμένους τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα ἐοῦσι ἤδη ἐν τῇσι νηυσί.

115. In this way the Athenians overpowered seven ships. The foreigners pushed off with the rest, picked up the Eretrian slaves from the island where they had left them, and sailed around Sunium hoping to reach the city before the Athenians. There was an accusation at Athens that they devised this by a plan of the

Alcmaeonidae, who were said to have arranged to hold up a shield as a signal once the Persians were in their ships.

116 1 οὔτοι μὲν δὴ περιέπλεον Σούνιον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὥς ποδῶν εἶχον τάχιστα ἐβοήθειον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ ἔφθυσάν τε ἀπικόμενοι πρὶν ἢ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἥκειν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπιγμένοι ἐξ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἐν ἄλλῳ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοσάργεϊ. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῇσι νηυσὶ ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φαλήρου, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπίνειον τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀνακωχεύσαντες τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

116. They sailed around Sunium, but the Athenians marched back to defend the city as fast as their feet could carry them and got there ahead of the foreigners. Coming from the sacred precinct of Heracles in Marathon, they pitched camp in the sacred precinct of Heracles in Cynosarges. The foreigners lay at anchor off Phalerum, the Athenian naval port at that time. After riding anchor there, they sailed their ships back to Asia.

117 1 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ ἀπέθανον τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ δύο. ἔπεσον μὲν ἀμφοτέρων τοσοῦτοι. 2 συνήνεικε δὲ αὐτόθι θῶμα γενέσθαι τοιόνδε, Ἀθηναῖον ἄνδρα Ἐπίζηλον τὸν Κουφαγόρεω ἐν τῇ συστάσι μαχόμενόν τε καὶ ἄνδρα γινόμενον ἀγαθὸν τῶν ὁμμάτων στερηθῆναι οὔτε πληγέντα οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε βληθέντα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζῆς διατελεῖν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἐόντα τυφλόν. 3 λέγειν δὲ αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ πάθεος ἤκουσα τοιόνδε τινὰ λόγον, ἄνδρα οἱ δοκέειν ὀπλίτην ἀντιστῆναι μέγαν, τοῦ τὸ γένειον τὴν ἀσπίδα πᾶσαν σκιάζειν· τὸ δὲ φᾶσμα τοῦτο ἐωυτὸν μὲν παρεξελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἐωυτοῦ παραστάτην ἀποκτεῖναι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐπίζηλον ἐπυθόμην λέγειν.

117. In the battle at Marathon about six thousand four hundred men of the foreigners were killed, and one hundred and ninety-two Athenians; that many fell on each side. The following marvel happened there: an Athenian, Epizelus son of Couphagoras, was fighting as a brave man in the battle when he was deprived of his sight, though struck or hit nowhere on his body, and from that time on he spent the rest of his life in blindness. I have heard that he tells this story about his misfortune: he saw opposing him a tall armed

man, whose beard overshadowed his shield, but the phantom passed him by and killed the man next to him. I learned by inquiry that this is the story Epizelus tells.

118 1 Δᾶτις δὲ πορευόμενος ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο ἐν Μυκόνῳ, εἶδε ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ. καὶ ἥτις μὲν ἦν ἡ ὄψις, οὐ λέγεται· ὁ δέ, ὥς ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐπέλαμψε, ζήτησιν ἐποιέετο τῶν νεῶν, εὐρῶν δὲ ἐν νηὶ Φοινίσσῃ ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος κεχρυσωμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν σεσυλημένον εἶη, πυθόμενος δὲ ἐξ οὗ ἦν ἱροῦ, ἔπλεε τῇ ἐωυτοῦ νηὶ ἐς Δῆλον· 2 καὶ ἀπίκато γὰρ τηρικαῦτα οἱ Δῆλιοι ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν νῆσον, κατατίθεται τε ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἐντέλλεται τοῖσι Δηλίοισι ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐς Δῆλιον τὸ Θηβαίων· τὸ δ' ἔστι ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ Χαλκίδος καταντίον. 3 Δᾶτις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος ἀπέπλεε, τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα τοῦτον Δῆλιοι οὐκ ἀπήγαγον, ἀλλὰ μιν δι' ἐτέων εἴκοσι Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐκομίσαντο ἐπὶ Δῆλιον.

118. Datis journeyed with his army to Asia, and when he arrived at Myconos he saw a vision in his sleep. What that vision was is not told, but as soon as day broke Datis made a search of his ships. He found in a Phoenician ship a gilded image of Apollo, and asked where this plunder had been taken. Learning from what temple it had come, he sailed in his own ship to Delos. The Delians had now returned to their island, and Datis set the image in the temple, instructing the Delians to carry it away to Theban Delium, on the coast opposite Chalcis. Datis gave this order and sailed away, but the Delians never carried that statue away; twenty years later the Thebans brought it to Delium by command of an oracle.

119 1 τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἑρετριέων ἀνδραποδισμένους Δᾶτις τε καὶ Ἀρταφρένης, ὥς προσέσχον πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίην πλέοντες, ἀνήγαγον ἐς Σοῦσα. βασιλεὺς δὲ Δαρεῖος, πρὶν μὲν αἰχμαλώτους γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἑρετριέας, ἐνεῖχε σφι δεινὸν χόλον, οἷα ἀρξάντων ἀδικίης προτέρων τῶν Ἑρετριέων· 2 ἐπεῖτε δὲ εἶδε σφέας ἀπαχθέντας παρ' ἐωυτὸν καὶ ἐωυτῷ ὑποχειρίους ἐόντας, ἐποίησε κακὸν ἄλλο οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ σφέας τῆς Κισσίας χώρας κατοίκησε ἐν σταθμῷ ἐωυτοῦ τῷ οὐνομα ἐστὶ Ἀρδέρικκα, ἀπὸ μὲν Σούσων δέκα καὶ διηκοσίους σταδίους ἀπέχοντι, τεσσεράκοντα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος τὸ παρέχεται τριφασίας ιδέας· καὶ γὰρ ἄσφατον καὶ ἄλας καὶ ἔλαιον ἀρύσσονται ἐξ αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ

τοιῷδε· 3 ἀντλέεται μὲν κηλωνήϊω, ἀντὶ δὲ γαυλοῦ ἡμισυ ἄσκοῦ οἱ προσδέδεται· ὑποτύψας δὲ τούτῳ ἀντλέει καὶ ἔπειτα ἐγγέει ἐς δεξαμενὴν· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς ἄλλο διαχεόμενον τρέπεται τριφασίας ὁδοῦς. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἄσφαλτος καὶ οἱ ἄλλες πήγνυνται παραυτίκα· τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον οἱ Πέρσαι καλέουσι τοῦτο ῥαδινάκην, ἔστι δὲ μέλαν καὶ ὀδμὴν παρεχόμενον βαρέαν. 4 ἐνθαῦτα τοὺς Ἑρετρίας κατοίκησε βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, οἳ καὶ μέχρι ἐμέο εἶχον τὴν χώραν ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἀρχαίην γλῶσσαν. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑρετρίας ἔσχε οὕτω.

119. When Datis and Artaphrenes reached Asia in their voyage, they carried the enslaved Eretrians inland to Susa. Before the Eretrians were taken captive, king Darius had been terribly angry with them for doing him unprovoked wrong; but when he saw them brought before him and subject to him, he did them no harm, but settled them in a domain of his own called Ardericca in the Cissian land; this place is two hundred and ten stadia distant from Susa, and forty from the well that is of three kinds. Asphalt and salt and oil are drawn from it in the following way: a windlass is used in the drawing, with half a skin tied to it in place of a bucket; this is dipped into the well and then poured into a tank; then what is drawn is poured into another tank and goes three ways: the asphalt and the salt congeal immediately; the oil, which the Persians call rhadinace, is dark and evil-smelling. There king Darius settled the Eretrians, and they dwelt in that place until my time, keeping their ancient language. Such was the fate of the Eretrians.

120 1 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἦκον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας δισχίλιοι μετὰ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἔχοντες σπουδὴν πολλὴν καταλαβεῖν, οὕτω ὥστε τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. ὕστεροι δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τῆς συμβολῆς ἱμείροντο ὅμως θεήσασθαι τοὺς Μήδους· ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα ἐθεήσαντο. μετὰ δὲ αἰνέοντες Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω.

120. After the full moon two thousand Lacedaemonians came to Athens, making such great haste to reach it that they were in Attica on the third day after leaving Sparta. Although they came too late for the battle, they desired to see the Medes, so they went to Marathon and saw them. Then they departed again, praising the Athenians and

their achievement.

121 1 θῶμα δέ μοι καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον Ἀλκμεωνίδας ἄν κοτε ἀναδέξαι Πέρσῃσι ἐκ συνθήματος ἀσπίδα, βουλομένους ὑπὸ βαρβάροισι τε εἶναι Ἀθηναίους καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰππῖη· οἵτινες μᾶλλον ἢ ὁμοίως Καλλίῃ τῷ Φαινίππῳ, Ἰππονίκου δὲ πατρί, φαίνονται μισοτύραννοι ἐόντες. 2 Καλλίης τε γὰρ μῦθος Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων ἐτόλμα, ὅκως Πεισίστρατος ἐκπέσοι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ κηρυσσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου ὠνέεσθαι, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἔχθιστα ἐς αὐτὸν πάντα ἐμχανᾶτο.

121. It is a wonder to me, and I do not believe the story, that the Alcmeonidae would ever have agreed to hold up a shield as a sign for the Persians out of a desire to make Athens subject to foreigners and to Hippias; for it is plain to see that they were tyrant-haters as much as Callias (son of Phaenippus and father of Hipponicus), or even more so. Callias was the only Athenian who dared to buy Pisistratus' possessions when they were put up for sale by the state after Pisistratus' banishment from Athens; and he devised other acts of bitter hatred against him.

122 1 [Καλλίῳ δὲ τούτου ἄξιον πολλαχοῦ μνήμην ἐστὶ πάντα τινὰ ἔχειν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὰ προλελεγμένα, ὥς ἀνὴρ ἄκρος ἐλευθερῶν τὴν πατρίδα· τοῦτο δὲ τὰ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἐποίησε· ἵπῳ νικήσας, τεθρίπῳ δὲ δεύτερος γενόμενος, Πύθια δὲ πρότερον ἀνελόμενος, ἐφανερῶθη ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας πάντας δαπάνῃσι μεγίστησι. 2 τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐωυτοῦ θυγατέρας ἐούσας τρεῖς οἴος τις ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐγίνοντο γάμου ὥραϊαι, ἔδωκε σφι δωρεὴν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην ἐκείνησί τε ἐχαρίσατο· ἐκ γὰρ πάντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἐκάστη ἐθέλοι ἄνδρα ἐωυτῇ ἐκλέξασθαι, ἔδωκε τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρί.]

122. [This Callias is worthy of all men's remembrance for many reasons: first, because he so excellently freed his country, as I have said; second, for what he did at Olympia, where he won a horserace, and was second in a four-horse chariot, after already winning a Pythian prize, and was the cynosure of all Hellas for the lavishness of his spending; and third, for his behavior regarding his three daughters. When they were of marriageable age, he gave them a most splendid gift and one very pleasant to them, promising that each

would wed that man whom she chose for herself from all the Athenians.]

123 1 καὶ οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ὁμοίως ἢ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν τούτου ἦσαν μισοτύραννοι. θῶμα ὦν μοι καὶ οὐ προσίεμαι τὴν διαβολὴν τούτους γε ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα, οἵτινες ἔφευγόν τε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τοὺς τυράννους, ἐκ μηχανῆς τε τῆς τούτων ἐξέλιπον Πεισιστρατίδαι τὴν τυραννίδα, 2 καὶ οὕτω τὰς Ἀθήνας οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐλευθερώσαντες πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ περ Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων, ὥς ἐγὼ κρίνω. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξηγρίωσαν τοὺς ὑπολοίπους Πεισιστρατιδέων Ἱππαρχον ἀποκτείναντες, οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον ἔπαυσαν τοὺς λοιποὺς τυραννεύοντας· Ἀλκμεωνίδαι δὲ ἐμφανέως ἠλευθέρωσαν, εἰ δὴ οὗτοί γε ἀληθέως ἦσαν οἱ τὴν Πυθίην ἀναπείσαντες προσημαίνειν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὥς μοι πρότερον δεδήλωται.

123. The Alcmeonidae were tyrant-haters as much as Callias, or not less so. Therefore I find it a strange and unbelievable accusation that they of all men should have held up a shield; at all times they shunned tyrants, and it was by their contrivance that the sons of Pisistratus were deposed from their tyranny. Thus in my judgment it was they who freed Athens much more than did Harmodius and Aristogeiton. These only enraged the remaining sons of Pisistratus by killing Hipparchus, and did nothing to end the tyranny of the rest of them; but the Alcmeonidae plainly liberated their country, if they truly were the ones who persuaded the Pythian priestess to signify to the Lacedaemonians that they should free Athens, as I have previously shown.

124 1 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως τι ἐπιμεμφόμενοι Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ προεδίδοσαν τὴν πατρίδα. οὐ μὲν ὦν ἦσαν σφέων ἄλλοι δοκιμώτεροι ἐν γε Ἀθηναίοισι ἄνδρες οὐδ' οἱ μᾶλλον ἐτετιμέατο. 2 οὕτω οὐδὲ λόγος αἰρέει ἀναδεχθῆναι ἐκ γε ἂν τούτων ἀσπίδα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ. ἀνεδέχθη μὲν γὰρ ἀσπίς, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλως εἰπεῖν· ἐγένετο γάρ· ὃς μέντοι ἦν ὁ ἀναδέξας, οὐκ ἔχω προσωτέρῳ εἰπεῖν τούτων.

124. Perhaps out of some grudge against the Athenian people they betrayed their country. But there were no others at Athens more esteemed or more honored than they; therefore plain reason forbids believing that they of all men could have held up the shield for any

such cause. A shield was held up; this cannot be denied, for it happened; but who did it I do not know, and I can say no further.

125 1 οἱ δὲ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ἦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν λαμπροὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἀθήνῃσι, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος καὶ αὐτὶς Μεγακλέος ἐγένοντο καὶ κάρτα λαμπροί. 2 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκμέων ὁ Μεγακλέος τοῖσι ἐκ Σαρδίων Λυδοῖσι παρὰ Κροῖσου ἀπικνεομένοισι ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι συμπρήκτωρ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ συνελάμβανε προθύμως, καὶ μιν Κροῖσος πυθόμενος τῶν Λυδῶν τῶν ἐς τὰ χρηστήρια φοιτεόντων ἐωυτὸν εὖ ποιέειν μεταπέμπεται ἐς Σάρδις, ἀπικόμενον δὲ δωρέεται χρυσῷ τὸν ἂν δύνηται τῷ ἐωυτοῦ σώματι ἐξενείκασθαι ἐσάπαξ. 3 ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμέων πρὸς τὴν δωρεὴν ἐοῦσαν τοιαύτην τοιάδε ἐπιτηδεύσας προσέφερε· ἐνδὺς κιθῶνα μέγαν καὶ κόλπον βαθὺν καταλιπόμενος τοῦ κιθῶνος, κοθόρνους τε τοὺς εὔρισκε εὐρυτάτους ἐόντας ὑποδησάμενος, ἦε ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν ἐς τὸν οἱ κατηγέοντο. 4 ἐσπεσὼν δὲ ἐς σωρὸν ψήγματος πρῶτα μὲν παρέσαξε παρὰ τὰς κνήμας τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὅσον ἐχώρεον οἱ κόθορνοι, μετὰ δὲ τὸν κόλπον πάντα πλησάμενος τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐς τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς διαπάσας τοῦ ψήγματος καὶ ἄλλο λαβὼν ἐς τὸ στόμα, ἐξῆιε ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἔλκων μὲν μόγις τοὺς κοθόρνους, παντὶ δὲ τεῷ οἰκῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ· τοῦ τό τε στόμα ἐβέβυστο καὶ πάντα ἐξώγκωτο. 5 ἰδόντα δὲ τὸν Κροῖσον γέλως ἐσῆλθε, καὶ οἱ πάντα τε ἐκεῖνα διδοῖ καὶ πρὸς ἕτερα δωρέεται οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἐκείνων. οὕτω μὲν ἐπλούτησε ἡ οἰκίη αὕτη μεγάλως, καὶ ὁ Ἀλκμέων οὕτως οὕτω τεθριπποτροφίας Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀναιρέται.

125. The Alcmeonidae had been men of renown at Athens even in the old days, and from the time of Alcmeon and then Megacles their renown increased. When the Lydians from Sardis came from Croesus to the Delphic oracle, Alcmeon son of Megacles worked with them and zealously aided them; when Croesus heard from the Lydians who visited the oracle of Alcmeon's benefits to him, he summoned Alcmeon to Sardis, and there made him a gift of as much gold as he could carry away at one time on his person. Considering the nature of the gift, Alcmeon planned and employed this device: he donned a wide tunic, leaving a deep fold in it, and put on the most spacious boots that he could find, then went into the treasury to which they led him. Falling upon a heap of gold-dust, first he packed next to his legs

as much gold as his boots would contain; then he filled all the fold of his tunic with gold and strewed the dust among the hair of his head, and took more of it into his mouth; when he came out of the treasury, hardly dragging the weight of his boots, he was like anything rather than a human being, with his mouth crammed full and all his body swollen. Croesus burst out laughing at the sight and gave him all the gold he already had and that much more again. Thus the family grew very rich; Alcmeon came to keep four-horse chariots and won with them at Olympia.

126 1 μετὰ δὲ γενεῇ δευτέρῃ ὕστερον Κλεισθένης αὐτὴν ὁ Σικυώνιος τύραννος ἐξήειρε, ὥστε πολλῶ ὀνομαστοτέρην γενέσθαι ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ἢ πρότερον ἦν. Κλεισθένει γὰρ τῷ Ἀριστωνύμου τοῦ Μύρωνος τοῦ Ἀνδρέω γίνεται θυγάτηρ τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀγαρίστη. ταύτην ἠθέλησε, Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων ἐξευρὼν τὸν ἄριστον, τούτῳ γυναῖκα προσθεῖναι. 2 Ὀλυμπίων ὧν ἐόντων καὶ νικῶν ἐν αὐτοῖσι τεθρίπῳ ὁ Κλεισθένης κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο, ὅστις Ἑλλήνων ἐωυτὸν ἀξιοῖ Κλεισθέneos γαμβρὸν γενέσθαι, ἤκειν ἐς ἐξηκοστὴν ἡμέρην ἢ καὶ πρότερον ἐς Σικυῶνα, ὡς κυρώσοντος Κλεισθέneos τὸν γάμον ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξηκοστῆς ἀρξαμένου ἡμέρης. 3 ἐνθαῦτα Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι σφίσι τε αὐτοῖσι ἦσαν καὶ πάτρῃ ἐξωγκωμένοι, ἐφοίτεον μνηστῆρες· τοῖσι Κλεισθένης καὶ δρόμον καὶ παλαίστην ποιησάμενος ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ εἶχε.

126. In the next generation Cleisthenes the tyrant of Sicyon raised that house still higher, so that it grew much more famous in Hellas than it had formerly been. Cleisthenes son of Aristonymus son of Myron son of Andreas had one daughter, whose name was Agariste. He desired to wed her to the best man he could find in Hellas. It was the time of the Olympian games, and when he was victor there with a four-horse chariot, Cleisthenes made a proclamation that whichever Greek thought himself worthy to be his son-in-law should come on the sixtieth day from then or earlier to Sicyon, and Cleisthenes would make good his promise of marriage in a year from that sixtieth day. Then all the Greeks who were proud of themselves and their country came as suitors, and to that end Cleisthenes had them compete in running and wrestling contests.

127 1 ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰταλίας ἦλθε Σμινδυρίδης ὁ Ἴπποκράτεος

Συβαρίτης, ὃς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὴ χλιδῆς εἷς ἀνὴρ ἀπίκετο (ἢ δὲ Σύβαρις ἥκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον μάλιστα), καὶ Σιρίτης Δάμασος Ἀμύριος τοῦ σοφοῦ λεγομένου παῖς. 2 οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Ἰταλῆς ἦλθον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου Ἀμφίμνηστος Ἐπιστρόφου Ἐπιδάμνιος· οὗτος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου. Αἰτωλὸς δὲ ἦλθε Τιτόρμου τοῦ ὑπερφύντος τε Ἑλλήνας ἰσχύι καὶ φυγόντος ἀνθρώπους ἐς τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τῆς Αἰτωλίδος χώρας, τούτου τοῦ Τιτόρμου ἀδελφεὸς Μάλης. 3 ἀπὸ δὲ Πελοποννήσου Φεῖδωνος τοῦ Ἀργείων τυράννου παῖς Λεωκίδης, Φεῖδωνος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα ποιήσαντος Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ ὑβρίσαντος μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων πάντων, ὃς ἐξαναστήσας τοὺς Ἥλείων ἀγωνοθέτας αὐτὸς τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τούτου τε δὴ παῖς καὶ Ἀμιάντος Λυκούργου Ἀρκὰς ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος, καὶ Ἄζην ἐκ Παίου πόλιος Λαφάνης Εὐφορίωνος τοῦ δεξαμένου τε, ὥς λόγος ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ λέγεται, τοὺς Διοσκούρους οἰκίοισι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ξεινοδοκέοντος πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ Ἥλεῖος Ὀνόμαστος Ἀγαίου. 4 οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦλθον, ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηνέων ἀπίκοντο Μεγακλῆς τε ὁ Ἀλκμέωνος τούτου τοῦ παρὰ Κροῖσον ἀπικομένου, καὶ ἄλλος Ἴπποκλείδης Τισάνδρου, πλούτῳ καὶ εἰδεῖ προφέρων Ἀθηναίων. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑρετρίης ἀνθεύσης τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λυσανίης· οὗτος δὲ ἀπ' Εὐβοίης μούνης. ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλῆς ἦλθε τῶν Σκοπαδέων Διακτορίδης Κρανώνιος, ἐκ δὲ Μολοσσῶν Ἄλκων.

127. From Italy came Smindyrides of Sybaris, son of Hippocrates, the most luxurious liver of his day (and Sybaris was then at the height of its prosperity), and Damasus of Siris, son of that Amyris who was called the Wise. These came from Italy; from the Ionian Gulf, Amphimnestus son of Epistrophus, an Epidamnian; he was from the Ionian Gulf. From Aetolia came Males, the brother of that Titormus who surpassed all the Greeks in strength, and fled from the sight of men to the farthest parts of the Aetolian land. From the Peloponnese came Leocedes, son of Phidon the tyrant of Argos, that Phidon who made weights and measures for the Peloponnesians and acted more arrogantly than any other Greek; he drove out the Elean contest-directors and held the contests at Olympia himself. This man's son now came, and Amiantus, an Arcadian from Trapezus, son of Lycurgus; and an Azenian from the town of Paeus, Laphanes, son of that Euphorion who, as the Arcadian tale relates, gave lodging to

the Dioscuri, and ever since kept open house for all men; and Onomastus from Elis, son of Agaeus. These came from the Peloponnese itself; from Athens Megacles, son of that Alcmeon who visited Croesus, and also Hippocleides son of Tisandrus, who surpassed the Athenians in wealth and looks. From Eretria, which at that time was prosperous, came Lysanias; he was the only man from Euboea. From Thessaly came a Scopad, Diactorides of Crannon; and from the Molossians, Alcon.

128 1 τοσοῦτοι μὲν ἐγένοντο οἱ μνηστῆρες. ἀπικομένων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέρην, ὁ Κλεισθένης πρῶτα μὲν τὰς πάτρας τε αὐτῶν ἀνεπύθετο καὶ γένος ἐκάστου, μετὰ δὲ κατέχων ἐνιαυτὸν διεπειρᾶτο αὐτῶν τῆς τε ἀνδραγαθίης καὶ τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ παιδευσίος τε καὶ τρόπου, καὶ ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ἰὼν ἐς συνουσίην καὶ συνάπασι, καὶ ἐς γυμνάσιά τε ἐξαγινέων ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν νεώτεροι, καὶ τό γε μέγιστον, ἐν τῇ συνεστίῃ διεπειρᾶτο· ὅσον γὰρ κατεῖχε χρόνον αὐτοῦς, τοῦτον πάντα ἐποίεε καὶ ἅμα ἐξείνιζε μεγαλοπρεπέως. 2 καὶ δὴ κου μάλιστα τῶν μνηστήρων ἠρέσκοντο οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων ἀπιγμένοι, καὶ τούτων μᾶλλον Ἴπποκλείδης ὁ Τισάνδρου καὶ κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην ἐκρίνετο καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν τοῖσι ἐν Κορίνθῳ Κυψελίδῃσι ἦν προσήκων.

128. These were the suitors. When they arrived on the appointed day, Cleisthenes first inquired the country and lineage of each; then he kept them with him for a year, testing their manliness and temper and upbringing and manner of life; this he did by consorting with them alone and in company, putting the younger of them to contests of strength, but especially watching their demeanor at the common meal; for as long as he kept them with him, he did everything for them and entertained them with magnificence. The suitors that most pleased him were the ones who had come from Athens, and of these Hippocleides son of Tisandrus was judged foremost, both for his manliness and because in ancestry he was related to the Cypselids of Corinth.

129 1 ὥς δὲ ἡ κυρὴ ἐγένετο τῶν ἡμερέων τῆς τε κατακλίσιος τοῦ γάμου καὶ ἐκφάσιος αὐτοῦ Κλεισθέneos τὸν κρίνει ἐκ πάντων, θύσας βοῦς ἑκατὸν ὁ Κλεισθένης εὐώχεε αὐτοῦς τε τοὺς μνηστῆρας καὶ Σικυωνίους πάντας. 2 ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγίνοντο, οἱ μνηστῆρες ἔριν

εἶχον ἀμφί τε μουσικῇ καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον. προϊούσης δὲ τῆς πόσιος κατέχων πολλὸν τοὺς ἄλλους ὁ Ἴπποκλείδης ἐκέλευσέ οἱ τὸν αὐλητὴν αὐλῆσαι ἐμμελεῖν, πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ αὐλητέω ὀρχήσατο. καὶ κως ἑωυτῷ μὲν ἄρεστῶς ὀρχέετο, ὁ Κλεισθένης δὲ ὀρέων ὅλον τὸ πρῆγμα ὑπώπτευε. 3 μετὰ δὲ ἐπισχὼν ὁ Ἴπποκλείδης χρόνον ἐκέλευσε τινὰ τράπεζαν ἐσενεῖκαι, ἐσελθούσης δὲ τῆς τραπέζης πρῶτα μὲν ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ὀρχήσατο Λακωνικὰ σχημάτια, μετὰ δὲ ἄλλα Ἀττικά, τὸ τρίτον δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐρείσας ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τοῖσι σκέλεσι ἐχειρονόμησε. 4 Κλεισθένης δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ τὰ δεύτερα ὀρχεομένου, ἀποστυγέων γαμβρὸν ἄν οἱ ἔτι γενέσθαι Ἴπποκλείδεα διὰ τὴν τε ὀρχησιν καὶ τὴν ἀναιδείην, κατεῖχε ἑωυτόν, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐκραγῆναι ἐς αὐτόν· ὥς δὲ εἶδε τοῖσι σκέλεσι χειρονομήσαντα, οὐκέτι κατέχειν δυνάμενος εἶπε “ὦ παῖ Τισάνδρου, ἀπορχήσαό γε μὲν τὸν γάμον”. ὁ δὲ Ἴπποκλείδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε “οὐ φροντίς Ἴπποκλείδῃ”. ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται.

129. When the appointed day came for the marriage feast and for Cleisthenes' declaration of whom he had chosen out of them all, Cleisthenes sacrificed a hundred oxen and gave a feast to the suitors and to the whole of Sicyon. After dinner the suitors vied with each other in music and in anecdotes for all to hear. As they sat late drinking, Hippocleides, now far outdoing the rest, ordered the flute-player to play him a dance-tune; the flute-player obeyed and he began to dance. I suppose he pleased himself with his dancing, but Cleisthenes saw the whole business with much disfavor. Hippocleides then stopped for a while and ordered a table to be brought in; when the table arrived, he danced Laconian figures on it first, and then Attic; last of all he rested his head on the table and made gestures with his legs in the air. Now Cleisthenes at the first and the second bout of dancing could no more bear to think of Hippocleides as his son-in-law, because of his dancing and his shamelessness, but he had held himself in check, not wanting to explode at Hippocleides; but when he saw him making gestures with his legs, he could no longer keep silence and said, "son of Tisandrus, you have danced away your marriage." Hippocleides said in answer, "It does not matter to Hippocleides!" Since then this is proverbial.

130 1 Κλεισθένης δὲ σιγὴν ποιησάμενος ἔλεξε ἐς μέσον τάδε.

“ἄνδρες παιδὸς τῆς ἐμῆς μνηστῆρες, ἐγὼ καὶ πάντας ὑμέας ἐπαινέω καὶ πᾶσι ὑμῖν, εἰ οἶόν τε εἴη, χαρίζοίμην ἄν, μήτ’ ἓνα ὑμέων ἐξαίρετον ἀποκρίνων μήτε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποδοκιμάζων. 2 ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ οἶά τε ἐστὶ μῆς πέρι παρθένου βουλευόντα πᾶσι κατὰ νόον ποιεῖν, τοῖσι μὲν ὑμέων ἀπελαινομένοισι τοῦδε τοῦ γάμου τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκάστω δωρεὴν δίδωμι τῆς ἀξιώσιος εἵνεκα τῆς ἐξ ἐμεῦ γῆμαι καὶ τῆς ἐξ οἴκου ἀποδημίας, τῷ δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος Μεγακλεί ἐγγυῶ παῖδα τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀγαρίστην νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίων”. φαμένου δὲ ἐγγυᾶσθαι Μεγακλέος ἐκεκύρωτο ὁ γάμος Κλεισθένει.

130. Then Cleisthenes bade them all be silent and spoke to the company at large: “Suitors for my daughter’s hand, I thank you one and all; if it were possible I would grant each of you his wish, neither choosing out one to set him above another nor disparaging the rest. But since I have but one maiden to plan for and so cannot please all of you, to those of you whose suit is rejected I make a gift of a talent of silver to each, for his desire to take a wife from my house and for his sojourn away from his home; and to Megacles son of Alcmeon do I betroth my daughter Agariste, by the laws of the Athenians.” Megacles accepted the betrothal, and Cleisthenes brought the marriage to pass.

131 1 ἀμφὶ μὲν κρίσιος τῶν μνηστήρων τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο καὶ οὕτω Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ἐβώσθησαν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. τούτων δὲ συνοικησάντων γίνεται Κλεισθένης τε ὁ τὰς φυλάς καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίην Ἀθηναίοισι καταστήσας, ἔχων τὸ οὔνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ μητροπάτορος τοῦ Σικωνίου· 2 οὗτός τε δὴ γίνεται Μεγακλεί καὶ Ἴπποκράτης, ἐκ δὲ Ἴπποκράτεος Μεγακλέης τε ἄλλος καὶ Ἀγαρίστη ἄλλη ἀπὸ τῆς Κλεισθένεος Ἀγαρίστης ἔχουσα τὸ οὔνομα· ἡ συνοικήσασά τε Ξανθίππῳ τῷ Ἀρίφρονος καὶ ἔγκυος ἐοῦσα εἶδε ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, ἐδόκεε δὲ λέοντα τεκεῖν, καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τίκτει Περικλέα Ξανθίππῳ.

131. Such is the tale of the choice among the suitors; and thus the fame of the Alcmeonidae resounded throughout Hellas. From this marriage was born that Cleisthenes, named after his mother’s father from Sicyon, who gave the Athenians their tribes and their democracy; he and Hippocrates were born to Megacles; Hippocrates was father of another Megacles and another Agariste, called after

Agariste who was Cleisthenes' daughter. She was married to Xanthippus son of Ariphron, and when she was pregnant she saw in her sleep a vision in which she thought she gave birth to a lion. In a few days she bore Xanthippus a son, Pericles.

132 1 μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι τρῶμα γενόμενον Μιλτιάδης, καὶ πρότερον εὐδοκίμων παρὰ Ἀθηναίοισι, τότε μᾶλλον αὖξετο. αἰτήσας δὲ νέας ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ στρατιὴν τε καὶ χρήματα Ἀθηναίους, οὐ φράσας σφί ἐπ' ἣν ἐπιστρατεύσεται χώραν, ἀλλὰ φὰς αὐτοὺς καταπλουτιεῖν ἣν οἱ ἔπωνται· ἐπὶ γὰρ χώραν τοιαύτην δὴ τινα ἄξειν ὅθεν χρυσὸν εὐπετέως ἄφθονον οἴσονται· λέγων τοιαῦτα αἶτε τὰς νέας. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τούτοις ἐπαερθέντες παρέδωσαν.

132. After the Persian disaster at Marathon, the reputation of Miltiades, already great at Athens, very much increased. He asked the Athenians for seventy ships, an army, and money, not revealing against what country he would lead them, but saying that he would make them rich if they followed him; he would bring them to a country from which they could easily carry away an abundance of gold; so he said when he asked for the ships. The Athenians were induced by these promises and granted his request.

133 1 παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης τὴν στρατιὴν ἔπλεε ἐπὶ Πάρον, πρόφασιν ἔχων ὥς οἱ Πάριοι ὑπῆρξαν πρότεροι στρατευόμενοι τριήρεσι ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρόσχημα λόγων ἦν, ἀτὰρ τινα καὶ ἔγκοτον εἶχε τοῖσι Παρίοις διὰ Λυσαγόρεα τὸν Τισίεω, ἐόντα γένος Πάριον, διαβαλόντα μιν πρὸς Ὑδάρνεα τὸν Πέρσῃν. 2 ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπ' ἣν ἔπλεε ὁ Μιλτιάδης τῇ στρατιῇ ἐπολιόρκεε Παρίους κατειλημένους ἐντὸς τείχεος, καὶ ἐσπέμπων κήρυκα αἶτε ἐκατὸν τάλαντα, φὰς, ἣν μιν οὐ δῶσι, οὐκ ἀπονοστήσειν τὴν στρατιὴν πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλῃ σφέας. 3 οἱ δὲ Πάριοι ὅκως μὲν τι δώσουσι Μιλτιάδῃ ἀργύριον οὐδὲ διενοεῦντο, οἱ δὲ ὅκως διαφυλάξουσιν τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο ἐμηχανῶντο, ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενοι καὶ τῇ μάλιστα ἔσκε ἐκάστοτε ἐπίμαχον τοῦ τείχεος, τοῦτο ἅμα νυκτὶ ἐξηίρετο διπλήσιον τοῦ ἀρχαίου.

133. Miltiades took his army and sailed for Paros, on the pretext that the Parians had brought this on themselves by first sending triremes with the Persian fleet to Marathon. Such was the pretext of his argument, but he had a grudge against the Parians because

Lysagoras son of Tisias, a man of Parian descent, had slandered him to Hydarnes the Persian. When he reached his voyage's destination, Miltiades with his army drove the Parians inside their walls and besieged them; he sent in a herald and demanded a hundred talents, saying that if they did not give it to him, his army would not return home before it had stormed their city. The Parians had no intention of giving Miltiades any money at all, and they contrived how to defend their city. They did this by building their wall at night to double its former height where it was most assailable, and also by other devices.

134 1 ἐς μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτο τοῦ λόγου οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτοὶ Πάριοι γενέσθαι ὧδε λέγουσι. Μιλτιάδῃ ἀπορέοντι ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους αἰχμάλωτον γυναῖκα, ἐοῦσαν μὲν Παρίην γένος, οὖνομα δέ οἱ εἶναι Τιμοῦν, εἶναι δὲ ὑποζάκορον τῶν χθονίων θεῶν· ταύτην ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς ὅσιν Μιλτιάδεω συμβουλευῆσαι, εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖται Πάρον ἐλεῖν, τὰ ἂν αὐτὴ ὑποθῇται, ταῦτα ποιέειν. 2 μετὰ δὲ τὴν μὲν ὑποθέσθαι, τὸν δὲ διερχόμενον ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἔοντα ἔρκος θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος ὑπερθορεῖν, οὐ δυνάμενον τὰς θύρας ἀνοῖξαι, ὑπερθορόντα δὲ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸ μέγαρον ὃ τι δὴ ποιήσοντα ἐντός, εἴτε κινήσοντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων εἴτε ὃ τι δὴ κοτε πρήξοντα· πρὸς τῇσι θύρησιν τε γενέσθαι καὶ πρόκατε φρίκης αὐτὸν ὑπελθούσης ὀπίσω τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἵεσθαι, καταθρόσκοντα δὲ τὴν αἵμασιπὴν τὸν μηρόν σπασθῆναι· οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ γόνυ προσπταῖσαι λέγουσι.

134. All the Greeks tell the same story up to this point; after this the Parians themselves say that the following happened: as Miltiades was in a quandary, a captive woman named Timo, Parian by birth and an under-priestess of the goddesses of the dead, came to talk with him. Coming before Miltiades, she advised him, if taking Paros was very important to him, to do whatever she suggested. Then, following her advice, he passed through to the hill in front of the city and jumped over the fence of the precinct of Demeter the Lawgiver, since he was unable to open the door. After leaping over, he went to the shrine, whether to move something that should not be moved, or with some other intention. When he was right at the doors, he was immediately seized with panic and hurried back by the same route;

leaping down from the wall he twisted his thigh, but some say he hit his knee.

135 1 Μιλτιάδης μὲν νυν φλαύρως ἔχων ἀπέπλεε ὀπίσω, οὔτε χρήματα Ἀθηναίοισι ἄγων οὔτε Πάρον προσκτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ πολιορκήσας τε ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι ἡμέρας καὶ δηιώσας τὴν νῆσον. 2 Πάριοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ὥς ἡ ὑποζάκορος τῶν θεῶν Τιμὴ Μιλτιάδη κατηγήσατο, βουλόμενοί μιν ἀντὶ τούτων τιμωρήσασθαι, θεοπρόπους πέμπουσι ἐς Δελφούς ὥς σφεας ἡσυχίῃ τῆς πολιορκίης ἔσχε· ἔπεμπον δὲ ἐπειρησομένους εἰ καταχρήσονται τὴν ὑποζάκορον τῶν θεῶν τὴν ἐξηγησαμένην τοῖσι ἐχθροῖσι τῆς πατρίδος ἄλωσιν καὶ τὰ ἐς ἔρσενα γόνον ἄρρητα ἱρὰ ἐκφήνασαν Μιλτιάδῃ. 3 ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οὐκ ἔα, φᾶσα οὐ Τιμοῦν εἶναι τὴν αἰτίην τούτων, ἀλλὰ δεῖν γὰρ Μιλτιάδεα τελευτᾶν μὴ εὖ, φανῆναι οἱ τῶν κακῶν κατηγεμόνα.

135. So Miltiades sailed back home in a sorry condition, neither bringing money for the Athenians nor having won Paros; he had besieged the town for twenty-six days and ravaged the island. The Parians learned that Timo the under-priestess of the goddesses had been Miltiades' guide and desired to punish her for this. Since they now had respite from the siege, they sent messengers to Delphi to ask if they should put the under-priestess to death for guiding their enemies to the capture of her native country, and for revealing to Miltiades the rites that no male should know. But the Pythian priestess forbade them, saying that Timo was not responsible: Miltiades was doomed to make a bad end, and an apparition had led him in these evils.

136 1 παρίοισι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐκ Πάρου Μιλτιάδεα ἀπονοστήσαντα ἔσχον ἐν στόμασι οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ μάλιστα Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος, ὃς θανάτου ὑπαγαγὼν ὑπὸ τὸν δῆμον Μιλτιάδεα ἐδίωκε τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀπάτης εἵνεκεν. 2 Μιλτιάδης δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν παρεὼν οὐκ ἀπελογέετο· ἦν γὰρ ἀδύνατος ὥστε σηπομένου τοῦ μηροῦ· προκειμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν κλίνῃ ὑπεραπελογέοντο οἱ φίλοι, τῆς μάχης τε τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης πολλὰ ἐπιμεμνημένοι καὶ τὴν Λήμνου αἵρεσιν, ὥς ἐλὼν Λημνόν τε καὶ τισάμενος τοὺς Πελασγοὺς παρέδωκε Ἀθηναίοισι. 3 προσγενομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ θανάτου, ζημιώσαντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀδικίην πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις, Μιλτιάδης

μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα σφακελίσαντός τε τοῦ μηροῦ καὶ σαπέντος τελευτᾷ, τὰ δὲ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἐξέτισε ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Κίμων.

136. Such was the priestess' reply to the Parians. The Athenians had much to say about Miltiades on his return from Paros, especially Xanthippus son of Ariphron, who prosecuted Miltiades before the people for deceiving the Athenians and called for the death penalty. Miltiades was present but could not speak in his own defense, since his thigh was festering; he was laid before the court on a couch, and his friends spoke for him, often mentioning the fight at Marathon and the conquest of Lemnos: how Miltiades had punished the Pelasgians and taken Lemnos, delivering it to the Athenians. The people took his side as far as not condemning him to death, but they fined him fifty talents for his wrongdoing. Miltiades later died of gangrene and rot in his thigh, and the fifty talents were paid by his son Cimon.

137 1 Αἱμῶν δὲ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος ὧδε ἔσχε. Πελασγοὶ ἐπεῖτε ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐξεβλήθησαν, εἴτε ὧν δὴ δικαίως εἴτε ἀδίκως· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι, πλὴν τὰ λεγόμενα, ὅτι Ἑκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Ἥγησάνδρου ἔφησε ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι λέγων ἀδίκως· 2 ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν χώραν, τὴν σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ὑπὸ τὸν Ὑμησσὸν ἐοῦσαν ἔδοσαν Πελασγοῖσι οἰκῆσαι μισθὸν τοῦ τείχεος τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κοτὲ ἐληλαμένου, ταύτην ὡς ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξεργασμένην εὔ, τὴν πρότερον εἶναι κακὴν τε καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀξίην, λαβεῖν φθόνον τε καὶ ἡμέρον τῆς γῆς, καὶ οὕτω ἐξελαύνειν αὐτοὺς οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην πρόφασιν προϊσχομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. 3 ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, δικαίως ἐξελάσαι. κατοικημένους γὰρ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ὑμησσῷ, ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμωμένους ἀδικεῖν τάδε. φοιτᾶν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰς σφετέρας θυγατέρας τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον σφίσι κω οὐδὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσι οἰκέτας· ὅκως δὲ ἔλθοιεν αὗται, τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ ὕβριός τε καὶ ὀλιγωρίας βιάσθαι σφέας. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι σφι οὐκ ἀποχρᾶν ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τέλος καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἐπιχείρησιν φανῆναι ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ. 4 ἐωυτοὺς δὲ γενέσθαι τοσούτῳ ἐκείνων ἄνδρας ἀμείνονας, ὅσῳ, παρεὼν ἐωυτοῖσι ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς Πελασγοὺς, ἐπεὶ σφεας ἔλαβον ἐπιβουλεύοντας, οὐκ ἐθέλησαι, ἀλλὰ σφι προειπεῖν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξιέναι. τοὺς δὲ οὕτω δὴ ἐκχωρήσαντας ἄλλα τε σχεῖν χωρία καὶ δὴ

καὶ Λῆμνον. ἐκεῖνα μὲν δὴ Ἑκαταῖος ἔλεξε, ταῦτα δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι.

137. Miltiades son of Cimon took possession of Lemnos in this way: When the Pelasgians were driven out of Attica by the Athenians, whether justly or unjustly I cannot say, beyond what is told; namely, that Hecataeus the son of Hegesandrus declares in his history that the act was unjust; for when the Athenians saw the land under Hymettus, formerly theirs, which they had given to the Pelasgians as a dwelling-place in reward for the wall that had once been built around the acropolis — when the Athenians saw how well this place was tilled which previously had been bad and worthless, they were envious and coveted the land, and so drove the Pelasgians out on this and no other pretext. But the Athenians themselves say that their reason for expelling the Pelasgians was just. The Pelasgians set out from their settlement at the foot of Hymettus and wronged the Athenians in this way: Neither the Athenians nor any other Hellenes had servants yet at that time, and their sons and daughters used to go to the Nine Wells for water; and whenever they came, the Pelasgians maltreated them out of mere arrogance and pride. And this was not enough for them; finally they were caught in the act of planning to attack Athens. The Athenians were much better men than the Pelasgians, since when they could have killed them, caught plotting as they were, they would not so do, but ordered them out of the country. The Pelasgians departed and took possession of Lemnos, besides other places. This is the Athenian story; the other is told by Hecataeus.

138 1 οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι Λῆμνον τότε νεμόμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι, εὖ τε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὰς Ἀθηναίων ὀρτάς, πεντηκοντέρους κτησάμενοι ἐλόχησαν Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν Βραυρῶνι ἀγούσας ὀρτὴν τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀρπάσαντες τουτέων πολλὰς οἶχοντο ἀποπλέοντες, καὶ σφεας ἐς Λῆμνον ἀγαγόντες παλλακὰς εἶχον. 2 ὥς δὲ τέκνων αὐταὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ὑπεπλήσθησαν, γλῶσσάν τε τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τρόπους τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἐδίδασκον τοὺς παῖδας. οἱ δὲ οὔτε συμμίσγεσθαι τοῖσι ἐκ τῶν Πελασγίδων γυναικῶν παισὶ ἤθελον, εἴ τε τύπτοιό τις αὐτῶν τινός, ἐβοήθεόν τε πάντες καὶ ἐτιμώρεον ἀλλήλοισι· καὶ δὴ καὶ

ἄρχειν τε τῶν παίδων οἱ παῖδες ἐδικαίειν καὶ πολλῶ ἐπεκράτεον. 3
μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἐωυτοῖσι λόγους ἐδίδοσαν· καὶ σφι
βουλευομένοισι δεινόν τι ἐσέδυνε, εἰ δὴ διαγινώσκοιεν σφίσι τε
βοηθέειν οἱ παῖδες πρὸς τῶν κουριδιέων γυναικῶν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ
τούτων αὐτίκα ἄρχειν πειρώατο, τί δὴ ἀνδρωθέντες δῆθεν ποιήσουσι.
4 ἐνθαῦτα ἔδοξε σφι κτείνειν τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀττικέων
γυναικῶν. ποιεῦσι δὴ ταῦτα, προσαπολλύουσι δὲ σφέων καὶ τὰς
μητέρας. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τοῦ προτέρου τούτων, τὸ
ἐργάσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες τοὺς ἅμα Θόαντι ἄνδρας σφετέρους
ἀποκτείνασαι, νενόμισται ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ σχέτλια ἔργα πάντα
Λήμνια καλέεσθαι.

138. These Pelasgians dwelt at that time in Lemnos and desired
vengeance on the Athenians. Since they well knew the time of the
Athenian festivals, they acquired fifty-oared ships and set an ambush
for the Athenian women celebrating the festival of Artemis at
Brauron. They seized many of the women, then sailed away with
them and brought them to Lemnos to be their concubines. These
women bore more and more children, and they taught their sons the
speech of Attica and Athenian manners. These boys would not mix
with the sons of the Pelasgian women; if one of them was beaten by
one of the others, they would all run to his aid and help each other;
these boys even claimed to rule the others, and were much stronger.
When the Pelasgians perceived this, they took counsel together; it
troubled them much in their deliberations to think what the boys
would do when they grew to manhood, if they were resolved to help
each other against the sons of the lawful wives and attempted to rule
them already. Thereupon the Pelasgians resolved to kill the sons of
the Attic women; they did this, and then killed the boys' mothers
also. From this deed and the earlier one which was done by the
women when they killed their own husbands who were Thoas'
companions, a "Lemnian crime" has been a proverb in Hellas for any
deed of cruelty.

139 1 ἀποκτείνασι δὲ τοῖσι Πελασγοῖσι τοὺς σφετέρους παῖδάς τε
καὶ γυναῖκας οὔτε γῆ καρπὸν ἔφερε οὔτε γυναῖκές τε καὶ ποῖμναι
ὁμοίως ἔτικτον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ. πιεζόμενοι δὲ λιμῶ καὶ ἀπαιδιῇ ἐς
Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον λύσιν τινὰ αἰτησόμενοι τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν. 2 ἡ

δὲ Πυθίῃ σφέας ἐκέλευε Ἀθηναίοισι δίκας διδόναι ταύτας τὰς ἂν αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι δικάσωσι. ἦλθόν τε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ Πελασγοὶ καὶ δίκας ἐπαγγέλλοντο βουλόμενοι διδόναι παντὸς τοῦ ἀδικήματος. 3 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ πρυτανίῳ κλίνην στρώσαντες ὥς εἶχον κάλλιστα καὶ τράπεζαν ἐπιπλέην ἀγαθῶν πάντων παραθέντες, ἐκέλευον τοὺς Πελασγοὺς τὴν χώραν σφίσι παραδιδόναι οὕτω ἔχουσαν. 4 οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ὑπολαβόντες εἶπαν “ἐπεὰν βορρὴ ἀνέμῳ αὐτημερὸν ἐξανύσῃ νηὺς ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, τότε παραδώσομεν”, ἐπιστάμενοι τοῦτο εἶναι ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι. ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ πρὸς νότον κεῖται πολλὸν τῆς Λήμνου.

139. But when the Pelasgians had murdered their own sons and women, their land brought forth no fruit, nor did their wives and their flocks and herds bear offspring as before. Crushed by hunger and childlessness, they sent to Delphi to ask for some release from their present ills. The Pythian priestess ordered them to pay the Athenians whatever penalty the Athenians themselves judged. The Pelasgians went to Athens and offered to pay the penalty for all their wrongdoing. The Athenians set in their town-hall a couch adorned as finely as possible, and placed beside it a table covered with all manner of good things, then ordered the Pelasgians to deliver their land to them in the same condition. The Pelasgians answered, “We will deliver it when a ship with a north wind accomplishes the voyage from your country to ours in one day”; they supposed that this was impossible, since Attica is far to the south of Lemnos.

140 1 τότε μὲν τοιαῦτα· ἔτεσι δὲ κάρτα πολλοῖσι ὕστερον τούτων, ὥς ἡ Χερσόνησος ἢ ἐπ’ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίοισι, Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων κατεστηκότων νηὶ κατανύσας ἐξ Ἑλαιοῦντος τοῦ ἐν Χερσονήσῳ ἐς Λῆμνον προηγόρευε ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς νήσου τοῖσι Πελασγοῖσι, ἀναμμνήσκων σφέας τὸ χρηστήριον, τὸ οὐδαμὰ ἥλπισαν σφίσι οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἐπιτελέεσθαι. 2 Ἡφαιστιέες μὲν νυν ἐπείθοντο, Μυριναῖοι δὲ οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι εἶναι τὴν Χερσόνησον Ἀττικὴν ἐπολιορκέοντο, ἐς ὃ καὶ οὗτοι παρέστησαν. οὕτω δὴ τὴν Λῆμνον ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ Μιλτιάδης.

140. At the time that was all. But a great many years later, when the Chersonese on the Hellespont was made subject to Athens,

Miltiades son of Cimon accomplished the voyage from Elaeus on the Chersonese to Lemnos with the Etesian winds then constantly blowing; he proclaimed that the Pelasgians must leave their island, reminding them of the oracle which the Pelasgians thought would never be fulfilled. The Hephaestians obeyed, but the Myrinaeans would not agree that the Chersonese was Attica and were besieged, until they too submitted. Thus did Miltiades and the Athenians take possession of Lemnos.

Βιβλίο Ζ – Πολύμνια. Book VII.

1 1 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγγελίῃ ἀπίκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον τὸν Ὑστάσπεος, καὶ πρὶν μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὴν ἐς Σάρδεις ἐσβολήν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῶ τε δεινότερα ἐποίεε καὶ μᾶλλον ὄρμητο στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. 2 καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλιν ἐτοιμάζειν στρατὴν, πολλῶ πλέω ἐπιτάσσεων ἐκάστοισι ἢ πρότερον παρέχειν, καὶ νέας τε καὶ ἵππους καὶ σῖτον καὶ πλοῖα. τούτων δὲ περιαγγελλομένων ἡ Ἀσίη ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτα, καταλεγομένων τε τῶν ἀρίστων ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευομένων καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. 3 τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ Καμβύσει δουλωθέντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὄρμητο καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι.

1. When the message concerning the fight at Marathon came to Darius son of Hystaspes, already greatly angry against the Athenians for their attack upon Sardis, he was now much more angry and eager to send an expedition against Hellas. Immediately he sent messengers to all the cities and commanded them to equip an army, instructing each to provide many more ships and horses and provisions and transport vessels than they had before. Asia was in commotion with these messages for three years, as the best men were enrolled for service against Hellas and made preparations. In the fourth year the Egyptians, whom Cambyzes had enslaved, revolted from the Persians; thereupon Darius was even more eager to send expeditions against both.

2 1 στελλομένου δὲ Δαρείου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ἀθήνας, τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ στάσις ἐγένετο μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὥς δεῖ μιν ἀποδέξαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι. 2 ἦσαν γὰρ Δαρεῖω καὶ πρότερον ἢ βασιλεῦσαι γεγονότες τρεῖς παῖδες ἐκ τῆς προτέρης γυναικός, Γοβρύεω θυγατρός, καὶ βασιλεύσαντι ἐξ Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου ἕτεροι τέσσερες. τῶν μὲν δὴ προτέρων ἐπρέσβευε Ἀρτοβαζάνης, τῶν δὲ ἐπιγενομένων Ξέρξης. ἐόντες δὲ μητρός οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστασίαζον, 3 ὁ μὲν Ἀρτοβαζάνης κατότι πρεσβυτάτος τε εἶη παντὸς τοῦ γόνου καὶ ὅτι νομιζόμενον εἶη πρὸς

πάντων ἀνθρώπων τὸν πρεσβύτατον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν, Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς Ἀτόσσης τε παῖς εἴη τῆς Κύρου θυγατρὸς καὶ ὅτι Κῦρος εἴη ὁ κτησάμενος τοῖσι Πέρσησι τὴν ἐλευθερίην.

2. But while Darius was making preparations against Egypt and Athens, a great quarrel arose among his sons concerning the chief power in the land. They held that before his army marched he must declare an heir to the kingship according to Persian law. Three sons had been born to Darius before he became king by his first wife, the daughter of Gobryas, and four more after he became king by Atossa daughter of Cyrus. Artobazanes was the oldest of the earlier sons, Xerxes of the later; and as sons of different mothers they were rivals. Artobazanes pleaded that he was the oldest of all Darius' offspring and that it was everywhere customary that the eldest should rule; Xerxes argued that he was the son of Cyrus' daughter Atossa and that it was Cyrus who had won the Persians their freedom.

3 ὁ Δαρεῖος δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνυμένου κω γνώμην, ἐτύγχανε κατὰ τὸν τοῦτοισι καὶ Δημάριτος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος ἀναβεβηκὼς ἐς Σοῦσα, ἐστερημένος τε τῆς ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλείης καὶ φυγὴν ἐπιβαλὼν ἑαυτῷ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος. 2 οὗτος ὠνήρ πυθόμενος τῶν Δαρεῖου παίδων τὴν διαφορὴν, ἐλθὼν, ὡς ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει, Ξέρξῃ συνεβούλευε λέγειν πρὸς τοῖσι ἔλεγε ἔπεσι, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν γένοιτο Δαρεῖω ἤδη βασιλεύοντι καὶ ἔχοντι τὸ Περσέων κράτος, Ἀρτοβαζάνης δὲ ἔτι ἰδιώτῃ ἐόντι Δαρεῖω· 3 οὐκὼν οὔτε οἶκός εἴη οὔτε δίκαιον ἄλλον τινὰ τὸ γέρας ἔχειν πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ· ἐπεὶ γε καὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἔφη ὁ Δημάριτος ὑποτιθέμενος οὕτω νομίζεσθαι, ἣν οἱ μὲν προγεγονότες ἔωσι πρὶν ἢ τὸν πατέρα σφέων βασιλεῦσαι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεύοντι ὀψίγονος ἐπιγένηται, τοῦ ἐπιγενομένου τὴν ἐκδεξιν τῆς βασιλείης γίνεσθαι. 4 χρησαμένου δὲ Ξέρξεω τῇ Δημαρήτου ὑποθήκῃ, γνοὺς ὁ Δαρεῖος ὡς λέγοι δίκαια βασιλέα μιν ἀπέδεξε. δοκέειν δέ μοι, καὶ ἄνευ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθήκης βασιλεῦσαι ἂν Ξέρξης· ἡ γὰρ Ἀτοσσα εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος.

3. While Darius delayed making his decision, it chanced that at this time Demaratus son of Ariston had come up to Susa, in voluntary exile from Lacedaemonia after he had lost the kingship of Sparta. Learning of the contention between the sons of Darius, this man, as the story goes, came and advised Xerxes to add this to what

he said: that he had been born when Darius was already king and ruler of Persia, but Artobazanes when Darius was yet a subject; therefore it was neither reasonable nor just that anyone should have the royal privilege before him. At Sparta too (advised Demaratus) it was customary that if sons were born before their father became king, and another son born later when the father was king, the succession to the kingship belongs to the later-born. Xerxes followed Demaratus advice, and Darius judged his plea to be just and declared him king. But to my thinking Xerxes would have been made king even without this advice, for Atossa held complete sway.

4 1 ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσῃσι Ξέρξεα Δαρεῖος ὀρμᾶτο στρατεύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρω ἔτει παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεκε αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον, βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα ἔτεα, ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι.

4. After declaring Xerxes king, Darius was intent on his expedition. But in the year after this and the revolt of Egypt, death came upon him in the midst of his preparations, after a reign of six and thirty years in all, and it was not granted to him to punish either the revolted Egyptians or the Athenians.

5 1 ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου ἡ βασιληὴ ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ξέρξην. ὁ τοίνυν Ξέρξης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμος ἦν κατ' ἀρχὰς στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἐποιέετο στρατιῆς ἄγερσιν. παρεὼν δὲ καὶ δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γοβρύεω, ὃς ἦν Ξέρξῃ μὲν ἀνεψιὸς Δαρείου δὲ ἀδελφεῆς παῖς, τοιούτου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων 2 “δέσποτα, οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι Ἀθηναίους ἐργασαμένους πολλὰ δὴ κακὰ Πέρσας μὴ οὐ δοῦναι δίκην τῶν ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσσοις τά περ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις· ἡμερώσας δὲ Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατηλάτεε ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἵνα λόγος τέ σε ἔχη πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθός, καὶ τις ὕστερον φυλάσσηται ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατεύεσθαι”. 3 οὗτος μὲν οἱ ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός· τοῦδε δὲ τοῦ λόγου παρενθήκην ποιέέσκετο τήνδε, ὡς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλὴς εἴη χώρα, καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἡμερα, ἀρετὴν τε ἄκρη, βασιλεί τε μούνῳ θνητῶν ἀξίη ἐκτῆσθαι.

5. After Darius' death, the royal power descended to his son Xerxes. Now Xerxes was at first by no means eager to march against Hellas; it was against Egypt that he mustered his army. But Mardonius son of Gobryas, Xerxes cousin and the son of Darius' sister, was with the king and had more influence with him than any Persian. He argued as follows: "Master, it is not fitting that the Athenians should go unpunished for their deeds, after all the evil they have done to the Persians. For now you should do what you have in hand; then, when you have tamed the insolence of Egypt, lead your armies against Athens, so that you may have fair fame among men, and others may beware of invading your realm in the future." This argument was for vengeance, but he kept adding that Europe was an extremely beautiful land, one that bore all kinds of orchard trees, a land of highest excellence, worthy of no mortal master but the king.

6 1 ταῦτα ἔλεγε οἷα νεωτέρων ἔργων ἐπιθυμητῆς ἐὼν καὶ θέλων αὐτὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπαρχος εἶναι. χρόνῳ δὲ κατεργάσατό τε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ὥστε ποιέειν ταῦτα Ξέρξην· συνέλαβε γάρ καὶ ἄλλα οἱ σύμμαχα γινόμενα ἐς τὸ πείθεσθαι Ξέρξην. 2 τοῦτο μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλίας παρὰ τῶν Ἀλευαδέων ἀπιγμένοι ἄγγελοι ἐπεκαλέοντο βασιλέα πᾶσαν προθυμίην παρεχόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· οἱ δὲ Ἀλευάδαι οὗτοι ἦσαν Θεσσαλίας βασιλεῖς. τοῦτο δὲ Πεισιστρατιδέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες ἐς Σοῦσα, τῶν τε αὐτῶν λόγων ἐχόμενοι τῶν καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι, καὶ δὴ τι πρὸς τούτοισι ἔτι πλέον προσωρέγοντό οἱ· 3 ἔχοντες Ὀνομάκριτον ἄνδρα Ἀθηναῖον, χρησμολόγον τε καὶ διαθέτην χρησμῶν τῶν Μουσαίου, ἀναβέβηκεσαν, τὴν ἔχθρην προκαταλυσάμενοι. ἐξηλάσθη γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἰπάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου ὁ Ὀνομάκριτος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ἀλούς ὑπὸ Λάσου τοῦ Ἑρμιονέος ἐμποιέων ἐς τὰ Μουσαίου χρησμόν, ὡς αἱ ἐπὶ Λήμνῳ ἐπικείμεναι νῆσοι ἀφανιζοῖατο κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης. 4 διὸ ἐξήλασέ μιν ὁ Ἰππαρχος, πρότερον χρεώμενος τὰ μάλιστα. τότε δὲ συναναβὰς ὅκως ἀπίκαιτο ἐς ὅσιν τὴν βασιλέος, λεγόντων τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων περὶ αὐτοῦ σεμνοῦς λόγους, κατέλεγε τῶν χρησμῶν· εἰ μὲν τι ἐνέοι σφάλμα φέρον τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τῶν μὲν ἔλεγε οὐδέν, ὁ δὲ τὰ εὐτυχέστατα ἐκλεγόμενος ἔλεγε τὸν τε Ἑλλήσποντον ὡς ζευχθῆναι χρεὸν εἶη ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς

Πέρσεω, τήν τε ἔλασιν ἐξηγεόμενος. 5 οὗτός τε δὴ χρησμοδέων προσεφέρετο καὶ οἱ τε Πεισιστρατίδαι καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι γνώμας ἀποδεικνύμενοι.

6. He said this because he desired adventures and wanted to be governor of Hellas. Finally he worked on Xerxes and persuaded him to do this, and other things happened that helped him to persuade Xerxes. Messengers came from Thessaly from the Aleuadae (who were princes of Thessaly) and invited the king into Hellas with all earnestness; the Pisistratidae who had come up to Susa used the same pleas as the Aleuadae, offering Xerxes even more than they did. They had come up to Sardis with Onomacritus, an Athenian diviner who had set in order the oracles of Musaeus. They had reconciled their previous hostility with him; Onomacritus had been banished from Athens by Pisistratus' son Hipparchus, when he was caught by Lasus of Hermione in the act of interpolating into the writings of Musaeus an oracle showing that the islands off Lemnos would disappear into the sea. Because of this Hipparchus banished him, though they had previously been close friends. Now he had arrived at Susa with the Pisistratidae, and whenever he came into the king's presence they used lofty words concerning him and he recited from his oracles; all that portended disaster to the Persian he left unspoken, choosing and reciting such prophecies as were most favorable, telling how the Hellespont must be bridged by a man of Persia and describing the expedition. So he brought his oracles to bear, while the Pisistratidae and Aleuadae gave their opinions.

7 1 ὥς δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη Ξέρξης στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐνθαῦτα δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὸν Δαρείου πρῶτα στρατήν πoιέεται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας. τούτους μὲν νυν καταστρεψάμενος καὶ Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν πολλὸν δουλοτέρην ποιήσας ἢ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἦν, ἐπιτράπει Ἀχαιμένει ἀδελφεῷ μὲν ἑωυτοῦ, Δαρείου δὲ παιδί. Ἀχαιμένεα μὲν νυν ἐπιτροπεύοντα Αἰγύπτου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσε Ἰνάρως ὁ Ψαμμητίχου ἀνὴρ Λίβυς.

7. After being persuaded to send an expedition against Hellas, Xerxes first marched against the rebels in the year after Darius death. He subdued them and laid Egypt under a much harder slavery than in the time of Darius, and he handed it over to Achaemenes, his own

brother and Darius' son. While governing Egypt, this Achaemenes was at a later time slain by a Libyan, Inaros son of Psammetichus.

8 1 Ξέρξης δὲ μετὰ Αἰγύπτου ἄλωσιν ὥς ἔμελλε ἐς χεῖρας ἄξεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, σύλλογον ἐπίκητον Περσέων τῶν ἀρίστων ἐποιέετο, ἵνα γνώμας τε πύθηται σφέων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν πᾶσι εἴπῃ τὰ θέλει. ὥς δὲ συνελέχθησαν, ἔλαξεν Ξέρξης τάδε. 8Α''ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὐτ' αὐτὸς κατηγήσομαι νόμον τόνδε ἐν ὑμῖν τιθεῖς, παραδεξάμενός τε αὐτῷ χρήσομαι. ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, οὐδαμὰ κω ἡτρεμίσαμεν, ἐπεῖτε παρελάβομεν τὴν ἡγεμονίην τήνδε παρὰ Μήδων, Κύρου κατελόντος Ἀστυάγεα· ἀλλὰ θεός τε οὕτω ἄγει καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πολλὰ ἐπέπουσι συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον. τὰ μὲν νυν Κῦρός τε καὶ Καμβύσης πατήρ τε ἐμὸς Δαρεῖος κατεργάσαντο καὶ προσεκτήσαντο ἔθνεα, ἐπισταμένοισι εὖ οὐκ ἂν τις λέγοι. 2 ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπεῖτε παρέλαβον τὸν θρόνον τοῦτον, ἐφρόντιζον ὅκως μὴ λείψομαι τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ἐν τιμῇ τῇδε μηδὲ ἐλάσσω προσκτήσομαι δύναμιν Πέρσῃσι· φροντίζων δὲ εὐρίσκω ἅμα μὲν κῦδος τε ἡμῖν προσγινόμενον χώραν τε τῆς νῦν ἐκτήμεθα οὐκ ἐλάσσονα οὐδὲ φλαυροτέραν παμφορωτέραν τε, ἅμα δὲ τιμωρίην τε καὶ τίσιν γινομένην. διὸ ὑμέας νῦν ἐγὼ συνέλεξα, ἵνα τὸ νοέω πρήσσειν ὑπερθέωμαι ὑμῖν· 8Βμέλλω ζευξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐλάν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἵνα Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσωμαι ὅσα δὴ πεποιήκασι Πέρσας τε καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν. 2 ὠρᾶτε μὲν νυν καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν Δαρεῖον ἰθύνοντα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τετελεύτηκε καὶ οὐκ ἐξεγένετο αὐτῷ τιμωρήσασθαι· ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ τε ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων οὐ πρότερον παύσομαι πρὶν ἢ ἔλω τε καὶ πυρώσω τὰς Ἀθήνας, οἳ γε ἐμὲ καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν ὑπῆρξαν ἄδικα ποιεῦντες. 3 πρῶτα μὲν ἐς Σάρδις ἐλθόντες, ἅμα Ἀρισταγόρῃ τῷ Μιλησίῳ δούλῳ δὲ ἡμετέρῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἐνέπρησαν τά τε ἄλσεα καὶ τὰ ἱρά· δεύτερα δὲ ἡμέας οἷα ἔρξαν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἀποβάντας, ὅτε Δαίτις τε καὶ Ἀρταφρένης ἐστρατήγεον, τὰ ἐπίστασθέ κου πάντες. 8Cτούτων μὲν τοίνυν εἵνεκα ἀνάρτημαι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύεσθαι, ἀγαθὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖσι τοσάδε ἀνευρίσκω λογιζόμενος· εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς τούτοισι πλησιοχώρους καταστρεψόμεθα, οἳ Πέλοπος τοῦ Φρυγὸς νέμονται χώραν, γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἀποδέξομεν τῷ Διὸς αἰθέρι ὁμοιούρουσαν. 2 οὐ γὰρ δὴ χώραν γε οὐδεμίαν κατόψεται ἥλιος

ὄμουρον ἐοῦσαν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ, ἀλλὰ σφέας πάσας ἐγὼ ἅμα ὑμῖν χώραν θήσω, διὰ πάσης διεξελθὼν τῆς Εὐρώπης. 3 πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχειν, οὔτε τινὰ πόλιν ἀνδρῶν οὐδεμίαν οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπων ὑπολείπεσθαι, τὸ ἡμῖν οἷόν τε ἔσται ἐλθεῖν ἐς μάχην, τούτων τῶν κατέλεξα ὑπεξαραιρημένων. οὕτω οἱ τε ἡμῖν αἵτιοι ἔξουσι δούλιον ζυγὸν οἱ τε ἀναίτιοι. 8Δύμεῖς δ' ἂν μοι τάδε ποιέοντες χαρίζοισθε· ἐπεὰν ὑμῖν σημῆνω τὸν χρόνον ἐς τὸν ἥκειν δεῖ, προθύμως πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρήσει παρεῖναι. ὃς ἂν δὲ ἔχων ἥκη παρεσκευασμένον στρατὸν κάλλιστα, δώσω οἱ δῶρα τὰ τιμιώτατα νομίζεται εἶναι ἐν ἡμετέρου. 2 ποιητέα μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἐστὶ οὕτω· ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἰδιοβουλεύειν ὑμῖν δοκέω, τίθημι τὸ πρῆγμα ἐς μέσον, γνώμην κελεύων ὑμέων τὸν βουλόμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι”. ταῦτα εἶπας ἐπαύετο.

8. After the conquest of Egypt, intending now to take in hand the expedition against Athens, Xerxes held a special assembly of the noblest among the Persians, so he could learn their opinions and declare his will before them all. When they were assembled, Xerxes spoke to them as follows: 8A. “Men of Persia, I am not bringing in and establishing a new custom, but following one that I have inherited. As I learn from our elders, we have never yet remained at peace ever since Cyrus deposed Astyages and we won this sovereignty from the Medes. It is the will of heaven; and we ourselves win advantage by our many enterprises. No one needs to tell you, who already know them well, which nations Cyrus and Cambyses and Darius my father subdued and added to our realm. Ever since I came to this throne, I have considered how I might not fall short of my predecessors in this honor, and not add less power to the Persians; and my considerations persuade me that we may win not only renown, but a land neither less nor worse, and more fertile, than that which we now possess; and we would also gain vengeance and requital. For this cause I have now summoned you together, that I may impart to you what I intend to do. 8B. It is my intent to bridge the Hellespont and lead my army through Europe to Hellas, so I may punish the Athenians for what they have done to the Persians and to my father. You saw that Darius my father was set on making an expedition against these men. But he is dead, and it was not granted

him to punish them. On his behalf and that of all the Persians, I will never rest until I have taken Athens and burnt it, for the unprovoked wrong that its people did to my father and me. First they came to Sardis with our slave Aristagoras the Milesian and burnt the groves and the temples; next, how they dealt with us when we landed on their shores, when Datis and Artaphrenes were our generals, I suppose you all know. 8C. For these reasons I am resolved to send an army against them; and I reckon that we will find the following benefits among them: if we subdue those men, and their neighbors who dwell in the land of Pelops the Phrygian, we will make the borders of Persian territory and of the firmament of heaven be the same. No land that the sun beholds will border ours, but I will make all into one country, when I have passed over the whole of Europe. I learn that this is the situation: no city of men or any human nation which is able to meet us in battle will be left, if those of whom I speak are taken out of our way. Thus the guilty and the innocent will alike bear the yoke of slavery. 8D. This is how you would best please me: when I declare the time for your coming, every one of you must eagerly appear; and whoever comes with his army best equipped will receive from me such gifts as are reckoned most precious among us. Thus it must be done; but so that I not seem to you to have my own way, I lay the matter before you all, and bid whoever wishes to declare his opinion.” So spoke Xerxes and ceased.

9 1 μετ’ αὐτὸν δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε “ὦ δέσποτα, οὐ μόνον εἰς τῶν γενομένων Περσέων ἄριστος ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων, ὃς τά τε ἄλλα λέγων ἐπὶ κεο ἄριστα καὶ ἀληθέστατα, καὶ Ἴωνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένους οὐκ ἐάσεις καταγελάσαι ἡμῖν ἐόντας ἀναξίους. 2 καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἂν εἴη πρῆγμα, εἰ Σάκας μὲν καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Αἰθιοπᾶς τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίους ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀδικήσαντα Πέρσας οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ δύναμιν προσκτᾶσθαι βουλόμενοι, καταστρεψάμενοι δούλους ἔχομεν, Ἕλληνας δὲ ὑπάρξαντας ἀδικίης οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα· 9 Αὐτί δαίσαντες; κοῖνῃ πλήθεος συστροφῇν; κοῖνῃ δὲ χρημάτων δύναμιν; τῶν ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν τὴν μάχην, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐοῦσαν ἀσθενέα· ἔχομεν δὲ αὐτῶν παῖδας καταστρεψάμενοι, τούτους οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ κατοικημένοι Ἴωνές τε καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ Δωριέες καλέονται. 2 ἐπειρήθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη

ἐπελαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους ὑπὸ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ κελευσθεῖς, καὶ μοι μέχρι Μακεδονίης ἐλάσαντι καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπολιπόντι ἐς αὐτὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπικέσθαι οὐδεὶς ἠντιώθη ἐς μάχην. 9Βκαίτοι γε ἐώθασι Ἕλληνες, ὥς πυνθάνομαι, ἀβουλότατα πολέμους ἵστασθαι ὑπὸ τε ἀγνωμοσύνης καὶ σκαιότητος. ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι πόλεμον προείπωσι, ἐξευρόντες τὸ κάλλιστον χωρίον καὶ λειότατον, ἐς τοῦτο κατιόντες μάχονται, ὥστε σὺν κακῷ μεγάλῳ οἱ νικῶντες ἀπαλλάσσονται· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐσσομένων οὐδὲ λέγω ἀρχήν· ἐξώλεες γὰρ δὴ γίνονται· 2 τοὺς χρῆν ἔοντας ὁμογλώσσους κήρυξί τε διαχρεωμένους καὶ ἀγγέλοισι καταλαμβάνειν τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἢ μάχησι· εἰ δὲ πάντως ἔδεε πολεμέειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξευρίσκειν χρῆν τῇ ἐκάτεροι εἰσὶ δυσχειρωτότατοι καὶ ταύτη πειρᾶν. τρόπῳ τοίνυν οὐ χρηστῷ Ἕλληνες διαχρεώμενοι, ἐμέο ἐλάσαντος μέχρι Μακεδονίης γῆς, οὐκ ἦλθον ἐς τοῦτου λόγον ὥστε μάχεσθαι. 9Cσοὶ δὲ δὴ μέλλει τίς ὃ βασιλεῦ ἀντιώσεσθαι πόλεμον προφέρων, ἄγοντι καὶ πλῆθος τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ νέας τὰς ἀπάσας; ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο θράσεος ἀνήκει τὰ Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα· εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἔγωγε ψευσθεῖην γνώμη καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπαερθέντες ἀβουλίῃ ἔλθοιεν ἡμῖν ἐς μάχην, μάθοιεν ἂν ὥς εἰμὲν ἀνθρώπων ἄριστοι τὰ πολέμια. ἔστω δ' ὢν μηδὲν ἀπείρητον· αὐτόματον γὰρ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πείρης πάντα ἀνθρώποισι φιλέει γίνεσθαι”.

9. After him Mardonius said: “Master, you surpass not only all Persians that have been but also all that shall be; besides having dealt excellently and truly with all other matters, you will not suffer the Ionians who dwell in Europe to laugh at us, which they have no right to do. It would be strange indeed if we who have subdued and made slaves of Sacae and Indians and Ethiopians and Assyrians and many other great nations, for no wrong done to the Persians but of mere desire to add to our power, will not take vengeance on the Greeks for unprovoked wrongs. 9A. What have we to fear from them? Have they a massive population or abundance of wealth? Their manner of fighting we know, and we know how weak their power is; we have conquered and hold their sons, those who dwell in our land and are called Ionians and Aeolians and Dorians. I myself have made trial of these men, when by your father’s command I marched against them.

I marched as far as Macedonia and almost to Athens itself, yet none came out to meet me in battle. 9B. Yet the Greeks are accustomed to wage wars, as I learn, and they do it most senselessly in their wrongheadedness and folly. When they have declared war against each other, they come down to the fairest and most level ground that they can find and fight there, so that the victors come off with great harm; of the vanquished I say not so much as a word, for they are utterly destroyed. Since they speak the same language, they should end their disputes by means of heralds or messengers, or by any way rather than fighting; if they must make war upon each other, they should each discover where they are in the strongest position and make the attempt there. The Greek custom, then, is not good; and when I marched as far as the land of Macedonia, it had not come into their minds to fight. 9C. But against you, O king, who shall make war? You will bring the multitudes of Asia, and all your ships. I think there is not so much boldness in Hellas as that; but if time should show me wrong in my judgment, and those men prove foolhardy enough to do battle with us, they would be taught that we are the greatest warriors on earth. Let us leave nothing untried; for nothing happens by itself, and all men's gains are the fruit of adventure."

10 1 Μαρδόνιος μὲν τοσαῦτα ἐπιείχνας τὴν Ξέρξῳ γνώμην ἐπέπαυτο· σιωπῶντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων καὶ οὐ τολμώντων γνώμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀντίην τῇ προκειμένῃ, Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος, πάτρως ἐὼν Ξέρξῃ, τῷ δὴ καὶ πίσυνος ἐὼν ἔλεγε τάδε. 10A"ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ λεχθισέων μὲν γνωμέων ἀντιέων ἀλλήλησι οὐκ ἔστι τὴν ἀμείνω αἰρεόμενον ἐλέσθαι, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῇ εἰρημένῃ χρᾶσθαι, λεχθισέων δὲ ἔστι, ὥσπερ τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἀκήρατον αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπ' ἐωυτοῦ οὐ διαγινώσκομεν, ἐπεὰν δὲ παρατρίψωμεν ἄλλῳ χρυσῷ, διαγινώσκομεν τὸν ἀμείνω. 2 ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ, ἀδελφεῷ δὲ ἐμῷ Δαρείῳ ἡγόρευον μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἄνδρας οὐδαμόθι γῆς ἄστει νέμοντας. ὁ δὲ ἐλπίζων Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας καταστρέψεσθαι ἐμοί τε οὐκ ἐπέιθετο, στρατευσάμενός τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῆς στρατιῆς ἀποβαλὼν ἀπῆλθε. 3 σὺ δὲ ὦ βασιλεῦ μέλλεις ἐπ' ἄνδρας στρατεύεσθαι πολλὸν ἀμείνονας ἢ Σκύθας, οἱ κατὰ θάλασσαν τε ἄριστοι καὶ κατὰ γῆν λέγονται εἶναι. τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι δεινόν, ἐμὲ σοὶ δίκαιον ἔστι φράζειν. 10Bζεύξας φῆς τὸν

Ἑλλησποντον ἑλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ δὴ καὶ συνήνεικέ σε ἦτοι κατὰ γῆν ἢ καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐσσωθῆναι, ἢ καὶ κατ' ἀμφοτέρα· οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες λέγονται εἶναι ἄλκιμοι, πάρεστι δὲ καὶ σταθμώσασθαι, εἰ στρατιὴν γε τοσαύτην σὺν Δάτι καὶ Ἀρταφρένῃ ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώραν μούνοι Ἀθηναῖοι διέφθειραν. 2 οὐκὼν ἀμφοτέρῃ σφι ἐχώρησε. ἀλλ' ἦν τῆσι νηυσὶ ἐμβάλωσι καὶ νικήσαντες ναυμαχίῃ πλέωσι ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον καὶ ἔπειτα λύσωσι τὴν γέφυραν, τοῦτο δὴ βασιλεὺ γίνεται δεινόν. 10C ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδεμιῇ σοφίῃ οἰκίῃ αὐτὸς ταῦτα συμβάλλομαι, ἀλλ' οἶον κοτὲ ἡμέας ὀλίγου ἐδέησε καταλαβεῖν πάθος, ὅτε πατὴρ σὸς ζεύξας Βόσπορον τὸν Θρηίκιον, γεφυρώσας δὲ ποταμὸν Ἴστρον διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθας. τότε παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο Σκύθαι δεόμενοι Ἰώνων λῦσαι τὸν πόρον, τοῖσι ἐπετέτραπτο ἡ φυλακὴ τῶν γεφυρέων τοῦ Ἴστρου. 2 καὶ τότε γε Ἰστιάϊος ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος εἰ ἐπέσπετο τῶν ἄλλων τυράννων τῇ γνώμῃ μηδὲ ἠναντιώθη, διέργαστο ἂν τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα. καίτοι καὶ λόγῳ ἀκοῦσαι δεινόν, ἐπ' ἀνδρί γε ἐνὶ πάντα τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα γεγενῆσθαι. 10D σὺ ὦν μὴ βούλευ ἐς κίνδυνον μηδένα τοιοῦτον ἀπικέσθαι μηδεμιῆς ἀνάγκης ἐούσης, ἀλλὰ ἐμοὶ πείθευ. νῦν μὲν τὸν σύλλογον τόνδε διάλυσον· αὗτις δέ, ὅταν τοι δοκῇ, προσκενῶμενος ἐπὶ σεωυτοῦ προαγόρευε τά τοι δοκέει εἶναι ἄριστα. 2 τὸ γὰρ εὖ βουλευέσθαι κέρδος μέγιστον εὐρίσκω ἐόν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐναντιωθῆναι τι θέλει, βεβούλευται μὲν οὐδὲν ἦσσαν εὖ, ἔσσεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ βούλευμα· ὁ δὲ βουλευσάμενος αἰσχροῶς, εἴ οἱ ἡ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο, εὖρημα εὔρηκε, ἦσσαν δὲ οὐδὲν οἱ κακῶς βεβούλευται. 10E ὁρᾷς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῶα ὥς κεραυνοὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ ἐᾷ φαντάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδὲν μιν κνίξει· ὁρᾷς δὲ ὥς ἐς οἰκήματα τὰ μέγιστα αἰεὶ καὶ δένδρεα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποσκήπτει τὰ βέλεα· φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολοῦειν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ ὀλίγου διαφθείρεται κατὰ τοιόνδε· ἐπεὰν σφι ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας φόβον ἐμβάλῃ ἢ βροντὴν, δι' ὧν ἐφθάρησαν ἀναξίως ἐωυτῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἐωυτόν. 10F ἐπειχθῆναι μὲν νυν πᾶν πρῆγμα τίκτει σφάλματα, ἐκ τῶν ζημίαι μεγάλαι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπισχεῖν ἔνεστι ἀγαθὰ, εἰ μὴ παραυτίκα δοκέοντα εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐξεύροι τις ἅν. 10G σοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὧ βασιλεὺ συμβουλευῶ· σὺ δέ, ὧ παῖ Γοβρύεω Μαρδόνιε, παῦσαι λέγων λόγους ματαίους περὶ Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἐόντων ἀξίων φλαύρως ἀκούειν.

Ἕλληνας γὰρ διαβάλλων ἐπαίρει αὐτὸν βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι· αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέεις μοι πᾶσαν προθυμίην ἐκτείνειν. μή νυν οὕτω γένηται. 2 διαβολὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ δεινότατον· ἐν τῇ δύο μὲν εἰσὶ οἱ ἀδικέοντες, εἷς δὲ ὁ ἀδικούμενος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ διαβάλλων ἀδικεῖ σὺ παρῶντι κατηγορῶν, ὁ δὲ ἀδικεῖ ἀναπειθόμενος πρὶν ἢ ἀτρεκέως ἐκμάθῃ· ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀπεὼν τοῦ λόγου τάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἀδικεῖται, διαβληθεὶς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐτέρου καὶ νομισθεὶς πρὸς τοῦ ἐτέρου κακὸς εἶναι. 10 Ἡ ἀλλ’ εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε πάντως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους στρατεύεσθαι, φέρε, βασιλεὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἡθεσι τοῖσι Περσέων μενέτω, ἡμέων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα, στρατηλάτῃ αὐτὸς σὺ ἐπιλεξάμενός τε ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐθέλεις καὶ λαβὼν στρατιὴν ὁκόσῃν τινὰ βούλει. 2 καὶ ἦν μὲν τῇ σὺ λέγεις ἀναβαίνειν βασιλεῖ τὰ πρήγματα, κτεινέσθων οἱ ἔμοι παῖδες, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἐγώ· ἦν δὲ τῇ ἐγὼ προλέγω, οἱ σοὶ ταῦτα πασχόντων, σὺν δὲ σφι καὶ σύ, ἦν ἀπονοστήσης. 3 εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποδύνειν οὐκ ἐθελήσεις, σὺ δὲ πάντως στράτευμα ἀνάξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀκούσεσθαι τινὰ φημὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τῇδε ὑπολειπομένων Μαρδόνιον, μέγα τι κακὸν ἐξεργασάμενον Πέρσας, ὑπὸ κυνῶν τε καὶ ὀρνίθων διαφορεύμενον ἢ κου ἐν γῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἢ σέ γε ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ πρότερον κατ’ ὁδόν, γνόντα ἐπ’ οἴους ἄνδρας ἀναγινώσκεις στρατεύεσθαι βασιλέα”.

10. Thus Mardonius smoothed Xerxes’ resolution and stopped. The rest of the Persians held their peace, not daring to utter any opinion contrary to what had been put forward; then Artabanus son of Hystaspes, the king’s uncle, spoke. Relying on his position, he said, 10A. “O king, if opposite opinions are not uttered, it is impossible for someone to choose the better; the one which has been spoken must be followed. If they are spoken, the better can be found; just as the purity of gold cannot be determined by itself, but when gold is compared with gold by rubbing, we then determine the better. Now I advised Darius, your father and my brother, not to lead his army against the Scythians, who have no cities anywhere to dwell in. But he hoped to subdue the nomadic Scythians and would not obey me; he went on the expedition and returned after losing many gallant men from his army. You, O king, are proposing to lead your armies against far better men than the Scythians — men who are said to be

excellent warriors by sea and land. It is right that I should show you what danger there is in this. 10B. You say that you will bridge the Hellespont and march your army through Europe to Hellas. Now suppose you happen to be defeated either by land or by sea, or even both; the men are said to be valiant, and we may well guess that it is so, since the Athenians alone destroyed the great army that followed Datis and Artaphrenes to Attica. Suppose they do not succeed in both ways; but if they attack with their ships and prevail in a sea-fight, and then sail to the Hellespont and destroy your bridge, that, O king, is the hour of peril. 10C. It is from no wisdom of my own that I thus conjecture; it is because I know what disaster once almost overtook us, when your father, making a highway over the Thracian Bosphorus and bridging the river Ister, crossed over to attack the Scythians. At that time the Scythians used every means of entreating the Ionians, who had been charged to guard the bridges of the Ister, to destroy the way of passage. If Histiaeus the tyrant of Miletus had consented to the opinion of the other tyrants instead of opposing it, the power of Persia would have perished. Yet it is dreadful even in the telling, that one man should hold in his hand all the king's fortunes. 10D. So do not plan to run the risk of any such danger when there is no need for it. Listen to me instead: for now dismiss this assembly; consider the matter by yourself and, whenever you so please, declare what seems best to you. A well-laid plan is always to my mind most profitable; even if it is thwarted later, the plan was no less good, and it is only chance that has baffled the design; but if fortune favor one who has planned poorly, then he has gotten only a prize of chance, and his plan was no less bad. 10E. You see how the god smites with his thunderbolt creatures of greatness and does not suffer them to display their pride, while little ones do not move him to anger; and you see how it is always on the tallest buildings and trees that his bolts fall; for the god loves to bring low all things of surpassing greatness. Thus a large army is destroyed by a smaller, when the jealous god sends panic or the thunderbolt among them, and they perish unworthily; for the god suffers pride in none but himself. 10F. Now haste is always the parent of failure, and great damages are likely to arise; but in waiting there is good, and in time this becomes clear, even though it does not seem so in the present. 10G. This, O king, is

my advice to you. But you, Mardonius son of Gobryas, cease your foolish words about the Greeks, for they do not deserve to be maligned. By slandering the Greeks you incite the king to send this expedition; that is the end to which you press with all eagerness. Let it not be so. Slander is a terrible business; there are two in it who do wrong and one who suffers wrong. The slanderer wrongs another by accusing an absent man, and the other does wrong in that he is persuaded before he has learned the whole truth; the absent man does not hear what is said of him and suffers wrong in the matter, being maligned by the one and condemned by the other. 10H. If an army must by all means be sent against these Greeks, hear me now: let the king himself remain in the Persian land, and let us two stake our children's lives upon it; you lead out the army, choosing whatever men you wish and taking as great an army as you desire. If the king's fortunes fare as you say, let my sons be slain, and myself with them; but if it turns out as I foretell, let your sons be so treated, and you likewise, if you return. But if you are unwilling to submit to this and will at all hazards lead your army overseas to Hellas, then I think that those left behind in this place will hear that Mardonius has done great harm to Persia, and has been torn apart by dogs and birds in the land of Athens or of Lacedaemon, if not even before that on the way there; and that you have learned what kind of men you persuade the king to attack."

11 1 Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε, Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς ἀμείβεται τοῖσιδε. “Ἀρτάβανε, πατὴρ εἰς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφεός· τοῦτό σε ῥύσεται μηδένα ἄξιον μισθὸν λαβεῖν ἐπέων ματαίων. καὶ τοι ταύτην τὴν ἀτιμίην προστίθῃμι ἐόντι κακῷ καὶ ἀθύμῳ, μήτε συστρατεύεσθαι ἔμοιγε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἅμα τῇσι γυναιξί· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ σέο ὅσα περ εἶπα ἐπιτελέα ποιήσω. 2 μὴ γὰρ εἶην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος τοῦ Ἀριαράμνεω τοῦ Τεῖσπεος τοῦ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Τεῖσπεος τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος γεγονώς, μὴ τιμωρησάμενος Ἀθηναίους, εἴ ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι εἰ ἡμεῖς ἡσυχίην ἄξομεν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα στρατεύσονται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην, εἰ χρὴ σταθμώσασθαι τοῖσι ὑπαργμένοισι ἐξ ἐκείνων, οἳ Σάρδις τε ἐνέπρησαν καὶ ἥλασαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. 3 οὐκ ὄντων ἐξαναχωρεῖν οὐδετέροισι δυνατῶς ἔχει, ἀλλὰ ποιέειν ἢ παθεῖν

πρόκειται ἄγών, ἵνα ἢ τάδε πάντα ὑπὸ Ἑλλησι ἢ ἐκεῖνα πάντα ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι γένηται· τὸ γὰρ μέσον οὐδὲν τῆς ἐχθρῆς ἐστί. 4 καλὸν ὦν προπεπονθότας ἡμέας τιμωρέειν ἤδη γίνεται, ἵνα καὶ τὸ δεινὸν τὸ πείσομαι τοῦτο μάθω, ἐλάσας ἐπ’ ἄνδρας τούτους, τοὺς γε καὶ Πέλωσιν ὁ Φρύξ, ἐὼν πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δοῦλος, κατεστρέψατο οὕτω ὥς καὶ ἐς τόδε αὐτοὶ τε ὠνθρωποὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτῶν ἐπώνυμοι τοῦ καταστρεψαμένου καλέονται”.

11. Thus spoke Artabanus. Xerxes answered angrily, “Artabanus, you are my father’s brother; that will save you from receiving the fitting reward of foolish words. But for your cowardly lack of spirit I lay upon you this disgrace, that you will not go with me and my army against Hellas, but will stay here with the women; I myself will accomplish all that I have said, with no help from you. May I not be the son of Darius son of Hystaspes son of Arsames son of Ariaramnes son of Teispes son of Cyrus son of Cambyses son of Teispes son of Achaemenes, if I do not have vengeance on the Athenians; I well know that if we remain at peace they will not; they will assuredly invade our country, if we may infer from what they have done already, for they burnt Sardis and marched into Asia. It is not possible for either of us to turn back: to do or to suffer is our task, so that what is ours be under the Greeks, or what is theirs under the Persians; there is no middle way in our quarrel. Honor then demands that we avenge ourselves for what has been done to us; thus will I learn what is this evil that will befall me when I march against these Greeks — men that even Pelops the Phrygian, the slave of my forefathers, did so utterly subdue that to this day they and their country are called by the name of their conqueror.”

12 1 ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐλέγετο. μετὰ δὲ εὐφρόνη τε ἐγίνετο καὶ Ξέρξην ἔκνιζε ἡ Ἀρταβάνου γνώμη· νυκτὶ δὲ βουλὴν διδοὺς πάγχυ εὗρισκέ οἱ οὐ πρῆγμα εἶναι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. δεδογμένων δὲ οἱ αὐτὶς τούτων κατύπνωσε, καὶ δὴ κου ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ εἶδε ὄψιν τοιήνδε, ὥς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν τε καὶ εὐειδέα εἰπεῖν 2 “μετὰ δὴ βουλευεαι, ὦ Πέρσα, στρατεύμα μὴ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προεΐπας ἀλίζειν Πέρσας στρατόν; οὔτε ὦν μεταβουλευόμενος ποιέεις εὖ οὔτε ὁ συγγνωσόμενός τοι πάρα· ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ἐβουλεύσαιο

ποιεῖν, ταύτην ἴθι τῶν ὁδῶν”.

12. The discussion went that far; then night came, and Xerxes was pricked by the advice of Artabanus. Thinking it over at night, he saw clearly that to send an army against Hellas was not his affair. He made this second resolve and fell asleep; then (so the Persians say) in the night he saw this vision: It seemed to Xerxes that a tall and handsome man stood over him and said, “Are you then changing your mind, Persian, and will not lead the expedition against Hellas, although you have proclaimed the mustering of the army? It is not good for you to change your mind, and there will be no one here to pardon you for it; let your course be along the path you resolved upon yesterday.”

13 1 τὸν μὲν ταῦτα εἰπόντα ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἀποπτᾶσθαι, ἡμέρης δὲ ἐπιλαμψάσης ὀνείρου μὲν τούτου λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιέετο, ὁ δὲ Περσέων συναλίσας τοὺς καὶ πρότερον συνέλεξε, ἔλεξε σφι τάδε. 2 “ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε ὅτι ἀγχίστροφα βουλευομαι· φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς τὰ ἐμεωυτοῦ πρῶτα οὐκῶ ἀνήκω, καὶ οἱ παρηγορεόμενοι ἐκεῖνα ποιεῖν οὐδένα χρόνον μευ ἀπέχονται. ἀκούσαντι μέντοι μοι τῆς Ἀρταβάνου γνώμης παραυτίκα μὲν ἡ νεότης ἐπέξεσε, ὥστε ἀεικέστερα ἀπορρῖναι ἔπεα ἐς ἄνδρα πρεσβύτερον ἢ χρεόν· νῦν μέντοι συγγνόνς χρήσομαι τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ. 3 ὥς ὢν μεταδεδογμένον μοι μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἥσυχοι ἔσσε”.

13. So the vision spoke, and seemed to Xerxes to vanish away. When day dawned, the king took no account of this dream, and he assembled the Persians whom he had before gathered together and addressed them thus: “Persians, forgive me for turning and twisting in my purpose; I am not yet come to the fullness of my wisdom, and I am never free from people who exhort me to do as I said. It is true that when I heard Artabanus’ opinion my youthful spirit immediately boiled up, and I burst out with an unseemly and wrongful answer to one older than myself; but now I see my fault and will follow his judgment. Be at peace, since I have changed my mind about marching against Hellas.”

14 1 Πέρσαι μὲν ὥς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, κεχαρηκότες προσεκύνεον. νυκτὸς δὲ γενομένης αὐτὶς τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνειρον τῷ Ξέρξῃ κατυπνωμένῳ

ἔλεγε ἐπιστάν “ὦ παῖ Δαρείου, καὶ δὴ φαίναται ἐν Πέρσῃσι τε ἀπειπάμενος τὴν στρατηλασίην καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔπεα ἐν οὐδενὶ ποιησάμενος λόγῳ ὥς παρ’ οὐδενὸς ἀκούσας; εὖ νυν τόδ’ ἴσθι· ἦν περ μὴ αὐτίκα στρατηλατέης, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνασχήσει· ὥς καὶ μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἐγένεο ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, οὕτω καὶ ταπεινὸς ὀπίσω κατὰ τάχος ἔσσει”.

14. When the Persians heard that, they rejoiced and made obeisance to him. But when night came on, the same vision stood again over Xerxes as he slept, and said, “Son of Darius, have you then plainly renounced your army’s march among the Persians, and made my words of no account, as though you had not heard them? Know for certain that, if you do not lead out your army immediately, this will be the outcome of it: as you became great and mighty in a short time, so in a moment will you be brought low again.”

15 1 Ξέρξης μὲν περιδεὴς γενόμενος τῇ ὄψι ἀνά τε ἔδραμε ἐκ τῆς κοίτης καὶ πέμπει ἄγγελον ἐπὶ Ἀρτάβανον καλέοντα· ἀπικομένῳ δὲ οἱ ἔλεγε Ξέρξης τάδε. “Ἀρτάβανε, ἐγὼ τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν οὐκ ἐσωφρόνεον εἴπας ἐς σὲ μάταια ἔπεα χρηστῆς εἵνεκα συμβουλῆς· 2 μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον μετέγνων, ἔγνων δὲ ταῦτα μοι ποιητέα ἐόντα τὰ σὺ ὑπεθήκαο. οὐκὼν δυνατὸς τοι εἰμὶ ταῦτα βουλόμενος ποιεῖν· τετραμμένῳ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετεγνώκoti ἐπιφοιτέον ὄνειρον φαντάζεται μοι οὐδαμῶς συνεπαινέον ποιεῖν με ταῦτα· νῦν δὲ καὶ διαπειλῆσαν οἴχεται. 3 εἰ ὢν θεὸς ἐστὶ ὁ ἐπιπέμπων καὶ οἱ πάντως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστὶ γενέσθαι στρατηλασίην ἐπὶ Ἑλλάδα, ἐπιπτήσεται καὶ σοὶ τὸν τοῦτο ὄνειρον, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον. εὐρίσκω δὲ ὧδ’ ἂν γινόμενα ταῦτα, εἰ λάβοις τὴν ἐμὴν σκευὴν πᾶσαν καὶ ἐνδὺς μετὰ τοῦτο ἴζοιο ἐς τὸν ἐμὸν θρόνον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἐμῇ κατυπνώσειας”.

15. Greatly frightened by the vision, Xerxes leapt up from his bed, and sent a messenger to summon Artabanus. When he came, Xerxes said, “Artabanus, for a moment I was of unsound mind, and I answered your good advice with foolish words; but after no long time I repented, and saw that it was right for me to follow your advice. Yet, though I desire to, I cannot do it; ever since I turned back and repented, a vision keeps coming to haunt my sight, and it will not allow me to do as you advise; just now it has threatened me

and gone. Now if a god is sending the vision, and it is his full pleasure that there this expedition against Hellas take place, that same dream will hover about you and give you the same command it gives me. I believe that this is most likely to happen, if you take all my apparel and sit wearing it upon my throne, and then lie down to sleep in my bed.”

16 1 Ξέρξης μὲν ταῦτά οἱ ἔλεγε· Ἀρτάβανος δὲ οὐ πρῶτον κελεύσματι πειθόμενος, οἷα οὐκ ἀξιεύμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ἵζεσθαι, τέλος ὡς ἠναγκάζετο εἶπας τάδε ἐποίει τὸ κελευόμενον. 16Α Ὅσον ἐκεῖνο ὃ βασιλεὺς παρ’ ἐμοὶ κέκριται, φρονέειν τε εὖ καὶ τῷ λέγοντι χρηστὰ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι· τά σε καὶ ἀμφοτέρα περιήκοντα ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὁμίλῃαι σφάλλουσι, κατὰ περ τὴν πάντων χρησιμωτάτην ἀνθρώποισι θάλασσαν πνεύματα φασὶ ἀνέμων ἐμπίπτοντα οὐ περιορᾶν φύσι τῇ ἐωυτῆς χρᾶσθαι. 2 ἐμὲ δὲ ἀκούσαντα πρὸς σεῦ κακῶς οὐ τοσοῦτο ἔδακε λύπη ὅσον γνωμέων δύο προκειμενέων Πέρσῃσι, τῆς μὲν ὕβριν αὐξανοῦσης, τῆς δὲ καταπαυούσης καὶ λεγούσης ὡς κακὸν εἶη διδάσκειν τὴν ψυχὴν πλεόν τι δίξῃσθαι αἰεὶ ἔχειν τοῦ παρεόντος, τοιουτέων προκειμενέων γνωμέων ὅτι τὴν σφαλερωτέρεν σεωυτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσῃσι ἀναίρεο. 16Β νῦν ὦν, ἐπεὶ δὴ τέτραψαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμείνω, φῆς τοι μετιέντι τὸν ἐπ’ Ἑλλήνας στόλον ἐπιφοιτᾶν ὄνειρον θεοῦ τινος πομπῇ, οὐκ ἐὼντά σε καταλύειν τὸν στόλον. 2 ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐστὶ, ὃ παῖ, θεῖα. ἐνύπνια γὰρ τὰ ἐς ἀνθρώπους πεπλανημένα τοιαῦτα ἐστὶ οἷά σε ἐγὼ διδάξω, ἔτεσι σεῦ πολλοῖσι πρεσβύτερος ἐὼν· πεπλανῆσθαι αὐταὶ μάλιστα ἐώθασι αἱ ὄψιες τῶν ὀνειράτων, τὰ τις ἡμέρης φροντίζει. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς πρὸ τοῦ ἡμέρας ταύτην τὴν στρατηλασίην καὶ τὸ κάρτα εἶχομεν μετὰ χειρας. 16C εἰ δὲ ἄρα μὴ ἐστὶ τοῦτο τοιοῦτο οἷον ἐγὼ διαίρέω, ἀλλὰ τι τοῦ θεοῦ μετέχον, σὺ πᾶν αὐτὸ συλλαβὼν εἰρηκας· φανήτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ ὡς καὶ σοὶ διακελευόμενον. φανῆναι δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον μοι ὀφείλει ἔχοντι τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν, οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ ἀναπαυομένῳ ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ, εἰ πέρ γε καὶ ἄλλως ἐθέλει φανῆναι. 2 οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτό γε εὐνηθείης ἀνήκει τοῦτο, ὃ τι δὴ κοτε ἐστί, τὸ ἐπιφαινόμενόν τοι ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, ὥστε δόξει ἐμὲ ὀρῶν σὲ εἶναι, τῇ σῇ ἐσθῇ τεκμαιρόμενον. εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιήσεται οὐδὲ ἀξιώσει ἐπιφανῆναι, οὔτε ἦν τὴν ἐμὴν ἐσθῆτα ἔχω οὔτε ἦν τὴν σῇν, οὐδὲ ἐπιφοιτήσει, τοῦτο ἤδη

μαθητέον ἔσται. εἰ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιφοιτήσει γε συνεχέως, φαίην ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς θεῖον εἶναι. 3 εἰ δέ τοι οὕτω δεδόκηται γίνεσθαι καὶ οὐκ οἶά τε αὐτὸ παρατρέψαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη δεῖ ἐμὲ ἐν κοίτῃ σῇ κατυπνῶσαι, φέρε, τούτων ἐξ ἐμεῦ ἐπιτελευμένων φανήτω καὶ ἐμοί. μέχρι δὲ τούτου τῇ παρεούσῃ γνώμῃ χρήσομαι”.

16. Xerxes said this, but Artabanus would not obey the first command, thinking it was not right for him to sit on the royal throne; at last he was compelled and did as he was bid, saying first: 16A. “O king, I judge it of equal worth whether a man is wise or is willing to obey good advice; to both of these you have attained, but the company of bad men trips you up; just as they say that sea, of all things the most serviceable to men, is hindered from following its nature by the blasts of winds that fall upon it. It was not that I heard harsh words from you that stung me so much as that, when two opinions were laid before the Persians, one tending to the increase of pride, the other to its abatement, showing how evil a thing it is to teach the heart continual desire of more than it has, of these two opinions you preferred that one which was more fraught with danger to yourself and to the Persians. 16B. Now when you have turned to the better opinion, you say that, while intending to abandon the expedition against the Greeks, you are haunted by a dream sent by some god, which forbids you to disband the expedition. But this is none of heaven’s working, my son. The roving dreams that visit men are of such nature as I shall teach you, since I am many years older than you. Those visions that rove about us in dreams are for the most part the thoughts of the day; and in these recent days we have been very busy with this expedition. 16C. But if this is not as I determine and it has something divine to it, then you have spoken the conclusion of the matter; let it appear to me just as it has to you, and utter its command. If it really wishes to appear, it should do so to me no more by virtue of my wearing your dress instead of mine, and my sleeping in your bed rather than in my own. Whatever it is that appears to you in your sleep, surely it has not come to such folly as to infer from your dress that I am you when it sees me. We now must learn if it will take no account of me and not deign to appear and haunt me, whether I am wearing your robes or my own, but will

come to you; if it comes continually, I myself would say that it is something divine. If you are determined that this must be done and there is no averting it, and I must lie down to sleep in your bed, so be it; this duty I will fulfill, and let the vision appear also to me. But until then I will keep my present opinion.”

17 1 τοσαῦτα εἶπας Ἀρτάβανος, ἐλπίζων Ξέρξην ἀποδέξειν λέγοντα οὐδέν, ἐποίησε τὸ κελεύόμενον. ἐνδύς δὲ τὴν Ξέρξεω ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἱζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα κοιτὸν ἐποιέετο, ἦλθέ οἱ κατυπνωμένῳ τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνειρον τὸ καὶ παρὰ Ξέρξην ἐφοίτα, ὑπερστὰν δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου εἶπε· 2 “ἄρα σὺ δὴ κείνος εἷς ὁ ἀποσπεύδων Ξέρξην στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὡς δὴ κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ; ἀλλ’ οὔτε ἐς τὸ μετέπειτα οὔτε ἐς τὸ παραυτίκα νῦν καταπροΐξεται ἀποτρέπων τὸ χρεὸν γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ τὰ δεῖ ἀνηκουστέοντα παθεῖν, αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ δεδῆλωται”.

17. So spoke Artabanus and did as he was bid, hoping to prove Xerxes’ words vain; he put on Xerxes’ robes and sat on the king’s throne. Then while he slept there came to him in his sleep the same dream that had haunted Xerxes; it stood over him and spoke thus: “Are you the one who dissuades Xerxes from marching against Hellas, because you care for him? Neither in the future nor now will you escape with impunity for striving to turn aside what must be. To Xerxes himself it has been declared what will befall him if he disobeys.”

18 1 ταῦτά τε ἐδόκεε Ἀρτάβανος τὸ ὄνειρον ἀπειλείειν καὶ θερμοῖσι σιδηρίοισι ἐκκαίειν αὐτοῦ μέλλειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. καὶ ὃς ἀμβώσας μέγα ἀναθρώσκει, καὶ παριζόμενος Ξέρξῃ, ὡς τὴν ὄψιν οἱ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου διεξῆλθε ἀπηγεόμενος, δευτέρᾳ οἱ λέγει τάδε. 2 “ἐγὼ μὲν, ὃ βασιλεῦ, οἶα ἄνθρωπος ἰδὼν ἤδη πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα πεσόντα πρήγματα ὑπὸ ἡσόνων, οὐκ ἔων σε τὰ πάντα τῇ ἡλικίῃ εἶκειν, ἐπιστάμενος ὡς κακὸν εἶη τὸ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμέειν, μεμνημένος μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας Κύρου στόλον ὡς ἔπρηξε, μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπ’ Αἰθίοπας τὸν Καμβύσεω, συστρατευόμενος δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ Σκύθας. 3 ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα γνώμην εἶχον ἀτρεμίζοντά σε μακαριστὸν εἶναι πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ἐπεὶ δὲ δαιμονίῃ τις γίνεται ὁρμή, καὶ Ἑλληνας, ὡς οἶκε, καταλαμβάνει τις φθορὴ θεήλατος, ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς τρέπομαι καὶ τὴν γνώμην μετατίθεμαι,

σὺ δὲ σήμηνον μὲν Πέρσῃσι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πεμπόμενα, χρᾶσθαι δὲ κέλευε τοῖσι ἐκ σέο πρώτοισι προειρημένοισι ἐς τὴν παρασκευὴν, ποίειε δὲ οὕτω ὅπως τοῦ θεοῦ παραδιδόντος τῶν σῶν ἐνδεήσει μὴδέν". 4 τούτων δὲ λεχθέντων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπαερθέντες τῇ ὄψι, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τάχιστα, Ξέρξης τε ὑπερετίθετο ταῦτα Πέρσῃσι, καὶ Ἀρτάβανος, ὃς πρότερον ἀποσπεύδων μούνος ἐφαίνετο, τότε ἐπισπεύδων φανερός ἦν.

18. With this threat (so it seemed to Artabanus) the vision was about to burn his eyes with hot irons. He leapt up with a loud cry, then sat by Xerxes and told him the whole story of what he had seen in his dream, and next he said: "O King, since I have seen, as much as a man may, how the greater has often been brought low by the lesser, I forbade you to always give rein to your youthful spirit, knowing how evil a thing it is to have many desires, and remembering the end of Cyrus' expedition against the Massagetae and of Cambyses' against the Ethiopians, and I myself marched with Darius against the Scythians. Knowing this, I judged that you had only to remain in peace for all men to deem you fortunate. But since there is some divine motivation, and it seems that the gods mark Hellas for destruction, I myself change and correct my judgment. Now declare the gods' message to the Persians, and bid them obey your first command for all due preparation. Do this, so that nothing on your part be lacking to the fulfillment of the gods' commission." After this was said, they were incited by the vision, and when daylight came Xerxes imparted all this to the Persians. Artabanus now openly encouraged that course which he alone had before openly discouraged.

19 1 ὀρμημένῳ δὲ Ξέρξῃ στρατηλατέειν μετὰ ταῦτα τρίτῃ ὄψι ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐγένετο, τὴν οἱ Μάγοι ἔκριναν ἀκούσαντες φέρειν τε ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆν δουλεύσειν τέ οἱ πάντας ἀνθρώπους. ἡ δὲ ὄψις ἦν ἥδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἐστεφανῶσθαι ἐλαίῃς θαλλῶ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίης τοὺς κλάδους γῆν πᾶσαν ἐπισχεῖν, μετὰ δὲ ἀφανισθῆναι περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κείμενον τὸν στέφανον. 2 κρινάντων δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Μάγων, Περσέων τε τῶν συλλεχθέντων αὐτίκα πᾶς ἀνὴρ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐωυτοῦ ἀπελάσας εἶχε προθυμίην πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι, θέλων αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα λαβεῖν, καὶ Ξέρξης τοῦ στρατοῦ

οὕτω ἐπάγεσιν ποιέεται, χῶρον πάντα ἐρευνῶν τῆς ἡπείρου.

19. Xerxes was now intent on the expedition and then saw a third vision in his sleep, which the Magi interpreted to refer to the whole earth and to signify that all men should be his slaves. This was the vision: Xerxes thought that he was crowned with an olive bough, of which the shoots spread over the whole earth, and then the crown vanished from off his head where it was set. The Magi interpreted it in this way, and immediately every single man of the Persians who had been assembled rode away to his own province and there used all zeal to fulfill the king's command, each desiring to receive the promised gifts. Thus it was that Xerxes mustered his army, searching out every part of the continent.

20 1 ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου ἀλώσιος ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερα ἔτεα πλήρεια παραρτέετο στρατιήν τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατιῇ, πέμπτω δὲ ἔτει ἀνομένῳ ἐστρατηλάτее χειρὶ μεγάλη πλήθεος. 2 στόλων γὰρ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν πολλῶ δὴ μέγιστος οὗτος ἐγένετο, ὥστε μήτε τὸν Δαρείου τὸν ἐπὶ Σκύθας παρὰ τοῦτον μηδένα φαίνεσθαι, μήτε τὸν Σκυθικόν, ὅτε Σκύθαι Κιμμερίους διώκοντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώραν ἐσβαλόντες σχεδὸν πάντα τὰ ἄνω τῆς Ἀσίης καταστρεψάμενοι ἐνέμοντο, τῶν εἵνεκεν ὕστερον Δαρεῖος ἐτιμωρέετο, μήτε κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα τὸν Ἀτρειδέων ἐς Ἴλιον, μήτε τὸν Μυσῶν τε καὶ Τευκρῶν τὸν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν γενόμενον, οἱ διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην κατὰ Βόσπορον τοὺς τε Θρήικας κατεστρέψαντο πάντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον πόντον κατέβησαν, μέχρι τε Πηνειοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ πρὸς μεσαμβρίας ἤλασαν.

20. For full four years after the conquest of Egypt he was equipping his force and preparing all that was needed for it; before the fifth year was completed, he set forth on his march with the might of a great multitude. This was by far the greatest of all expeditions that we know of. The one that Darius led against the Scythians is nothing compared to it; neither is the Scythian expedition when they burst into Media in pursuit of the Cimmerians and subdued and ruled almost all the upper lands of Asia (it was for this that Darius afterwards attempted to punish them). According to the reports, the expedition led by the sons of Atreus against Troy is also nothing by comparison; neither is the one of the Mysians and

Teucrians which before the Trojan war crossed the Bosphorus into Europe, subdued all the Thracians, and came down to the Ionian sea, marching southward as far as the river Peneus.

21 1 αὗται αἱ πᾶσαι οὐδ' εἰ ἕτεραι πρὸς ταύτησι προσγενόμεναι στρατηλασῖαι μιῇς τῆσδε οὐκ ἄξιαί. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἤγαγε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔθνος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης; κοῖον δὲ πινόμενόν μιν ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν; 2 οἱ μὲν γὰρ νέας παρείχοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς πεζὸν ἐτετάχατο, τοῖσι δὲ ἵππος προσετέτακτο, τοῖσι δὲ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ἅμα στρατευομένοισι, τοῖσι δὲ ἐς τὰς γεφύρας μακρὰς νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ σῖτά τε καὶ νέας.

21. All these expeditions and whatever others have happened in addition could not together be compared with this single one. For what nation did Xerxes not lead from Asia against Hellas? What water did not fail when being drunk up, except only the greatest rivers? Some people supplied him with ships, some were enrolled in his infantry, some were assigned the provision of horsemen, others of horse-bearing transports to follow the army, and others again of warships for the bridges, or of food and ships.

22 1 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ὥς προσπταισάντων τῶν πρώτων περιπλεόντων περὶ τὸν Ἄθων προετοιμάζετο ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων κου μάλιστα τὰ ἐς τὸν Ἄθων. ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιούντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ὄρμεον τριήρεις· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὀρμώμενοι ὠρυσσον ὑπὸ μαστίγων παντοδαποὶ τῆς στρατιῆς, διάδοχοι δ' ἐφοίτεον· ὠρυσσον δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄθων κατοικημένοι. 2 Βουβάρης δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάζου καὶ Ἀρταχάϊης ὁ Ἀρταίου ἄνδρες Πέρσαι ἐπέστασαν τοῦ ἔργου. ὁ γὰρ Ἄθως ἐστὶ ὄρος μέγα τε καὶ ὀνομαστόν, ἐς θάλασσαν κατῆκον, οἰκημένον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων. τῇ δὲ τελευτᾷ ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τὸ ὄρος, χερσονησοειδὲς τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἰσθμὸς ὡς δωδέκα σταδίων· πεδίον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ κολωνοὶ οὐ μεγάλοι ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἀκανθίων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν ἀντίον Τορώνης. 3 ἐν δὲ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τούτῳ, ἐς τὸν τελευτᾷ ὁ Ἄθως, Σάνη πόλις Ἑλλάς οἰκῆται, αἱ δὲ ἐκτὸς Σάνης, ἔσω δὲ τοῦ Ἄθω οἰκημένοι, τὰς τότε ὁ Πέρσης νησιώτιδας ἀντὶ ἡπειρωτῶν ὄρμητο ποιεῖν· εἰσὶ δὲ αἶδε, Δῖον Ὀλόφυξος Ἀκρόθρον Θύσος Κλεωναί.

22. Since those who had earlier attempted to sail around Athos had suffered shipwreck, for about three years preparations had been

underway there. Triremes were anchored off Elaeus in the Chersonese; with these for their headquarters, all sorts of men in the army were compelled by whippings to dig a canal, coming by turns to the work; the inhabitants about Athos also dug. Bubares son of Megabazus and Artachaeus son of Artaeus, both Persians, were the overseers of the workmen. Athos is a great and famous mountain, running out into the sea and inhabited by men. At the mountain's landward end it is in the form of a peninsula, and there is an isthmus about twelve stadia wide; here is a place of level ground or little hills, from the sea by Acanthus to the sea opposite Torone. On this isthmus which is at the end of Athos, there stands a Greek town, Sane; there are others situated seaward of Sane and landward of Athos, and the Persian now intended to make them into island and not mainland towns; they are Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoum, Thyssus, and Cleonae.

23 1 πόλεις μὲν αὗται αἱ τὸν Ἄθων νέμονται, ὥρυσσον δὲ ὧδε δασάμενοι τὸν χῶρον οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ ἔθνεα· κατὰ Σάνην πόλιν σχοινοτενὲς ποιησάμενοι, ἐπεῖτε ἐγίνετο βαθέα ἡ διῶρυξ, οἱ μὲν κατώτατα ἐστεῶτες ὥρυσσον, ἕτεροι δὲ παρεδίδοσαν τὸν αἰεὶ ἐξορυσσόμενον χοῦν ἄλλοισι κατύπερθε ἐστεῶσι ἐπὶ βάθρων, οἱ δ' αὖ ἐκδεκόμενοι ἐτέροισι, ἕως ἀπίκοντο ἐς τοὺς ἀνωτάτω· οὗτοι δὲ ἐξεφόρεόν τε καὶ ἐξέβαλλον. 2 τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοισι πλὴν Φοινίκων καταρρήγνυμενοι οἱ κρημνοὶ τοῦ ὀρύγματος πόνον διπλήσιον παρεῖχον· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ τε ἄνω στόματος καὶ τοῦ κάτω τὰ αὐτὰ μέτρα ποιευμένων, ἔμελλέ σφι τοιοῦτο ἀποβήσεσθαι. 3 οἱ δὲ Φοινίκες σοφίην ἔν τε τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἔργοισι ἀποδείκνυνται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ. ἀπολαχόντες γὰρ μόριον ὅσον αὐτοῖσι ἐπέβαλλε, ὥρυσσον τὸ μὲν ἄνω στόμα τῆς διῶρυχος ποιεῦντες διπλήσιον ἢ ὅσον ἔδεε αὐτήν τὴν διῶρυχα γενέσθαι, προβαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ ἔργου συνῆγον αἰεὶ· κάτω τε δὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐξισοῦτο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι τὸ ἔργον. 4 ἐνθαῦτα λειμών ἐστι, ἵνα σφι ἀγορὴ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ πρητήριον· σῖτος δέ σφι πολλὸς ἐφοίτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀληλεσμένοιο.

23. These are the towns situated on Athos. The foreigners dug as follows, dividing up the ground by nation: they made a straight line near the town of Sane; when the channel had been dug to some depth, some men stood at the bottom of it and dug, others took the

dirt as it was dug out and delivered it to yet others that stood higher on stages, and they again to others as they received it, until they came to those that were highest; these carried it out and threw it away. For all except the Phoenicians, the steep sides of the canal caved in, doubling their labor; since they made the span the same breadth at its mouth and at the bottom, this was bound to happen. But the Phoenicians showed the same skill in this as in all else they do; taking in hand the portion that fell to them, they dug by making the topmost span of the canal as wide again as the canal was to be, and narrowed it as they worked lower, until at the bottom their work was of the same span as that of the others. There is a meadow there, where they made a place for buying and marketing; much ground grain frequently came to them from Asia.

24 1 ὥς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλόμενον εὐρίσκειν, μεγαλοφροσύνης εἵνεκεν αὐτὸ Ξέρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε, ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι· παρὲν γὰρ μηδένα πόνον λαβόντας τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας διειρύσαι, ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε διώρυχα τῇ θαλάσῃ εὖρος ὥς δύο τριήρεας πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρομένας. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι τούτοισι, τοῖσι περ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, προσετέτακτο καὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ζεύζαντας γεφυρῶσαι.

24. As far as I can judge by conjecture, Xerxes gave the command for this digging out of pride, wishing to display his power and leave a memorial; with no trouble they could have drawn their ships across the isthmus, yet he ordered them to dig a canal from sea to sea, wide enough to float two triremes rowed abreast. The same men who were assigned the digging were also assigned to join the banks of the river Strymon by a bridge.

25 1 ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐποίηε, παρεσκευάζετο δὲ καὶ ὄπλα ἐς τὰς γεφύρας βύβλινά τε καὶ λευκὸλίνου, ἐπιτάξας Φοῖνιξί τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι, καὶ σιτία τῇ στρατιῇ καταβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ λιμῆναι ἢ στρατιῇ μηδὲ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐλαυνόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· 2 ἀναπυθόμενος δὲ τοὺς χώρους καταβάλλειν ἐκέλευε ἵνα ἐπιτηδεότατον εἴη, ἄλλα ἄλλη ἀγινέοντας ὀλκάσι τε καὶ πορθμηίοισι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας πανταχόθεν. τὸν δὲ ὦν πλεῖστον ἐς Λευκὴν ἀκτὴν καλεομένην τῆς Θρηκίης ἀγίνεον, οἱ δὲ ἐς Τυρόδιζαν τὴν Περινθίων, οἱ δὲ ἐς Δορίσκον, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, οἱ δὲ ἐς

Μακεδονίην διατεταγμένοι.

25. Thus Xerxes did this. He assigned the Phoenicians and Egyptians to make ropes of papyrus and white flax for the bridges, and to store provisions for his army, so that neither the army nor the beasts of burden would starve on the march to Hellas. After making inquiry, he ordered them to store it in the most fitting places, carrying it to the various places from all parts of Asia in cargo ships and transports. They brought most of it to the White Headland (as it is called) in Thrace; some were dispatched to Tyrodiza in the Perinthian country or to Doriscus, others to Eion on the Strymon or to Macedonia.

26 1 ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι τὸν προκείμενον πόνον ἐργάζοντο, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας συλλελεγμένος ἅμα Ξέρξη ἐπορεύετο ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐκ ἐκ Κριτάλλων ὀρμηθεὶς τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ εἶρητο συλλέγεσθαι πάντα τὸν κατ' ἡπειρον μέλλοντα ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξη πορεύεσθαι στρατόν. 2 ὃς μὲν νυν τῶν ὑπάρχων στρατὸν κάλλιστα ἐσταλμένον ἀγαγὼν τὰ προκείμενα παρὰ βασιλέος ἔλαβε δῶρα, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἐς κρίσιν τούτου περὶ ἐλθόντας οἶδα. 3 οἱ δὲ ἐπεῖτε διαβάντες τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν ὠμίλησαν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ, δι' αὐτῆς πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Κελαινάς, ἵνα πηγαὶ ἀναδιδούσι Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐτέρου οὐκ ἐλάσσονος ἢ Μαιάνδρου, τῷ οὐνομα τυγχάνει ἐὼν Καταρρήκτης, ὃς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀγορῆς τῆς Κελαινέων ἀνατέλλων ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον ἐκδιδοῖ· ἐν τῇ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Σιληνοῦ Μαρσύεω ἀσκὸς ἀνακρέμαται, τὸν ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λόγος ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκδαρέντα ἀνακρεμασθῆναι.

26. While these worked at their appointed task, all the land force had been mustered and was marching with Xerxes to Sardis, setting forth from Critalla in Cappadocia, which was the place appointed for gathering all the army that was to march with Xerxes himself by land. Now which of his governors received the promised gifts from the king for bringing the best-equipped army, I cannot say; I do not even know if the matter was ever determined. When they had crossed the river Halys and entered Phrygia, they marched through that country to Celaenae, where rises the source of the river Maeander and of another river no smaller, which is called Cataractes; it rises right in the market-place of Celaenae and issues into the Maeander.

The skin of Marsyas the Silenus also hangs there; the Phrygian story tells that it was flayed off him and hung up by Apollo.

27 1 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ὑποκατήμενος Πύθιος ὁ Ἄτους ἀνὴρ Λυδὸς ἐξείνισε τὴν βασιλείος στρατιὴν πᾶσαν ξεινίοισι μεγίστοισι καὶ αὐτὸν Ξέρξην, χρήματά τε ἐπαγγέλλετο βουλόμενος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον παρέχειν. 2 ἐπαγγελλομένου δὲ χρήματα Πυθίου, εἶρετο Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς παρεόντας τίς τε ἐὼν ἀνδρῶν Πύθιος καὶ κόσα χρήματα ἐκτιμένο·ς ἐπαγγέλλοιτο ταῦτα. οἱ δὲ εἶπαν “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὗτος ἐστὶ ὅς τοι τὸν πατέρα Δαρεῖον ἐδωρήσατο τῇ πλατανίστῳ τῇ χρυσέῃ καὶ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ· ὅς καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων πλούτῳ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν μετὰ σέ”.

27. In this city Pythius son of Atys, a Lydian, sat awaiting them; he entertained Xerxes himself and all the king's army with the greatest hospitality, and declared himself willing to provide money for the war. When Pythius offered the money, Xerxes asked the Persians present who this Pythius was and how much wealth he possessed in making the offer. They said, “O king, this is the one who gave your father Darius the gift of a golden plane-tree and vine; he is now the richest man we know of after you.”

28 1 θαμάσας δὲ τῶν ἐπέων τὸ τελευταῖον Ξέρξης αὐτὸς δευτέρα εἶρετο Πύθιον ὁκόσα οἱ εἶη χρήματα. ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε σε ἀποκρύψω οὔτε σκῆψομαι τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὴν ἐμεωυτοῦ οὐσίην, ἀλλ’ ἐπιστάμενός τοι ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω. 2 ἐπεῖτε γὰρ τάχιστα σε ἐπυθόμην ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καταβαίνοντα τὴν Ἑλληνίδα, βουλόμενός τοι δοῦναι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον χρήματα ἐξεμάνθανον, καὶ εὖρον λογιζόμενος ἀργυρίου μὲν δύο χιλιάδας εἰσέχουσας μοι ταλάντων, χρυσίου δὲ τετρακοσίας μυριάδας στατήρων Δαρεικῶν ἐπιδεούσας ἑπτὰ χιλιάδων. 3 καὶ τούτοισί σε ἐγὼ δωρέομαι, αὐτῷ δέ μοι ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων τε καὶ γεωπέδων ἀρκέων ἐστὶ βίος”.

28. Xerxes marvelled at this last saying and next himself asked Pythius how much wealth he had. “O king,” said Pythius, “I will not conceal the quantity of my property from you, nor pretend that I do not know; I know and will tell you the exact truth. As soon as I learned that you were coming down to the Greek sea, I wanted to give you money for the war, so I inquired into the matter, and my reckoning showed me that I had two thousand talents of silver, and

four million Daric staters of gold, lacking seven thousand. All this I freely give to you; for myself, I have a sufficient livelihood from my slaves and my farms.”

29 1 ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Ξέρξης δὲ ἡσθεὶς τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι εἶπε “ξεῖνε Λυδέ, ἐγὼ ἐπεῖτε ἐξῆλθον τὴν Περσίδα χώραν, οὐδενὶ ἀνδρὶ συνέμιξα ἐς τόδε ὅστις ἠθέλησε ξεῖνια προθεῖναι στρατῷ τῷ ἐμῷ, οὐδὲ ὅστις ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐμὴν καταστάς αὐτεπάγγελτος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐμοὶ ἠθέλησε συμβαλέσθαι χρήματα, ἔξω σεῦ. σὺ δὲ καὶ ἐξείνισας μέγας στρατὸν τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα ἐπαγγέλλεαι. 2 σοὶ ὦν ἐγὼ ἀντὶ αὐτῶν γέρεα τοιάδε δίδωμι· ξεῖνόν τέ σε ποιεῦμαι ἐμὸν καὶ τὰς τετρακοσίας μυριάδας τοι τῶν στατήρων ἀποπλήσω παρ’ ἐμεωυτοῦ δοὺς τὰς ἐπτὰ χιλιάδας, ἵνα μή τοι ἐπιδεέες ἔωσι αἱ τετρακόσiai μυριάδες ἐπτὰ χιλιάδων, ἀλλὰ ἧ τοι ἀπαρτιλογίη ὑπ’ ἐμέο πεπληρωμένη. 3 ἔκτησό τε αὐτὸς τὰ περ αὐτὸς ἐκτήσαιο, ἐπίστασό τε εἶναι αἰεὶ τοιοῦτος· οὐ γάρ τοι ταῦτα ποιεῦντι οὔτε ἐς τὸ παρεὸν οὔτε ἐς χρόνον μεταμελήσει”.

29. Thus he spoke. Xerxes was pleased with what he said and replied: “My Lydian friend, since I came out of Persia I have so far met with no man who was willing to give hospitality to my army, nor who came into my presence unsummoned and offered to furnish money for the war, besides you. But you have entertained my army nobly and offer me great sums. In return for this I give you these privileges: I make you my friend, and out of my own wealth I give you the seven thousand staters which will complete your total of four million, so that your four million not lack the seven thousand and the even number be reached by my completing it. Remain in possession of what you now possess, and be mindful to be always such as you are; neither for the present nor in time will you regret what you now do.”

30 1 ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἐπιτελέα ποιήσας ἐπορεύετο τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ. Ἄναρα δὲ καλεομένην Φρυγῶν πόλιν παραμειβόμενος καὶ λίμνην ἐκ τῆς ἅλης γίνονται, ἀπίκητο ἐς Κολοσσὰς πόλιν μεγάλην Φρυγίης· ἐν τῇ Λύκος ποταμὸς ἐς χάσμα γῆς ἐσβάλλων ἀφανίζεται, ἔπειτα διὰ σταδίων ὥς πέντε μάλιστα κη ἀναφαινόμενος ἐκδιδοῖ καὶ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον. 2 ἐκ δὲ Κολοσσέων ὁ στρατὸς ὁρμώμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς οὖρους τῶν Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν ἀπίκητο ἐς Κύδραρα πόλιν,

ἐνθα στήλη καταπεπηγυῖα, σταθεῖσα δὲ ὑπὸ Κροίσου, καταμηνύει διὰ γραμμάτων τοὺς οὖρους.

30. Xerxes said this and made good his words, then journeyed ever onward. Passing by the Phrygian town called Anaua, and the lake from which salt is obtained, he came to Colossae, a great city in Phrygia; there the river Lycus plunges into a cleft in the earth and disappears, until it reappears about five stadia away; this river issues into the Maeander. From Colossae the army held its course for the borders of Phrygia and Lydia, and came to the city of Cydrara, where there stands a pillar set up by Croesus which marks the boundary with an inscription.

31 ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίας ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὴν Λυδίην, σχιζομένης τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐς ἀριστερὴν ἐπὶ Καρίης φερούσης τῆς δὲ ἐς δεξιὴν ἐς Σάρδεις, τῇ καὶ πορευομένῳ διαβῆναι τὸν Μαϊάνδρον ποταμὸν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη γίνεται καὶ ἰέναι παρὰ Καλλάτηβον πόλιν, ἐν τῇ ἄνδρες δημοεργοὶ μέλι ἐκ μυρίκης τε καὶ πυροῦ ποιεῦσι, ταύτην ἰὼν ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν ὁδὸν εὔρε πλατάνιστον, τὴν κάλλεος εἵνεκα δωρησάμενος κόσμῳ χρυσέῳ καὶ μελεδωνῷ ἀθανάτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτρέψας δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπίκητο ἐς τῶν Λυδῶν τὸ ἄστυ.

31. Passing from Phrygia into Lydia, he came to the place where the roads part; the road on the left leads to Caria, the one on the right to Sardis; on the latter the traveller must cross the river Maeander and pass by the city of Callatebus, where craftsmen make honey out of wheat and tamarisks. Xerxes went by this road and found a plane-tree, which he adorned with gold because of its beauty, and he assigned one of his immortals to guard it. On the next day he reached the city of the Lydians.

32 ὁ ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Σάρδεις πρῶτα μὲν ἀπέπεμπε κήρυκας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα αἰτήσοντας γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ προερέοντας δεῖπνα βασιλεί παρασκευάζειν· πλὴν οὔτε ἐς Ἀθήνας οὔτε ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπέπεμπε ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ πάντῃ. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέπεμπε ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ· ὅσοι πρότερον οὐκ ἔδοσαν Δαρείῳ πέμψαντι, τούτους πάγχυ ἐδόκεε τότε δείσαντας δώσειν· βουλόμενος ὦν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐκμαθεῖν ἀκριβέως ἔπεμπε.

32. After he arrived in Sardis, he first sent heralds to Hellas to demand earth and water and to command the preparation of meals for

the king. He sent demands for earth everywhere except to Athens and Lacedaemon. The reason for his sending for earth and water the second time was this: he fully believed that whoever had not previously given it to Darius' messengers would now be compelled to give by fear; so he sent out of desire to know this for certain.

33 1 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἐλὼν ἐς Ἄβυδον. οἱ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἐξεύγνυσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Σηστοῦ τε πόλιος μετὰ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτὴ παχέα ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα Ἀβύδῳ καταντίον· ἔνθα μετὰ ταῦτα, χρόνῳ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ, ἐπὶ Ξανθίππου τοῦ Ἀρίφρονος στρατηγοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι Ἀρταύκτην ἄνδρα Πέρσῃ λαβόντες Σηστοῦ ὑπαρχον ζῶντα πρὸς σάνιδα διεπασσάλευσαν, ὃς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω τὸ ἱερὸν ἐς Ἑλαιοῦντα ἀγινεόμενος γυναικας ἀθέμιστα ἔρδεσκε.

33. After this he prepared to march to Abydos; meanwhile his men were bridging the Hellespont from Asia to Europe. On the Chersonese, which is on the Hellespont, between the city of Sestus and Madytus there is a broad headland running out into the sea opposite Abydos. It was here that not long afterwards the Athenians, when Xanthippus son of Ariphron was their general, took Artayctes, a Persian and the governor of Sestus, and crucified him alive; he had been in the habit of bringing women right into the temple of Protesilaus at Elaeus and doing impious deeds there.

34 1 ἐς ταύτην ὣν τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐξ Ἀβύδου ὁρμώμενοι ἐγεφύρουν τοῖσι προσέκειτο, τὴν μὲν λευκολίνου Φοίνικες, τὴν δ' ἐτέρην τὴν βυβλίνην Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ στάδιοι ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἐς τὴν ἀπαντίον. καὶ δὴ ἐξευγμένου τοῦ πόρου ἐπιγενόμενος χειμὼν μέγας συνέκοψέ τε ἐκεῖνα πάντα καὶ διέλυσε.

34. The men who had been given this assignment made bridges starting from Abydos across to that headland; the Phoenicians one of flaxen cables, and the Egyptians a papyrus one. From Abydos to the opposite shore it is a distance of seven stadia. But no sooner had the strait been bridged than a great storm swept down, breaking and scattering everything.

35 1 ὥς δ' ἐπύθετο Ξέρξης, δεινὰ ποιούμενος τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἐκέλευσε τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγὰς καὶ κατεῖναι ἐς τὸ

πέλαγος πεδέων ζεῦγος. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα ὥς καὶ στιγέας ἅμα τούτοισι ἀπέπεμψε στίζοντας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. 2 ἐνετέλλετο δὲ ὦν ῥαπίζοντας λέγειν βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα· “ὦ πικρὸν ὕδωρ, δεσπότης τοι δίκην ἐπιτιθεῖ τήνδε, ὅτι μιν ἡδίκησας οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου ἄδικον παθόν. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ξέρξης διαβήσεται σε, ἣν τε σύ γε βούλῃ ἦν τε μή· σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων θύει ὥς ἐόντι καὶ θολερῷ καὶ ἄλμυρῷ ποταμῷ”. 3 τὴν τε δὴ θάλασσαν ἐνετέλλετο τούτοισι ζημιοῦν καὶ τῶν ἐπεστεώτων τῇ ζεύξει τοῦ Ἑλλήσποντου ἀποταμεῖν τὰς κεφαλὰς.

35. When Xerxes heard of this, he was very angry and commanded that the Hellespont be whipped with three hundred lashes, and a pair of fetters be thrown into the sea. I have even heard that he sent branders with them to brand the Hellespont. He commanded them while they whipped to utter words outlandish and presumptuous, “Bitter water, our master thus punishes you, because you did him wrong though he had done you none. Xerxes the king will pass over you, whether you want it or not; in accordance with justice no one offers you sacrifice, for you are a turbid and briny river.” He commanded that the sea receive these punishments and that the overseers of the bridge over the Hellespont be beheaded.

36 1 καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίουν, τοῖσι προσέκειτο αὕτη ἡ ἄχαρις τιμή, τὰς δὲ ἄλλοι ἀρχιτέκτονες ἐξεύγνυσαν. ἐξεύγνυσαν δὲ ὧδε, πεντηκοντέρους καὶ τριήρεας συνθέντες, ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἐτέρην τεσσερεσκαίδεκα καὶ τριηκοσίας, τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας τοῦ δὲ Ἑλλήσποντου κατὰ ῥόον, ἵνα ἀνακωχεύῃ τὸν τόνον τῶν ὄπλων· 2 συνθέντες δὲ ἀγκύρας κατήκαν περιμήκεας, τὰς μὲν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου τῆς ἐτέρης τῶν ἀνέμων εἵνεκεν τῶν ἔσωθεν ἐκπνεόντων, τῆς δὲ ἐτέρης πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου ζεφύρου τε καὶ νότου εἵνεκα. διέκπλοον δὲ ὑπόφασιν κατέλιπον τῶν πεντηκοντέρων καὶ τριηρέων, ἵνα καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔχῃ ὁ βουλούμενος πλέειν πλοίοισι λεπτοῖσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔξω. 3 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες κατέτεινον ἐκ γῆς στρεβλοῦντες ὄνοισι ξυλίνοισι τὰ ὄπλα, οὐκέτι χωρὶς ἐκάτερα τάξαντες, ἀλλὰ δύο μὲν λευκολίνου δασάμενοι ἐς ἐκατέρην, τέσσερα δὲ τῶν βυβλίνων. παχύτης μὲν ἦν ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ καλλονή, κατὰ λόγον δὲ ἐμβριθέστερα ἦν τὰ λίνεα, τοῦ τάλαντον ὁ πῆχυς εἴλκε. 4 ἐπειδὴ δὲ

ἐγεφυρώθη ὁ πόρος, κορμοὺς ξύλων καταπρίσαντες καὶ ποιήσαντες ἴσους τῆς σχεδίας τῷ εὐρεῖ κόσμῳ ἐτίθεσαν κατύπερθε τῶν ὀπλων τοῦ τόνου, θέντες δὲ ἐπεξῆς ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὶς ἐπεξεύγνυν· 5 ποιήσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ὕλην ἐπεφόρησαν, κόσμῳ δὲ θέντες καὶ τὴν ὕλην γῆν ἐπεφόρησαν, κατανάζαντες δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν φραγμὸν παρείρυσαν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, ἵνα μὴ φοβέηται τὰ ὑποζύγια τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπερορῶντα καὶ οἱ ἵπποι.

36. So this was done by those who were appointed to the thankless honor, and new engineers set about making the bridges. They made the bridges as follows: in order to lighten the strain of the cables, they placed fifty-oared ships and triremes alongside each other, three hundred and sixty to bear the bridge nearest the Euxine sea, and three hundred and fourteen to bear the other; all lay obliquely to the line of the Pontus and parallel with the current of the Hellespont. After putting the ships together they let down very great anchors, both from the end of the ships on the Pontus side to hold fast against the winds blowing from within that sea, and from the other end, towards the west and the Aegean, to hold against the west and south winds. They left a narrow opening to sail through in the line of fifty-oared ships and triremes, that so whoever wanted to could sail by small craft to the Pontus or out of it. After doing this, they stretched the cables from the land, twisting them taut with wooden windlasses; they did not as before keep the two kinds apart, but assigned for each bridge two cables of flax and four of papyrus. All these had the same thickness and fine appearance, but the flaxen were heavier in proportion, for a cubit of them weighed a talent. When the strait was thus bridged, they sawed logs of wood to a length equal to the breadth of the floating supports, and laid them in order on the taut cables; after placing them together they then made them fast. After doing this, they carried brushwood onto the bridge; when this was all laid in order they heaped earth on it and stamped it down; then they made a fence on either side, so that the beasts of burden and horses not be frightened by the sight of the sea below them.

37 1 ὥς δὲ τὰ τε τῶν γεφυρέων κατεσκευάστο καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, οἱ τε χυτοὶ περὶ τὰ στόματα τῆς διώρυχος, οἱ τῆς ῥηγίης

εἵνεκεν ἐποιήθησαν, ἵνα μὴ πίμπληται τὰ στόματα τοῦ ὀρύγματος, καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ διῶρυξ παντελῶς πεποιημένη ἀγγέλλετο, ἐνθαῦτα χειμερίσας ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι παρεσκευασμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὀρματο ἐλὼν ἐς Ἀβυδον· 2 ὀρμημένῳ δέ οἱ ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδρην ἀφανῆς ἦν οὐτ' ἐπινεφέλων ἐόντων αἰθρίης τε τὰ μάλιστα, ἀντὶ ἡμέρης τε νύξ ἐγένετο. ἰδόντι δὲ καὶ μαθόντι τοῦτο τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο, καὶ εἵρετο τοὺς Μάγους τὸ θέλει προφαίνειν τὸ φάσμα. 3 οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον ὡς Ἑλλησι προδεικνύει ὁ θεὸς ἐκλειψιν τῶν πολίων, λέγοντες ἥλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προδέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων. ταῦτα πυθόμενος ὁ Ξέρξης περιχαρὴς ἐὼν ἐποίεετο τὴν ἔλασιν.

37. When the bridges and the work at Athos were ready, and both the dikes at the canal's entrances, built to prevent the surf from silting up the entrances of the dug passage, and the canal itself were reported to be now completely finished, the army then wintered. At the beginning of spring the army made ready and set forth from Sardis to march to Abydos. As it was setting out, the sun left his place in the heaven and was invisible, although the sky was without clouds and very clear, and the day turned into night. When Xerxes saw and took note of that, he was concerned and asked the Magi what the vision might signify. They declared to him that the god was showing the Greeks the abandonment of their cities; for the sun (they said) was the prophet of the Greeks, as the moon was their own. Xerxes rejoiced exceedingly to hear that and continued on his march.

38 1 ὡς δ' ἐξήλανε τὴν στρατιήν, Πύθιος ὁ Λυδὸς καταρρώδηςας τὸ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φάσμα ἐπαερθεὶς τε τοῖσι δωρήμασι, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Ξέρξην ἔλεγε τάδε. “ὦ δέσποτα, χρήσας ἄν τι σεῦ βουλοίμην τυχεῖν, τὸ σοὶ μὲν ἐλαφρὸν τυγχάνει ἐὼν ὑπουργῆσαι, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγα γενόμενον”. 2 Ξέρξης δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων μιν χρῆσιν ἢ τὸ ἐδεήθη, ἔφη τε ὑπουργήσιν καὶ δὴ ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευε ὅτεν δέοιτο. ὁ δὲ ἐπεῖτε ταῦτα ἤκουσε, ἔλεγε θαρσήςας τάδε. “ὦ δέσποτα, τυγχάνουσί μοι παῖδες ἐόντες πέντε, καὶ σφεας καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἅμα σοὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. 3 σὺ δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμὲ ἐς τόδε ἡλικίης ἦκοντα οἰκτεῖρας τῶν μοι παίδων ἓνα παράλυσον τῆς στρατηγίας τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἵνα αὐτοῦ τε ἐμεῦ καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἡ μελεδωνός· τοὺς δὲ τέσσερας ἄγευ ἅμα

σεωντῶ, καὶ πρήξας τὰ νοεῖς νοστήσειας ὀπίσω”.

38. As Xerxes led his army away, Pythius the Lydian, frightened by the heavenly vision and encouraged by the gifts that he had received, came to Xerxes and said, “Master, I have a favor to ask that I desire of you, easy for you to grant and precious for me to receive.” Xerxes supposed that Pythius would demand anything rather than what he did ask and answered that he would grant the request, bidding him declare what he desired. When Pythius heard this, he took courage and said: “Master, I have five sons, and all of them are constrained to march with you against Hellas. I pray you, O king, take pity on me in my advanced age, and release one of my sons, the eldest, from service, so that he may take care of me and of my possessions; take the four others with you, and may you return back with all your plans accomplished.”

39 1 κάρτα τε ἐθυμώθη ὁ Ξέρξης καὶ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “ὦ κακὲ ἄνθρωπε, σὺ ἐτόλμησας, ἐμεῦ στρατευομένου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἄγοντος παῖδας ἐμούς καὶ ἀδελφεοὺς καὶ οἰκίους καὶ φίλους, μνήσασθαι περὶ σέο παιδός, ἐὼν ἐμὸς δοῦλος, τὸν χρῆν πανοικίῃ αὐτῇ τῇ γυναικὶ συνέπεσθαι; εὖ νυν τόδ’ ἐξεπίστασο, ὥς ἐν τοῖσι ὡσὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκέει ὁ θυμός, ὃς χρηστὰ μὲν ἀκούσας τέρψιος ἐμπιπλεῖ τὸ σῶμα, ὑπεναντία δὲ τούτοισι ἀκούσας ἀνοιδέει. 2 ὅτε μὲν νυν χρηστὰ ποιήσας ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἐπηγγέλλεο, εὐεργεσίῃσι βασιλέα οὐ καυχήσεται ὑπερβαλέσθαι· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀναιδέστερον ἐτράπευ, τὴν μὲν ἀξίην οὐ λάμπει, ἐλάσσω δὲ τῆς ἀξίης. σὲ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς τέσσαρας τῶν παίδων ῥύεται τὰ ξείνια· τοῦ δὲ ἐνός, τοῦ περιέχει μάλιστα, τῇ ψυχῇ ζημιώσεται”. 3 ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκρίνατο, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε τοῖσι προσετέτακτο ταῦτα πρήσσειν, τῶν Πυθίου παίδων ἐξευρόντας τὸν πρεσβύτατον μέσον διαταμεῖν, διαταμόντας δὲ τὰ ἡμίτομα διαθεῖναι τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ δ’ ἐπ’ ἀριστερά, καὶ ταύτῃ διεξιέναι τὸν στρατόν.

39. Xerxes became very angry and thus replied: “Villain, you see me marching against Hellas myself, and taking with me my sons and brothers and relations and friends; do you, my slave, who should have followed me with all your household and your very wife, speak to me of your son? Be well assured of this, that a man’s spirit dwells in his ears; when it hears good words it fills the whole body with

delight, but when it hears the opposite it swells with anger. When you did me good service and promised more, you will never boast that you outdid your king in the matter of benefits; and now that you have turned aside to the way of shamelessness, you will receive a lesser requital than you merit. You and four of your sons are saved by your hospitality; but you shall be punished by the life of that one you most desire to keep.” With that reply, he immediately ordered those who were assigned to do these things to find the eldest of Pythius sons and cut him in half, then to set one half of his body on the right side of the road and the other on the left, so that the army would pass between them.

40 1 ποιησάντων δὲ τούτων τοῦτο, μετὰ ταῦτα διεξήιε ὁ στρατός. ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, μετὰ δὲ τούτους σύμμικτος στρατός παντοίων ἐθνέων ἀναμίξ, οὐ διακεκριμένοι· τῇ δὲ ὑπερημίσεες ἦσαν, ἐνθαῦτα διελέλειπτο, καὶ οὐ συνέμισγον οὗτοι βασιλεί. 2 προηγέυντο μὲν δὴ ἱππῶται χίλιοι, ἐκ Περσέων πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι· μετὰ δὲ αἰχμοφόροι χίλιοι καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι, τὰς λόγχας κάτω ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέψαντες· μετὰ δὲ ἱροὶ Νησαῖοι καλεόμενοι ἵπποι δέκα κεκοσμημένοι ὡς κάλλιστα. 3 Νησαῖοι δὲ καλέονται ἵπποι ἐπὶ τοῦδε· ἔστι πεδίον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς τῷ οὔνομα ἐστὶ Νήσαιον· τοὺς ὧν δὴ ἵππους τοὺς μεγάλους φέρει τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο. 4 ὅπισθε δὲ τούτων τῶν δέκα ἵππων ἄρμα Διὸς ἱρὸν ἐπετέτακτο, τὸ ἵπποι μὲν εἴλκον λευκοὶ ὀκτώ, ὅπισθε δὲ αὖ τῶν ἵππων εἵπετο πεζῇ ἡνίοχος ἐχόμενος τῶν χαλινῶν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβαίνει. τούτου δὲ ὅπισθε αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπ’ ἄρματος ἵππων Νησαίων· παραβέβηκε δὲ οἱ ἡνίοχος τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Πατιράμφης, Ὀτάνεω ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω παῖς.

40. This they did, and the army passed between. First went the baggage train and the beasts of burden, and after them a mixed army of all sorts of nations, not according to their divisions but all mingled together; when more than half had passed there was a space left, and these did not come near the king. After that, first came a thousand horsemen, chosen out of all Persians; next, a thousand spearmen, picked men like the others, carrying their spears reversed; and after them ten horses of the breed called Nesaeian, equipped most

splendidly. The horses are called Nesaean because there is in Media a wide plain of that name, where the great horses are bred. Behind these ten horses was the place of the sacred chariot of Zeus, drawn by eight white horses, with the charioteer following the horses on foot and holding the reins; for no mortal man may mount into that seat. After these came Xerxes himself in a chariot drawn by Nesaean horses; beside him was his charioteer, whose name was Patiramphes, the son of Otanes, a Persian.

41 1 ἐξήλασε μὲν οὕτω ἐκ Σαρδίων Ξέρξης, μετεκβαίνεσκε δέ, ὅκως μιν λόγος αἰρέοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς ἀρμάμαξαν. αὐτοῦ δὲ ὀπισθε αἰχμοφόροι Περσέων οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ γενναιότατοι χίλιοι, κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες, μετὰ δὲ ἵππος ἄλλη χιλίη ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένη, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένοι μύριοι. οὗτος πεζὸς ἦν· 2 καὶ τούτων χίλιοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσι δόρασι ἀντὶ τῶν σαυρωτήρων ροιὰς εἶχον χρυσέας καὶ πέριξ συνεκλήιον τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ δὲ εἰνακισχίλιοι ἐντὸς τούτων ἐόντες ἀργυρέας ροιὰς εἶχον· εἶχον δὲ χρυσέας ροιὰς καὶ οἱ ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέποντες τὰς λόγχας, καὶ μῆλα οἱ ἄγχιστα ἐπόμενοι Ξέρξη. τοῖσι δὲ μυριοῖσι ἐπετέτακτο ἵππος Περσέων μυρίη. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον διέλειπε καὶ δύο σταδίους, καὶ ἔπειτα ὁ λοιπὸς ὄμιλος ἦε ἀναμίξ.

41. In this way Xerxes rode out from Sardis; but whenever the thought took him he would alight from the chariot into a carriage. Behind him came a thousand spearmen of the best and noblest blood of Persia, carrying their spears in the customary manner; after them a thousand picked Persian horsemen, and after the horse ten thousand that were foot soldiers, chosen out of the rest of the Persians. One thousand of these had golden pomegranates on their spear-shafts instead of a spike, and surrounded the rest; the nine thousand who were inside them had silver pomegranates. Those who held their spears reversed also carried golden pomegranates, and those following nearest to Xerxes had apples of gold. After the ten thousand came ten thousand Persian horsemen in array. After these there was a space of two stadia, and then the rest of the multitude followed all mixed together.

42 1 ἐποιέετο δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκ τῆς Λυδίας ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τε ποταμὸν Κάικον καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, ἀπὸ δὲ Καΐκου ὁρμώμενος,

Κάνης ὄρος ἔχων ἐν ἀριστερῇ, διὰ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος ἐς Καρήνην πόλιν· ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης διὰ Θήβης πεδίου ἐπορεύετο, Ἀδραμύττειόν τε πόλιν καὶ Ἄντανδρον τὴν Πελασγίδα παραμειβόμενος. 2 τὴν Ἰδην δὲ λαβὼν ἐς ἀριστερὴν χεῖρα ἤε ἐς τὴν Ἰλιάδα γῆν. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰδῇ νύκτα ἀναμεινάντι βρονταί τε καὶ πρηστῆρες ἐπεσπίπτουσι καὶ τινα αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συχρὸν ὄμιλον διέφθειραν.

42. From Lydia the army took its course to the river Caicus and the land of Mysia; leaving the Caicus, they went through Atarneus to the city of Carene, keeping the mountain of Cane on the left. From there they journeyed over the plain of Thebe, passing the city of Adramytteum and the Pelasgian city of Antandrus. Then they came into the territory of Ilium, with Ida on their left. When they had halted for the night at the foot of Ida, a storm of thunder and lightning fell upon them, killing a great crowd of them there.

43 1 ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Σκάμανδρον, ὃς πρῶτος ποταμῶν, ἐπεῖτε ἐκ Σαρδίων ὀρμηθέντες ἐπεχείρησαν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπέλιπε τὸ ῥέεθρον οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τε καὶ τοῖσι κτήνεσι πινόμενος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ὥς ἀπίκετο Ξέρξης, ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη ἡμέρον ἔχων θεήσασθαι· 2 θεησάμενος δὲ καὶ πυθόμενος ἐκείνων ἕκαστα τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσσε βοῦς χιλίας, χοᾶς δὲ οἱ Μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι ἐχέαντο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιησαμένοισι νυκτὸς φόβος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε. ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐνθεῦτεν, ἐν ἀριστερῇ μὲν ἀπέργων Ῥοίτιον πόλιν καὶ Ὀφρύνειον καὶ Δάρδανον, ἣ περ δὴ Ἀβύδω ὁμουρος ἐστί, ἐν δεξιῇ δὲ Γέργιθας Τευκρούς.

43. When the army had come to the river Scamander, which was the first river after the beginning of their march from Sardis that fell short of their needs and was not sufficient for the army and the cattle to drink — arriving at this river, Xerxes ascended to the citadel of Priam, having a desire to see it. After he saw it and asked about everything there, he sacrificed a thousand cattle to Athena of Ilium, and the Magi offered libations to the heroes. After they did this, a panic fell upon the camp in the night. When it was day they journeyed on from there, keeping on their left the cities of Rhoetium and Ophryneum and Dardanus, which borders Abydos, and on their right the Teucrian Gergithae.

44 1 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετο ἐν Ἀβύδῳ μέση, ἠθέλησε Ξέρξης ιδέσθαι πάντα τὸν στρατόν· καὶ προεπεποιήτο γὰρ ἐπὶ κολωνοῦ ἐπίτηδες αὐτῷ ταύτῃ προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἀβυδηνοὶ ἐντεिलाμένου πρότερον βασιλέος, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἕζετο, κατορῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὰς νέας, θηεύμενος δὲ ἡμέρῃ τῶν νεῶν ἄμιλλαν γινομένην ιδέσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετό τε καὶ ἐνίκων Φοίνικες Σιδώνιοι, ἦσθη τε τῇ ἀμίλλῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ.

44. When they were at Abydos, Xerxes wanted to see the whole of his army. A lofty seat of white stone had been set up for him on a hill there for this very purpose, built by the people of Abydos at the king's command. There he sat and looked down on the seashore, viewing his army and his fleet; as he viewed them he desired to see the ships contend in a race. They did so, and the Phoenicians of Sidon won; Xerxes was pleased with the race and with his expedition.

45 1 ὡς δὲ ὥρα πάντα μὲν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένον, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ Ἀβυδηνῶν πεδία ἐπίπλεα ἀνθρώπων, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης ἐωυτὸν ἐμακάρισε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε.

45. When he saw the whole Hellespont covered with ships, and all the shores and plains of Abydos full of men, Xerxes first declared himself blessed, and then wept.

46 1 μαθὼν δὲ μιν Ἀρτάβανος ὁ πάτρως, ὃς τὸ πρῶτον γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐλευθέρως οὐ συμβουλευὼν Ξέρξῃ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὗτος ὠνήρ φρασθεὶς Ξέρξην δακρύσαντα εἶρετο τάδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὡς πολλὸν ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα ἐργάσαο νῦν τε καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον· μακαρίσας γὰρ σεαυτὸν δακρύεις”. 2 ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ἐσῆλθε γάρ με λογισάμενον κατοικτεῖραι ὡς βραχὺς εἴη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος βίος, εἰ τούτων γε ἐόντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς ἐς ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος περιέσται”. ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων “ἕτερα τούτου παρὰ τὴν ζόην πεπόνθαμεν οἰκτρότερα. 3 ἐν γὰρ οὕτῳ βραχεί βίῳ οὐδεὶς οὕτῳ ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν εὐδαίμων πέφυκε οὔτε τούτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται πολλάκις καὶ οὐκ ἄπαξ τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν. αἱ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ προσπίπτουσιν καὶ αἱ νοῦσοι συνταράσσουσιν καὶ βραχὺν ἐόντα μακρὸν δοκέειν εἶναι ποιεῦσι τὸν βίον. 4 οὕτῳ ὁ μὲν θάνατος μοχθηρῆς ἐούσης τῆς ζῆς καταφυγῇ

αίρετωτάτη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονε, ὁ δὲ θεὸς γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα φθονερός ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρίσκεται ἐὼν”.

46. His uncle Artabanus perceived this, he who in the beginning had spoken his mind freely and advised Xerxes not to march against Hellas. Marking how Xerxes wept, he questioned him and said, “O king, what a distance there is between what you are doing now and a little while ago! After declaring yourself blessed you weep.” Xerxes said, “I was moved to compassion when I considered the shortness of all human life, since of all this multitude of men not one will be alive a hundred years from now.” Artabanus answered, “In one life we have deeper sorrows to bear than that. Short as our lives are, there is no human being either here or elsewhere so fortunate that it will not occur to him, often and not just once, to wish himself dead rather than alive. Misfortunes fall upon us and sicknesses trouble us, so that they make life, though short, seem long. Life is so miserable a thing that death has become the most desirable refuge for humans; the god is found to be envious in this, giving us only a taste of the sweetness of living.”

47 1 Ξέρξης δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων “Ἀρτάβανε, βιοτῆς μὲν νυν ἀνθρωπίνης πέρι, ἐούσης τοιαύτης οἴην περ σὺ διαιρέαι εἶναι, πανσώμεθα, μηδὲ κακῶν μεμνώμεθα χρηστὰ ἔχοντες πρήγματα ἐν χερσί, φράσον δέ μοι τόδε· εἴ τοι ἡ ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου μὴ ἐναργῆς οὕτω ἐφάνη, εἶχες ἂν τὴν ἀρχαίην γνώμην, οὐκ ἐὼν με στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢ μετέστης ἂν ; φέρε τοῦτό μοι ἀτρεκέως εἰπé”. 2 ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὄψις μὲν ἡ ἐπιφανεῖσα τοῦ ὀνείρου ὥς βουλόμεθα ἀμφοτέροι τελευτήσῃ, ἐγὼ δ’ ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε δείματος εἰμὶ ὑπόπλεος οὐδ’ ἐντὸς ἐμεωντοῦ, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπιλεγόμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ὀρῶν τοι δύο τὰ μέγιστα πάντων ἐόντα πολεμιώτατα”.

47. Xerxes answered and said, “Artabanus, human life is such as you define it to be. Let us speak no more of that, nor remember evils in our present prosperous estate. But tell me this: if you had not seen the vision in your dream so clearly, would you still have held your former opinion and advised me not to march against Hellas, or would you have changed your mind? Come, tell me this truly.” Artabanus answered and said, “O king, may the vision that appeared in my

dream bring such an end as we both desire! But I am even now full of fear and beside myself for many reasons, especially when I see that the two greatest things in the world are your greatest enemies.”

48 1 Ξέρξης δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, κοῖα ταῦτα λέγεις εἶναι δύο μοι πολεμιώτατα; κότερά τοι ὁ πεζὸς μεμπτὸς κατὰ πλῆθος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα φαίνεται πολλαπλήσιον ἔσεσθαι τοῦ ἡμετέρου, ἢ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον λείψεσθαι τοῦ ἐκείνων, ἢ καὶ συναμφοτέρα ταῦτα; εἰ γάρ τοι ταύτη φαίνεται ἐνδεέστερα εἶναι τὰ ἡμέτερα πρήγματα, στρατοῦ ἂν ἄλλου τις τὴν ταχίστην ἄγερσιν ποιέοιτο”.

48. Xerxes made this response: “Are you possessed? What are these two things that you say are my greatest enemies? Is there some fault with the numbers of my land army? Does it seem that the Greek army will be many times greater than ours? Or do you think that our navy will fall short of theirs? Or that the fault is in both? If our power seems to you to lack anything in this regard, it would be best to muster another army as quickly as possible.”

49 1 ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο λέγων “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε στρατὸν τοῦτον, ὅστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, μέμποιτ’ ἂν οὔτε τῶν νεῶν τὸ πλῆθος· ἦν δὲ πλεῦνας συλλέξης, τὰ δύο τοι τὰ λέγω πολλῶ ἔτι πολεμιώτερα γίνεται. τὰ δὲ δύο ταῦτα ἐστὶ γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα. 2 οὔτε γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστὶ λιμὴν τοσοῦτος οὐδαμῶθι, ὥς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω, ὅστις ἐγειρομένου χειμῶνος δεξάμενός σευ τοῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν φερέγγυος ἔσται διασῶσαι τὰς νέας. καίτοι οὐκὶ ἓνα αὐτὸν δεῖ εἶναι τὸν λιμένα, ἀλλὰ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἡπειρον παρ’ ἦν δὴ κομίζεαι. 3 οὐκὼν δὴ ἐόντων τοι λιμένων ὑποδεξίων, μάθε ὅτι αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄρχουσι καὶ οὐκὶ ὧνθρωποι τῶν συμφορέων. καὶ δὴ τῶν δύο τοι τοῦ ἐτέρου εἰρημένου τὸ ἕτερον ἔρχομαι ἐρέων. 4 γῆ δὲ πολεμὴ τῇδέ τοι κατίσταται· εἰ θέλει τοι μηδὲν ἀντίξοον καταστήναι, τοσοῦτῳ τοι γίνεται πολεμιωτέρη ὅσῳ ἂν προβαίνης ἐκαστέρῳ, τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος· εὐπρηξίης δὲ οὐκ ἔστι ἀνθρώποισι οὐδεμία πληθώρα. 5 καὶ δὴ τοι, ὥς οὐδενὸς ἐναντιευμένου, λέγω τὴν χώραν πλεῦνα ἐν πλέονι χρόνῳ γινομένην λιμὸν τέξεσθαι. ἀνὴρ δὲ οὕτῳ ἂν εἴη ἄριστος, εἰ βουλευόμενος μὲν ἀρρώδεοι, πᾶν ἐπιλεγόμενος πείσεσθαι χρῆμα, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ θρασὺς εἴη”.

49. Artabanus answered and said, “O king, there is no fault that

any man of sound judgment could find either with this army or with the number of your ships; and if you gather more, those two things I speak of become even much more your enemies. These two are the land and the sea. The sea has nowhere any harbor, as I conjecture, that will be able to receive this navy and save your ships if a storm arise. Yet there has to be not just one such harbor, but many of them all along the land you are sailing by. Since there are no harbors able to receive you, understand that men are the subjects and not the rulers of their accidents. I have spoken of one of the two, and now I will tell you of the other. The land is your enemy in this way: if nothing is going to stand in your way and hinder you, the land becomes more your enemy the further you advance, constantly unaware of what lies beyond; no man is ever satisfied with success. So I say that if no one opposes you, the increase of your territory and the time passed in getting it will breed famine. The best man is one who is timid while making plans because he takes into account all that may happen to him, but is bold in action.”

50 1 ἀμείβεται Ξέρξης τοῖσιδε. “Ἀρτάβανε, οἰκότως μὲν σύ γε τούτων ἕκαστα διαίρει· ἀτὰρ μήτε πάντα φοβέο μήτε πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεις. εἰ γὰρ δὴ βούλοιο ἐπὶ τῷ αἰεὶ ἐπεσφερομένῳ πρήγματι τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ποιήσεαις ἂν οὐδαμὰ οὐδέν· κρέσσον δὲ πάντα θαρσέοντα ἡμῖς τῶν δεινῶν πάσχειν μᾶλλον ἢ πᾶν χρήμα προδειμαίνοντα μηδαμὰ μηδὲν παθεῖν. 2 εἰ δὲ ἐρίζων πρὸς πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον μὴ τὸ βέβαιον ἀποδέξεις, σφάλλεσθαι ὀφείλεις ἐν αὐτοῖσι ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ὑπεναντία τούτοις λέξας. τοῦτο μὲν νυν ἐπ’ ἴσης ἔχει· εἰδέναι δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἔοντα κῶς χρὴ τὸ βέβαιον; δοκέω μὲν οὐδαμῶς. τοῖσι τοίνυν βουλομένοις ποιεῖν ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν φιλέει γίνεσθαι τὰ κέρδεα, τοῖσι δὲ ἐπιλεγόμενοις τε πάντα καὶ ὀκνεοῦσι οὐ μάλα ἐθέλει. 3 ὅρῳ τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα ἐς ὃ δυνάμιος προκεχώρηκε. εἰ τοίνυν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πρὸ ἡμεῶν γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς γνώμῃσι ἐχρέωντο ὁμοίῃσι καὶ σύ, ἢ μὴ χρεώμενοι γνώμῃσι τοιαύτησι ἄλλους συμβούλους εἶχον τοιούτους, οὐκ ἂν κοτε εἶδες αὐτὰ ἐς τοῦτο προελθόντα· νῦν δὲ κινδύνους ἀναρρίπτεοντες ἐς τοῦτο σφέα προηγόντο. μεγάλα γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλοις κινδύνοις ἐθέλει καταίρεσθαι. 4 ἡμεῖς τοίνυν ὁμοιούμενοι ἐκείνοις ὥρην τε τοῦ ἔτους καλλίστην πορευόμεθα, καὶ καταστρεψάμενοι πᾶσαν τὴν

Εὐρώπην νοστήσομεν ὀπίσω, οὔτε λιμῷ ἐντυχόντες οὐδαμόθι οὔτε ἄλλο ἄχαρι οὐδὲν παθόντες. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ πολλὴν φορβὴν φερόμενοι πορευόμεθα, τοῦτο δέ, τῶν ἄν κου ἐπιβέωμεν γῆν καὶ ἔθνος, τούτων τὸν σῆτον ἔξομεν· ἐπ’ ἀροτῆρας δὲ καὶ οὐ νομάδας στρατευόμεθα ἄνδρας”.

50. Xerxes answered, “Artabanus, you define these matters reasonably. But do not fear everything, nor take account of all alike; If you wanted to take everything equally into account on every occasion that happens, you would never do anything; it is better to do everything boldly and suffer half of what you dread than to fear all chances and so never suffer anything. But if you quarrel with whatever is said yet cannot put forth a secure position, you must be proved as wrong on your part as he who holds the contrary opinion. In this both are alike: how can someone who is only human know where there is security? I think it is impossible. Those who have the will to act most often win the rewards, not those who hesitate and take account of all chances. You see what power Persia has attained. Now if those kings who came before me had held such opinions as yours, or if they had not held them but had had advisers like you, you would never have seen our fortunes at their present height; but as it is those kings ran the risks and advanced them to this height. Great successes are not won except by great risks. So we will do as they did; we are travelling in the fairest season of the year, and we will return home the conquerors of all Europe without suffering famine or any other harm anywhere. First, we carry ample provisions with us on our march; second, we will have the food of those whose land and nation we invade; for we are marching against men who are tillers of the soil, not nomads.”

51 1 λέγει Ἀρτάβανος μετὰ ταῦτα ὧ βασιλεῦ, ἐπεῖτε ἀρρώδεειν οὐδὲν ἔἴς πρῆγμα, σὺ δέ μευ συμβουλίην ἔνδεξαι· ἀναγκαιῶς γὰρ ἔχει περὶ πολλῶν πρηγμάτων πλεῦνα λόγον ἐκτεῖναι. Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω Ἰωνίην πᾶσαν πλὴν Ἀθηναίων κατεστρέψατο δασμοφόρον εἶναι Πέρσῃσι. 2 τούτους ὦν τοὺς ἄνδρας συμβουλευῶ τοι μηδεμιῇ μηχανῇ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας· καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων οἷοί τε εἰμὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατυπέρτεροι γίνεσθαι. ἥ γὰρ σφέας, ἦν ἔπονται, δεῖ ἀδικωτάτους γίνεσθαι καταδουλουμένους τὴν

μητρόπολιν, ἥ δικαιοτάτους συνελευθεροῦντας. 3 ἀδικώτατοι μὲν νυν γινόμενοι οὐδὲν κέρδος μέγα ἡμῖν προσβάλλουσι, δικαιοτάτοι δὲ γινόμενοι οἷοί τε δηλήσασθαι μεγάλως τὴν σὴν στρατιὴν γίνονται. ἐς θυμὸν ὧν βάλευ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔπος ὡς εὖ εἴρηται, τὸ μὴ ἅμα ἀρχῇ πᾶν τέλος καταφαίνεσθαι”.

51. Then said Artabanus: “O king, I see that you will not allow us to fear any danger. But take from me this advice, as there is need for much speaking when our affairs are so great. Cyrus son of Cambyses subdued and made tributary to Persia all Ionians except only the Athenians. I advise you by no means to lead these Ionians against the land of their fathers, since even without their aid we are well able to overcome our enemies. If they come with our army, they must either behave very unjustly by enslaving their mother city, or very justly by aiding it to be free. If they deal very unjustly they bring us no great advantage, but by dealing very justly they may well do great harm to your army. Take to heart the truth of that ancient saying, that the end of every matter is not revealed at its beginning.”

52 1 ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης “Ἀρτάβανε, τῶν ἀπεφήναο γνωμέων σφάλλει κατὰ ταύτην δὴ μάλιστα, ὃς Ἰωνας φοβέαι μὴ μεταβάλωσι, τῶν ἔχομεν γνῶμα μέγιστον, τῶν σύ τε μάρτυς γίνεαι καὶ οἱ συστρατευσάμενοι Δαρεῖω ἄλλοι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτοις ἢ πᾶσα Περσικὴ στρατιὴ ἐγένετο διαφθεῖραι καὶ περιποιῆσαι, οἱ δὲ δικαιοσύνην καὶ πιστότητα ἐνέδωκαν, ἅχαρι δὲ οὐδέν. 2 παρέξ δὲ τούτου, ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ καταλιπόντας τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ χρήματα οὐδ’ ἐπιλέγεσθαι χρὴ νεώτερόν τι ποιήσῃν. οὕτω μὲν τοῦτο φοβέο, ἀλλὰ θυμὸν ἔχων ἀγαθὸν σῶζε οἶκόν τε τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ τυραννίδα τὴν ἐμήν· σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ μούνω ἐκ πάντων σκῆπτρα τὰ ἐμὰ ἐπιτρέπω”.

52. Xerxes answered, “Artabanus, in all your pronouncements you are most mistaken when you fear that the Ionians might change sides; we have the surest guarantee for them, and you and all who marched with Darius against the Scythians can bear witness. They had the power to destroy or to save the whole Persian army, and they gave proof of their justice and faithfulness, with no evil intent. Moreover, since they have left their children and wives and possessions in our country, we need not consider it even possible that they will make any violent change. So be rid of that fear; keep a stout heart and

guard my household and tyranny; to you alone I entrust the symbols of my kingship.”

53 1 ταῦτα εἶπας καὶ Ἀρτάβανον ἀποστείλας ἐς Σοῦσα δεύτερα μετεπέμψατο Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους· ἐπεὶ δέ οἱ παρῆσαν, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. “ὦ Πέρσαι, τῶνδ’ ἐγὼ ὑμέων χρηρίζων συνέλεξα, ἄνδρας τε γενέσθαι ἀγαθοὺς καὶ μὴ καταισχύνειν τὰ πρόσθε ἐργασμένα Πέρσῃσι, ἐόντα μεγάλα τε καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξια, ἀλλ’ εἰς τε ἕκαστος καὶ οἱ σύμπαντες προθυμίην ἔχωμεν· ξυνὸν γὰρ πᾶσι τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν σπεύδεται. 2 τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα προαγορεύω ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου ἐντεταμένως· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπ’ ἄνδρας στρατευόμεθα ἀγαθοὺς, τῶν ἣν κρατήσωμεν, οὐ μὴ τις ἡμῖν ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀντιστῇ κοτε ἀνθρώπων. νῦν δὲ διαβαίνωμεν ἐπευξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι οἱ Πέρσας λελόγγασι”.

53. Xerxes spoke thus and sent Artabanus away to Susa. He next sent for the most notable among the Persians, and when they were present he said, “Persians, I have assembled you to make this demand, that you bear yourselves bravely and never sully the great and glorious former achievements of the Persians. Let us each and all be zealous, for the good that we seek is common to all. For these reasons I bid you set your hands to the war strenuously; I know that we march against valiant men, and if we overcome them it is certain that no other human army will ever withstand us. Let us now cross over, after praying to the gods who hold Persia for their allotted realm.”

54 1 ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν διάβασιν· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἀνέμενον τὸν ἥλιον ἐθέλοντες ιδέσθαι ἀνίσχοντα, θυμῷματά τε παντοῖα ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρέων καταγίζοντες καὶ μυρσίνησι στορνύντες τὴν ὁδόν. 2 ὥς δ’ ἐπανέτελλε ὁ ἥλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσῆς φιάλης Ξέρξης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν εὐχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον μηδεμίαν οἱ συντυχίην τοιαύτην γενέσθαι, ἢ μιν παύσει καταστρέψασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ τέρμασι τοῖσι ἐκείνης γένηται. εὐξάμενος δὲ ἐσέβαλε τὴν φιάλην ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ χρύσειον κρητῆρα καὶ Περσικὸν ξίφος, τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. 3 ταῦτα οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι οὔτε εἰ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνατιθεὶς κατῆκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, οὔτε εἰ μετεμέλησέ οἱ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μαστιγώσαντι καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἐδωρέετο.

54. All that day they made preparations for the crossing. On the next they waited until they could see the sun rise, burning all kinds of incense on the bridges and strewing the road with myrtle boughs. At sunrise Xerxes poured a libation from a golden phial into the sea, praying to the sun that no accident might befall him which would keep him from subduing Europe before he reached its farthest borders. After the prayer, he cast the phial into the Hellespont, and along with it a golden bowl, and a Persian sword which they call "acinaces." As for these, I cannot rightly determine whether he cast them into the sea for offerings to the sun, or repented having whipped the Hellespont and gave gifts to the sea as atonement.

55 1 ὥς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποιήτο, διέβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἑτέρην τῶν γεφυρέων τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου ὁ πεζός τε καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἅπασα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Αἰγαῖον τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἡ θεραπῆ. 2 ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι, ἑστεφανωμένοι πάντες, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὁ σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὗτοι, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τε ἱππῶται καὶ οἱ τὰς λόγχας κάτω τρέποντες· ἑστεφάνωντο δὲ καὶ οὗτοι. 3 μετὰ δὲ οἱ τε ἵπποι οἱ ἱροὶ καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ ἱρόν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτός τε Ξέρξης καὶ οἱ αἰχμοφόροι καὶ οἱ ἱππῶται οἱ χίλιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ ἄλλος στρατός. καὶ αἱ νέες ἅμα ἀνήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίον. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα καὶ ὕστατον διαβῆναι βασιλέα πάντων.

55. When they had done this they crossed over, the foot and horse all by the bridge nearest to the Pontus, the beasts of burden and the service train by the bridge towards the Aegean. The ten thousand Persians, all wearing garlands, led the way, and after them came the mixed army of diverse nations. All that day these crossed; on the next, first crossed the horsemen and the ones who carried their spears reversed; these also wore garlands. After them came the sacred horses and the sacred chariot, then Xerxes himself and the spearmen and the thousand horse, and after them the rest of the army. Meanwhile the ships put out and crossed to the opposite shore. But I have also heard that the king crossed last of all.

56 1 Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ διέβη ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθηεῖτο τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα· διέβη δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρησι καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ εὐφρόνησι, ἐλινύσας οὐδένα χρόνον. 2 ἐνθαῦτα

λέγεται, Ξέρξεω ἤδη διαβεβηκότος τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἄνδρα εἰπεῖν Ἑλλησπόντιον “ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος Πέρσῃ καὶ οὖνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ξέρξην θέμενος ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα θέλεις ποιῆσαι, ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων ἐξῆν τοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα”.

56. When Xerxes had passed over to Europe, he viewed his army crossing under the lash. Seven days and seven nights it was in crossing, with no pause. It is said that when Xerxes had now crossed the Hellespont, a man of the Hellespont cried, “O Zeus, why have you taken the likeness of a Persian man and changed your name to Xerxes, leading the whole world with you to remove Hellas from its place? You could have done that without these means.”

57 1 ὥς δὲ διέβησαν πάντες, ἐς ὁδὸν ὀρμημένοισι τέρας σφὶ ἐφάνη μέγα, τὸ Ξέρξης ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο καίπερ εὐσύμβλητον ἔόν· ἵππος γὰρ ἔτεκε λαγόν. εὐσύμβλητον ὦν τῇδε τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἔμελλε μὲν ἑλᾶν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης ἀγαυρότατα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα, ὀπίσω δὲ περὶ ἑωυτοῦ τρέχων ἦξειν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χώρον. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἕτερον αὐτῷ τέρας ἔοντι ἐν Σάρδισι· 2 ἡμίονος γὰρ ἔτεκε ἡμίονον διζᾶ ἔχουσαν αἰδοῖα, τὰ μὲν ἔρσενος τὰ δὲ θηλέης· κατύπερθε δὲ ἦν τὰ τοῦ ἔρσενος. τῶν ἀμφοτέρων λόγον οὐδένα ποιησάμενος τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύετο, σὺν δὲ οἱ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός.

57. When all had passed over and were ready for the road, a great portent appeared among them. Xerxes took no account of it, although it was easy to interpret: a mare gave birth to a hare. The meaning of it was easy to guess: Xerxes was to march his army to Hellas with great pomp and pride, but to come back to the same place fleeing for his life. There was another portent that was shown to him at Sardis: a mule gave birth to a mule that had double genitals, both male and female, the male above the other. But he took no account of either sign and journeyed onward; the land army was with him.

58 1 ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέων παρὰ γῆν ἐκομίζετο, τὰ ἔμπαλιν πρήσσω τοῦ πεζοῦ. 2 ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἔπλεε, ἐπὶ Σαρπηδονίης ἄκρης ποιεύμενος τὴν ἄπιζιν, ἐς τὴν αὐτῷ προείρητο ἀπικομένῳ περιμένειν· ὁ δὲ κατ’ ἡπειρον στρατὸς πρὸς ἡῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐποιέετο τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς Χερσονήσου, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχων τὸν Ἑλλῆς τάφον τῆς Αἰθιάμαντος, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ

Καρδίην πόλιν, διὰ μέσης δὲ πορευόμενος πόλιος τῇ οὐνομα
τυγχάνει ἐὼν Ἀγορή. 3 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κάμπτων τὸν κόλπον τὸν Μέλανα
καλεόμενον καὶ Μέλανα ποταμόν, οὐκ ἀντισχόντα τότε τῇ στρατιῇ
τὸ ῥέεθρον ἀλλ' ἐπιλιπόντα, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάς, ἐπ' οὗ καὶ ὁ
κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει, ἥτε πρὸς ἐσπέρην, Αἴνόν τε πόλιν
Αἰολίδα καὶ Στεντορίδα λίμνην παρεξίων, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκετο ἐς Δορίσκον.

58. His navy sailed out of the Hellespont and travelled along the
land, going across from the land army. The ships sailed westwards,
laying their course for the headland of Sarpedon, where Xerxes had
ordered them to go and wait for him; the army of the mainland
travelled towards the east and the sunrise through the Chersonese,
with the tomb of Athamas' daughter Helle on its right and the town
of Cardia on its left, marching through the middle of a city called
Agora. From there they rounded the head of the Black Bay (as it is
called) and crossed the Black River, which could not hold its own
then against the army, but gave out — crossing this river, which
gives its name to the bay, they went westwards, past the Aeolian city
of Aenus and the marsh of Stentor, until they came to Doriscus.

59 1 ὁ δὲ Δορίσκος ἐστὶ τῆς Θρηκῆς αἰγιαλός τε καὶ πεδίον μέγα,
διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ῥέει ποταμὸς μέγας Ἑβρος· ἐν τῷ τεῖχος τε ἐδέδμητο
βασιλῆιον τοῦτο τὸ δὴ Δορίσκος κέκληται, καὶ Περσέων φρουρὴ ἐν
αὐτῷ κατεστήκεε ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπεῖτε ἐπὶ
Σκύθας ἐστρατεύετο. 2 ἔδοξε ὦν τῷ Ξέρξῃ ὁ χῶρος εἶναι ἐπιτήδεος
ἐνδιατάξαι τε καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὸν στρατόν, καὶ ἐποίηε ταῦτα. τὰς
μὲν δὴ νέας τὰς πάσας ἀπικομένας ἐς Δορίσκον οἱ ναύαρχοι
κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν προσεχέα Δορίσκῳ
ἐκόμισαν, ἐν τῷ Σάλῃ τε Σαμοθρηκίῃ πεπόλισται πόλις καὶ Ζώνη,
τελευτᾷ δὲ αὐτοῦ Σέρρειον ἄκρη ὀνομαστί. ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὗτος τὸ
παλαιὸν ἦν Κικόνων. 3 ἐς τοῦτον τὸν αἰγιαλὸν κατασχόντες τὰς νέας
ἀνέψυχον ἀνελκύσαντες. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῆς
στρατιῆς ἀριθμὸν ἐποίετο.

59. The territory of Doriscus is in Thrace, a wide plain by the sea,
and through it flows a great river, the Hebrus; here had been built
that royal fortress which is called Doriscus, and a Persian guard had
been posted there by Darius ever since the time of his march against
Scythia. It seemed to Xerxes to be a fit place for him to arrange and

number his army, and he did so. All the ships had now arrived at Doriscus, and the captains at Xerxes' command brought them to the beach near Doriscus, where stands the Samothracian city of Sane, and Zone; at the end is Serreum, a well-known headland. This country was in former days possessed by the Cicones. To this beach they brought in their ships and hauled them up for rest. Meanwhile Xerxes made a reckoning of his forces at Doriscus.

60 1 ὅσον μὲν νυν ἕκαστοι παρεῖχον πλῆθος ἐς ἀριθμόν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀτρεκές· οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων· σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλῆθος ἐφάνη ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. 2 ἐξηρίθμησαν δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· συνήγαγόν τε ἐς ἓνα χῶρον μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συννάξαντες ταύτην ὥς μάλιστα εἶχον περιέγραψαν ἔξωθεν κύκλον· περιγράψαντες δὲ καὶ ἀπέντες τοὺς μυρίους αἵμασιπὴν περιέβαλον κατὰ τὸν κύκλον, ὕψος ἀνήκουσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν ὀμφαλόν· 3 ταύτην δὲ ποιήσαντες ἄλλους ἐσεβίβαζον ἐς τὸ περιοικοδομημένον, μέχρι οὗ πάντα τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐξηρίθμησαν. ἀριθμήσαντες δὲ κατὰ ἔθνεα διέτασσον.

60. I cannot give the exact number that each part contributed to the total, for there is no one who tells us that; but the total of the whole land army was shown to be one million and seven hundred thousand. They were counted in this way: ten thousand men were collected in one place, and when they were packed together as closely as could be a line was drawn around them; when this was drawn, the ten thousand were sent away and a wall of stones was built on the line reaching up to a man's navel; when this was done, others were brought into the walled space, until in this way all were numbered. When they had been numbered, they were marshalled by nations.

61 1 οἱ δὲ στρατεύόμενοι οἶδε ἦσαν, Πέρσαι μὲν ὧδε ἐσκευασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον τιάρας καλεομένους πέλους ἀπαγέας, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους,..... λεπίδος σιδηρῆς ὅσιν ἰχθυοειδέος, περὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλεα ἀναξυρίδας, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀσπίδων γέρρα· ὑπὸ δὲ φαρετρεῶνες ἐκρέμαντο· αἰχμᾶς δὲ βραχέας εἶχον, τόξα δὲ μεγάλα, ὀιστοὺς δὲ καλαμίνους, πρὸς δὲ ἐγχειρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν παραιωρούμενα ἐκ τῆς ζώνης. 2

καὶ ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο Ὀτάνεα τὸν Ἀμήστριος πατέρα τῆς Ξέρξεω γυναικός, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων Κηφῆνες, ὑπὸ μέντοι σφέων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Ἀρταῖοι. 3 ἐπεὶ δὲ Περσεὺς ὁ Δανάης τε καὶ Διὸς ἀπίκετο παρὰ Κηφέα τὸν Βήλου καὶ ἔσχε αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀνδρομέδην, γίνεται αὐτῷ παῖς τῷ οὖνομα ἔθετο Πέρσην, τοῦτον δὲ αὐτοῦ καταλείπει· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἅπαις ἐὼν ὁ Κηφεὺς ἔρσηνος γόνου. ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔσχον.

61. The men who served in the army were the following: the Persians were equipped in this way: they wore on their heads loose caps called tiaras, and on their bodies embroidered sleeved tunics, with scales of iron like the scales of fish in appearance, and trousers on their legs; for shields they had wicker bucklers, with quivers hanging beneath them; they carried short spears, long bows, and reed arrows, and daggers that hung from the girdle by the right thigh. Their commander was Otanes, son of Amestris and father of Xerxes' wife. They were formerly called by the Greeks Cephenes, but by themselves and their neighbors Artaei. When Perseus son of Danae and Zeus had come to Cepheus son of Belus and married his daughter Andromeda, a son was born to him whom he called Perses, and he left him there; for Cepheus had no male offspring; it was from this Perses that the Persians took their name.

62 1 Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἐσταλμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο· Μηδικὴ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ σκευὴ ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ Περσικὴ. οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι ἄρχοντα μὲν παρείχοντο Τιγράνην ἄνδρα Ἀχαιμενίδην, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἄριοι, ἀπικομένης δὲ Μηδείης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἐς τοὺς Ἀρίους τούτους μετέβαλον καὶ οὗτοι τὸ οὖνομα. αὐτοὶ περὶ σφέων ὧδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι. 2 Κίσσιοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ περ Πέρσαι ἐσκευάδατο, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πύλων μιτρηφόροι ἦσαν. Κισσίῳν δὲ ἦρχε Ἀνάφης ὁ Ὀτάνεω. Ὑρκάνιοι δὲ κατὰ περ Πέρσαι ἐσεσάχατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Μεγάπανον τὸν Βαβυλῶνος ὕστερον τούτων ἐπιτροπεύσαντα.

62. The Medes in the army were equipped like the Persians; indeed, that fashion of armor is Median, not Persian. Their commander was Tigranes, an Achaemenid. The Medes were formerly called by everyone Arians, but when the Colchian woman Medea came from Athens to the Arians they changed their name, like

the Persians. This is the Medes' own account of themselves. The Cissians in the army were equipped like the Persians, but they wore turbans instead of caps. Their commander was Anaphes son of Otanes. The Hyrcanians were armed like the Persians; their leader was Megapanus, who was afterwards the governor of Babylon.

63 1 Ἀσσύριοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον χάλκεά τε κράνεα καὶ πεπλεγμένα τρόπον τινὰ βάρβαρον οὐκ εὐαπήγητον, ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς καὶ ἐγχειρίδια παραπλήσια τῇσι Αἰγυπτίησι εἶχον, πρὸς δὲ ρόπαλα ξύλων τετυλωμένα σιδήρῳ, καὶ λινέους θώρηκας. οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων καλέονται Σύριοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἀσσύριοι ἐκλήθησαν. τούτων δὲ μεταξὺ Χαλδαῖοι. Ἦρχε δὲ σφέων Ὀτάσπης ὁ Ἀρταχάειω.

63. The Assyrians in the army wore on their heads helmets of twisted bronze made in an outlandish fashion not easy to describe. They carried shields and spears and daggers of Egyptian fashion, and also wooden clubs studded with iron, and they wore linen breastplates. They are called by the Greeks Syrians, but the foreigners called them Assyrians. With them were the Chaldeans. Their commander was Otaspes son of Artachaees.

64 1 Βάκριοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀγχότατα τῶν Μηδικῶν ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, τόξα δὲ καλάμινα ἐπιχώρια καὶ αἰχμὰς βραχέας. 2 Σάκαι δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυρβασίας ἐς ὄξιν ἀπηγμένας ὀρθὰς εἶχον πεπηγυίας, ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἐνεδεδύκεσαν, τόξα δὲ ἐπιχώρια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀξίνας σαγάρεις εἶχον. τούτους δὲ ἐόντας Σκύθας Ἀμυργίους Σάκας ἐκάλεον· οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας καλέουσι Σάκας. Βακτρίων δὲ καὶ Σακέων ἦρχε Ὑστάσπης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου.

64. The Bactrians in the army wore a headgear very similar to the Median, carrying their native reed bows and short spears. The Sacae, who are Scythians, had on their heads tall caps, erect and stiff and tapering to a point; they wore trousers, and carried their native bows, and daggers, and also axes which they call "sagaris." These were Amyrgian Scythians, but were called Sacae; that is the Persian name for all Scythians. The commander of the Bactrians and Sacae was Hystaspes, son of Darius and Cyrus' daughter Atossa.

65 1 Ἴνδοι δὲ εἵματα μὲν ἐνδεδυκότες ἀπὸ ξύλων πεποιημένα, τόξα δὲ καλάμινα εἶχον καὶ οἰστοὺς καλαμίνους· ἐπὶ δὲ σίδηρος ἦν. ἐσταλμένοι μὲν δὴ ἦσαν οὕτω Ἴνδοί, προσετετάχατο δὲ συστρατευόμενοι Φαρναζάθρη τῷ Ἀρταβάτεω.

65. The Indians wore garments of tree-wool, and carried reed bows and iron-tipped reed arrows. Such was their equipment; they were appointed to march under the command of Pharnazathres son of Artabates.

66 1 ἄριοι δὲ τόξοισι μὲν ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν Μηδικοῖσι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ περ Βάκριοι. Ἀρίων δὲ ἦρχε Σισάμνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος. Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμιοι καὶ Σόγδοι τε καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι τὴν αὐτὴν σκευὴν ἔχοντες τὴν καὶ Βάκριοι ἐστρατεύοντο. 2 τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἶδε. Πάρθων μὲν καὶ Χορασμίων Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος, Σόγδων δὲ Ἀζάνης ὁ Ἀρταίου, Γανδαρίων δὲ καὶ Δαδικέων Ἀρτύφιος ὁ Ἀρταβάνου.

66. The Arians were equipped with Median bows, but in all else like the Bactrians; their commander was Sisamnes son of Hydarnes. The Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gandarians, and Dadicae in the army had the same equipment as the Bactrians. The Parthians and Chorasmians had for their commander Artabazus son of Pharnaces, the Sogdians Azanes son of Artaeus, the Gandarians and Dadicae Artyphius son of Artabanus.

67 1 Κάσπιοι δὲ σισύρνας τε ἐνδεδυκότες καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια καλάμινα ἔχοντες καὶ ἀκινάκας ἐστρατεύοντο. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἐσκευάδατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Ἀριόμαρδον τὸν Ἀρτυφίου ἀδελφεόν, Σαράγγαι δὲ εἵματα μὲν βεβαμμένα ἐνέπρεπον ἔχοντες, πέδιλα δὲ ἐς γόνυ ἀνατείνοντα εἶχον, τόξα δὲ καὶ αἰχμάς Μηδικάς. Σαραγγέων δὲ ἦρχε Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζου. 2 Πάκτυες δὲ σισυρνοφόροι τε ἦσαν καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια εἶχον καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. Πάκτυες δὲ ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο Ἀρταῦντην τὸν Ἰθαμίτρεω.

67. The Caspians in the army wore cloaks and carried their native reed bows and short swords. Such was their equipment; their leader was Ariomardus, brother of Artyphius. The Sarangae were conspicuous in their dyed garments and knee-high boots, carrying bows and Median spears. Their commander was Pherendates son of

Megabazus. The Pactyes wore cloaks and carried their native bows and daggers; their commander was Artayntes son of Ithamitres.

68 1 Οὔτιοι δὲ καὶ Μύκοι τε καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ περ Πάκτυες. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἶδε, Οὔτιών μὲν καὶ Μύκων Ἀρσαμένης ὁ Δαρείου, Παρικανίων δὲ Σιρομίτρης ὁ Οιοβάζου.

68. The Utians and Mycians and Paricanians were equipped like the Pactyes; the Utians and Mycians had for their commander Arsamenes son of Darius, the Paricanians Siromitres son of Oeobazus.

69 1 Ἀράβιοι δὲ ζειράς ὑπεζωσμένοι ἦσαν, τόξα δὲ παλίντονα εἶχον πρὸς δεξιὰ, μακρά. Αἰθίοπες δὲ παρδαλέας τε καὶ λεοντέας ἐναμμένοι, τόξα δὲ εἶχον ἐκ φοίνικος σπάθης πεποιημένα, μακρά, τετραπηχέων οὐκ ἐλάσσω, ἐπὶ δὲ καλαμίνους ὀιστοὺς μικροὺς· ἀντὶ δὲ σιδήρου ἐπὶ λίθος ὀξύς πεποιημένος, τῷ καὶ τὰς σφρηγίδας γλύφουσι· πρὸς δὲ αἰχμὰς εἶχον, ἐπὶ δὲ κέρας δορκάδος ἐπὶ ὀξύ πεποιημένον τρόπον λόγχης· εἶχον δὲ καὶ ρόπαλα τυλωτά. τοῦ δὲ σώματος τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ ἐξηλείφοντο γύψῳ ἰόντες ἐς μάχην, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἡμισυ μίλτῳ. 2 Ἀραβίων δὲ καὶ Αἰθιόπων τῶν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου οἰκημένων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης ὁ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτυστῶνης τῆς Κύρου θυγατρός, τὴν μάλιστα στέρξας τῶν γυναικῶν Δαρεῖος εἰκὼ χρυσέην σφυρήλατον ἐποίησατο.

69. The Arabians wore mantles girded up, and carried at their right side long bows curving backwards. The Ethiopians were wrapped in skins of leopards and lions, and carried bows made of palmwood strips, no less than four cubits long, and short arrows pointed not with iron but with a sharpened stone that they use to carve seals; furthermore, they had spears pointed with a gazelle's horn sharpened like a lance, and also studded clubs. When they went into battle they painted half their bodies with gypsum and the other half with vermilion. The Arabians and the Ethiopians who dwell above Egypt had as commander Arsames, the son of Darius and Artystone daughter of Cyrus, whom Darius loved best of his wives; he had an image made of her of hammered gold.

70 1 τῶν μὲν δὴ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου Αἰθιόπων καὶ Ἀραβίων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων Αἰθίοπες (διξοὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο) προσετετάχατο τοῖσι Ἰνδοῖσι, διαλλάσσοντες εἶδος

μὲν οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἐτέροισι, φωνὴν δὲ καὶ τρίχωμα μοῦνον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ ἡλίου Αἰθίοπες ἰθύτριχες εἰσὶ, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης οὐλότατον τρίχωμα ἔχουσι πάντων ἀνθρώπων. 2 οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Αἰθίοπες τὰ μὲν πλέω κατὰ περ Ἴνδοι ἐσεσάχατο, προμετωπίδια δὲ ἵππων εἶχον ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι σύν τε τοῖσι ὥσιν ἐκδεδαρμένα καὶ τῇ λοφιῇ· καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν λόφου ἢ λοφιῇ κατέχρα, τὰ δὲ ὦτα τῶν ἵππων ὀρθὰ πεπηγότα εἶχον· προβλήματα δὲ ἀντ' ἀσπίδων ἐποιοῦντο γεράνων δοράς.

70. The Ethiopians above Egypt and the Arabians had Arsames for commander, while the Ethiopians of the east (for there were two kinds of them in the army) served with the Indians; they were not different in appearance from the others, only in speech and hair: the Ethiopians from the east are straight-haired, but the ones from Libya have the woolliest hair of all men. These Ethiopians of Asia were for the most part armed like the Indians; but they wore on their heads the skins of horses' foreheads, stripped from the head with ears and mane; the mane served them for a crest, and they wore the horses' ears stiff and upright; for shields they had bucklers of the skin of cranes.

71 1 Λίβυες δὲ σκευὴν μὲν σκυτίνην ἦσαν ἔχοντες, ἀκοντίοισι δὲ ἐπικαύτοισι χρεώμενοι, ἄρχοντα δὲ παρείχοντο Μασσάγην τὸν Ὀαρίζου.

71. The Libyans came in leather garments, using javelins of burnt wood. Their commander was Massages son of Oarizus.

72 1 Παφλαγόνες δὲ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα πεπλεγμένα ἔχοντες, ἀσπίδας δὲ μικρὰς αἰχμάς τε οὐ μεγάλας, πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας πέδιλα ἐπιχώρια ἐς μέσσην κνήμην ἀνατείνοντα. Λίγυες δὲ καὶ Ματιηνοὶ καὶ Μαριανδουνοὶ τε καὶ Σύριοι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες Παφλαγόσι ἐστρατεύοντο. οἱ δὲ Σύριοι οὗτοι ὑπὸ Περσέων Καππαδόκαι καλέονται. 2 Παφλαγόνων μὲν νυν καὶ Ματιηνῶν Δῶτος ὁ Μεγασίδρου ἦρχε, Μαριανδυνῶν δὲ καὶ Λιγύων καὶ Συρίων Γοβρύης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀρτυστώνης.

72. The Paphlagonians in the army had woven helmets on their heads, and small shields and short spears, and also javelins and daggers; they wore their native shoes that reach midway to the knee.

The Ligyes and Matieni and Mariandyni and Syrians were equipped like the Paphlagonians. These Syrians are called by the Persians Cappadocians. Dotus son of Megasidrus was commander of the Paphlagonians and Matieni, Gobryas son of Darius and Artystone of the Mariandyni and Ligyes and Syrians.

73 1 φρύγες δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Παφλαγονικῆς σκευὴν εἶχον, ὀλίγον παραλλάσσοντες. οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπῆιοι ἔοντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι, μεταβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἅμα τῇ χώρῃ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα μετέβαλον ἐς Φρύγας. Ἀρμένιοι δὲ κατὰ περ Φρύγες ἐσεσάχατο, ἔοντες Φρυγῶν ἄποικοι. τούτων συναμφοτέρων ἦρχε Ἀρτόχμης Δαρείου ἔχων θυγατέρα.

73. The Phrygian equipment was very similar to the Paphlagonian, with only a small difference. As the Macedonians say, these Phrygians were called Briges as long as they dwelt in Europe, where they were neighbors of the Macedonians; but when they changed their home to Asia, they changed their name also and were called Phrygians. The Armenians, who are settlers from Phrygia, were armed like the Phrygians. Both these together had as their commander Artochmes, who had married a daughter of Darius.

74 1 Λυδοὶ δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν εἶχον ὅπλα. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ Μηῖονες ἐκαλεῦντο τὸ πάλαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄτους ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην, μεταβαλόντες τὸ οὖνομα. Μυσοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, ἀσπίδας δὲ μικράς, ἀκοντίοισι δὲ ἐχρέωντο ἐπικαύτοισι. 2 οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶ Λυδῶν ἄποικοι, ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου δὲ ὄρεος καλέονται Ὀλυμπιηνοί. Λυδῶν δὲ καὶ Μυσῶν ἦρχε Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Ἀρταφρένεος ὃς ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἐσέβαλε ἅμα Δάτι.

74. The Lydian armor was most similar to the Greek. The Lydians were formerly called Meiones, until they changed their name and were called after Lydus son of Atys. The Mysians wore on their heads their native helmets, carrying small shields and javelins of burnt wood. They are settlers from Lydia, and are called Olympieni after the mountain Olympus. The commander of the Lydians and Mysians was that Artaphrenes son of Artaphrenes, who attacked Marathon with Datis.

75 1 Θρήικες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆσι κεφαλῇσι ἀλωπεκέας ἔχοντες

ἐστρατεύοντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας, ἐπὶ δὲ ζειράς περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλας, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας τε καὶ τὰς κνήμας πέδιλα νεβρῶν, πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντιά τε καὶ πέλτας καὶ ἐγχειρίδια μικρά. 2 οὗτοι δὲ διαβάντες μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκλήθησαν Βιθυνοί, τὸ δὲ πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Στρυμόνιοι, οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι· ἐξαναστῆναι δὲ φασὶ ἐξ ἡθέων ὑπὸ Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν. Θρηίκων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἦρχε Βασσάκης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου.

75. The Thracians in the army wore fox-skin caps on their heads, and tunics on their bodies; over these they wore embroidered mantles; they had shoes of fawnskin on their feet and legs; they also had javelins and little shields and daggers. They took the name of Bithynians after they crossed over to Asia; before that they were called (as they themselves say) Strymonians, since they lived by the Strymon; they say that they were driven from their homes by Teucrians and Mysians. The commander of the Thracians of Asia was Bassaces son of Artabanus.

76..... ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοΐνας εἶχον σμικράς, καὶ προβόλους δύο λυκιοεργέας ἕκαστος εἶχε, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χάλκεα· πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι κράνεσι ὧτά τε καὶ κέρα προσῆν βοδὸς χάλκεα, ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ λόφοι· τὰς δὲ κνήμας ῥάκεσι φοινικέοισι κατελίχато. ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι Ἄρεος ἐστὶ χρηστήριον.

76. The <Pisidians> had little shields of raw oxhide; each man carried two wolf-hunters' spears; they wore helmets of bronze, and on these helmets were the ears and horns of oxen wrought in bronze, and also crests; their legs were wrapped around with strips of purple rags. Among these men is a place of divination sacred to Ares.

77 1 Καβηλλέες δὲ οἱ Μηΐονες, Λασόνιοι δὲ καλεούμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν Κίλιξι εἶχον σκευήν, τὴν ἐγώ, ἐπεὰν κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίων τάξιν διεξιὼν γένωμαι, τότε σημανέω. Μιλύαι δὲ αἰχμάς τε βραχέας εἶχον καὶ εἴματα ἐνεπεπορπέατο· εἶχον δὲ αὐτῶν τόξα μετεξέτεροι Λύκια, περὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἐκ διφθερέων πεποιημένας κυνέας. τούτων πάντων ἦρχε Βάδρης ὁ Ὑστάνεος.

77. The Cabelees, who are Meiones and are called Lasonii, had the same equipment as the Cilicians; when I come in my narrative to the place of the Cilicians, I will then declare what it was. The Milyae had short spears and garments fastened by brooches; some of them

carried Lycian bows and wore caps of skin on their heads. The commander of all these was Badres son of Hystanes.

78 1 μόσχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας ξυλίνας εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς σμικράς· λόγχαι δὲ ἐπῆσαν μεγάλαι. Τιβαρηνοὶ δὲ καὶ Μάκρωνες καὶ Μοσσύνοικοι κατὰ περ Μόσχοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτους δὲ συνέτασσον ἄρχοντες οἶδε, Μόσχους μὲν καὶ Τιβαρηνοὺς Ἀριόμαρδος ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ Πάρμυος τῆς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, Μάκρωνας δὲ καὶ Μοσσυνοίκους Ἀρταύκτης ὁ Χεράσμιος, ὃς Σηστὸν τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐπετρόπευε.

78. The Moschi wore wooden helmets on their heads, and carried shields and small spears with long points. The Tibareni and Macrones and Mossynoeci in the army were equipped like the Moschi. The commanders who marshalled them were, for the Moschi and Tibareni, Ariomardus son of Darius and Parmys, the daughter of Cyrus' son Smerdis; for the Macrones and Mossynoeci, Artayctes son of Cherasmis, who was governor of Sestus on the Hellespont.

79 1 Μᾶρες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ἐπιχώρια πλεκτὰ εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ δερματίνας μικρὰς καὶ ἀκόντια. Κόλχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ξύλινα, ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοῖνας μικρὰς αἰχμὰς τε βραχέας, πρὸς δὲ μαχαίρας εἶχον. Μαρῶν δὲ καὶ Κόλχων ἦρχε Φαρανδάτης ὁ Τεάσπιος. Ἀλαρόδιοι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρες κατὰ περ Κόλχοι ὠπλισμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτων δὲ Μασίστιος ὁ Σιρομίτρεω ἦρχε.

79. The Mares wore on their heads their native woven helmets, and carried javelins and small hide shields. The Colchians had wooden helmets and small shields of raw oxhide and short spears, and also swords. The commander of the Mares and Colchians was Pharandates son of Teaspis. The Alarodians and Saspieres in the army were armed like the Colchians; Masistius son of Siromitres was their commander.

80 1 τὰ δὲ νησιωτικὰ ἔθνηα τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἐπόμενα, νήσων δὲ ἐν τῇσι τοὺς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους κατοικίζει βασιλεύς, ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Μηδικῶν εἶχον ἐσθῆτά τε καὶ ὅπλα. τούτων δὲ τῶν νησιωτέων ἦρχε Μαρδόντης ὁ Βαγαίου, ὃς ἐν Μυκάλη στρατηγέων δευτέρῳ ἔτει τούτων ἐτελεύτησε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

80. The island tribes that came from the Red Sea, and from the islands where the king settles those who are called Exiles, wore dress and armor very similar to the Median. The commander of these islanders was Mardontes son of Bagaeus, who in the next year was general at Mykale and died in the battle.

81 1 ταῦτα ἦν τὰ κατ' ἡπειρον στρατευόμενά τε ἔθνεα καὶ τεταγμένα ἐς τὸν πεζόν. τούτου ὦν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἦρχον μὲν οὗτοι οἱ περ εἰρέεσθαι, καὶ οἱ διατάξαντες καὶ ἐξαριθμήσαντες οὗτοι ἦσαν καὶ χιλιάρχας τε καὶ μυριάρχας ἀποδέξαντες, ἑκατοντάρχας δὲ καὶ δεκάρχας οἱ μυριάρχαι. τελέων δὲ καὶ ἐθνέων ἦσαν ἄλλοι σημάντορες.

81. These are the nations that marched by the mainland and had their places in the infantry. The commanders of this army were those whom I have mentioned, and they were the ones who marshalled and numbered them and appointed captains of thousands and ten thousands; the captains of ten thousands appointed the captains of hundreds and of tens. There were others who were leaders of companies and nations.

82 1 ἦσαν μὲν δὴ οὗτοι οἱ περὶερέεσθαι ἄρχοντες, ἐστρατήγεον δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ Μαρδόνιος τε ὁ Γοβρύεω καὶ Τριτανταίχμης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου τοῦ γνώμην θεμένου μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Ἑλλάδα καὶ Σμερδομένης ὁ Ὀτάνεω, Δαρείου ἀμφοτέροι οὗτοι ἀδελφεῶν παῖδες, Ξέρξης δὲ ἐγίνοντο ἀνεψιοί, καὶ Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης παῖς καὶ Γέργης ὁ Ἀριάζου καὶ Μεγάβυζος ὁ Ζωπύρου.

82. These were the commanders, as I have said; the generals of these and of the whole infantry were Mardonius son of Gobryas, Tritantæchmes son of that Artabanus who delivered the opinion that there should be no expedition against Hellas, Smerdomenes son of Otanes (these two latter were sons of Darius' brothers, and thus they were Xerxes' cousins), Masistes son of Darius and Atossa, Gergis son of Ariazus, and Megabyzus son of Zopyrus.

83 1 οὗτοι ἦσαν στρατηγοὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος πεζοῦ χωρὶς τῶν μυρίων· τῶν δὲ μυρίων τούτων Περσέων τῶν ἀπολελεγμένων ἐστρατήγεε μὲν Ὑδάρνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ ἀθάνατοι οἱ Πέρσαι οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοῦδε· εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἐξέλιπε τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἢ θανάτῳ

βιηθείς ἢ νούσῳ, ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀραίρητο, καὶ ἐγίνοντο οὐδαμὰ οὔτε πλεῦνες μυρίων οὔτε ἐλάσσονες. 2 κόσμον δὲ πλεῖστον παρείχοντο διὰ πάντων Πέρσαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄριστοι ἦσαν· σκευὴν μὲν τοιαύτην εἶχον ἢ περ εἴρηται, χωρὶς δὲ χρυσὸν τε πολλὸν καὶ ἄφθονον ἔχοντες ἐνέπρεπον, ἄρμαμάζας τε ἅμα ἦγοντο, ἐν δὲ παλλακὰς καὶ θεραπήην πολλήν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένην· σῖτα δὲ σφι, χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτέων, κάμηλοί τε καὶ ὑποζύγια ἦγον.

83. These were the generals of the whole infantry, except the Ten Thousand. Hydarnes son of Hydarnes was general of these picked ten thousand Persians, who were called Immortals for this reason: when any one of them was forced to fall out of the number by death or sickness, another was chosen so that they were never more or fewer than ten thousand. The Persians showed the richest adornment of all, and they were the best men in the army. Their equipment was such as I have said; beyond this they stood out by the abundance of gold that they had. They also brought carriages bearing concubines and many well-equipped servants; camels and beasts of burden carried food for them, apart from the rest of the army.

84 1 ἱππεύει δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα· πλὴν οὐ πάντα παρείχετο ἵππον, ἀλλὰ τοσάδε μοῦνα, Πέρσαι μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ ὁ πεζὸς αὐτῶν· πλὴν ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον ἔνιοι αὐτῶν καὶ χάλκεα καὶ σιδήρεα ἐξεληλαμένα ποιήματα.

84. There are horsemen in these nations, but not all of them furnished cavalry. Only the following did so: the Persians, equipped like their infantry, except that some of them wore headgear of hammered bronze and iron.

85 1 εἰσὶ δὲ τινὲς νομάδες ἄνθρωποι Σαγάρτιοι καλεόμενοι, ἔθνος μὲν Περσικὸν καὶ φωνῇ, σκευὴν δὲ μεταξὺ ἔχουσι πεποιημένην τῆς τε Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Πακτυκῆς· οἱ παρείχοντο μὲν ἵππον ὀκτακισχιλὴν, ὅπλα δὲ οὐ νομίζουσι ἔχειν οὔτε χάλκεα οὔτε σιδήρεα ἔξω ἐγχειριδίων, χρέωνται δὲ σειρῇσι πεπλεγμένησι ἐξ ἱμάντων· 2 ταύτησι πίσυνοι ἔρχονται ἐς πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ μάχη τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦδε· ἐπεὰν συμμίσγῳσι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι, βάλλουσι τὰς σειρὰς ἐπ' ἄκρῳ βρόχους ἐχούσας· ὅτε δ' ἂν τύχη, ἦν τε ἵππου ἦν τε ἀνθρώπου, ἐπ' ἐωυτὸν ἔλκει· οἱ δὲ ἐν ἔρκεσι ἐμπαλασσόμενοι διαφθεύονται.

85. There are also certain nomads called Sagartian; they are Persian in speech, and the fashion of their equipment is somewhat between the Persian and the Pactyan; they furnished eight thousand horsemen. It is their custom to carry no armor of bronze or iron, except only daggers, and to use ropes of twisted leather. They go to battle relying on these. This is the manner of fighting of these men: when they are at close quarters with their enemy, they throw their ropes, which have a noose at the end; whatever he catches, horse or man, each man drags to himself, and the enemy is entangled in the coils and slain. Such is their manner of fighting; they were marshalled with the Persians.

86 1 τούτων μὲν αὕτη ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐπετετάχατο ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας· Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν περ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ εἶχον σκευήν, καὶ Κίσσιοι ὡσαύτως. Ἴνδοι δὲ σκευὴ μὲν ἐσεσάχατο τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, ἥλαυνον δὲ κέλητας καὶ ἄρματα· ὑπὸ δὲ τοῖσι ἄρμασι ὑπῆσαν ἵπποι καὶ ὄνοι ἄγριοι. Βάκτριοι δὲ ἐσκευάδατο ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, καὶ Κάσπιοι ὁμοίως. 2 Λίβυες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ· ἥλαυνον δὲ καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἄρματα. ὥς δ' αὐτως Κάσπιοι καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσεσάχατο ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ. Ἀράβιοι δὲ σκευὴν μὲν εἶχον τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, ἥλαυνον δὲ πάντες καμήλους ταχυτῆτα οὐ λειπομένης ἵππων.

86. The Median cavalry were equipped like their infantry, and the Cissians similarly. The Indians were armed in the same manner as their infantry; they rode swift horses and drove chariots drawn by horses and wild asses. The Bactrians were equipped as were their foot, and the Caspians in the same manner. The Libyans, too, were armed like the men of their infantry, and all of them also drove chariots. In the same manner the Caspians and Paricanians were armed as the men of their infantry. The Arabians had the same equipment as the men of their infantry, and all of them rode on camels no less swift than horses.

87 1 ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα μούνα ἱπεύει. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐγένετο ὀκτὼ μυριάδες, παρέξ τῶν καμήλων καὶ τῶν ἀρμάτων. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι ἱπέες ἐτετάχατο κατὰ τέλεα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ ἔσχατοι ἐπετετάχατο· ἅτε γὰρ τῶν ἵππων οὐτὶ ἀνεχομένων τὰς καμήλους, ὕστεροι ἐτετάχατο, ἵνα μὴ φοβέοιτο τὸ ἱππικόν.

87. These nations alone were on horseback; the number of the horsemen was shown to be eighty thousand, besides the camels and the chariots. All the rest of the horsemen were ranked with their companies, but the Arabians were posted last. Since horses cannot endure camels, their place was in the rear, so that the horses would not be frightened.

88 1 Ἴππαρχοι δὲ ἦσαν Ἀρμαμίθρης τε καὶ Τίθαιος Δάτιος παῖδες. ὁ δὲ τρίτος σφι συνίππαρχος Φαρνούχης κατελέλειπτο ἐν Σάρδισι νοσέων. ὥς γὰρ ὁρμῶντο ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἐπὶ συμφορὴν περιέπεσε ἀνεθέλητον· ἐλαύνοντι γάρ οἱ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἵππου ὑπέδραμε κύων, καὶ ὁ ἵππος οὐ προῖδὼν ἐφοβήθη τε καὶ στὰς ὀρθὸς ἀπεσεΐσατο τὸν Φαρνούχεια, πεσὼν δὲ αἱμά τε ἡμεε καὶ ἐς φθίσιν περιῆλθε ἡ νοῦσος. 2 τὸν δὲ ἵππον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐποίησαν ὥς ἐκέλευε· ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ οἰκέται ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ περ κατέβαλε τὸν δεσπότην, ἐν τοῖσι γούνασι ἀπέταμον τὰ σκέλεα. Φαρνούχης μὲν οὕτω παρελύθη τῆς ἡγεμονίης.

88. The captains of cavalry were Harmamithres and Tithaeus, sons of Datis; the third who was captain with them, Pharnuches, had been left behind sick at Sardis. As they set forth from Sardis, an unwelcome mishap befell him: a dog ran under the feet of the horse he was riding, and the horse was taken by surprise and frightened, so it reared up and threw Pharnuches; after his fall he vomited blood and began to waste away. The horse was immediately dealt with according to Pharnuces' command; his servants led it away to the place where it had thrown their master, and cut off its legs at the knee. Thus it was that Pharnuches lost his command.

89 1 τῶν δὲ τριηρέων ἀριθμὸς μὲν ἐγένετο ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκόσιαι καὶ χίλιναι, παρείχοντο δὲ αὐτὰς οἶδε, Φοίνικες μὲν σὺν Σύροις τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ τριηκοσίας, ὧδε ἐσκευασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῆσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας εἶχον ἀγχοτάτω πεποιημένας τρόπον τὸν Ἑλληνικόν, ἐνδεδυκότες δὲ θώρηκας λινέους, ἀσπίδας δὲ ἵτυς οὐκ ἐχούσας εἶχον καὶ ἀκόντια. 2 οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Φοίνικες τὸ παλαιὸν οἴκεον, ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὑπερβάντες τῆς Συρίας οἰκεῖουσιν τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν· τῆς δὲ Συρίας τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὸ μέχρι Αἰγύπτου πᾶν Παλαιστίνῃ καλεῖται. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ νέας παρείχοντο διηκοσίας. 3 οὗτοι δὲ εἶχον περὶ μὲν τῆσι

κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χηλευτά, ἀσπίδας δὲ κοίλας, τὰς ἴτους μεγάλας ἐχούσας, καὶ δόρατά τε ναύμαχα καὶ τύχους μεγάλους. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος αὐτῶν θωρηκοφόροι ἦσαν, μαχαίρας δὲ μεγάλας εἶχον.

89. The number of the triremes was twelve hundred and seven, and they were furnished by the following: the Phoenicians with the Syrians of Palestine furnished three hundred; for their equipment, they had on their heads helmets very close to the Greek in style; they wore linen breastplates, and carried shields without rims, and javelins. These Phoenicians formerly dwelt, as they themselves say, by the Red Sea; they crossed from there and now inhabit the seacoast of Syria. This part of Syria as far as Egypt is all called Palestine. The Egyptians furnished two hundred ships. They wore woven helmets and carried hollow shields with broad rims, and spears for sea-warfare, and great battle-axes. Most of them wore cuirasses and carried long swords.

90 1 οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἐστάλατο, Κύπριοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, ἐσκευασμένοι ὧδε· τὰς μὲν κεφαλὰς εἰλίχατο μίτρησι οἱ βασιλέες αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἶχον κιθῶνας, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ περ Ἑλλήνες. τούτων δὲ τοσάδε ἔθνεα εἰσὶ, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Ἀθηνέων, οἱ δὲ ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Κύθνου, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φοινίκης, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας, ὥς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι.

90. Such was their armor. The Cyprians furnished a hundred and fifty ships; for their equipment, their princes wore turbans wrapped around their heads, and the people wore tunics, but in all else they were like the Greeks. These are their tribes: some are from Salamis and Athens, some from Arcadia, some from Cythnus, some from Phoenice, and some from Ethiopia, as the Cyprians themselves say.

91 1 Κίλικες δὲ ἑκατὸν παρείχοντο νέας. οὗτοι δ' αὖ περὶ μὲν τῆσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, λαισήια δὲ εἶχον ἀντ' ἀσπίδων ὠμοβοήης πεποιημένα, καὶ κιθῶνας εἰρινέους ἐνδεδυκότες· δύο δὲ ἀκόντια ἕκαστος καὶ ξίφος εἶχον, ἀγχοτάτῳ τῆσι Αἰγυπτίησι μαχαίρῃσι πεποιημένα. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν Ὑπαχαιοὶ ἐκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Κίλικος τοῦ Ἀγήνορος ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. Πάμφυλοι δὲ τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας Ἑλληνικοῖσι ὅπλοισι ἐσκευασμένοι. οἱ δὲ Πάμφυλοι οὗτοι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀποσκεδασθέντων ἅμα Ἀμφιλόχῳ καὶ Κάλχαντι.

91. The Cilicians furnished a hundred ships. They also wore on their heads their native helmets, carried bucklers of raw oxhide for shields, and were clad in woollen tunics; each had two javelins and a sword very close in style to the knives of Egypt. These Cilicians were formerly called Hypachaei, and took their name from Cilix son of Agenor, a Phoenician. The Pamphylians furnished a hundred ships: they were armed like the Greeks. These Pamphylians are descended from the Trojans of the diaspora who followed Amphilochous and Calchas.

92 1 λύκιοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας πεντήκοντα θωρηκοφόροι τε ἐόντες καὶ κνημιδοφόροι, εἶχον δὲ τόξα κρανείνα καὶ οἰστοὺς καλαμίνους ἀπτέρους καὶ ἀκόντια, ἐπὶ δὲ αἰγὸς δέρμα περὶ τοὺς ὤμους αἰωρεῦμενον, περὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι πῖλους πτεροῖσι περιστεφανωμένους· ἐγχειρίδια δὲ καὶ δρέπανα εἶχον. Λύκιοι δὲ Τερμίλαι ἐκαλέοντο ἐκ Κρήτης γεγονότες, ἐπὶ δὲ Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίου ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην.

92. The Lycians furnished fifty ships; they wore cuirasses and greaves, and carried cornel-wood bows and unfeathered arrows and javelins; goat-skins hung from their shoulders, and they wore on their heads caps crowned with feathers; they also had daggers and scimitars. The Lycians are from Crete and were once called Termilae; they took their name from Lycus son of Pandion, an Athenian.

93 1 Δωριέες δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας, ἔχοντές τε Ἑλληνικὰ ὄπλα καὶ γεγονότες ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. Κᾶρες δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ περ Ἑλληνες ἐσταλμένοι, εἶχον δὲ καὶ δρέπανα καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. οὗτοι δὲ οἵτινες πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ἐν τοῖσι πρότοισι τῶν λόγων εἰρηται.

93. The Dorians of Asia furnished thirty ships; their armor was Greek; they are of Peloponnesian descent. The Carians furnished seventy ships; they had scimitars and daggers, but the rest of their equipment was Greek. I have said in the beginning of my history what they were formerly called.

94 1 Ἴωνες δὲ ἑκατὸν νέας παρείχοντο ἐσκευασμένοι ὡς Ἑλληνες. Ἴωνες δὲ ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἶκεον τὴν νῦν καλεομένην Ἀχαιίην, καὶ πρὶν ἢ Δαναὸν τε καὶ Εὐθύθον ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ὡς Ἑλληνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο

Πελασγοὶ Αἰγιαλᾶες, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνος τοῦ Εὐόθου Ἴωνες.

94. The Ionians furnished a hundred ships; their equipment was like the Greek. These Ionians, as long as they were in the Peloponnese, dwelt in what is now called Achaia, and before Danaus and Xuthus came to the Peloponnese, as the Greeks say, they were called Aegialian Pelasgians. They were named Ionians after Ion the son of Xuthus.

95 1 νησιῶται δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα παρείχοντο νέας, ὠπλισμένοι ὡς Ἕλληνες, καὶ τοῦτο Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος; ὕστερον δὲ Ἴωνικὸν ἐκλήθη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ οἱ δωδεκαπόλιες Ἴωνες οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων. Αἰολᾶες δὲ ἐξήκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, ἐσκευασμένοι τε ὡς Ἕλληνες καὶ τὸ πάλοι καλεόμενοι Πελασγοί, ὡς Ἑλλήνων λόγος. 2 Ἑλλησπόντιοι δὲ πλὴν Ἀβυδηνῶν (Ἀβυδηνοῖσι γὰρ προσετέτακτο ἐκ βασιλέος κατὰ χώραν μένουσι φύλακας εἶναι τῶν γεφυρέων) οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου στρατευόμενοι παρείχοντο μὲν ἑκατὸν νέας, ἐσκευασμένοι δὲ ἦσαν ὡς Ἕλληνες. οὗτοι δὲ Ἴωνων καὶ Δωριέων ἄποικοι.

95. The islanders provided seventeen ships and were armed like Greeks; they were also of Pelasgian stock, which was later called Ionian for the same reason as were the Ionians of the twelve cities, who came from Athens. The Aeolians furnished sixty ships and were equipped like Greeks; formerly they were called Pelasgian, as the Greek story goes. Of the people of the Hellespont, the people of Abydos had been charged by the king to remain at home and guard the bridges; the rest of the people from Pontus who came with the army furnished a hundred ships and were equipped like Greeks. They were settlers from the Ionians and Dorians.

96 1 ἐπεβάτευον δὲ ἐπὶ πασέων τῶν νεῶν Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Σαάκαι. τούτων δὲ ἄριστα πλεούσας παρείχοντο νέας Φοίνικες καὶ Φοινίκων Σιδώνιοι. τούτοις πᾶσι καὶ τοῖσι ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τεταγμένοις αὐτῶν ἐπῆσαν ἐκάστοις ἐπιχώριοι ἡγεμόνες, τῶν ἐγώ, οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαίη ἐξέργομαι ἐς ἱστορίας λόγον, οὐ παραμένημαι. 2 οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνεος ἐκάστου ἐπάξιοι ἦσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ἔν τε ἔθνεϊ ἐκάστῳ ὅσαι περ πόλιες τοσοῦτοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν, εἶποντο δὲ ὡς οὐ στρατηγοὶ ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατευόμενοι δοῦλοι· ἐπεὶ στρατηγοὶ γε οἱ τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες κράτος καὶ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐθνέων

ἐκάστων, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Πέρσαι, εἰρέαται μοι.

96. Persians and Medes and Sacae served as soldiers on all the ships. The most seaworthy ships were furnished by the Phoenicians, and among them by the Sidonians. All of these, as with those who were marshalled in the infantry, each had their native leaders, whose names I do not record, since it is not necessary for the purpose of my history. The leaders of each nation are not worthy of mention, and every city of each nation had a leader of its own. These came not as generals but as slaves, like the rest of the expedition; I have already said who were the generals of supreme authority and the Persian commanders of each nation.

97 ἡ τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐστρατήγεον Ἀριαβίγνης τε ὁ Δαρείου καὶ Πρηξάσπης ὁ Ἀσπαθίνεω καὶ Μεγάβαζος ὁ Μεγαβάτεω καὶ Ἀχαιμένης ὁ Δαρείου, τῆς μὲν Ἰάδος τε καὶ Καρικῆς στρατιῆς Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ τῆς Γοβρύεω θυγατρός· Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ἀχαιμένης Ξέρξεω ἐὼν ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφεός, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης στρατιῆς ἐστρατήγεον οἱ δύο. τριηκόντεροι δὲ καὶ πεντηκόντεροι καὶ κέρκουροι καὶ ἱππαγωγὰ πλοῖα μακρὰ συνελθόντα ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐφάνη τρισχίλια.

97. The admirals of the navy were Ariabignes son of Darius, Prexaspes son of Aspathines, Megabazus son of Megabates, and Achaemenes son of Darius. Ariabignes, son of Darius and Gobryas' daughter, was admiral of the Ionian and Carian fleet; the admiral of the Egyptians was Achaemenes, full brother of Xerxes; and the two others were admirals of the rest. The ships of thirty and of fifty oars, the light galleys, and the great transports for horses came to a total of three thousand all together.

98 ἡ τῶν δὲ ἐπιπλεόντων μετὰ γε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς οἶδε ἦσαν ὀνομαστότατοι, Σιδώνιος Τετράμνηστος Ἀνύσου, καὶ Τύριος Ματτὴν Σιρώμου, καὶ Ἀράδιος Μέρβαλος Ἀγβάλου, καὶ Κίλιξ Συέννεσις Ὀρομέδοντος, καὶ Λύκιος Κυβερνίσκος Σίκα, καὶ Κύπριοι Γόργος τε ὁ Χέρσιος καὶ Τιμῶναξ ὁ Τιμαγόρεω, καὶ Καρῶν Ἰστιαῖός τε ὁ Τύμνεω καὶ Πίγρης ὁ Ὑσσελδῶμου, καὶ Δαμασίθυμος ὁ Κανδαύλεω.

98. After the admirals, the most famous of those on board were these: from Sidon, Tetramnestus son of Anysus; from Tyre, Matten son of Siromus; from Aradus, Merbalus son of Agbalus; from

Cilicia, Syennesis son of Oromedon; from Lycia, Cyberniscus son of Sicas; from Cyprus, Gorgus son of Chersis and Timonax son of Timagoras; and from Caria, Histiaeus son of Tymnes, Pigres son of Hysseldomus, and Damasithymus son of Candaules.

99 1 τῶν μὲν νυν ἄλλων οὐ παραμένηται ταξιάρχων ὥς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος, Ἀρτεμισίης δὲ τῆς μάλιστα θῶμα ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσαμένης γυναικός· ἥτις ἀποθανόντος τοῦ ἀνδρός αὐτὴ τε ἔχουσα τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ παιδὸς ὑπάρχοντος νεηνίῳ ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ ἀνδρηίης ἐστρατεύετο, οὐδεμιῆς οἱ ἐούσης ἀναγκαίης. 2 οὖνομα μὲν δὴ ἦν αὐτῇ Ἀρτεμισίη, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Λυγδάμιος, γένος δὲ ἐξ Ἀλικαρνησοῦ τὰ πρὸς πατρός, τὰ μητρόθεν δὲ Κρήσσα. ἡγεμόνευε δὲ Ἀλικαρνησσέων τε καὶ Κώων καὶ Νισυρίων τε καὶ Καλυδνίων, πέντε νέας παρεχομένη. 3 καὶ συναπάσης τῆς στρατιῆς, μετὰ γε τὰς Σιδωνίων, νέας εὐδοξοτάτας παρείχετο, πάντων τε τῶν συμμάχων γνώμας ἀρίστας βασιλείᾳ ἀπεδέξατο. τῶν δὲ κατέλεξα πολίων ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτήν, τὸ ἔθνος ἀποφαίνω πᾶν ἐὼν Δωρικόν, Ἀλικαρνησσέας μὲν Τροιζηνίους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἐπιδαυρίους. ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς εἴρηται.

99. I see no need to mention any of the other captains except Artemisia. I find it a great marvel that a woman went on the expedition against Hellas: after her husband died, she took over his tyranny, though she had a young son, and followed the army from youthful spirits and manliness, under no compulsion. Artemisia was her name, and she was the daughter of Lygdamis; on her fathers' side she was of Halicarnassian lineage, and on her mothers' Cretan. She was the leader of the men of Halicarnassus and Cos and Nisyrus and Calydnos, and provided five ships. Her ships were reputed to be the best in the whole fleet after the ships of Sidon, and she gave the king the best advice of all his allies. The cities that I said she was the leader of are all of Dorian stock, as I can show, since the Halicarnassians are from Troezen, and the rest are from Epidaurus.

100 1 Ξέρξης δέ, ἐπεὶ ἡριθμήθη τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ στρατός, ἐπεθύμησε αὐτὸς σφεας διεξελάσας θεήσασθαι· μετὰ δὲ ἐποίεε ταῦτα, καὶ διεξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἄρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἕν ἕκαστον ἐπυνθάνετο. καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί, ἕως ἐξ ἐσχάτων ἐς ἔσχατα ἀπύκετο καὶ τῆς ἵππου καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ. 2 ὥς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ

ἐπεποίητο, τῶν νεῶν κατελकुσθεισέων ἐς θάλασσαν, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης μετεκβάς ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς νέα Σιδωνίην ἵζετο ὑπὸ σκηνῇ χρυσῇ καὶ παρέπλεε παρὰ τὰς πρῶρας τῶν νεῶν, ἐπειρωτῶν τε ἐκάστας ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ ἀπογραφόμενος. 3 τὰς δὲ νέας οἱ ναύαρχοι ἀναγαγόντες ὅσον τε τέσσερα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνεκώχευον, τὰς πρῶρας ἐς γῆν τρέψαντες πάντες μετωπηδόν, καὶ ἐξοπλίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὡς ἐς πόλεμον. ὁ δ' ἐντὸς τῶν πρωρέων πλέων ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ.

100. Here ends what I have said of the fleet. When his army had been numbered and marshalled, Xerxes desired to ride through and view it. Then he did this; as he rode in a chariot past the men of each nation, he questioned them while his scribes wrote it all down, until he had gone from one end to the other of the cavalry and infantry. After he had done this, the ships were drawn down and launched into the sea. Xerxes alighted from his chariot into a Sidonian ship and sat under a golden canopy while he was carried past the prows of the ships, questioning the men in the same way as the army and having the answers written down. The captains put out and anchored in line four hundred feet from the shore, with their prows turned landward and the marines armed for war; Xerxes viewed them by passing between the prows and the land.

101 1 ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτας διεξέπλωσε καὶ ἐξέβη ἐκ τῆς νεός, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος συστρατευόμενον αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καλέσας δ' αὐτὸν εἶρετο τάδε. “Δημάρητε, νῦν μοι σὲ ἡδύ τι ἐστὶ εἰρέσθαι τὰ θέλω. σὺ εἷς Ἑλλήν τε, καὶ ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι σεῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἐς λόγους ἀπικνεομένων, πόλιος οὔτ' ἐλαχίστης οὔτ' ἀσθενεστάτης. 2 νῦν ὦν μοι τόδε φράσον, εἰ Ἑλληνες ὑπομενέουσι χεῖρας ἐμοὶ ἀνταειρόμενοι. οὐ γάρ, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐδ' εἰ πάντες Ἑλληνες καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ πρὸς ἐσπέρης οἰκέοντες ἄνθρωποι συλλεχθεῖσαν, οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι εἰσὶ ἐμὲ ἐπλέοντα ὑπομεῖναι, μὴ ἐόντες ἄρθμοι. 3 θέλω μέντοι καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ, ὁκοῖόν τι λέγεις περὶ αὐτῶν, πυθέσθαι”. ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰρώτα, ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη “βασιλεῦ, κότερα ἀληθείη χρήσωμαι πρὸς σὲ ἢ ἡδονῇ;” ὁ δέ μιν ἀληθείη χρήσασθαι ἐκέλευε, φὰς οὐδέν οἱ ἀηδέστερον ἔσσεσθαι ἢ πρότερον ἦν.

101. After he passed by all his fleet and disembarked from the

ship, he sent for Demaratus son of Ariston, who was on the expedition with him against Hellas. He summoned him and said, "Demaratus, it is now my pleasure to ask you what I wish to know. You are a Greek, and, as I am told both by you and by the other Greeks whom I have talked to, a man from neither the least nor the weakest of Greek cities. So tell me: will the Greeks offer battle and oppose me? I think that even if all the Greeks and all the men of the western lands were assembled together, they are not powerful enough to withstand my attack, unless they are united. Still I want to hear from you what you say of them." To this question Demaratus answered, "O king, should I speak the truth or try to please you?" Xerxes bade him speak the truth and said that it would be no more unpleasant for him than before.

102 1 ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε Δημάρητος, ἔλεγε τάδε. "βασιλεῦ, ἐπειδὴ ἀληθείῃ διαχρήσασθαι πάντως κελεύεις ταῦτα λέγοντα τὰ μὴ ψευδόμενός τις ὕστερον ὑπὸ σεῦ ἀλώσεται, τῇ Ἑλλάδι πενίη μὲν αἰεὶ κοτε σύντροφος ἐστί, ἀρετὴ δὲ ἔπακτος ἐστί, ἀπὸ τε σοφίης κατεργασμένη καὶ νόμου ἰσχυροῦ· τῇ διαχρεωμένῃ ἡ Ἑλλὰς τήν τε πενίην ἀπαμύνεται καὶ τὴν δεσποσύνην. 2 αἰνέω μὲν νυν πάντας Ἑλλήνας τοὺς περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς Δωρικοὺς χώρους οἰκημένους, ἔρχομαι δὲ λέξων οὐ περὶ πάντων τούσδε τοὺς λόγους ἀλλὰ περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μούνων, πρῶτα μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ὅκως κοτὲ σοὺς δέξονται λόγους δουλοσύνην φέροντας τῇ Ἑλλάδι, αὐτίς δὲ ὥς ἀντιώσονται τοι ἐς μάχην καὶ ἦν οἱ ἄλλοι Ἑλληνες πάντες τὰ σὰ φρονέωσι. 3 ἀριθμοῦ δὲ πέρι, μὴ πύθῃ ὅσοι τινὲς ἐόντες ταῦτα ποιέειν οἷοί τε εἰσί· ἦν τε γὰρ τύχῳσι ἐξεστρατευμένοι χίλιοι, οὗτοι μαχήσονται τοι, ἦν τε ἐλάσσονες τούτων ἦν τε καὶ πλεῖνες".

102. Demaratus heard this and said, "O King, since you bid me by all means to speak the whole truth, and to say what you will not later prove to be false, in Hellas poverty is always endemic, but courage is acquired as the fruit of wisdom and strong law; by use of this courage Hellas defends herself from poverty and tyranny. Now I praise all the Greeks who dwell in those Dorian lands, yet I am not going to speak these words about all of them, but only about the Lacedaemonians. First, they will never accept conditions from you that bring slavery upon Hellas; and second, they will meet you in

battle even if all the other Greeks are on your side. Do not ask me how many these men are who can do this; they will fight with you whether they have an army of a thousand men, or more than that, or less.”

103 1 ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης γελάσας ἔφη “Δημάρητε, οἷον ἐφθέγξαιο ἔπος, ἄνδρας χιλίους στρατιῇ τοσῆδε μαχήσεσθαι. ἄγε εἰπέ μοι· σὺ φῆς τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς γενέσθαι· σὺ ὧν ἐθελήσεις αὐτίκα μάλα πρὸς ἄνδρας δέκα μάχεσθαι; καίτοι εἰ τὸ πολιτικὸν ὑμῖν πᾶν ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον οἷον σὺ διαιρέεις, σέ γε τὸν κείνων βασιλέα πρέπει πρὸς τὸ διπλήσιον ἀντιτάσσεσθαι κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους. 2 εἰ γὰρ κείνων ἕκαστος δέκα ἀνδρῶν τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀντάξιος ἐστί, σέ δέ γε δίζημαι εἴκοσι εἶναι ἀντάξιον, καὶ οὕτω μὲν ὀρθοῖτ’ ἂν ὁ λόγος ὁ παρὰ σέο λεγόμενος· εἰ δὲ τοιοῦτοί τε ἐόντες καὶ μεγάθεα τοσοῦτοι, ὅσοι σὺ τε καὶ οἱ παρ’ ἐμὲ φοιτῶσι Ἑλλήνων ἐς λόγους αὐχέετε τοσοῦτον, ὅρα μὴ μάτην κόμπος ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἰρημένος ἦ. 3 ἐπεὶ φέρε ἴδω παντὶ τῷ οἰκότι· κῶς ἂν δυναίαιο χίλιοι ἢ καὶ μύριοι ἢ καὶ πεντακισμύριοι, ἐόντες γε ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ὁμοίως καὶ μὴ ὑπ’ ἐνὸς ἀρχόμενοι, στρατῷ τοσῶδε ἀντιστῆναι; ἐπεὶ τοι πλεῦνες περὶ ἓνα ἕκαστον γινόμεθα ἢ χίλιοι, ἐόντων ἐκείνων πέντε χιλιάδων. 4 ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐνὸς ἀρχόμενοι κατὰ τρόπον τὸν ἡμέτερον γενοίαιτ’ ἂν, δειμαίνοντες τοῦτον, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐωυτῶν φύσιν ἀμείνονες, καὶ ἴοιεν ἀναγκαζόμενοι μάστιγι ἐς πλεῦνας ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες· ἀνειμένοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐλεύθερον οὐκ ἂν ποιεοίεν τούτων οὐδέτερα. δοκέω δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ ἀνισωθέντας πλήθει χαλεπῶς ἂν Ἑλληνας Πέρσῃσι μούνοισι μάχεσθαι. 5 ἀλλὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν μὲν μούνοισι τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ σὺ λέγεις, ἔστι γε μὲν οὐ πολλὸν ἀλλὰ σπάνιον· εἰσὶ γὰρ Περσέων τῶν ἐμῶν αἰχμοφόρων οἱ ἐθελήσουσι Ἑλλήνων ἀνδράσι τρισὶ ὁμοῦ μάχεσθαι· τῶν σὺ ἐὼν ἄπειρος πολλὰ φλυηρέεις”.

103. When he heard this, Xerxes smiled and said, “What a strange thing to say, Demaratus, that a thousand men would fight with so great an army! Come now, tell me this: you say that you were king of these men. Are you willing right now to fight with ten men? Yet if your state is entirely as you define it, you as their king should by right encounter twice as many according to your laws. If each of them is a match for ten men of my army, then it is plain to me that

you must be a match for twenty; in this way you would prove that what you say is true. But if you Greeks who so exalt yourselves are just like you and the others who come to speak with me, and are also the same size, then beware lest the words you have spoken be only idle boasting. Let us look at it with all reasonableness: how could a thousand, or ten thousand, or even fifty thousand men, if they are all equally free and not under the rule of one man, withstand so great an army as mine? If you Greeks are five thousand, we still would be more than a thousand to one. If they were under the rule of one man according to our custom, they might out of fear of him become better than they naturally are, and under compulsion of the lash they might go against greater numbers of inferior men; but if they are allowed to go free they would do neither. I myself think that even if they were equal in numbers it would be hard for the Greeks to fight just against the Persians. What you are talking about is found among us alone, and even then it is not common but rare; there are some among my Persian spearmen who will gladly fight with three Greeks at once. You have no knowledge of this and are spouting a lot of nonsense.”

104 1 πρὸς ταῦτα Δημάρητος λέγει “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀρχῆθεν ἠπιστάμην ὅτι ἀληθείῃ χρεώμενος οὐ φίλα τοι ἐρέω· σὺ δ’ ἐπεὶ ἠνάγκασας λέγειν τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀληθεστάτους, ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα Σπαρτιήτησι. 2 καίτοι ὥς ἐγὼ τυγχάνω τὰ νῦν τάδε ἐστοργῶς ἐκείνους, αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἐξεπίστεται, οἷ με τιμὴν τε καὶ γέρεα ἀπελόμενοι πατρώια ἄπολιν τε καὶ φυγάδα πεποιήκασι, πατὴρ δὲ σὸς ὑποδεξάμενος βίον τέ μοι καὶ οἶκον ἔδωκε. οὐκὼν οἶκός ἐστι ἄνδρα τὸν σῶφρονα εὐνοίην φαινομένην διωθέεσθαι, ἀλλὰ στέργειν μάλιστα. 3 ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε δέκα ἀνδράσι ὑπίσχομαι οἷός τε εἶναι μάχεσθαι οὔτε δυοῖσι, ἐκὼν τε εἶναι οὐδ’ ἂν μουνομαχέοιμι. εἰ δὲ ἀναγκαίῃ εἴῃ ἢ μέγας τις ὁ ἐποτρύνων ἀγών, μαχοίμην ἂν πάντων ἥδιστα ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ Ἑλλήνων ἕκαστος φησὶ τριῶν ἄξιός εἶναι. 4 ὥς δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ μὲν ἓνα μαχόμενοι οὐδαμῶν εἰσι κακίονες ἀνδρῶν, ἀλέες δὲ ἄριστοι ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων. ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ ἐόντες οὐ πάντα ἐλεύθεροι εἰσὶ· ἔπεστι γάρ σφι δεσπότης νόμος, τὸν ὑποδευμαίνουσι πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ σοὶ σέ. 5 ποιεῦσι γῶν τὰ ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἀνώγῃ· ἀνώγει δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ, οὐκ ἔῶν φεύγειν οὐδὲν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας ἐν τῇ τάξῃ

ἐπικρατέειν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι. σοὶ δὲ εἰ φαίνομαι ταῦτα λέγων φλυηρέειν, τᾶλλα σιγᾶν θέλω τὸ λοιπόν· νῦν τε ἀναγκασθεὶς ἔλεξα. γένοιτο μέντοι κατὰ νόον τοι, βασιλεῦ”.

104. To this Demaratus answered, “O king I knew from the first that the truth would be unwelcome to you. But since you compelled me to speak as truly as I could, I have told you how it stands with the Spartans. You yourself best know what love I bear them: they have robbed me of my office and the privileges of my house, and made me a cityless exile; your father received me and gave me a house and the means to live on. It is not reasonable for a sensible man to reject goodwill when it appears; rather he will hold it in great affection. I myself do not promise that I can fight with ten men or with two, and I would not even willingly fight with one; yet if it were necessary, or if some great contest spurred me, I would most gladly fight with one of those men who claim to be each a match for three Greeks. So is it with the Lacedaemonians; fighting singly they are as brave as any man living, and together they are the best warriors on earth. They are free, yet not wholly free: law is their master, whom they fear much more than your men fear you. They do whatever it bids; and its bidding is always the same, that they must never flee from the battle before any multitude of men, but must abide at their post and there conquer or die. If I seem to you to speak foolishness when I say this, then let me hereafter hold my peace; it is under constraint that I have now spoken. But may your wish be fulfilled, King.”

105 ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀμείψατο, Ξέρξης δὲ ἐς γέλωτά τε ἔτρεψε καὶ οὐκ ἐποιήσατο ὀργὴν οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ’ ἠπίως αὐτὸν ἀπεπέμψατο. τούτῳ δὲ ἐς λόγους ἐλθὼν Ξέρξης, καὶ ὑπαρχον ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τούτῳ καταστήσας Μασκάμην τὸν Μεγαδόστω, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου σταθέντα καταπαύσας, ἐξήλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

105. Thus Demaratus answered. Xerxes made a joke of the matter and showed no anger, but sent him away kindly. After he had conversed with Demaratus, and appointed Mascames son of Megadostes governor of this Doriscus, deposing the governor Darius had appointed, Xerxes marched his army through Thrace towards Hellas.

106 1 κατέλιπε δὲ ἄνδρα τοιόνδε Μασκάμην γενόμενον, τῷ μούνῳ Ξέρξης δῶρα πέμπεσκε ὡς ἀριστεύοντι πάντων ὅσους αὐτὸς κατέστησε ἢ Δαρεῖος ὑπάρχους, πέμπεσκε δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· ὥς δὲ καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξης ὁ Ξέρξεω τοῖσι Μασκαμείοισι ἐκγόνοισι. κατέστασαν γὰρ ἔτι πρότερον ταύτης τῆς ἐλάσιος ὑπαρχοὶ ἐν τῇ Θρηίκῃ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου πανταχῇ. 2 οὗτοι ὧν πάντες οἱ τε ἐκ Θρηίκης καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, πλὴν τοῦ ἐν Δορίσκῳ, ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὕστερον ταύτης τῆς στρατηλασίης ἐξαιρέθησαν· τὸν δὲ ἐν Δορίσκῳ Μασκάμην οὐδαμοὶ κω ἐδυνάσθησαν ἐξελεῖν πολλῶν πειρησαμένων. διὰ τοῦτο δὴ οἱ τὰ δῶρα πέμπεται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος αἰεὶ ἐν Πέρσῃσι.

106. Xerxes left behind this Mascames, who so conducted himself that to him alone Xerxes always sent gifts, as being the most valiant of all the governors that he or Darius appointed; he sent these gifts every year, and so did Artaxerxes son of Xerxes to Mascames' descendants. Before this march, governors had been appointed everywhere in Thrace and on the Hellespont. All of these in Thrace and the Hellespont, except the governor of Doriscus, were after this expedition captured by the Greeks; but no one could ever drive out Mascames in Doriscus, though many tried. For this reason gifts are sent by the successive kings of Persia.

107 1 τῶν δὲ ἐξαιρεθέντων ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οὐδένα βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης ἐνόμισε εἶναι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν εἰ μὴ Βόγην μούνον τὸν ἐξ Ἱιόνος, τοῦτον δὲ αἰνέων οὐκ ἐπαύετο, καὶ τοὺς περιόντας αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃσι παῖδας ἐτίμα μάλιστα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄξιος αἴνου μεγάλου ἐγένετο Βόγης· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδεω, παρεὼν αὐτῷ ὑπόσπονδον ἐξελθεῖν καὶ νοστήσαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐκ ἠθέλησε, μὴ δειλήν δόξειε περιεῖναι βασιλείᾳ, ἀλλὰ διεκαρτέρεε ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον. 2 ὥς δ' οὐδὲν ἔτι φορβῆς ἐνῆν ἐν τῷ τείχεϊ, συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην ἔσφαξε τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ ἔπειτα ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν χρυσὸν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἔσπειρε ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐωυτὸν ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ. οὕτω μὲν οὗτος δικαίως αἰνέεται ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε ὑπὸ Περσέων.

107. The only one of those who were driven out by the Greeks

whom king Xerxes considered a valiant man was Bogen, from whom they took Eion. He never ceased praising this man, and gave very great honor to his sons who were left alive in Persia; indeed Bogen proved himself worthy of all praise. When he was besieged by the Athenians under Cimon son of Miltiades, he could have departed under treaty from Eion and returned to Asia, but he refused, lest the king think that he had saved his life out of cowardice; instead he resisted to the last. When there was no food left within his walls, he piled up a great pyre and slew his children and wife and concubines and servants and cast them into the fire; after that, he took all the gold and silver from the city and scattered it from the walls into the Strymon; after he had done this, he cast himself into the fire. Thus he is justly praised by the Persians to this day.

108 1 Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δορίσκου ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοὺς δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένους ἐμποδὼν συστρατεύεσθαι ἠνάγκαζε· ἐδεδούλωτο γάρ, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, ἢ μέχρι Θεσσαλίας πᾶσα καὶ ἦν ὑπὸ βασιλέα δασμοφόρος, Μεγαβάζου τε καταστρεψαμένου καὶ ὕστερον Μαρδονίου. 2 παραμείβετο δὲ πορευόμενος ἐκ Δορίσκου πρῶτα μὲν τὰ Σαμοθρηκίγια τείχεα, τῶν ἐσχάτη πεπόλισται πρὸς ἐσπέρης πόλιν τῇ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Μεσαμβρίη. ἔχεται δὲ ταύτης Θασίων πόλις Στρυμὴ, διὰ δὲ σφέων τοῦ μέσου Λίσος ποταμὸς διαρρέει, ὃς τότε οὐκ ἀντέσχε τὸ ὕδωρ παρέχων τῷ Ξέρξει στρατῷ ἄλλ' ἐπέλιπε. 3 ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη πάλαι μὲν ἐκαλέετο Γαλλαϊκή, νῦν δὲ Βριαντική· ἔστι μέντοι τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν λόγων καὶ αὕτη Κικόνων.

108. From Doriscus Xerxes went on his way towards Hellas, compelling all that he met to go with his army. As I have shown earlier, all the country as far as Thessaly had been enslaved and was tributary to the king, by the conquests of Megabazus and Mardonius after him. On his road from Doriscus he first passed the Samothracian fortresses; of these, the city built farthest to the west is called Mesambria. Next to it is the Thasian city of Stryme; between them runs the river Lisus, which now could not furnish water enough for Xerxes' army, but was exhausted. All this region was once called Gallaic, but it is now called Briantic; however, by rights it also belongs to the Ciconians.

109 1 διαβάς δὲ τοῦ Λίσου ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥέεθρον ἀπεξηρασμένον πόλιας Ἑλληνίδας τάσδε παραμείβετο, Μαρώνειαν Δίκαιαν Ἄβδηρα. ταύτας τε δὴ παρεξήιε καὶ κατὰ ταύτας λίμνας ὀνομαστὰς τάσδε, Μαρωνείης μὲν μετὰ καὶ Στρύμης κειμένην Ἰσμαρίδα, κατὰ δὲ Δίκαιαν Βιστονίδα, ἐς τὴν ποταμοὶ δύο ἐσιεῖσι τὸ ὕδωρ, Τραυὸς τε καὶ Κόμψαντος. κατὰ δὲ Ἄβδηρα λίμνην μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐοῦσαν ὀνομαστήν παραμείψατο Ξέρξης, ποταμὸν δὲ Νέστον ῥέοντα ἐς θάλασσαν. 2 μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς χώρας ἰὼν τὰς ἡπειρώτιδας πόλεις παρήιε, τῶν ἐν μῇ λίμνῃ ἐοῦσα τυγχάνει ὥσει τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα κῆ τὴν περίοδον, ἰχθυώδης τε καὶ κάρτα ἀλμυρὴ· ταύτην τὰ ὑποζύγια μούνα ἀρδόμενα ἀνεξήρηνε. τῇ δὲ πόλι ταύτῃ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Πίστυρος.

109. After he had crossed the dried-up bed of the river Lisus, he passed by the Greek cities of Maronea, Dicaea, and Abdera. He passed by these, and along certain well-known lakes near them: the Ismarid lake that lies between Maronea and Stryme, and near Dicaea the Bistonian lake, into which the rivers Travus and Compsantus discharge. Near Abdera Xerxes passed no well-known lake, but crossed the river Nestus where it flows into the sea. From these regions he passed by the cities of the mainland, one of which has near it a lake of about thirty stadia in circuit, full of fish and very salty; this was drained dry by watering the beasts of burden alone. This city is called Pistyrus.

110 1 ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς πόλιας τὰς παραθαλασσίας τε καὶ Ἑλληνίδας ἐξ εὐωνύμου χειρὸς ἀπέργων παρεξήιε· ἔθνεα δὲ Θρηίκων δι' ὧν τῆς χώρας ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο τοσάδε, Παῖτοι Κίκονες Βίστονες Σαπαῖοι Δερσαῖοι Ἡδωνοὶ Σάτραι. τούτων οἱ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν κατοικημένοι ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ εἶποντο· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν μεσόγαιαν οἰκέοντες καταλεχθέντες τε ὑπ' ἐμεῦ, πλὴν Σατρέων, οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες πεζῇ ἀναγκαζόμενοι εἶποντο.

110. Xerxes marched past these Greek cities of the coast, keeping them on his left. The Thracian tribes through whose lands he journeyed were the Paeti, Cicones, Bistones, Sapaei, Dersaei, Edoni, and Satrae. Of these, the ones who dwelt by the sea followed his army on shipboard; the ones living inland, whose names I have recorded, were forced to join with his land army, all of them except

the Satrae.

111 1 σάτραι δὲ οὐδενός κω ἀνθρώπων ὑπήκοοι ἐγένοντο, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἀλλὰ διατελεῦσι τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ ἐόντες ἐλεύθεροι μοῦνοι Θρησίων· οἰκέουσιν τε γὰρ ὄρεα ὑψηλά, ἴδησί τε παντοίησι καὶ χιόνι συνηρεφέα, καὶ εἰσὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄκροι. 2 οὗτοι οἱ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήιον εἰσὶ ἐκτιμένοι· τὸ δὲ μαντήιον τοῦτο ἔστι μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων, Βησσοὶ δὲ τῶν Σατράων εἰσὶ οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πρόμαντις δὲ ἡ χρέωσα κατὰ περ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ οὐδὲν ποικιλώτερον.

111. The Satrae, as far as we know, have never yet been subject to any man; they alone of the Thracians have continued living in freedom to this day; they dwell on high mountains covered with forests of all kinds and snow, and they are excellent warriors. It is they who possess the place of divination sacred to Dionysus. This place is in their highest mountains; the Bessi, a clan of the Satrae, are the prophets of the shrine; there is a priestess who utters the oracle, as at Delphi; it is no more complicated here than there.

112 1 παραμεινόμενος δὲ ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν εἰρημένην, δεύτερα τούτων παραμείβετο τείχεα τὰ Πιέρων, τῶν ἐνὶ Φάγρης ἐστὶ οὐνομα καὶ ἐτέρῳ Πέργαμος. ταύτη μὲν δὴ παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ τείχεα τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο, ἐκ δεξιῆς χειρὸς τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος ἀπέργων, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ὑψηλόν, ἐν τῷ χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ἐνὶ μέταλλα, τὰ νέμονται Πιέρεις τε καὶ Ὀδόμαντοι καὶ μάλιστα Σάτραι.

112. After passing through the aforementioned land, Xerxes next passed the fortresses of the Pierians, one called Phagres and the other Pergamus. By going this way he marched right under their walls, keeping on his right the great and high Pangaeian range, where the Pierians and Odomanti and especially the Satrae have gold and silver mines.

113 1 ὑπεροικέοντας δὲ τὸ Πάγγαιον πρὸς βορέῳ ἀνέμου Παίονας Δόβηράς τε καὶ Παιόπλας παρεξίων ἤιε πρὸς ἐσπέρην, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ ποταμὸν τε Στρυμόνα καὶ πόλιν Ἰιόνα, τῆς ἔτι ζωὸς ἐὼν ἤρχε Βόγης τοῦ περ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων λόγον ἐποιεῦμην. 2 ἡ δὲ γῆ αὕτη ἢ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος καλεῖται Φυλλίς, κατατείνουσα τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἀγγίτην ἐκδιδόντα ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τείνουσα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν Στρυμόνα· ἐς τὸν οἱ

Μάγοι ἐκαλλιερέοντο σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκοῦς.

113. Marching past the Paeonians, Doberes, and Paeoplae, who dwell beyond and northward of the Pangaeian mountains, he kept going westwards, until he came to the river Strymon and the city of Eion; its governor was that Boges, then still alive, whom I mentioned just before this. All this region about the Pangaeian range is called Phyllis; it stretches westwards to the river Angites, which issues into the Strymon, and southwards to the Strymon itself; at this river the Magi sought good omens by sacrificing white horses.

114 1 φαρμακεύσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τοῦτοισι ἐν Ἑννέα ὁδοῖσι τῇσι Ἡδωνῶν ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας, τὸν Στρυμόνα εὐρόντες ἐξευγμένον. Ἑννέα δὲ ὁδοὺς πυνθανόμενοι τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον καλέεσθαι, τοσούτους ἐν αὐτῷ παῖδας τε καὶ παρθένους ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ζῶοντας κατάρυσσον. 2 Περσικὸν δὲ τὸ ζῶοντας κατορύσσειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀμηστριν τὴν Ξέρξεω γυναῖκα πυνθάνομαι γηράσασαν δις ἑπτὰ Περσέων παῖδας ἐόντων ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἑωυτῆς τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγομένῳ εἶναι θεῷ ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι κατορύσσουσαν.

114. After using these enchantments and many others besides on the river, they passed over it at the Nine Ways in Edonian country, by the bridges which they found thrown across the Strymon. When they learned that Nine Ways was the name of the place, they buried alive that number of boys and maidens, children of the local people. To bury people alive is a Persian custom; I have learned by inquiry that when Xerxes' wife Amestris reached old age, she buried twice seven sons of notable Persians as an offering on her own behalf to the fabled god beneath the earth.

115 1 ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ἐπορεύετο ὁ στρατός, ἐνθαῦτα πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων ἐστὶ αἰγιαλὸς ἐν τῷ οἰκημένην Ἀργίλον πόλιν Ἑλλάδα παρεξήιε· αὕτη δὲ καὶ ἡ κατύπερθε ταύτης καλεῖται Βισαλτὴ. 2 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Ποσιδηίου ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔχων ἦε διὰ Συλέος πεδίου καλεομένου, Στάγειρον πόλιν Ἑλλάδα παραμειβόμενος, καὶ ἀπύκετο ἐς Ἀκανθον, ἅμα ἀγόμενος τούτων ἕκαστον τῶν ἐθνέων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος οἰκεόντων, ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχων οἰκημένους ἐκ νηυσὶ στρατευομένους, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ

θαλάσσης πεζῇ ἐπομένους. 3 τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν ταύτην, τῇ βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τὸν στρατὸν ἤλασε, οὔτε συγγέουσι Θρήικες οὔτ' ἐπισπεύρουσι σέβονται τε μεγάλως τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ.

115. Journeying from the Strymon, the army passed by Argilus, a Greek town standing on a stretch of coast further westwards; the territory of this town and that which lies inland of it are called Bisaltia. From there, keeping on his left hand the gulf off Poseideion, Xerxes traversed the plain of Syleus (as they call it), passing by the Greek town of Stagirus, and came to Acanthus. He took along with him all these tribes and those that dwelt about the Pangaeian range, just as he did those previously mentioned, the men of the coast serving in his fleet and the inland men in his land army. The entire road along which king Xerxes led his army the Thracians neither break up nor sow, but they hold it in great reverence to this day.

116 1 ὥς δὲ ἄρα ἐς τὴν Ἀκανθὸν ἀπικέτο, ξεινίην τε ὁ Ξέρξης τοῖσι Ἀκανθίοισι προεῖπε καὶ ἐδωρήσατο σφέας ἐσθῆτι Μηδικῇ ἐπαίνεέ τε, ὁρέων καὶ αὐτοὺς προθύμους ἐόντας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα ἀκούων.

116. When Xerxes came to Acanthus, he declared the Acanthians his guests and friends, and gave them Median clothing, praising them for the zeal with which he saw them furthering his campaign, and for what he heard of the digging of the canal.

117 1 ἐν Ἀκάνθῳ δὲ ἐόντος Ξέρξεω συνήνεκε ὑπὸ νούσου ἀποθανεῖν τὸν ἐπεστεῶτα τῆς διώρυχος Ἀρταχαίην, δόκιμον ἐόντα παρὰ Ξέρξῃ καὶ γένος Ἀχαιμενίδην, μεγάθει τε μέγιστον ἐόντα Περσέων (ἀπὸ γὰρ πέντε πηγέων βασιληῶν ἀπέλειπε τέσσερας δακτύλους) φωνέοντά τε μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε Ξέρξην συμφορὴν ποιησάμενον μεγάλην ἐξενεῖκαί τε αὐτὸν κάλλιστα καὶ θάναι· ἐτυμβοχόεε δὲ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιή. 2 τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀρταχαίῃ θύουσι Ἀκάνθιοι ἐκ θεοπροπίου ὡς ἥρωι, ἐπονομάζοντες τὸ οὔνομα.

117. While Xerxes was at Acanthus, it happened that Artachaees, overseer of the digging of the canal, died of an illness. He was high in Xerxes' favor, an Achaemenid by lineage, and the tallest man in Persia, lacking four finger-breadths of five royal cubits in stature, and his voice was the loudest on earth. For this reason Xerxes mourned him greatly and gave him a funeral and burial of great

pomp, and the whole army poured libations on his tomb. The Acanthians hold Artachaees a hero, and sacrifice to him, calling upon his name. This they do at the command of an oracle.

118 1 βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἀπολομένου Ἀρταχάειω ἐποιέετο συμφορὴν. οἱ δὲ ὑποδεκόμενοι Ἑλλήνων τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίζοντες Ξέρξην ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπίκατο, οὕτω ὥστε ἀνάστατοι ἐκ τῶν οἴκων ἐγίνοντο· ὅκου Θασίοισι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολιῶν τῶν σφετερέων δεξαμένοισι τὴν Ξέρξεω στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίσασι Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ὀργεὺς ἀραιρημένος, τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὅμοια τῷ μάλιστα, ἀπέδεξε ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελεσμένα.

118. King Xerxes, then, mourned for the death of Artachaees. But the Greeks who received Xerxes' army and entertained the king himself were brought to such a degree of misery, that they were driven from house and home. Witness the case of the Thasians, who received and feasted Xerxes' army on behalf of their towns on the mainland; Antipatrus son of Orgeus, as notable a man as any of his townsmen, chosen by them for this task, rendered them an account of four hundred silver talents expended on the dinner.

119 1 ὥς δὲ παραπλησίως καὶ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλησι πόλιν οἱ ἐπεστεῶτες ἀπεδείκνυσαν τὸν λόγον. τὸ γὰρ δεῖπνον τοιόνδε τι ἐγίνετο, οἷα ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου προειρημένον καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένων· 2 τοῦτο μὲν, ὥς ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα τῶν κηρύκων τῶν περιαγγελλόντων, δασάμενοι σῖτον ἐν τῇσι πόλιν οἱ ἀστοὶ ἄλευρά τε καὶ ἄλφιτα ἐποίεον πάντες ἐπὶ μῆνας συχνούς· τοῦτο δὲ κτήνεα ἐσίτεον ἐξευρίσκοντες τιμῆς τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔτρεφόν τε ὄρνιθας χερσαίους καὶ λιμναίους ἐν τε οἰκήμασι καὶ λάκκοις, ἐς ὑποδοχὰς τοῦ στρατοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ποτήριά τε καὶ κρητῆρας ἐποιεῦντο καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν τιθέσθαι πάντα. 3 ταῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ τε βασιλεὶ καὶ τοῖσι ὁμοσίτοις μετ' ἐκείνου ἐπεποίητο, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιῇ τὰ ἐς φορβὴν μοῦνα τασσόμενα. ὅπως δὲ ἀπικοίτο ἡ στρατιή, σκηνὴ μὲν ἔσκε πεπηγυῖα ἐτοίμη ἐς τὴν αὐτὸς σταθμὸν ποιεέσκετο Ξέρξης, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιὴ ἔσκε ὑπαίθριος. 4 ὥς δὲ δεῖπνον ἐγίνετο ὥρη, οἱ μὲν δεκόμενοι ἔχουσιν πόνον, οἱ δὲ ὅπως πλησθέντες νύκτα αὐτοῦ ἀγάγοιεν, τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τὴν τε σκηνὴν ἀνασπᾶσαντες καὶ τὰ ἔπιπλα πάντα λαβόντες οὕτω ἀπελαύνεσκον,

λείποντες οὐδὲν ἀλλὰ φερόμενοι.

119. Similar accounts were returned by the officers in the other towns. Now the dinner, about which a great deal of fuss had been made and for the preparation of which orders had been given long ago, proceeded as I will tell. As soon as the townsmen had word from the herald's proclamation, they divided corn among themselves in their cities and all of them for many months ground it to wheat and barley meal; moreover, they fed the finest beasts that money could buy, and kept landfowl and waterfowl in cages and ponds, for the entertaining of the army. They also made gold and silver cups and bowls and all manner of service for the table. These things were provided for the king himself and those that ate with him. For the rest of the army they provided only food. At the coming of the army, there was always a tent ready for Xerxes to take his rest in, while the men camped out in the open air. When the hour came for dinner, the real trouble for the hosts began. When they had eaten their fill and passed the night there, the army tore down the tent on the next day and marched off with all the movables, leaving nothing but carrying all with them.

120 1 ἔνθα δὴ Μεγακρέοντος ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω ἔπος εὔ
εἰρημένον ἐγένετο, ὃς συνεβούλευσε Ἀβδηρίτησι πανδημεί, αὐτοὺς
καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐλθόντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἰρὰ ἵζεσθαι ἰκέτας τῶν θεῶν
παραιτεομένους καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σφι ἀπαμύνειν τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν
τὰ ἡμίσεα, τῶν τε παροιχομένων ἔχειν σφι μεγάλην χάριν, ὅτι
βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης οὐ δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἐνόμιζε σῖτον αἰρέεσθαι· 2
παρέχειν γὰρ ἂν Ἀβδηρίτησι, εἰ καὶ ἄριστον προεῖρητο ὅμοια τῷ
δεῖπνῳ παρασκευάζειν, ἢ μὴ ὑπομένειν Ξέρξην ἐπιόντα ἢ
καταμείναντας κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων διατριβῆναι.

120. It was then that a very apt saying was uttered by one Megacreon of Abdera. He advised his townsmen, men and women alike, to gather at their temples, and there in all humility to entreat the gods to defend them in the future from half of every threatened ill. They should also, he said, thank the gods heartily for their previous show of favor, for it was Xerxes' custom to take a meal only once a day. Otherwise they would have been commanded to furnish a breakfast similar to the dinner. The people of Abdera would

then have had no choice but to flee before Xerxes' coming, or to perish most miserably if they awaited him.

121 1 οἱ μὲν δὴ πιεζόμενοι ὁμῶς τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον ἐπετέλεον. Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου, ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ ὑπομένειν ἐν Θέρμῃ, ἀπῆκε ἀπ' ἐωυτοῦ πορεύεσθαι τὰς νέας, Θέρμῃ δὲ τῇ ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλῳ οἰκημένη, ἀπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει· ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο συντομώτατον εἶναι. 2 μέχρι μὲν γὰρ Ἀκάνθου ὧδε τεταγμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ Δορίσκου τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο· τρεῖς μοίρας ὁ Ξέρξης δασάμενος πάντα τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν, μίαν αὐτέων ἔταξε παρὰ θάλασσαν ἰέναι ὁμοῦ τῷ ναυτικῷ· 3 ταύτης μὲν δὴ ἐστρατήγεον Μαρδόνιος τε καὶ Μασίστης, ἑτέρῃ δὲ τεταγμένη ἦε τοῦ στρατοῦ τριτημορις τὴν μεσόγειαν, τῆς ἐστρατήγεον Τριτανταίχμης τε καὶ Γέργις· ἡ δὲ τρίτῃ τῶν μοιρέων, μετ' ἧς ἐπορεύετο αὐτὸς Ξέρξης, ἦε μὲν τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν, στρατηγούς δὲ παρείχετο Σμερδομένεά τε καὶ Μεγάβυζον.

121. So the townsmen, oppressed as they were, nevertheless did as they were commanded. Upon leaving Acanthus, Xerxes sent his ships on their course away from him, giving orders to his generals that the fleet should await him at Therma, the town on the Thermaic gulf which gives the gulf its name, for this, he learned, was his shortest way. The order of the army's march, from Doriscus to Acanthus, had been such as I will show. Dividing his entire land army into three parts, Xerxes appointed one of them to march beside his fleet along the coast. Mardonius and Masistes were the generals of this segment, while another third of the army marched, as appointed, further inland under Tritantaechmes and Gergis. The third part, with which Xerxes himself went, marched between the two, and its generals were Smerdomenes and Megabyzus.

122 1 ὁ μὲν νυν ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὡς ἀπειθῇ ὑπὸ Ξέρξεω καὶ διεξέπλωσε τὴν διώρυχα τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἄθῳ γενομένην, διέχουσιν δὲ ἐς κόλπον ἐν τῷ Ἄσσῃ τε πόλιν καὶ Πίλωρος καὶ Σίγγοι καὶ Σάρτη οἰκῆνται, ἐνθεῦτεν, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολιῶν στρατιὴν παρέλαβε, ἔπλεε ἀπιέμενος ἐς τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον, κάμπτων δὲ Ἄμπελον τὴν Τορωναίην ἄκρην παραμείβετο Ἑλληνίδας γε τάσδε πόλιν, ἐκ τῶν νέας τε καὶ στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε, Τορώνην Γαληψὸν

Σερμύλην Μηκύβερναν Ὀλυνθον.

122. Now when the fleet had left Xerxes, it sailed through the Athos canal which reached to the gulf in which are located the towns of Assa, Pylorus, Singus, and Sarte. The fleet took on board troops from all these cities and then headed for the Thermaic gulf. Then rounding Ampelus, the headland of Torone, it passed the Greek towns of Torone, Galepsus, Sermyle, Mecyberna, and Olynthus, all of which gave them ships and men.

123 1 ἡ μὲν νυν χώρα αὕτη Σιθωνίη καλέεται, ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Ξέρξεω συντάμων ἀπ' Ἀμπέλου ἄκρης ἐπὶ Καναστραίην ἄκρην, τὸ δὴ πάρης τῆς Παλλήνης ἀνέχει μάλιστα, ἐνθεῦτεν νέας τε καὶ στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε ἐκ Ποτιδαίης καὶ Ἀφύτιος καὶ Νέης πόλιος καὶ Αἰγῆς καὶ Θεράμβω καὶ Σκιώνης καὶ Μένδης καὶ Σάνης· αὗται γὰρ εἰσὶ αἱ τὴν νῦν Παλλήνην πρότερον δὲ Φλέγγρην καλεομένην νεμόμεναι. 2 παραπλέων δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἔπλεε ἐς τὸ προειρημένον, παραλαμβάνων στρατιὴν καὶ ἐκ τῶν προσεχέων πολίων τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ὁμουμεουσέων δὲ τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ, τῇσι οὐνόματα ἐστὶ τάδε, Λίπαξος Κώμβρεια Αἷσα Γίγωνος Κάμψα Σμίλα Αἶνεια· ἡ δε τουτέων χώρα Κροσσαίη ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε καλέεται. 3 ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰνείης, ἐς τὴν ἐτελεύτων καταλέγων τὰς πόλεις, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤδη ἐς αὐτόν τε τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον ἐγίνετο τῷ ναυτικῷ στρατῷ ὁ πλόος καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυγδονίην, πλέων δὲ ἀπίκετο ἔς τε τὴν προειρημένην Θέρμην καὶ Σίνδον τε πόλιν καὶ Χαλέστρην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄξιον ποταμόν, ὃς οὐρίζει χώραν τὴν Μυγδονίην τε καὶ Βοττιαΐδα, τῆς ἔχουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν στεινὸν χωρίον πόλεις Ἰχναι τε καὶ Πέλλα.

123. This country is called Sithonia. The fleet held a straight course from the headland of Ampelus to the Canastraeian headland, where Pallene runs farthest out to sea, and received ships and men from the towns of what is now Pallene but was formerly called Phlegra, namely, Potidaea, Aphytis, Neapolis, Aege, Therambus, Scione, Mende, and Sane. Sailing along this coast they made for the appointed place, taking troops from the towns adjacent to Pallene and near the Thermaic gulf, of which the names are Lipaxus, Combrea, Aesa, Gignonus, Campsa, Smila, Aenea; the territory of these cities is called Crossaea to this day. From Aenea, the last-named in my list of

the towns, the course of the fleet lay from the Thermaic gulf itself and the Mygdonian territory until its voyage ended at Therma, the place appointed, and the towns of Sindus and Chalestra, where it came to the river Axius; this is the boundary, between the Mygdonian and the Bottiaean territory, in which are located the towns of Ichnae and Pella on the narrow strip of coast.

124 1 ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἄξιον ποταμὸν καὶ πόλιν Θέρμην καὶ τὰς μεταξὺ πόλιας τούτων περιμένων Βασιλέα ἐστρατοπεδεύετο, Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς ἐπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ, βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπικέσθαι· ἐπορεύετο δὲ διὰ τῆς Παιονικῆς καὶ Κρηστωνικῆς ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Χεΐδωρον, ὃς ἐκ Κρηστωναίων ἀρξάμενος ῥέει διὰ Μυγδονίης χώρας καὶ ἐξιεῖ παρὰ τὸ ἔλος τὸ ἐπ' Ἀξίῳ ποταμῷ.

124. So the fleet lay there off the river Axius and the city of Therma and the towns between them, awaiting the king. But Xerxes and his land army marched from Acanthus by the straightest inland course, making for Therma. Their way lay through the Paeonian and the Crestonean country to the river Cheidorus, which, rising in the Crestonean land, flows through the Mygdonian country and issues by the marshes of the Axius.

125 1 πορευομένων δὲ ταύτῃ λέοντες οἱ ἐπεθήκαντο τῇσι σιτοφόροις καμήλοισι. καταφοιτέοντες γὰρ οἱ λέοντες τὰς νύκτας καὶ λείποντες τὰ σφέτερα ἤθεα ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἄπτοντο οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὔτε ἀνθρώπου, οἱ δὲ τὰς καμήλους ἐκεράιζον μούνας. θωμάζω δὲ τὸ αἴτιον, ὃ τι κοτὲ ἦν τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἀναγκάζον ἀπεχομένους τοὺς λέοντας τῇσι καμήλοισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι, τὸ μῆτε πρότερον ὁπώπесαν θηρίον μῆτ' ἐπεπειρέατο αὐτοῦ.

125. As Xerxes marched by this route, lions attacked the camels which carried his provisions; nightly they would come down out of their lairs and made havoc of the camels alone, seizing nothing else, man or beast of burden. I wonder what prevented the lions from touching anything but the camels, creatures which they had not seen and had no knowledge of until then.

126 1 εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ λέοντες πολλοὶ καὶ βόες ἄγριοι, τῶν τὰ κέρα ὑπερμεγάθεα ἐστὶ τὰ ἐς Ἑλληνας φοιτέοντα.

οὔρος δὲ τοῖσι λέουσι ἐστὶ ὃ τε δι' Ἀβδήρων ῥέων ποταμὸς Νέστος καὶ ὁ δι' Ἀκαρνανίης ῥέων Ἀχελῷος· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τοῦ Νέστου οὐδαμῶθι πάσης τῆς ἔμπροσθε Εὐρώπης ἴδοι τις ἄν λέοντα, οὔτε πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Ἀχελῷου ἐν τῇ ἐπιλοίπῳ ἡπείρῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μεταξὺ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν γίνονται.

126. In these parts there are many lions and wild oxen, whose horns are those very long ones which are brought into Hellas. The boundary of the lions' country is the river Nestus which flows through Abdera and the river Achelous which flows through Acarnania. Neither to the east of the Nestus anywhere in the nearer part of Europe, nor to the west of the Achelous in the rest of the mainland, is any lion to be seen, but they are found in the country between those rivers.

127 1 ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπίκητο ὁ Ξέρξης, ἵδρυσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατιήν. ἐπέσχε δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδευόμενος τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν χώραν τοσήνδε, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Θέρμης πόλιος καὶ τῆς Μυγδονίης μέχρι Λυδιδεῶ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἀλιάκμονος, οἱ οὐρίζουσι γῆν τὴν Βοττιαίδα τε καὶ Μακεδονίδα, ἐς τὸν ῥέθρον τὸ ὕδωρ συμμίσχοντες. 2 ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι χωρίοις οἱ βάρβαροι, τῶν δὲ καταλεχθέντων τούτων ποταμῶν ἐκ Κρηστωναίων ῥέων Χείδωρος μόνος οὐκ ἀντέχρησε τῇ στρατῇ πινόμενος ἀλλ' ἐπέλιπε.

127. When he had arrived at Therma, Xerxes quartered his army there. Its encampment by the sea covered all the space from Therma and the Mygdonian country to the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon, which unite their waters in one stream and so make the border between the Bottiaean and the Macedonian territory. In this place the foreigners lay encamped; of the rivers just mentioned, the Cheidorus, which flows from the Crestonaeae country, was the only one which could not suffice for the army's drinking but was completely drained by it.

128 1 Ξέρξης δὲ ὁρέων ἐκ τῆς Θέρμης ὄρεα τὰ Θεσσαλικά, τὸν τε Ὀλύμπον καὶ τὴν Ὀσσαν, μεγάλῃ τε ὑπερμήκειά ἐόντα, διὰ μέσου τε αὐτῶν αὐλῶνα στενὸν πυνθανόμενος εἶναι δι' οὗ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειός, ἀκούων τε ταύτῃ εἶναι ὁδὸν ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρουσαν, ἐπεθύμησε πλώσας θεήσασθαι τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, ὅτι τὴν ἄνω ὁδὸν

ἔμελλε ἔλᾱν διὰ Μακεδόνων τῶν κατύπερθε οἰκημένων ἔστε Περρραιβοὺς παρὰ Γόννον πόλιν· ταύτῃ γὰρ ἀσφαλέστατον ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι. 2 ὥς δὲ ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ἐποίεε ταῦτα· ἐσβὰς ἐς Σιδωνίην νέα, ἐς τὴν περ ἐσέβαινε αἰεὶ ὅκως τι ἐθέλοι τοιοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἀνέδεξε σημήιον καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνάγεσθαι, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκετο καὶ ἐθέησατο Ξέρξης τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέσχετο, καλέσας δὲ τοὺς κατηγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ εἶρετο εἰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐστὶ παρατρέψαντα ἐτέρῃ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξαγαγεῖν.

128. When Xerxes saw from Therma the very great height of the Thessalian mountains Olympus and Ossa and learned that the Peneus flows through them in a narrow pass, which was the way that led into Thessaly, he desired to view the mouth of the Peneus because he intended to march by the upper road through the highland people of Macedonia to the country of the Perrhaebi and the town of Gonnus; this, it was told him, was the safest way. He did exactly as he desired. He embarked on a Sidonian ship which he always used when he had some such business in hand, and hoisted his signal for the rest also to put out to sea, leaving his land army where it was. Great wonder took him when he came and viewed the mouth of the Peneus, and calling his guides, he asked them if it were possible to turn the river from its course and lead it into the sea by another way.

129 1 τὴν δὲ Θεσσαλίην λόγος ἐστὶ τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι λίμνην, ὥστε γε συγκεκλημένην πάντοθεν ὑπερμήκεσι ὄρεσι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἔχοντα τό τε Πήλιον ὄρος καὶ ἡ Ὅσσα ἀποκληθεὶς συμμίσγοντα τὰς ὑπωρείας ἀλλήλοισι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορρῶ ἀνέμου Ὀλυμπος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρην Πίνδος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ ἄνεμον νότον ἡ Ὀθρυς· τὸ μέσον δὲ τούτων τῶν λεχθέντων ὀρέων ἡ Θεσσαλίη ἐστὶ εὐδσα κοίλῃ. 2 ὥστε ὧν ποταμῶν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἄλλων συγχῶν ἐσβαλλόντων, πέντε δὲ τῶν δοκίμων μάλιστα τῶνδε, Πηνειοῦ καὶ Ἀπιδανοῦ καὶ Ὀνοχώνου καὶ Ἐνιπέος καὶ Παμίσου, οἱ μὲν νυν ἐς τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο συλλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων τῶν περικληόντων τὴν Θεσσαλίην ὀνομαζόμενοι δι' ἐνὸς αὐλῶνος καὶ τούτου στεينوῦ ἔκροον ἔχουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, προσυμμίσγοντες τὸ ὕδωρ πάντες ἐς τὡυτό· 3 ἐπεὰν δὲ συμμιχθῶσι τάχιστα, ἐνθεῦτεν ἦδη ὁ Πηνειὸς τῷ οὐνόματι κατακρατέων ἀνωνύμους τοὺς ἄλλους

εἶναι ποιεῖ. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν λέγεται, οὐκ ἔοντος κω τοῦ αὐλῶνος καὶ διεκρόου τούτου, τοὺς ποταμοὺς τούτους, καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ποταμοῖσι τούτοισι τὴν Βοιβηίδα λίμνην, οὔτε ὀνομάζεσθαι κατὰ περ νῦν ῥέειν τε οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἢ νῦν, ῥέοντας δὲ ποιεῖν τὴν Θεσσαλίην πᾶσαν πέλαγος. 4 αὐτοὶ μὲν νυν Θεσσαλοὶ φασὶ Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι τὸν αὐλῶνα δι' οὗ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειός, οἰκότα λέγοντες· ὅστις γὰρ νομίζει Ποσειδέωνα τὴν γῆν σείειν καὶ τὰ διεστεῶτα ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου ἔργα εἶναι, κἂν ἐκεῖνο ἰδὼν φαίῃ Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι· ἔστι γὰρ σεισμοῦ ἔργον, ὥς ἐμοὶ φαίνεται εἶναι, ἢ διάστασις τῶν ὀρέων.

129. Thessaly, as tradition has it, was in old times a lake enclosed all round by high mountains. On its eastern side it is fenced in by the joining of the lower parts of the mountains Pelion and Ossa, to the north by Olympus, to the west by Pindus, towards the south and the southerly wind by Othrys. In the middle, then, of this ring of mountains, lies the vale of Thessaly. A number of rivers pour into this vale, the most notable of which are Peneus, Apidanus, Onochonus, Enipeus, Pamisus. These five, while they flow towards their meeting place from the mountains which surround Thessaly, have their several names, until their waters all unite and issue into the sea by one narrow passage. As soon as they are united, the name of the Peneus prevails, making the rest nameless. In ancient days, it is said, there was not yet this channel and outfall, but those rivers and the Boebean lake, which was not yet named, had the same volume of water as now, and thereby turned all Thessaly into a sea. Now the Thessalians say that Poseidon made the passage by which the Peneus flows. This is reasonable, for whoever believes that Poseidon is the shaker of the earth and that rifts made by earthquakes are the work of that god will conclude, upon seeing that passage, that it is of Poseidon's making. It was manifest to me that it must have been an earthquake which forced the mountains apart.

130 1 οἱ δὲ κατηγεόμενοι, εἰρομένου Ξέρξω εἰ ἔστι ἄλλη ἔξοδος ἐς θάλασσαν τῷ Πηνειῷ, ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἀτρεκέως εἶπον “βασιλεῦ, ποταμῷ τούτῳ οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλη ἐξήλυσις ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα, ἀλλ' ἦδε αὐτή· ὄρεσι γὰρ περιστεφάνονται πᾶσα Θεσσαλίη”. Ξέρξην δὲ λέγεται εἰπεῖν πρὸς ταῦτα “σοφοὶ ἄνδρες εἰσὶ Θεσσαλοὶ. 2 ταῦτ' ἄρα πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐφυλάξαντο γνωσιμαχέοντες καὶ τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι

χώρην ἄρα εἶχον εὐαίρετόν τε καὶ ταχυάλωτον. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πρῆγμα ἂν ἦν μούνον ἐπεῖναι σφέων ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, χώματι ἐκ τοῦ αὐλῶνος ἐκβιβάσαντα καὶ παρατρέψαντα δι' ὧν νῦν ῥέει ῥεέθρων, ὥστε Θεσσαλίην πᾶσαν ἔξω τῶν ὁρέων ὑπόβρυχα γενέσθαι". 3 ταῦτα δὲ ἔχοντα ἔλεγε ἐς τοὺς Ἀλεύεω παῖδας, ὅτι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἐόντες Θεσσαλοὶ ἔδοσαν ἐωυτοὺς βασιλεί, δοκέων ὁ Ξέρξης ἀπὸ παντός σφεας τοῦ ἔθνεος ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι φιλίην. εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ θεησάμενος ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὴν Θέρμην.

130. Xerxes asked his guides if there were any other outlet for the Peneus into the sea, and they, with their full knowledge of the matter, answered him: "The river, O king, has no other way into the sea, but this alone. This is so because there is a ring of mountains around the whole of Thessaly." Upon hearing this Xerxes said: "These Thessalians are wise men; this, then, was the primary reason for their precaution long before when they changed to a better mind, for they perceived that their country would be easily and speedily conquerable. It would only have been necessary to let the river out over their land by barring the channel with a dam and to turn it from its present bed so that the whole of Thessaly, with the exception of the mountains, might be under water." This he said with regard in particular to the sons of Aleues, the Thessalians who were the first Greeks to surrender themselves to the king. Xerxes supposed that when they offered him friendship they spoke for the whole of their nation. After delivering this speech and seeing what he had come to see, he sailed back to Therma.

131 1 ὁ μὲν δὴ περὶ Πιερίην διέτριβε ἡμέρας συχνάς· τὸ γὰρ δὴ ὄρος τὸ Μακεδονικὸν ἔκειρε τῆς στρατιῆς τριτημορίς, ἵνα ταύτῃ διεξίη ἅπανσα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐς Περρραιβούς. οἱ δὲ δὴ κήρυκες οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν ἀπίκατο οἱ μὲν κεινοί, οἱ δὲ φέροντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ.

131. Xerxes stayed for many days in the region of Pieria while a third part of his army was clearing a road over the Macedonian mountains so that the whole army might pass by that way to the Perrhaebian country. Now it was that the heralds who had been sent to Hellas to demand earth, some empty-handed, some bearing earth and water, returned.

132 1 τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγένοντο οἶδε, Θεσσαλοὶ Δόλοπες Ἐνιῆνες Περρῆαιβοὶ Λοκροὶ Μάγνητες Μηλιέες Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιωταὶ καὶ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλην Θεσπιέων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων. 2 ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔταμον ὄρκιον οἱ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον ἀειράμενοι· τὸ δὲ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε, ὅσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἕλληνες ἐόντες μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, καταστάντων σφι εὖ τῶν πρηγμάτων, τούτους δεκατεῦσαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ. τὸ μὲν δὴ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι.

132. Among those who paid that tribute were the Thessalians, Dolopes, Enienes, Perrhaebians, Locrians, Magnesians, Melians, Achaeans of Phthia, Thebans, and all the Boeotians except the men of Thespieae and Plataea. Against all of these the Greeks who declared war with the foreigner entered into a sworn agreement, which was this: that if they should be victorious, they would dedicate to the god of Delphi the possessions of all Greeks who had of free will surrendered themselves to the Persians. Such was the agreement sworn by the Greeks.

133 1 ἐς δὲ Ἀθήνας καὶ Σπάρτην οὐκ ἀπέπεμψε Ξέρξης ἐπὶ γῆς αἵτησιν κήρυκας τῶνδε εἵνεκα· πρότερον Δαρείου πέμπσαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτέοντας ἐς τὸ βάραθρον οἱ δ' ἐς φρέαρ ἐμβαλόντες ἐκέλευον γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τούτων φέρειν παρὰ βασιλέα. 2 τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα οὐκ ἔπεμψε Ξέρξης τοὺς αἰτήσοντας· ὃ τι δὲ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις ταῦτα ποιήσασι τοὺς κήρυκας συνήνεικε ἀνεθέλητον γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπαί τι, πλην ὅτι σφέων ἡ χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδηιώθη. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην δοκέω γενέσθαι.

133. To Athens and Sparta Xerxes sent no heralds to demand earth, and this he did for the following reason. When Darius had previously sent men with this same purpose, those who made the request were cast at the one city into the Pit and at the other into a well, and bidden to obtain their earth and water for the king from these locations. What calamity befell the Athenians for dealing in this way with the heralds I cannot say, save that their land and their city were laid waste. I think, however, that there was another reason for this, and not the aforesaid.

134 1 τοῖσι δὲ ὧν Λακεδαιμονίοις μῆνις κατέσκηψε Ταλθυβίου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κήρυκος. ἐν γὰρ Σπάρτῃ ἐστὶ Ταλθυβίου ἱρόν, εἰς

δὲ καὶ ἀπόγονοι Ταλθυβιάδαι καλεόμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ κηρυκῆαι αἱ ἐκ Σπάρτης πᾶσαι γέρας δέδονται. 2 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι καλλιεργῆσαι θυομένοισι οὐκ ἐδύνατο· τοῦτο δ' ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἦν σφι. ἀχθομένων δὲ καὶ συμφορῇ χρεωμένων Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλῆς τε πολλάκις συλλεγομένης καὶ κήρυγμα τοιόνδε ποιευμένων, εἴ τις βούλοιο Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀποθνήσκειν, Σπερθίης τε ὁ Ἀνηρίστου καὶ Βοῦλις ὁ Νικόλεω, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται φύσι τε γεγονότες εὖ καὶ χρήμασι ἀνήκοντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα, ἐβελονταὶ ὑπέδυσαν ποινὴν τῖσαι Ξέρξῃ τῶν Δαρείου κηρύκων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων. 3 οὕτω Σπαρτιῆται τούτους ὥς ἀποθανευμένους ἐς Μῆδους ἀπέπεμψαν.

134. Be that as it may, the anger of Talthybius, Agamemnon's herald, fell upon the Lacedaemonians. At Sparta there is a shrine of Talthybius and descendants of Talthybius called Talthybiadae, who have the special privilege of conducting all embassies from Sparta. Now there was a long period after the incident I have mentioned above during which the Spartans were unable to obtain good omens from sacrifice. The Lacedaemonians were grieved and dismayed by this and frequently called assemblies, making a proclamation inviting some Lacedaemonian to give his life for Sparta. Then two Spartans of noble birth and great wealth, Sperthias son of Aneristus and Bulis son of Nicolaus, undertook of their own free will to make atonement to Xerxes for Darius' heralds who had been killed at Sparta. Thereupon the Spartans sent these men to Media for execution.

135 1 αὕτη τε ἡ τόλμα τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν θώματος ἀξίη καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοισι τὰ ἔπεα. πορευόμενοι γὰρ ἐς Σοῦσα ἀπικνέονται παρὰ Ὑδάρνεα· ὁ δὲ Ὑδάρνης ἦν μὲν γένος Πέρσης, στρατηγὸς δὲ τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ· ὃς σφεας ξείνια προθέμενος ἰστία, ξεινίζων δὲ εἶρετο τάδε. 2 “ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τί δὴ φεύγετε βασιλείᾳ φίλοι γενέσθαι; ὁρᾶτε γὰρ ὥς ἐπίσταται βασιλεὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τιμᾶν, ἐς ἐμέ τε καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πρήγματα ἀποβλέποντες. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς εἰ δοίητε ὑμέας αὐτοῦς βασιλείᾳ, δεδόξωσθε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄνδρες εἶναι ἀγαθοί, ἕκαστος ἂν ὑμέων ἄρχοι γῆς Ἑλλάδος δόντος βασιλέως”. 3 πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. “Ὑδαρνες, οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου γίνεται ἡ συμβουλίη ἢ ἐς ἡμέας τείνουσα. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ πεπειρημένος συμβουλευεῖς, τοῦ δὲ ἄπειρος

έών· τὸ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος εἶναι ἐξέπίσται, ἐλευθερίας δὲ οὐκω ἐπειρήθης, οὐτ' εἰ ἔστι γλυκὺ οὐτ' εἰ μή. εἰ γὰρ αὐτῆς πειρήσαιο, οὐκ ἂν δόρασι συμβουλευοῖς ἡμῖν περὶ αὐτῆς μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πελέκεσι”.

135. Worthy of admiration was these men's deed of daring, and so also were their sayings. On their way to Susa, they came to Hydarnes, a Persian, who was general of the coast of Asia. He entertained and feasted them as his guests, and as they sat at his board, he asked: “Lacedaemonians, why do you shun the king's friendship? You can judge from what you see of me and my condition how well the king can honor men of worth. So might it be with you if you would but put yourselves in the king's hands, being as you are of proven worth in his eyes, and every one of you might by his commission be a ruler of Hellas.” To this the Spartans answered: “Your advice to us, Hydarnes, is not completely sound; one half of it rests on knowledge, but the other on ignorance. You know well how to be a slave, but you, who have never tasted freedom, do not know whether it is sweet or not. Were you to taste of it, not with spears you would counsel us to fight for it, no, but with axes.”

136 1 ταῦτα μὲν Ὑδάρνεα ἀμείψαντο. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς Σοῦσα καὶ βασιλεί ἐς ὅσιν ἦλθον, πρῶτα μὲν τῶν δορυφόρων κελευόντων καὶ ἀνάγκην σφὶ προσφερόντων προσκυνεῖν βασιλέα προσπίπτοντας, οὐκ ἔφασαν ὠθεόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ποιήσιν ταῦτα οὐδαμά· οὔτε γὰρ σφίσι ἐν νόμῳ εἶναι ἄνθρωπον προσκυνεῖν οὔτε κατὰ ταῦτα ἤκειν. ὥς δὲ ἀπεμαχέσαντο τοῦτο, δευτέρᾳ σφὶ λέγουσι τάδε καὶ λόγου τοιοῦδε ἐχόμενα 2 “ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων κηρύκων ποινὴν ἐκείνων τίσοντας”, λέγουσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ταῦτα Ξέρξης ὑπὸ μεγαλοφροσύνης οὐκ ἔφη ὅμοιος ἔσεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι· κείνους μὲν γὰρ συγχέαι τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμιμα ἀποκτείναντας κήρυκας, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ ἐκείνοισι ἐπιπλήσσει ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσιν, οὐδὲ ἀνταποκτείνας ἐκείνους ἀπολύσειν Λακεδαιμονίους τῆς αἰτίας.

136. This was their answer to Hydarnes. From there they came to Susa, into the king's presence, and when the guards commanded and

would have compelled them to fall down and bow to the king, they said they would never do that. This they would refuse even if they were thrust down headlong, for it was not their custom, said they, to bow to mortal men, nor was that the purpose of their coming. Having averted that, they next said, “The Lacedaemonians have sent us, O king of the Medes, in requital for the slaying of your heralds at Sparta, to make atonement for their death,” and more to that effect. To this Xerxes, with great magnanimity, replied that he would not imitate the Lacedaemonians. “You,” said he, “made havoc of all human law by slaying heralds, but I will not do that for which I censure you, nor by putting you in turn to death will I set the Lacedaemonians free from this guilt.”

137 1 οὕτω ἡ Ταλθυβίου μῆνις καὶ ταῦτα ποιησάντων Σπαρτιητέων ἐπαύσατο τὸ παραυτίκα, καίπερ ἀπονοοστησάντων ἐς Σπάρτην Σπερθιέω τε καὶ Βούλιος. χρόνῳ δὲ μετέπειτα πολλῶ ἐπηγέρθη κατὰ τὸν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων πόλεμον, ὡς λέγουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι. τοῦτο μοι ἐν τοῖσι θειότατον φαίνεται γενέσθαι. 2 ὅτι μὲν γὰρ κατέσκηψε ἐς ἀγγέλους ἡ Ταλθυβίου μῆνις οὐδὲ ἐπαύσατο πρὶν ἢ ἐξῆλθε, τὸ δίκαιον οὕτω ἔφερε· τὸ δὲ συμπεσεῖν ἐς τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων τῶν ἀναβάντων πρὸς βασιλέα διὰ τὴν μῆνιν, ἐς Νικόλαν τε τὸν Βούλιος καὶ ἐς Ἀνήριστον τὸν Σπερθιέω, ὃς εἶλε Ἀλιέας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος ὀλκάδι καταπλώσας πλήρεϊ ἀνδρῶν, δῆλον ὦν μοι ὅτι θεῖον ἐγένετο τὸ πρῆγμα ἐκ τῆς μήνιος· 3 οἱ γὰρ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄγγελοι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, προδοθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Σιτάλκεω τοῦ Τήρεω Θρηίκων βασιλέος καὶ Νυμφοδώρου τοῦ Πύθεω ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω, ἥλωσαν κατὰ Βισάνθην τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, καὶ ἀπαχθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπέθανον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, μετὰ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀδειμάντου Κορίνθιος ἀνὴρ. ταῦτα μὲν νυν πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον ἐγένετο τοῦ βασιλέος στόλου, ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.

137. This conduct on the part of the Spartans succeeded for a time in allaying the anger of Talthybius, in spite of the fact that Sperthias and Bulis returned to Sparta. Long after that, however, it rose up again in the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians, as the Lacedaemonians say. That seems to me to be an indication of something divine. It was just that the wrath of Talthybius descended

on ambassadors, nor abated until it was satisfied. The venting of it, however, on the sons of those men who went up to the king to appease it, namely on Nicolas son of Bulis and Aneristus son of Sperthias (that Aneristus who landed a merchant ships crew at the Tirynthian settlement of Halia and took it), makes it plain to me that this was the divine result of Talthybius' anger. These two had been sent by the Lacedaemonians as ambassadors to Asia, and betrayed by the Thracian king Sitalces son of Tereus and Nymphodorus son of Pytheas of Abdera, they were made captive at Bisanthe on the Hellespont, and carried away to Attica, where the Athenians put them, and with them Aristetas son of Adimantus, a Corinthian, to death. This happened many years after the king's expedition, and I return now to the course of my history.

138 1 ἡ δὲ στρατηλασίῃ ἡ βασιλέος οὖνομα μὲν εἶχε ὥς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, κατίετο δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ οἱ Ἕλληνες οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ πάντες ἐποיעῦντο. 2 οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν δόντες γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἶχον θάρσος ὥς οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρου· οἱ δὲ οὐ δόντες ἐν δείματι μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν, ἅτε οὔτε νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀριθμὸν ἀξιωμαχῶν δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα, οὔτε βουλομένων τῶν πολλῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μηδίζόντων δὲ προθύμως.

138. The professed intent of the king's march was to attack Athens, but in truth all Hellas was his aim. This the Greeks had long since learned, but not all of them regarded the matter alike. Those of them who had paid the tribute of earth and water to the Persian were of good courage, thinking that the foreigner would do them no harm, but they who had refused tribute were afraid, since there were not enough ships in Hellas to do battle with their invader; furthermore, the greater part of them had no stomach for grappling with the war, but were making haste to side with the Persian.

139 1 ἐνθαῦτα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι γνώμῃν ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπίφθονον μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων, ὅμως δὲ τῇ γέ μοι φαίνεται εἶναι ἀληθὲς οὐκ ἐπισχῆσω. 2 εἰ Ἀθηναῖοι καταρρώδησαντες τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον ἐξέλιπον τὴν σφετέρην, ἥ καὶ μὴ ἐκλιπόντες ἀλλὰ μείναντες ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδαμοὶ ἂν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιούμενοι βασιλεί. εἰ τοίνυν

κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν μηδεὶς ἦντιοῦτο Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ γε ἂν τὴν ἡπειρον τοιάδε ἐγίνετο· 3 εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ τειχέων κιθῶνες ἦσαν ἐληλαμένοι διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ Πελοποννησίοισι, προδοθέντες ἂν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἐκόντων ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης, κατὰ πόλιν ἀλίσκομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἐμουνώθησαν, μουνωθέντες δὲ ἂν καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα ἀπέθανον γενναίως. 4 ἢ ταῦτα ἂν ἔπαθον, ἢ πρὸ τοῦ ὀρῶντες ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας μηδίζοντας ὁμολογίῃ ἂν ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς Ξέρξην. καὶ οὕτω ἂν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω ἢ Ἑλλάς ἐγίνετο ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. τὴν γὰρ ὠφελὴν τὴν τῶν τειχέων τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένων οὐ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι ἥτις ἂν ἦν, βασιλέος ἐπικρατέοντος τῆς θαλάσσης. 5 νῦν δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἂν τις λέγων σωτήρας γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι τὸ ἀληθές. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ ὁκότερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐτράποντο, ταῦτα ῥέψειν ἔμελλε· ἐλόμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθέρην, τοῦτο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πᾶν τὸ λοιπόν, ὅσον μὴ ἐμήδισε, αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγείραντες καὶ βασιλέα μετὰ γε θεοὺς ἀνωσάμενοι. 6 οὐδὲ σφέας χρηστήρια φοβερὰ ἐλθόντα ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἐς δεῖμα βαλόντα ἔπεισε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες ἀνέσχοντο τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν δέξασθαι.

139. Here I am forced to declare an opinion which will be displeasing to most, but I will not refrain from saying what seems to me to be true. Had the Athenians been panic-struck by the threatened peril and left their own country, or had they not indeed left it but remained and surrendered themselves to Xerxes, none would have attempted to withstand the king by sea. What would have happened on land if no one had resisted the king by sea is easy enough to determine. Although the Peloponnesians had built not one but many walls across the Isthmus for their defense, they would nevertheless have been deserted by their allies (these having no choice or free will in the matter, but seeing their cities taken one by one by the foreign fleet), until at last they would have stood alone. They would then have put up quite a fight and perished nobly. Such would have been their fate. Perhaps, however, when they saw the rest of Hellas siding with the enemy, they would have made terms with Xerxes. In either case Hellas would have been subdued by the Persians, for I cannot see what advantage could accrue from the walls built across the

isthmus, while the king was master of the seas. As it is, to say that the Athenians were the saviors of Hellas is to hit the truth. It was the Athenians who held the balance; whichever side they joined was sure to prevail. choosing that Greece should preserve her freedom, the Athenians roused to battle the other Greek states which had not yet gone over to the Persians and, after the gods, were responsible for driving the king off. Nor were they moved to desert Hellas by the threatening oracles which came from Delphi and sorely dismayed them, but they stood firm and had the courage to meet the invader of their country.

140 1 πέμπαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους χρηστηριάζεσθαι ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι· καὶ σφι ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα, ὥς ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐσελθόντες ἴζοντο, χρᾶ ἢ Πυθίῃ, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀριστονίκη, τάδε. 2 ὦ μέλαιοι, τί κάθησθε; λιπὼν φεῦγ' ἔσχατα γαίης δώματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος ἄκρα κάρηνα. οὔτε γὰρ ἢ κεφαλὴ μένει ἔμπεδον οὔτε τὸ σῶμα, οὔτε πόδες νέατοι οὔτ' ὦν χέρεις, οὔτε τι μέσσης λείπεται, ἀλλ' ἄζηλα πέλει· κατὰ γάρ μιν ἐρείπει πῦρ τε καὶ ὄξὺς Ἄρης, Συριηγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων. 3 πολλὰ δὲ κᾶλλ' ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα κοῦ τὸ σὸν οἶον, πολλοὺς δ' ἀθανάτων νηοὺς μαλερῶ πυρὶ δώσει, οἳ που νῦν ἰδρῶτι ρεοῦμενοι ἐστήκασι, δείματι παλλόμενοι, κατὰ δ' ἀκροτάτοις ὀρόφοισι αἶμα μέλαν κέχυται, προῖδὸν κακότητος ἀνάγκας. ἀλλ' ἴτον ἐξ ἀδύτοιο, κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν.

140. The Athenians had sent messages to Delphi asking that an oracle be given them, and when they had performed all due rites at the temple and sat down in the inner hall, the priestess, whose name was Aristonice, gave them this answer: "Wretches, why do you linger here? Rather flee from your houses and city, Flee to the ends of the earth from the circle embattled of Athens! The head will not remain in its place, nor in the body, Nor the feet beneath, nor the hands, nor the parts between; But all is ruined, for fire and the headlong god of war speeding in a Syrian chariot will bring you low. " "Many a fortress too, not yours alone, will he shatter; Many a shrine of the gods will he give to the flame for devouring; Sweating for fear they stand, and quaking for dread of the enemy, Running with gore are their roofs, foreseeing the stress of their sorrow;

Therefore I bid you depart from the sanctuary. Have courage to lighten your evil. “

141 1 ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεοπρόποι συμφορῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐχρέωντο. προβάλλουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦ κεκηρησμένου, Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου, τῶν Δελφῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὅμοια τῷ μάλιστα, συνεβούλευέ σφι ἱκετηρίην λαβοῦσι δεύτερα αὐτὶς ἐλθόντας χρᾶσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ὥς ἰκέτας. 2 πειθομένοισι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ λέγουσι “ὦναξ, χρῆσον ἡμῖν ἄμεινόν τι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, αἰδεσθεὶς τὰς ἱκετηρίας τάσδε τὰς τοι ἤκομεν φέροντες, ἢ οὐ τοι ἄπιμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ τῇδε μενέομεν ἔστ’ ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν”, ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι ἢ πρόμαντις χρᾶ δεύτερα τάδε. 3 οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δί’ Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι λισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῇ. σοὶ δὲ τόδ’ αὐτὶς ἔπος ἐρέω ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας. τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἀλίσκομένων ὅσα Κέκροπος οὖρος ἐντὸς ἔχει κευθμών τε Κιθαιρῶνος ζαθέοιο, τεῖχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς μῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ’ ὀνήσει. 4 μηδὲ σύ γ’ ἵπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεζὸν ἰόντα πολλὸν ἀπ’ ἡπείρου στρατὸν ἥσυχος, ἀλλ’ ὑποχωρεῖν νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοι ποτε κἀντίος ἔσση. ὦ θεῇ Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν ἢ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.

141. When the Athenian messengers heard that, they were very greatly dismayed, and gave themselves up for lost by reason of the evil foretold. Then Timon son of Androbulus, as notable a man as any Delphian, advised them to take boughs of supplication and in the guise of suppliants, approach the oracle a second time. The Athenians did exactly this; “Lord,” they said, “regard mercifully these suppliant boughs which we bring to you, and give us some better answer concerning our country. Otherwise we will not depart from your temple, but remain here until we die.” Thereupon the priestess gave them this second oracle: “Vainly does Pallas strive to appease great Zeus of Olympus; Words of entreaty are vain, and so too cunning counsels of wisdom. Nevertheless I will speak to you again of strength adamant. All will be taken and lost that the sacred border of Cecrops Holds in keeping today, and the dales divine of Cithaeron; Yet a wood-built wall will by Zeus all-seeing be granted To the Triton-born, a stronghold for you and your children. “

“Await not the host of horse and foot coming from Asia, Nor be still, but turn your back and withdraw from the foe. Truly a day will come when you will meet him face to face. Divine Salamis, you will bring death to women’s sons When the corn is scattered, or the harvest gathered in. “

142 1 ταῦτα σφί ἡπιώτερα γάρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐδόκεε εἶναι, συγγραψάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. ὥς δὲ ἀπελθόντες οἱ θεοπρόποι ἀπήγγελλον ἐς τὸν δῆμον, γινῶμαι καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ γίνονται διζημένων τὸ μαντήιον καὶ αἶδε συνεστηκυῖαι μάλιστα. τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔλεγον μετεξέτεροι δοκέειν σφίσι τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν χρῆσαι περιέσεσθαι. ἢ γὰρ ἀκρόπολις τὸ πάλαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ῥήχῃ ἐπέφρακτο. 2 οἱ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν συνεβάλλοντο τοῦτο τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι, οἱ δ’ αὖ ἔλεγον τὰς νέας σημαίνειν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ταύτας παραρτέεσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέντας. τοὺς ὧν δὴ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἔσφαλλε τὰ δύο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης, ᾧ θείῃ Σαλαμίς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν ἢ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης. 3 κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα συνεχέοντο αἱ γινῶμαι τῶν φαμένων τὰς νέας τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ χρησμολόγοι ταύτῃ ταῦτα ἐλάμβανον, ὥς ἀμφὶ Σαλαμίνα δεῖ σφεας ἔσωσθῆναι ναυμαχίην παρασκευασαμένους.

142. This answer seemed to be and really was more merciful than the first, and the envoys, writing it down, departed for Athens. When the messengers had left Delphi and laid the oracle before the people, there was much inquiry concerning its meaning, and among the many opinions which were uttered, two contrary ones were especially worthy of note. Some of the elder men said that the gods answer signified that the acropolis should be saved, for in old time the acropolis of Athens had been fenced by a thorn hedge, which, by their interpretation, was the wooden wall. But others supposed that the god was referring to their ships, and they were for doing nothing but equipping these. Those who believed their ships to be the wooden wall were disabled by the two last verses of the oracle: “Divine Salamis, you will bring death to women’s sons When the corn is scattered, or the harvest gathered in. “ These verses confounded the opinion of those who said that their ships were the

wooden wall, for the readers of oracles took the verses to mean that they should offer battle by sea near Salamis and be there overthrown.

143 1 ἦν δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ ἐς πρῶτους νεωστὶ παριών, τῷ οὐνομα μὲν ἦν Θεμιστοκλῆς, παῖς δὲ Νεοκλῆος ἐκαλέετο. οὗτος ὦν ἦρ οὐκ ἔφη πᾶν ὀρθῶς τοὺς χρησμολόγους συμβάλλεσθαι, λέγων τοιαύδε· εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον ἐόντως, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω μιν δοκέειν ἡπίως χρησθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ὧδε “ὦ σχετλίη Σαλαμὶς” ἀντὶ τοῦ “ὦ θεΐη Σαλαμὶς”, εἴ πέρ γε ἔμελλον οἱ οἰκήτορες ἄμφ’ αὐτῇ τελευτήσῃν· 2 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ θεῷ εἰρηῇσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὀρθόν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐς Ἀθηναίους· παρασκευάζεσθαι ὧν αὐτοὺς ὡς ναυμαχῆσοντας συνεβούλευε, ὡς τούτου ἐόντος τοῦ ξυλίνου τείχεος. 3 ταύτῃ Θεμιστοκλῆος ἀποφαινομένου Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα σφίσι ἔγνωσαν αἰρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων, οἳ οὐκ ἔων ναυμαχίην ἀρτέεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταείρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκλιπόντας χώραν τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄλλῃν τινὰ οἰκίζειν.

143. Now there was a certain Athenian, by name and title Themistocles son of Neocles, who had lately risen to be among their chief men. He claimed that the readers of oracles had incorrectly interpreted the whole of the oracle and reasoned that if the verse really pertained to the Athenians, it would have been formulated in less mild language, calling Salamis “cruel” rather than “divine “ seeing that its inhabitants were to perish. Correctly understood, the gods’ oracle was spoken not of the Athenians but of their enemies, and his advice was that they should believe their ships to be the wooden wall and so make ready to fight by sea. When Themistocles put forward this interpretation, the Athenians judged him to be a better counsellor than the readers of oracles, who would have had them prepare for no sea fight, and, in short, offer no resistance at all, but leave Attica and settle in some other country.

144 1 ἐτέρῃ τε Θεμιστοκλεί γνώμῃ ἔμπροσθε ταύτης ἐς καιρὸν ἡρίστευσε, ὅτε Ἀθηναίοισι γενομένων χρημάτων μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τὰ ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων σφι προσῆλθε τῶν ἀπὸ Λαυρείου, ἔμελλον λάξεσθαι ὀρχηδὸν ἕκαστος δέκα δραχμάς· τότε Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνέγνωσε Ἀθηναίους τῆς διαιρέσιος ταύτης παυσαμένους νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκοσίας ἐς

τὸν πόλεμον, τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων. 2 οὗτος γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος συστάς ἔσωσε ἐς τὸ τότε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀναγκάσας θαλασσίους γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους. αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μὲν ἐποιήθησαν οὐκ ἐχρήσθησαν, ἐς δέον δὲ οὕτω τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐγένοντο. αὐταὶ τε δὴ αἱ νέες τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι προποιεῖσαι ὑπῆρχον, ἐτέρας τε ἔδεε προσναυπηγέσθαι. 3 ἔδοξέ τέ σφι μετὰ τὸ χρηστήριον βουλευομένοισι ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον δέκεσθαι τῇσι νηυσὶ πανδημεῖ, τῷ θεῷ πειθομένους, ἅμα Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι.

144. The advice of Themistocles had prevailed on a previous occasion. The revenues from the mines at Laurium had brought great wealth into the Athenians' treasury, and when each man was to receive ten drachmae for his share, Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to make no such division but to use the money to build two hundred ships for the war, that is, for the war with Aegina. This was in fact the war the outbreak of which saved Hellas by compelling the Athenians to become seamen. The ships were not used for the purpose for which they were built, but later came to serve Hellas in her need. These ships, then, had been made and were already there for the Athenians' service, and now they had to build yet others. In their debate after the giving of the oracle they accordingly resolved that they would put their trust in the god and meet the foreign invader of Hellas with the whole power of their fleet, ships and men, and with all other Greeks who were so minded.

145 1 τὰ μὲν δὴ χρηστήρια ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐγεγόνεε. συλλεγομένων δὲ ἐς τούτῳ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἑλλήνων τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονούντων καὶ διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ πίστιν, ἐνθαῦτα ἐδόκεε βουλευομένοισι αὐτοῖσι πρῶτον μὲν χρημάτων πάντων καταλλάσσεσθαι τάς τε ἔχθρας καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἀλλήλους ἐόντας πολέμους· ἦσαν δὲ πρὸς τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους ἐγκεκρημένοι, ὁ δὲ ὢν μέγιστος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Αἰγινήτησι. 2 μετὰ δὲ πυνθανόμενοι Ξέρξην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐβουλεύσαντο κατασκόπους πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τῶν βασιλέος πρηγμάτων, ἐς Ἄρος τε ἀγγέλους ὁμαιχμίην συνθησομένους πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ ἐς Σικελίην ἄλλους πέμπειν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένεος ἕς τε Κέρκυραν κελεύσοντας βοηθέειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐς Κρήτην ἄλλους,

φρονήσαντες εἴ κως ἔν τε γένοιτο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ εἰ συγκύψαντες τὸντο πρήσσοιεν πάντες, ὡς δεινῶν ἐπιόντων ὁμοίως πᾶσι Ἑλλήσι. τὰ δὲ Γέλωνος πρήγματα μεγάλα ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῶν οὐ πολλὸν μέζω.

145. These oracles, then, had been given to the Athenians. All the Greeks who were concerned about the general welfare of Hellas met in conference and exchanged guarantees. They resolved in debate to make an end of all their feuds and wars against each other, whatever the cause from which they arose; among others that were in course at that time, the greatest was the war between the Athenians and the Aeginetans. Presently, learning that Xerxes was at Sardis with his army, they planned to send men into Asia to spy out the king's doings and to despatch messengers, some to Argos, who should make the Argives their brothers in arms against the Persian, some to Gelon son of Dinomenes in Sicily, some to Corcyra, praying aid for Hellas, and some to Crete. This they did in the hope that since the danger threatened all Greeks alike, all of Greek blood might unite and work jointly for one common end. Now the power of Gelon was said to be very great, surpassing by far any power in Hellas.

146 1 ὥς δὲ ταῦτα σφί ἔδοξε, καταλυσάμενοι τὰς ἔχθρας πρῶτα μὲν κατασκόπους πέμπουσι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἄνδρας τρεῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀπικόμενοί τε ἐς Ξάρδις καὶ καταμαθόντες τὴν βασιλέος στρατιήν, ὥς ἐπαίσιοι ἐγένοντο, βασανισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπήγοντο ὡς ἀπολερόμενοι. 2 καὶ τοῖσι μὲν κατεκέκριτο θάνατος, Ξέρξης δὲ ὥς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, μεμθεις τῶν στρατηγῶν τὴν γνώμην πέμπει τῶν τινὰς δορυφόρων, ἐντειλάμενος, ἣν καταλάβωσι τοὺς κατασκόπους ζῶντας, ἄγειν παρ' ἐωυτόν. 3 ὥς δὲ ἔτι περιεόντας αὐτοὺς κατέλαβον καὶ ἦγον ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέος, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν πυθόμενος ἐπ' οἷσι ἦλθον, ἐκέλευε σφέας τοὺς δορυφόρους περιάγοντας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πάντα τε τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν ἵππον, ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα θεγύμενοι ἔωσι πλήρεις, ἀποπέμπειν ἐς τὴν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐθέλωσι χώραν ἀσινέας.

146. Being so resolved and having composed their quarrels, they first sent three men as spies into Asia. These came to Sardis and took note of the king's army. They were discovered, however, and after examination by the generals of the land army, they were led away for

execution. They were condemned to die, but when Xerxes heard of it, he blamed the judgment of his generals and sent some of his guards, charging them to bring the spies before him if they should be found alive. They were found still living and brought into the king's presence; then Xerxes, having inquired of them the purpose of their coming, ordered his guards to lead them around and show them his whole army. When the spies had seen all to their heart's content, they were to send them away unharmed to whatever country they pleased.

147 1 ἐπιλέγων δὲ τὸν λόγον τόνδε ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, ὥς εἰ μὲν ἀπώλοντο οἱ κατάσκοποι, οὐτ' ἂν τὰ ἐσωτοῦ πρήγματα προεπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔοντα λόγου μέζω, οὐτ' ἂν τι τοὺς πολεμίους μέγα ἐσίναντο, ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπολέσαντες· νοστησάντων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα δοκέειν ἔφη ἀκούσαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰ ἐσωτοῦ πρήγματα πρὸ τοῦ στόλου τοῦ γινομένου παραδώσειν σφέας τὴν ἰδίην ἐλευθερίην, καὶ οὕτω οὐδὲ δεήσειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατηλατέοντας πρήγματα ἔχειν. 2 οἵκε δὲ αὐτοῦ αὕτη ἡ γνώμη τῇ γε ἄλλῃ. ἐὼν γὰρ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὁ Ξέρξης εἶδε πλοῖα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σιταγωγὰ διεκπλώνοντα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἔς τε Αἴγινα καὶ Πελοπόννησον κομιζόμενα. οἱ μὲν δὴ πάρεδροι αὐτοῦ ὥς ἐπύθοντο πολέμια εἶναι τὰ πλοῖα, ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν αἰρέειν αὐτά, ἐσβλέποντες ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ὁκότε παραγγελέει. 3 ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης εἶρετο αὐτοὺς ὅκη πλέοιεν· οἱ δὲ εἶπαν “ἐς τοὺς σοὺς πολεμίους, ὃ δέσποτα, σῖτον ἄγοντες”. ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη “οὐκὼν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πλέομεν ἔνθα περ οὗτοι, τοῖσι τε ἄλλοισι ἐξηρτυμένοι καὶ σίτω; τί δῆτα ἀδικέουσι οὗτοι ἡμῖν σιτία παρακομίζοντες;”

147. The reason alleged for his command was this: had the spies been put to death, the Greeks would not so soon have learned the unspeakable greatness of his power, and the Persians would have done their enemy no great harm by putting three men to death. Xerxes said that if they should return to Hellas, the Greeks would hear of his power and would surrender their peculiar freedom before the expedition with the result that there would be no need to march against them. This was like that other saying of Xerxes when he was at Abydos and saw ships laden with corn sailing out of the Pontus through the Hellespont on their way to Aegina and the Peloponnese. His counsellors, perceiving that they were enemy ships, were for

taking them, and looked to the king for orders to do so. Xerxes, however, asked them where the ships were sailing, and they answered: "To your enemies, Sire, carrying corn." Xerxes then answered, "And are not we too sailing to the same places as they, with corn among all our other provisions? What wrong are they doing us in carrying food there?"

148 1 οἱ μὲν νυν κατάσκοποι οὕτω θεησάμενοί τε καὶ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐνόστησαν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, οἱ δὲ συνωμόται Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόπεμψιν τῶν κατασκόπων δεύτερα ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἄργος ἀγγέλους. 2 Ἀργεῖοι δὲ λέγουσι τὰ κατ' ἐωυτοὺς γενέσθαι ὧδε. πυθέσθαι γὰρ αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐγειρόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πυθόμενοι δέ, καὶ μαθόντες ὥς σφέας οἱ Ἕλληνες πειρήσονται παραλαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσῃν, πέμψαι θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους ὥς σφι μέλλει ἄριστον ποιεῖν γενέσθαι· νεωστὶ γὰρ σφέων τεθνάναι ἐξακισχιλίους ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Κλεομένους τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδου· τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα πέμπειν. 3 τὴν δὲ Πυθίην ἐπειρωτῶσι αὐτοῖσι ἀνελεῖν τάδε. ἐχθρὲ περικτιόνεσσι, φίλ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν, εἴσω τὸν προβόλαιον ἔχων πεφυλαγμένος ἥσο καὶ κεφαλὴν πεφύλαξο· κάρη δὲ τὸ σῶμα σαώσει. ταῦτα μὲν τὴν Πυθίην χρῆσαι πρότερον· μετὰ δὲ ὥς ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος, ἐπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ λέγειν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. 4 τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα ὑποκρίνασθαι ὥς ἔτοιμοι εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα, τριήκοντα ἔτεα εἰρήνην σπεισάμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ ἡγεόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ πάσης τῆς συμμαχίης. καίτοι κατὰ γε τὸ δίκαιον γίνεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἐωυτῶν· ἀλλ' ὅμως σφίσι ἀποχρᾶν κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ ἡγεομένοισι.

148. So the spies were sent back after they had seen all and returned to Europe. After sending the spies, those of the Greeks who had sworn alliance against the Persian next sent messengers to Argos. Now this is what the Argives say of their own part in the matter. They were informed from the first that the foreigner was stirring up war against Hellas. When they learned that the Greeks would attempt to gain their aid against the Persian, they sent messengers to Delphi to inquire of the god how it would be best for them to act, for six thousand of them had been lately slain by a

Lacedaemonian army and Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides its general. For this reason, they said, the messengers were sent. The priestess gave this answer to their question: “Hated by your neighbors, dear to the immortals, Crouch with a lance in rest, like a warrior fenced in his armor, Guarding your head from the blow, and the head will shelter the body.” This answer had already been uttered by the priestess when the envoys arrived in Argos and entered the council chamber to speak as they were charged. Then the Argives answered to what had been said that they would do as was asked of them if they might first make a thirty years peace with Lacedaemonia and if the command of half the allied power were theirs. It was their right to have the full command, but they would nevertheless be content with half.

149 1 ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι τὴν βουλὴν ὑποκρίνασθαι, καίπερ ἀπαγορεύοντός σφι τοῦ χρηστηρίου μὴ ποιέεσθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας συμμαχίην· σπουδὴν δὲ ἔχειν σπονδὰς γενέσθαι τριηκοντοῦτιδας καίπερ τὸ χρηστήριον φοβεόμενοι, ἵνα δὴ σφι οἱ παῖδες ἀνδρωθῶσι ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἔτεσι· μὴ δὲ σπονδῶν ἐουσέων ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ἣν ἄρα σφέας καταλάβῃ πρὸς τῷ γεγονότι κακῷ ἄλλο παῖσμα πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἕωσι Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπήκοοι. 2 τῶν δὲ ἀγγέλων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης πρὸς τὰ ρηθέντα ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσιδε· περὶ μὲν σπονδῶν ἀνοίσειν ἐς τοὺς πλεῦνας, περὶ δὲ ἡγεμονίης αὐτοῖσι ἐντετάλλθαι ὑποκρίνασθαι, καὶ δὴ λέγειν, σφίσι μὲν εἶναι δύο βασιλέας, Ἀργείοισι δὲ ἓνα· οὐκ ὄντως δυνατόν εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης οὐδέτερον παῦσαι τῆς ἡγεμονίης, μετὰ δὲ δύο τῶν σφετέρων ὁμόψηφον τὸν Ἀργεῖον εἶναι κωλύειν οὐδέν. 3 οὕτω δὲ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι φασὶ οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν Σπαρτιητέων τὴν πλεονεξίην, ἀλλ’ ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχεσθαι ἢ τι ὑπεῖξαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, προειπεῖν τε τοῖσι ἀγγέλοις πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀργείων χώρας, εἰ δὲ μὴ, περιέψεσθαι ὡς πολεμίους.

149. This, they say, was the answer of their council, although the oracle forbade them to make the alliance with the Greeks; furthermore, they, despite their fear of the oracle, were eager to secure a thirty years treaty so that their children might have time in those years to grow to be men. If there were to be no such treaty —

so they reasoned — then, if after the evil that had befallen them the Persian should deal them yet another blow, it was to be feared that they would be at the Lacedaemonians' mercy. Then those of the envoys who were Spartans replied to the demands of the council, saying that they would refer the question of the truce to their own government at home; as for the command, however, they themselves had been commissioned to say that the Spartans had two kings, and the Argives but one. Now it was impossible to deprive either Spartan of his command, but there was nothing to prevent the Argive from having the same right of voting as their two had. At that, say the Argives, they decided that the Spartans' covetousness was past all bearing and that it was better to be ruled by the foreigners than give way to the Lacedaemonians. They then bade the envoys depart from the land of Argos before sunset, for they would otherwise be treated as enemies.

150 1 αὐτοὶ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι τοσαῦτα τούτων περὶ λέγουσι· ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος λόγος λεγόμενος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς Ξέρξης ἔπεμψε κήρυκα ἐς Ἄργος πρότερον ἢ περ ὀρμῆσαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· 2 ἐλθόντα δὲ τοῦτον λέγεται εἰπεῖν “ἄνδρες Ἀργεῖοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τάδε ὑμῖν λέγει. ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν Πέρσῃν εἶναι ἀπ’ οὗ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν παῖδα Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Κηφέος θυγατρὸς Ἀνδρομέδης. οὕτω ἂν ὧν εἶημεν ὑμέτεροι ἀπόγονοι. οὔτε ὧν ἡμέας οἶκος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους στρατεύεσθαι, οὔτε ὑμέας ἄλλοισι τιμωρέοντας ἡμῖν ἀντιξόους γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ παρ’ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖσι ἡσυχίην ἔχοντας κατῆσθαι. ἦν γὰρ ἐμοὶ γένηται κατὰ νόον, οὐδαμῶς μέζονας ὑμέων ἄξω”. 3 ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας Ἀργεῖους λέγεται πρῆγμα ποιήσασθαι, καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελιομένους μεταίτεειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας παραλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὕτω δὴ ἐπισταμένους ὅτι οὐ μεταδώσουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς Λακεδαιμόνιοι μεταίτεειν, ἵνα ἐπὶ προφάσιος ἡσυχίην ἄγωσι.

150. Such is the Argives' account of this matter, but there is another story told in Hellas, namely that before Xerxes set forth on his march against Hellas, he sent a herald to Argos, who said on his coming (so the story goes), "Men of Argos, this is the message to you from King Xerxes. Perses our forefather had, as we believe, Perseus son of Danae for his father, and Andromeda daughter of Cepheus for his mother; if that is so, then we are descended from your nation. In all right and reason we should therefore neither march against the land of our forefathers, nor should you become our enemies by aiding others or do anything but abide by yourselves in peace. If all goes as I desire, I will hold none in higher esteem than you." The Argives were strongly moved when they heard this, and although they made no promise immediately and demanded no share, they later, when the Greeks were trying to obtain their support, did make the claim, because they knew that the Lacedaemonians would refuse to grant it, and that they would thus have an excuse for taking no part in the war.

151 1 συμπεσεῖν δὲ τούτοις καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον λέγουσι τινὲς Ἑλλήνων πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον γενόμενον τούτων. τυχεῖν ἐν Σούσοις τοῖσι Μεμνονίοις ἐόντας ἑτέρου πρήγματος εἵνεκα ἀγγέλους Ἀθηναίων Καλλίην τε τὸν Ἴππονίκου καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτου ἀναβάντας, Ἀργεῖους δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον πέμψαντας καὶ τούτους ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγέλους εἰρωτᾶν Ἀρτοξέρξεα τὸν Ξέρξεω εἴ σφι ἔτι ἐμμένει ἐθέλουσι τὴν πρὸς Ξέρξην φιλίην συνεκεράσαντο, ἣ νομιζοίατο πρὸς αὐτοῦ εἶναι πολέμιοι· βασιλέα δὲ Ἀρτοξέρξεα μάλιστα ἐμμένειν φάναι, καὶ οὐδεμίαν νομίζειν πόλιν Ἄργεος φιλιωτέραν.

151. This is borne out, some of the Greeks say, by the tale of a thing which happened many years afterwards. It happened that while Athenian envoys, Callias son of Hipponicus, and the rest who had come up with him, were at Susa, called the Memnonian, about some other business, the Argives also had at this same time sent envoys to Susa, asking of Xerxes' son Artoxerxes whether the friendship which they had forged with Xerxes still held good, as they desired, or whether he considered them as his enemies. Artoxerxes responded to this that it did indeed hold good and that he believed no city to be a

better friend to him than Argos.”

152 1 εἰ μὲν νυν Ξέρξης τε ἀπέπεμψε ταῦτα λέγοντα κήρυκα ἐς Ἄργος καὶ Ἀργείων ἄγγελοι ἀναβάντες ἐς Σοῦσα ἐπειρώτων Ἀρτοξέρξεα περὶ φιλίης, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, οὐδέ τινα γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφαίνομαι ἄλλην γε ἢ τὴν περ αὐτοὶ Ἀργεῖοι λέγουσι· 2 ἐπίσταμαι δὲ τοσοῦτο ὅτι εἰ πάντες ἄνθρωποι τὰ οἰκία κακὰ ἐς μέσον συνενεΐκαιεν ἀλλάξασθαι βουλόμενοι τοῖσι πλησίοισι, ἐγκύψαντες ἂν ἐς τὰ τῶν πέλας κακὰ ἀσπασίως ἕκαστοι αὐτῶν ἀποφεροίατο ὀπίσω τὰ ἐσενεικαίατο. 3 οὕτω δὲ οὐδ’ Ἀργείοισι αἰσχιστα πεποίηται. ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γε μὲν οὐ παντάπασι ὀφείλω, καί μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα λόγον· ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα λέγεται, ὥς ἄρα Ἀργεῖοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐπειδὴ σφι πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κακῶς ἡ αἰχμὴ ἐστήκεε, πᾶν δὴ βουλόμενοι σφίσι εἶναι πρὸ τῆς παρεούσης λύτης.

152. Now, whether it is true that Xerxes sent a herald with such a message to Argos, and that the Argive envoys came up to Susa and questioned Artoxerxes about their friendship, I cannot say with exactness, nor do I now declare that I consider anything true except what the Argives themselves say. This, however, I know full well, namely if all men should carry their own private troubles to market for barter with their neighbors, there would not be a single one who, when he had looked into the troubles of other men, would not be glad to carry home again what he had brought. The conduct of the Argives was accordingly not utterly shameful. As for myself, although it is my business to set down that which is told me, to believe it is none at all of my business. This I ask the reader to hold true for the whole of my history, for there is another tale current, according to which it would seem that it was the Argives who invited the Persian into Hellas, because the war with the Lacedaemonians was going badly, and they would prefer anything to their present distresses.

153 1 τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀργείων εἴρηται· ἐς δὲ τὴν Σικελίην ἄλλοι τε ἀπίκατο ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων συμμίζοντες Γέλωνι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων Σύαγρος. τοῦ δὲ Γέλωνος τούτου πρόγονος, οἰκῆτωρ ὁ ἐν Γέλῃ, ἦν ἐκ νήσου Τήλου τῆς ἐπὶ Τριοπίῳ κειμένης· ὃς κτιζομένης Γέλης ὑπὸ Λινδίων τε τῶν ἐκ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀντιφήμου οὐκ

ἐλείφθη. 2 ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀπόγονοι γενόμενοι ἱροφάνται τῶν χθονίων θεῶν διετέλεον ἐόντες, Τηλίνεω ἐνός τευ τῶν προγόνων κτησαμένου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐς Μακτώριον πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ Γέλης οἰκημένην ἔφυγον ἄνδρες Γελῶν στάσι ἐσσωθέντες· 3 τούτους ὦν ὁ Τηλίνης κατήγαγε ἐς Γέλην, ἔχων οὐδεμίαν ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν ἀλλὰ ἰρὰ τούτων τῶν θεῶν· ὅθεν δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε ἢ αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο, τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· τούτοισι δ' ὦν πίσυνος ἐὼν κατήγαγε, ἐπ' ᾧ τε οἱ ἀπόγονοι αὐτοῦ ἱροφάνται τῶν θεῶν ἔσονται. 4 θῶμά μοι ὦν καὶ τοῦτο γέγονε πρὸς τὰ πυνθάνομαι, κατεργάσασθαι Τηλίνην ἔργον τοσοῦτον· τὰ τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἔργα οὐ πρὸς τοῦ ἅπαντος ἀνδρὸς νενόμικα γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ψυχῆς τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ ῥώμης ἀνδρηϊκής· ὁ δὲ λέγεται πρὸς τῆς Σικελίης τῶν οἰκητόρων τὰ ὑπεναντία τούτων πεφυκέναι θηλυδρίας τε καὶ μαλακώτερος ἀνὴρ.

153. Such is the end of the story of the Argives. As for Sicily, envoys were sent there by the allies to hold converse with Gelon, Syagrus from Lacedaemon among them. The ancestor of this Gelon, who settled at Gela, was from the island of Telos which lies off Triopium. When the founding of Gela by Antiphemus and the Lindians of Rhodes was happening, he would not be left behind. His descendants in time became and continue to be priests of the goddesses of the underworld; this office had been won, as I will show, by Telines, one of their forefathers. There were certain Geloans who had been worsted in party strife and had been banished to the town of Mactorium, inland of Gela. These men Telines brought to Gela with no force of men but only the holy instruments of the goddesses worship to aid him. From where he got these, and whether or not they were his own invention, I cannot say; however that may be, it was in reliance upon them that he restored the exiles, on the condition that his descendants should be ministering priests of the goddesses. Now it makes me marvel that Telines should have achieved such a feat, for I have always supposed that such feats cannot be performed by any man but only by such as have a stout heart and manly strength. Telines, however, is reported by the dwellers in Sicily to have had a soft and effeminate disposition.

154 1 οὗτος μὲν νυν ἐκτήσατο τοῦτο τὸ γέρας· Κλεάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Παντάρεος τελευτήσαντος τὸν βίον, ὃς ἐτυράννευσε μὲν Γέλης ἐπτα

ἔτεα, ἀπέθανε δὲ ὑπὸ Σαβύλλου ἀνδρὸς Γελῶν, ἐνθαῦτα ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν μουναρχίην Ἴπποκράτης Κλεάνδρου ἐὼν ἀδελφεός. ἔχοντος δὲ Ἴπποκράτεος τὴν τυραννίδα, ὁ Γέλων ἐὼν Τηλίνεω τοῦ ἱροφάντεω ἀπόγονος, πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων καὶ Αἰνησιδήμου τοῦ Παταΐκου... ὃς ἦν δορυφόρος Ἴπποκράτεος. 2 μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον δι' ἀρετὴν ἀπεδέχθη πάσης τῆς ἵππου εἶναι ἵππαρχος· πολιορκέοντος γὰρ Ἴπποκράτεος Καλλιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίους καὶ Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ Λεοντίνους καὶ πρὸς Συρηκοσίους τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων συχνούς, ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι πολέμοις ἐὼν ὁ Γέλων λαμπρότατος. τῶν δὲ εἶπον πολίων τουτέων πλὴν Συρηκουσέων οὐδεμία διέφυγε δουλοσύνην πρὸς Ἴπποκράτεος· 3 Συρηκοσίους δὲ Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Κερκυραῖοι ἐρρύσαντο μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντας ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ἐλώρῳ, ἐρρύσαντο δὲ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοῖσιδε καταλλάξαντες, ἐπ' ᾧ τε Ἴπποκράτῃ Καμάριναν Συρηκοσίους παραδοῦναι. Συρηκοσίων δὲ ἦν Καμάρινα τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

154. At the death of Cleandrus son of Pantares, who had been tyrant of Gela for seven years, and had been slain by a man of that city named Sabyllus, the sovereignty passed to Cleandrus' brother Hippocrates. While Hippocrates was tyrant, Gelon, a descendant of the ministering priest Telines, was one of Hippocrates' guard, as were Aenesidemus son of Pataecus and many others. In no long time he was appointed for his worth to be captain of the entire cavalry, for his performance had been preeminent while he served under Hippocrates in the assaults against Callipolis, Naxos, Zancle, Leontini, Syracuse, and many other of the foreigners' towns. None of these cities, with the exception of Syracuse, escaped enslavement by Hippocrates; the Syracusans were defeated in battle on the river Elorus. They were, however, rescued by the Corinthians and Corcyraeans, who made a peace for them on the condition that the Syracusans should deliver up to Hippocrates Camarina, which had formerly been theirs.

155 1 ὥς δὲ καὶ Ἴπποκράτεια τυραννεύσαντα ἴσα ἔτεα τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Κλεάνδρῳ κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν πρὸς πόλιν Ὑβλῆ στρατευσάμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς Σικελούς, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Γέλων τῷ λόγῳ τιμωρέων τοῖσι Ἴπποκράτεος παισὶ Εὐκλείδῃ τε καὶ Κλεάνδρῳ, οὐ βουλομένων τῶν πολιητέων κατηκόων ἔτι εἶναι, τῷ ἔργῳ, ὥς ἐπεκράτησε μάχῃ τῶν

Γελῶν, ἤρχε αὐτὸς ἀποστερήσας τοὺς Ἱπποκράτεος παῖδας. 2 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ εὖρημα τοὺς γαμόρους καλεομένους τῶν Συρηκοσίων ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν σφετέρων δούλων, καλεομένων δὲ Κυλλυρίων, ὁ Γέλων καταγαγὼν τούτους ἐκ Κασμένης πόλιος ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἔσχε καὶ ταύτας· ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Συρηκοσίων ἐπιόντι Γέλωνι παραδιδοῖ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐωυτόν.

155. When Hippocrates, too, after reigning the same number of years as his brother Cleandrus, came to his end near the town of Hybla — from where he had marched against the Sicels — then Gelon made a pretence of serving the cause of Hippocrates' sons Euclides and Cleandrus, whose rule the citizens would no longer bear. When he had defeated the men of Gela, however, he deposed the sons of Hippocrates and held sway himself. After this stroke of good fortune, Gelon brought back from the town of Casmene to Syracuse both the so-called landed gentry of Syracuse, who had been driven into exile by the common people, and their slaves, the Cyllyrians. He then took possession of that city also, for the Syracusan common people surrendered themselves and it to Gelon at his coming.

156 1 ὁ δὲ ἐπεῖτε παρέλαβε τὰς Συρηκούσας, Γέλως μὲν ἐπικρατέων λόγον ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο, ἐπιτρέψας αὐτὴν Ἰέρωνι ἀδελφεῷ ἐωυτοῦ, ὁ δὲ τὰς Συρηκούσας ἐκράτυνε, καὶ ἦσάν οἱ πάντα αἱ Συρήκουσαι· 2 αἱ δὲ παραντίκα ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον καὶ ἔβλαστον. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Καμαριναίους ἅπαντας ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀγαγὼν πολιήτας ἐποίησε, Καμαρίνης δὲ τὸ ἄστυ κατέσκαψε, τοῦτο δὲ Γελῶν ὑπερημίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν τούτων τοῖσι Καμαριναίοισι ἐποίησε· Μεγαρέας τε τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ, ὡς πολιορκεόμενοι ἐς ὁμολογίην προσεχώρησαν, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν παχέας, ἀειραμένους τε πόλεμον αὐτῷ καὶ προσδοκῶντας ἀπολέεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο, ἀγαγὼν ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας πολιήτας ἐποίησε· τὸν δὲ δῆμον τῶν Μεγαρέων οὐκ ἐόντα μεταίτιον τοῦ πολέμου τούτου οὐδὲ προσδεκόμενον κακὸν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι, ἀγαγὼν καὶ τούτους ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀπέδοτο ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ ἐκ Σικελίης. 3 τούτων δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Εὐβοέας τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ ἐποίησε διακρίνας. ἐποίηε δὲ ταῦτα τούτους ἀμφοτέρους νομίσας δῆμον εἶναι συνοίκημα ἀχαριτώτατον.

156. When he had made Syracuse his own, he took less account of

his rule over Gela, which he gave in charge to his brother Hiero; over Syracuse he reigned, and all his care was for Syracuse. Straightway that city grew and became great, for not only did Gelon bring all the people of Camarina to Syracuse and give them its citizenship, razing the township of Camarina, but he did the same thing to more than half of the townsmen of Gela, and when the Megarians in Sicily surrendered to him on terms after a siege, he took the wealthier of them, who had made war on him and expected to be put to death for this, and brought them to Syracuse to be citizens there. As for the common people of Megara, who had had no hand in the making of that war and expected that no harm would be done them, these too he brought to Syracuse and sold them for slaves to be taken out of Sicily. He dealt in a similar way with the Euboeans of Sicily, making the same distinction. The reason for his treating the people of both places in this way was that he held the common people to be exceedingly disagreeable to live with.

157 1 τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ τύραννος ἐγεγόνεε μέγας ὁ Γέλων· τότε δ' ὥς οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας, ἐλθόντες αὐτῷ ἐς λόγους ἔλεγον τάδε. “ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι παραλαμψομένους σε πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον· τὸν γὰρ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάντως κου πυνθάνει, ὅτι Πέρσης ἀνὴρ μέλλει, ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ ἐπάγων πάντα τὸν ἥϊον στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, στρατηλατήσκειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πρόσχημα μὲν ποιεύμενος ὥς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, ἐν νόῳ δὲ ἔχων πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. 2 σὺ δὲ δυνάμιός τε γὰρ ἦκεις μεγάλως καὶ μοῖρά τοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μετὰ ἄρχοντί γε Σικελίης, βοήθεέ τε τοῖσι ἐλευθεροῦσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ συνελευθέρου. ἀλῆς μὲν γὰρ γενομένη πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλὰς χεὶρ μεγάλη συνάγεται, καὶ ἀξιόμαχοι γινόμεθα τοῖσι ἐπιούσι· ἦν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἡμέων καταπροδιδῶσι οἱ δὲ μὴ θέλωσι τιμωρέειν, τὸ δὲ ὑγιαῖνον τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦ ὀλίγον, τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη δεινὸν γίνεται μὴ πέση πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλὰς. 3 μὴ γὰρ ἐλπίσης, ἦν ἡμέας καταστρέψῃται ὁ Πέρσης μάχη κρατήσας, ὥς οὐκὶ ἤξει παρὰ σέ γε, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τούτου φύλαξαι· βοηθέων γὰρ ἡμῖν σεωντῶ τιμωρέεις. τῷ δὲ εὖ βουλευθέντι πρήγματι τελευτῇ ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν χρηστὴ ἐθέλει ἐπιγίνεσθαι”.

157. By these means Gelon had grown to greatness as a tyrant,

and now, when the Greek envoys had come to Syracuse, they had audience with him and spoke as follows: “The Lacedaemonians and their allies have sent us to win your aid against the foreigner, for it cannot be, we think, that you have no knowledge of the Persian invader of Hellas, how he proposes to bridge the Hellespont and lead all the hosts of the east from Asia against us, making an open show of marching against Athens, but actually with intent to subdue all Hellas to his will. Now you are rich in power, and as lord of Sicily you rule what is not the least part of Hellas; therefore, we beg of you, send help to those who are going to free Hellas, and aid them in so doing. The uniting of all those of Greek stock entails the mustering of a mighty host able to meet our invaders in the field. If, however, some of us play false and others will not come to our aid, while the sound part of Hellas is but small, then it is to be feared that all Greek lands alike will be destroyed. Do not for a moment think that if the Persian defeats us in battle and subdues us, he will leave you unassailed, but rather look well to yourself before that day comes. Aid us, and you champion your own cause; in general a well-laid plan leads to a happy issue.”

158 1 οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Γέλων δὲ πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο λέγων τοιάδε. “ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, λόγον ἔχοντες πλεονέκτην ἐτολήμισατε ἐμὲ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον παρακαλέοντες ἔλθειν· 2 αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐμεῦ πρότερον δεηθέντος βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ συνεπάσασθαι, ὅτε μοι πρὸς Καρχηδονίους νεῖκος συνῆπτο, ἐπισκίπτοντός τε τὸν Δωριέος τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδew πρὸς Ἑγεσταίων φόνον ἐκπρήξασθαι, ὑποτείνοντός τε τὰ ἐμπόρια συνελευθεροῦν ἀπ’ ὧν ὑμῖν μεγάλαι ὠφελίαι τε καὶ ἐπαυρέσεις γεγόνασι, οὔτε ἐμεῦ εἵνεκα ἦλθετε βοηθήσοντες οὔτε τὸν Δωριέος φόνον ἐκπρηξόμενοι, τό τε κατ’ ὑμέας τάδε ἅπαντα ὑπὸ βαρβάροισι νέμεται. 3 ἀλλὰ εὖ γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον κατέστη. νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ περιελήλυθε ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἀπῖκται ἐς ὑμέας, οὕτω δὴ Γέλωνος μνηστis γέγονε. 4 ἀτιμῆς δὲ πρὸς ὑμέων κυρήσας οὐκ ὁμοιώσομαι ὑμῖν, ἀλλ’ ἔτοιμος εἰμὶ βοηθέειν παρεχόμενος διηκοσίας τε τριήρεας καὶ δισμυρίους ὀπλίτας καὶ δισχιλὴν ἵππον καὶ δισχιλίους τοξότας καὶ δισχιλίους σφενδονήτας καὶ δισχιλίους ἵπποδρόμους ψιλούς· σιτόν τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλήνων στρατιῇ, ἔστ’ ἂν διαπολεμήσωμεν, ὑποδέκομαι παρέξειν. 5

ἐπὶ δὲ λόγῳ τοιῷδε τάδε ὑπίσχομαι, ἐπ' ᾧ στρατηγός τε καὶ ἡγεμῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔσομαι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον. ἐπ' ἄλλῳ δὲ λόγῳ οὐτ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλθοιμι οὐτ' ἂν ἄλλους πέμψαιμι”.

158. This is what they said, and Gelon, speaking very vehemently, said in response to this: “Men of Hellas, it is with a self-seeking plea that you have dared to come here and invite me to be your ally against the foreigners; yet what of yourselves? When I was at odds with the Carchedonians, and asked you to be my comrades against a foreign army, and when I desired that you should avenge the slaying of Dorieus son of Anaxandrides on the men of Egesta, and when I promised to free those trading ports from which great advantage and profit have accrued to you, — then neither for my sake would you come to aid nor to avenge the slaying of Dorieus. Because of your position in these matters, all these lands lie beneath the foreigners’ feet. Let that be; for all ended well, and our state was improved. But now that the war has come round to you in your turn, it is time for remembering Gelon! Despite the fact that you slighted me, I will not make an example of you; I am ready to send to your aid two hundred triremes, twenty thousand men-at-arms, two thousand horsemen, two thousand archers, two thousand slingers, and two thousand light-armed men to run with horsemen. I also pledge to furnish provisions for the whole Greek army until we have made an end of the war. All this, however, I promise on one condition, that I shall be general and leader of the Greeks against the foreigner. On no other condition will I come myself or send others.”

159 ἡ ταῦτα ἀκούσας οὕτε ἠνέσχετο ὁ Σύαγρος εἰπέ τε τάδε. “ἦ κε μέγ’ οἰμῳῶξιε ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων πυθόμενος Σπαρτιήτας τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἀπαραιρῆσθαι ὑπὸ Γέλωνός τε καὶ Συρηκοσίων. ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν τοῦ λόγου μηκέτι μνησθῆς, ὅπως τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοι παραδώσομεν, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν βούλει βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἴσθι ἀρξόμενος ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δ’ ἄρα μὴ δικαιοῖς ἄρχεσθαι, σὺ δὲ μηδὲ βοήθεε”.

159. When Syagrus heard that, he could not contain himself; “In truth,” he cried, “loudly would Agamemnon son of Pelops lament, when hearing that the Spartans had been bereft of their command by Gelon and his Syracusans! No, rather, put the thought out of your

minds that we will give up the command to you. If it is your will to aid Hellas, know that you must obey the Lacedaemonians; but if, as I think, you are too proud to obey, then send no aid.”

160 1 πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Γέλων, ἐπειδὴ ὥρα ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Συάγρου, τὸν τελευταῖόν σφι τόνδε ἐξέφαινε λόγον. “ὦ ξεῖνε Σπαρτιῆτα, ὄνειδεα κατιόντα ἀνθρώπῳ φιλεῖ ἐπανάγειν τὸν θυμόν· σὺ μέντοι ἀποδεξάμενος ὑβρίσματα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ οὗ με πείσεις ἀσχήμονα ἐν τῇ ἀμοιβῇ γενέσθαι. 2 ὅκου δὲ ὑμεῖς οὕτω περιέχεσθε τῆς ἡγεμονίης, οἰκὸς καὶ ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ὑμέων περιέχεσθαι, στρατιῆς τε ἐόντα πολλαπλησίης ἡγεμόνα καὶ νεῶν πολλὸν πλεύνων. ἀλλ’ ἐπεῖτε ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος οὕτω προσάντης κατίσταται, ἡμεῖς τι ὑπείξομεν τοῦ ἀρχαίου λόγου· εἰ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ ὑμεῖς ἡγέοισθε, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐγώ. εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἡδονὴ τοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἡγεμονεύειν, τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐγὼ θέλω. καὶ ἢ τοῦτοισι ὑμέας χρεόν ἐστι ἀρέσκεσθαι ἢ ἀπιέναι συμμαχῶν τοιῶνδε ἐρήμους”.

160. Thereupon Gelon, seeing how unfriendly Syagrus’ words were, for the last time declared his opinion to them: “My Spartan friend, the hard words that a man hears are likely to arouse his anger; but for all the arrogant tenor of your speech you will not move me to make an unseemly answer. When you set such store by the command, it is but reasonable that it should be still more important to me since I am the leader of an army many times greater than yours and more ships by far. But seeing that your response to me is so haughty, we will make some concession in our original condition. It might be that you should command the army, and I the fleet; or if it is your pleasure to lead by sea, then I am ready to take charge of the army. With that you will surely be content, unless you want depart from here without such allies as we are.”

161 1 Γέλων μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προετίνετο, φθάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἄγγελος τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀμείβετό μιν τοῖσιδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ Συρηκοσίων, οὐκ ἡγεμόνος δεομένη ἡ Ἑλλάς ἀπέπεμψε ἡμέας πρὸς σέ, ἀλλὰ στρατιῆς. σὺ δὲ ὅκως μὲν στρατιὴν πέμπεις μὴ ἡγεύμενος τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ προφαίνεις, ὥς δὲ στρατηγήσεις αὐτῆς γλίχεται. 2 ὅσον μὲν νυν παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλλήνων στρατοῦ ἐδέεο ἡγέεσθαι, ἐξήρκει ἡμῖν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἐπισταμένοισι ὥς ὁ Λάκων ἱκανὸς τοι ἔμελλε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἀπολογεύμενος·

ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀπάσης ἀπελαυνόμενος δέεαι τῆς ναυτικῆς ἄρχειν, οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὐδ' ἦν ὁ Λάκων ἐπιῇ τοι ἄρχειν αὐτῆς, ἡμεῖς ἐπήσομεν· ἡμετέρη γὰρ ἐστὶ αὕτη γε, μὴ αὐτῶν βουλομένων Λακεδαιμονίων. τούτοισι μὲν ὧν ἡγέεσθαι βουλομένοισι οὐκ ἀντιτείνομεν, ἄλλω δὲ παρήσομεν οὐδενὶ ναυαρχεῖν. 3 μάτην γὰρ ἂν ὧδε πάραλον Ἑλλήνων στρατὸν πλεῖστον εἶημεν ἐκτημένοι, εἰ Συρηκοσίοισι ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι συγχωρήσομεν τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ἀρχαιότατον μὲν ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι, μοῦνοι δὲ ἐόντες οὐ μετανάσται Ἑλλήνων· τῶν καὶ Ὅμηρος ὁ ἐποποιὸς ἄνδρα ἄριστον ἔφησε ἐς Ἴλιον ἀπικέσθαι τάξαι τε καὶ διακοσμήσαι στρατὸν. οὕτω οὐκ ὄνειδος οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἐστὶ λέγειν ταῦτα”.

161. Such was Gelon's offer, and the Athenian envoy answered him before the Lacedaemonian could speak. “King of the Syracusans,” he said, “Hellas sends us to you to ask not for a leader but for an army. You however, say no word of sending an army without the condition of your being the leader of Hellas; it is the command alone that you desire. Now as long as you sought the leadership of the whole force, we Athenians were content to hold our peace, knowing that the Laconian was well able to answer for both of us; but since, failing to win the whole, you would gladly command the fleet, we want to let you know how the matter stands. Even if the Laconian should permit you to command it, we would not do so, for the command of the fleet, which the Lacedaemonians do not desire for themselves, is ours. If they should desire to lead it, we will not withstand them, but we will not allow anyone else to be admiral. It would be for nothing, then, that we possess the greatest number of seafaring men in Hellas, if we Athenians yield our command to Syracusans, — we who can demonstrate the longest lineage of all and who alone among the Greeks have never changed our place of habitation; of our stock too was the man of whom the poet Homer says that of all who came to Ilion, he was the best man in ordering and marshalling armies. We accordingly cannot be reproached for what we now say. “

162 1 ἀμείβετο Γέλων τοῖσιδε. “ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ὑμεῖς οἴκατε τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀρξομένους οὐκ ἔχειν. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐδὲν ὑπιέντες ἔχειν τὸ πᾶν ἐθέλετε, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιτε τὴν ταχίστην ὀπίσω

ἀπαλλασσόμενοι καὶ ἀγγέλλοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῇ ἐξαπαίρηται”. 2 οὗτος δὲ ὁ νόος τοῦ ῥήματος τὸ ἐθέλει λέγειν· δηλα γὰρ ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐστὶ τὸ ἔαρ δοκιμώτατον, τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατιῆς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ στρατιήν· στερισκομένην ὣν τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς ἐωυτοῦ συμμαχίης εἵκαζε ὡς εἰ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐξαπαρημένον εἶη.

162. “My Athenian friend,” Gelon answered, “it would seem that you have many who lead, but none who will follow. Since, then, you will waive no claim but must have the whole, it is high time that you hasten home and tell your Hellas that her year has lost its spring.” The significance of this statement was that Gelon’s army was the most notable part of the Greek army, just as the spring is the best part of the year. He accordingly compared Hellas deprived of alliance with him to a year bereft of its spring.

163 1 οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄγγελοι τοιαῦτα τῷ Γέλωνι χρηματίζαμενοι ἀπέπλεον· Γέλων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα δείσας μὲν περὶ τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι μὴ οὐ δύνωνται τὸν βάρβαρον ὑπερβαλέσθαι, δεινὸν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ποιησάμενος ἐλθὼν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐὼν Σικελίης τύραννος, ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμέλησε, ὁ δὲ ἄλλης εἶχετο. 2 ἐπεῖτε γὰρ τάχιστα ἐπύθετο τὸν Πέρσῃ διαβεβηκότα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, πέμπει πεντηκοντέροισι τρισὶ Κάδμον τὸν Σκύθεω ἄνδρα Κῶν ἐς Δελφούς, ἔχοντα χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιλίους λόγους, παραδοκῆσοντα τὴν μάχην τῇ πεσέεται, καὶ ἣν μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος νικᾷ, τὰ τε χρήματα αὐτῷ διδόναι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῶν ἄρχει ὁ Γέλων, ἣν δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὀπίσω ἀπάγειν.

163. After such dealings with Gelon the Greek envoys sailed away. Gelon, however, feared that the Greeks would not be able to overcome the barbarian, while believing it dreadful and intolerable that he, the tyrant of Sicily, should go to the Peloponnese to be at the beck and call of Lacedaemonians. For this reason he took no more thought of this plan but followed another instead. As soon as he was informed that the Persian had crossed the Hellespont, he sent Cadmus son of Scythes, a man of Cos, to Delphi with three fifty-oared ships, bringing them money and messages of friendship. Cadmus was to observe the outcome of the battle, and if the barbarian should be victorious, he was to give him both the money,

and earth and water on behalf of Gelon's dominions. If, however, the Greeks were victorious, he was to bring everything back again.

164 1 ὁ δὲ Κάδμος οὗτος πρότερον τούτων παραδεξάμενος παρὰ πατρὸς τυραννίδα Κώων εὖ βεβηκυῖαν, ἐκὼν τε εἶναι καὶ δεινοῦ ἐπιόντος οὐδενὸς ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ δικαιοσύνης ἐς μέσον Κώοισι καταθεῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν οἶχετο ἐς Σικελίην, ἔνθα παρὰ Σαμίων ἔσχε τε καὶ κατοίκησε πόλιν Ζάγκλην τὴν ἐς Μεσσήνην μεταβαλοῦσαν τὸ οὔνομα. 2 τοῦτον δὴ ὁ Γέλων τὸν Κάδμον καὶ τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ ἀπικόμενον διὰ δικαιοσύνην, τὴν οἱ αὐτὸς ἄλλην συνήδεε εὐοῦσαν, ἔπεμπε· ὃς ἐπὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δικαίοισι τοῖσι ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ ἐργασμένοισι καὶ τότε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτων ἐλίπετο. κρατήσας γὰρ μεγάλων χρημάτων τῶν οἱ Γέλων ἐπετράπετο, παρεὸν κατασχέσθαι οὐκ ἠθέλησε, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεκράτησαν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ καὶ Ξέρξης οἰχώκεε ἀπελαύνων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Σικελίην ἀπὸ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἄγων.

164. This Cadmus had previously inherited from his father the tyranny of Cos. Although the tyranny was well established, he nevertheless handed the government over to the whole body of Coans of his own free will. This he did under no constraint of danger, but out of a sense of justice, and he then went to Sicily, where he was given by the Samians the city of Zancle which he colonized and changed its name to Messene. This is how Cadmus had come, and it was he whom Gelon now sent because of his sense of justice. What I will now relate was not the least of the many just acts of Cadmus' life; he had in his possession great wealth entrusted to him by Gelon and might have kept it. He nevertheless would not do so, but when the Greeks had prevailed in the sea-fight and Xerxes had headed home, Cadmus returned to Sicily with all that money.

165 1 λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σικελίῃ οἰκημένων, ὥς ὅμως καὶ μέλλων ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Γέλων ἐβοήθησε ἂν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ Θήρωνος τοῦ Αἰνησιδήμου Ἀκραγαντίνων μουνάρχου ἐξελασθεῖς ἐξ Ἰμέρης Τήριλλος ὁ Κρινίππου τύραννος ἐὼν Ἰμέρης ἐπῆγε ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Φοινίκων καὶ Λιβύων καὶ Ἰβήρων καὶ Λιγύων καὶ Ἑλισύκων καὶ Σαρδονίων καὶ Κυρνίων τριήκοντα μυριάδας καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Ἄννωνος, Καρχηδονίων ἐόντα βασιλέα, κατὰ ξεινίην τε

τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ὁ Τήριλλος ἀναγνώσας καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν Ἀναξίλειω τοῦ Κρητίνεω προθυμίην, ὃς Ῥηγίου ἐὼν τύραννος τὰ ἑωυτοῦ τέκνα δοὺς ὁμήρους Ἀμίλκα ἐπῆγγε ἐπὶ τὴν Σικελίην τιμωρέων τῷ πενθερῷ· Τηρίλλου γὰρ εἶχε θυγατέρα Ἀναξίλειως, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Κυδίππη. οὕτω δὴ οὐκ οἷόν τε γενόμενον βοηθεῖν τὸν Γέλωνα τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἀποπέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς τὰ χρήματα.

165. There is, however, another story told by the Sicilians: even though he was to be under Lacedaemonian authority, Gelon would still have aided the Greeks had it not been for Terillus son of Crinippus, the tyrant of Himera. This man, who had been expelled from Himera by Theron son of Aenesidemus, sovereign ruler of Agragas, at this very time brought against Gelon three hundred thousand Phoenicians, Libyans, Iberians, Ligyes, Elisyci, Sardinians, and Cynrians, led by Amilcas son of Annon, the king of the Carchedonians. Terillus had induced him to do this partly through the prerogative of personal friendship, but mainly through the efforts of Anaxilaus son of Cretines, tyrant of Rhegium. He had handed over his own children as hostages to Amilcas, and brought him into Sicily to the help of his father-in-law; for Anaxilaus had as his wife Terillus' daughter Cydippe. Accordingly Gelon sent the money to Delphi, because he could not aid the Greeks.

166 ἡ πρὸς δὲ καὶ τότε λέγουσι, ὡς συνέβη τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης ἔν τε τῇ Σικελίᾳ Γέλωνα καὶ Θήρωνα νικᾶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὸν Πέρσην. τὸν δὲ Ἀμίλκαν Καρχηδόνιον ἐόντα πρὸς πατρός, μητρόθεν δὲ Συρηκόσιον, βασιλεύσαντά τε κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην Καρχηδονίων, ὡς ἡ συμβολή τε ἐγένετο καὶ ὡς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ μάχῃ, ἀφανισθῆναι πυνθάνομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ζῶντα οὔτε ἀποθανόντα φανῆναι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἐπεξελθεῖν διζήμενον Γέλωνα.

166. They add this tale too — that Gelon and Theron won a victory over Amilcas the Carchedonian in Sicily on the same day that the Greeks defeated the Persian at Salamis. This Amilcas was, on his father's side, a Carchedonian, and a Syracusan on his mother's and had been made king of Carchedon for his virtue. When the armies met and he was defeated in the battle, it is said that he vanished from sight, for Gelon looked for him everywhere but was not able to find

him anywhere on earth, dead or alive.

167 1 ἔστι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίων ὁδε λόγος λεγόμενος, οἰκῶτι χρεωμένων, ὥς οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ἐν τῇ Σικελίῃ ἐμάχοντο ἐξ ἡοῦς ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι δειλῆς ὀψίης (ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ λέγεται ἐλκύσαι τὴν σύστασιν), ὃ δὲ Ἀμίλκας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μένων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐθύετο καὶ ἐκαλλιερέετο ἐπὶ πυρῆς μεγάλης σώματα ὅλα καταγίζων, ἰδὼν δὲ τροπὴν τῶν ἐωυτοῦ γινομένην, ὥς ἔτυχε ἐπισπένδων τοῖσι ἱροῖσι, ὥς ἐωυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ οὕτω δὴ κατακαυθέντα ἀφανισθῆναι. 2 ἀφανισθέντι δὲ Ἀμίλκα τρόπῳ εἴτε τοιούτῳ ὥς Φοίνικες λέγουσι, εἴτε ἐτέρῳ ὥς Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Συρηκόσιοι, τοῦτο μὲν οἱ θύουσι, τοῦτο δὲ μνήματα ἐποίησαν ἐν πάσῃσι τῇσι πόλιν τῶν ἀποικίδων, ἐν αὐτῇ τε μέγιστον Καρχηδόνι.

167. The story told by the Carchedonians themselves seems to have some element of truth. They say that the barbarians fought with the Greeks in Sicily from dawn until late evening (so long, it is said, the battle was drawn out), during which time Amilcas stayed in his camp offering sacrifice and striving to obtain favorable omens by burning whole bodies on a great pyre. When he saw his army routed, he cast himself into the fire where he was pouring libations on the sacrifice; he was consumed by this and was not seen any more. Whether he vanished as the Phoenicians say, or in the manner related by the Carchedonians and Syracusans, sacrifice is offered to him, and monuments have been set up in all the colonists' cities, the greatest of which is in Carchedon itself.

168 1 τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ Σικελίης τοσαῦτα. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ τάδε ὑποκρινάμενοι τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοιάδε ἐποίησαν· καὶ γὰρ τούτους παρελάμβανον οἱ αὐτοὶ οἱ περ ἐς Σικελίην ἀπίκοντο, λέγοντες τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ πρὸς Γέλωνα ἔλεγον. οἱ δὲ παραυτίκα μὲν ὑπὶσχοντο πέμψειν τε καὶ ἀμυνεῖν, φράζοντες ὥς οὐ σφι περιοπτὴ ἐστὶ ἡ Ἑλλάς ἀπολλυμένη· ἦν γὰρ σφαλῇ, σφεῖς γε οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ δουλεύσουσι τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἡμερέων· ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέον εἴη ἐς τὸ δυνατότατον. 2 ὑπεκρίναντο μὲν οὕτω εὐπρόσωπα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδει βοηθεῖν, ἄλλα νοέοντες ἐπλήρωσαν νέας ἐξήκοντα, μόγις δὲ ἀναχθέντες προσέμιξαν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, καὶ περὶ Πύλον καὶ Ταίναρον γῆς τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνεκώχευον τὰς νέας, καραδοκέοντες καὶ οὗτοι τὸν πόλεμον τῇ πεσέεται, ἀελπτέοντες μὲν

τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπερβαλέεσθαι, δοκέοντες δὲ τὸν Πέρσῃν κατακρατήσαντα πολλὸν ἄρξῃν πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. 3 ἐποίεον ὧν ἐπίτηδες, ἵνα ἔχωσι πρὸς τὸν Πέρσῃν λέγειν τοιάδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἡμεῖς, παραλαμβάνοντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡμέας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον, ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην οὐδὲ νέας ἐλαχίστας παρασχόντες ἂν ἀλλὰ πλείστας μετὰ γε Ἀθηναίους, οὐκ ἠθελήσαμεν τοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι οὐδέ τι ἀποθύμιον ποιῆσαι”. τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἥλιζον πλέον τι τῶν ἄλλων οἴσεσθαι· τά περ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. 4 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνάς σφι σκῆψις ἐπεποίητο, τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἐχρήσαντο. αἰτιωμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅτι οὐκ ἐβοήθεον, ἔφασαν πληρῶσαι μὲν ἐξήκοντα τριήρεας, ὑπὸ δὲ ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων ὑπερβαλεῖν Μαλέην οὐκ οἰοί τε γενέσθαι· οὕτω οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ οὐδεμιᾷ κακότητι λειφθῆναι τῆς ναυμαχίης.

168. This is how the campaign in Sicily fell out. As for the Corcyraeans, their answer to the envoys and their acts were as I will show. The men who had gone to Sicily sought their aid too, using the same arguments which they had used with Gelon. The Corcyraeans straightaway promised to send help and protection, declaring that they would not allow Hellas to perish, for if she should fall, the very next day would certainly see them also enslaved. They would accordingly have to help to the best of their ability. Now this answer seemed fair enough, but when the time came for sending help, their minds changed. They manned sixty ships and put out to sea, making for the coast of the Peloponnese. There, however, they anchored off Pylos and Taenarus in the Lacedaemonian territory, waiting like the others to see which way the war should incline. They had no hope that the Greeks would prevail, but thought that the Persian would win a great victory and be lord of all Hellas. Their course of action, therefore, had been planned with a view to being able to say to the Persian, “O king, we whose power is as great as any and who could have furnished as many ships as any state save Athens, — we, when the Greeks attempted to gain our aid in this war, would not resist you nor do anything displeasing to you.” This plea, they hoped, would win them some advantage more than ordinary; and so, I believe, it would have been. They were, however, also ready with an excuse which they could make to the Greeks, and in the end they made it;

when the Greeks blamed them for sending no help, they said that they had manned sixty triremes, but that they could not round Malea because of the Etesian winds. It was for this reason, they said, that they could not arrive at Salamis; it was not cowardliness which made them late for the sea-fight. With such a plea they put the Greeks off.

169 1 οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω διεκρούσαντο τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Κρηῆτες δέ, ἐπεῖτε σφέας παρελάμβανον οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοισι ταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε· πέμψαντες κοινῇ θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρώτων εἴ σφι ἄμεινον τιμωρέουσι γίνεται τῇ Ἑλλάδι. 2 ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ὑπεκρίνατο “ὦ νήπιοι, ἐπιμέμφεσθε ὅσα ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν Μενελάου τιμωρημάτων Μίνως ἔπεμψε μηνίων δακρύματα, ὅτι οἱ μὲν οὐ συνεξεπρήξαντο αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Καμικῷ θάνατον γενόμενον, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐκείνοισι τὴν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀρπασθεῖσαν ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς βαρβάρου γυναῖκα”. ταῦτα οἱ Κρηῆτες ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν, ἔσχοντο τῆς τιμωρίας.

169. But the Cretans, when the Greeks appointed to deal with them were trying to gain their aid, acted as I will show. They sent messengers to Delphi, inquiring if it would be to their advantage to help the Greeks. The Pythia answered them, “Foolish men, was not the grief enough which Minos sent upon your people for the help given to Menelaus, out of anger that those others would not help to avenge his death at Camicus, while you helped them to avenge the stealing of that woman from Sparta by a barbarian?” When this was brought to the ears of the Cretans, they would have nothing to do with aiding the Greeks.

170 1 λέγεται γὰρ Μίνων κατὰ ζήτησιν Δαιδάλου ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σικανίην τὴν νῦν Σικελίην καλευμένην ἀποθανεῖν βιαίῳ θανάτῳ. ἀνὰ δὲ χρόνον Κρηῆτας, θεοῦ σφι ἐποτρύναντος, πάντας πλὴν Πολιγνιτέων τε καὶ Πραισίων ἀπικομένους στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐς Σικανίην πολιορκέειν ἐπ’ ἔτεα πέντε πόλιν Καμικόν, τὴν κατ’ ἐμὲ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι ἐνέμοντο· 2 τέλος δὲ οὐ δυναμένους οὔτε ἐλεῖν οὔτε παραμένειν λιμῷ συνεστεῶτας, ἀπολιπόντας οἴχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ κατὰ Ἱητυγίην γενέσθαι πλέοντας, ὑπολαβόντα σφέας χειμῶνα μέγαν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν γῆν· συναραχθέντων δὲ τῶν πλοίων, οὐδεμίαν γάρ σφι ἔτι κομιδὴν ἐς Κρήτην φαίνεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα Ὑρίην πόλιν κτίσαντας καταμεῖναι τε καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἀντὶ μὲν Κρητῶν

γενέσθαι Ἰήπυγας Μεσσαπίους, ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι νησιώτας ἡπειρώτας. 3 ἀπὸ δὲ Ὑρίης πόλιος τὰς ἄλλας οἰκίσαι, τὰς δὲ Ταραντῖνοι χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ ἐξανιστάντες προσέπταισαν μεγάλως, ὥστε φόνος Ἑλληνικὸς μέγιστος οὗτος δὴ ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, αὐτῶν τε Ταραντίνων καὶ Ῥηγίων, οἱ ὑπὸ Μικύθου τοῦ Χοίρου ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ ἀπικόμενοι τιμωροὶ Ταραντίνουσι ἀπέθανον τρισχίλιοι οὕτω· αὐτῶν δὲ Ταραντίνων οὐκ ἐπὶ ἀριθμὸς. 4 ὁ δὲ Μίκυθος οἰκέτης ἐὼν Ἀναξίλειω ἐπίτροπος Ῥηγίου καταλέλειπτο, οὗτος ὅς περ ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ Ῥηγίου καὶ Τεγέην τὴν Ἀρκάδων οἰκίᾳ ἀνέθηκε ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας.

170. Now Minos, it is said, went to Sicania, which is now called Sicily, in search for Daedalus, and perished there by a violent death. Presently all the Cretans except the men of Polichne and Praesus were bidden by a god to go with a great host to Sicania. Here they besieged the town of Camicus, where in my day the men of Acragas dwelt, for five years. Presently, since they could neither take it nor remain there because of the famine which afflicted them, they departed. However, when they were at sea off Iapygia, a great storm caught and drove them ashore. Because their ships had been wrecked and there was no way left of returning to Crete, they founded there the town of Hyria, and made this their dwelling place, accordingly changing from Cretans to Messapians of Iapygia, and from islanders to dwellers on the mainland. From Hyria they made settlements in those other towns which a very long time afterwards the Tarentines attempted to destroy, thereby suffering great disaster. The result was that no one has ever heard of so great a slaughter of Greeks as that of the Tarentines and Rhegians; three thousand townsmen of the latter, men who had been coerced by Micythus son of Choerus to come and help the Tarentines, were killed, and no count was kept of the Tarentine slain. Micythus was a servant of Anaxilaus and had been left in charge of Rhegium; it was he who was banished from Rhegium and settled in Tegea of Arcadia, and who set up those many statues at Olympia.

171 ἡ ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ῥηγίους τε καὶ Ταραντίνους τοῦ λόγου μοι παρενθήκη γέγονε· ἐς δὲ τὴν Κρήτην ἐρμηθεῖσαν, ὡς λέγουσι Πραῖσιοι, ἐσοικίζεσθαι ἄλλους τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάλιστα Ἑλλήνας,

τρίτῃ δὲ γενεῇ μετὰ Μίνων τελευτήσαντα γενέσθαι τὰ Τρωικά, ἐν τοῖσι οὐ φλαυροτάτους φαίνεσθαι ἐόντας Κρήτας τιμωροὺς Μενέλεω. 2 ἀπὸ τούτων δέ σφι ἀπονοστήσασι ἐκ Τροίης λιμόν τε καὶ λοιμόν γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι προβάτοισι, ἔστε τὸ δεύτερον ἐρημωθείσης Κρήτης μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τρίτους αὐτὴν νῦν νέμεσθαι Κρήτας. ἡ μὲν δὲ Πυθίη ὑπομνήσασα ταῦτα ἔσχε βουλομένους τιμωρεῖν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι.

171. In relating the matter of the Rhegians and Tarentines, however, I digress from the main thread of my history. The Praesians say that when Crete was left desolate, it was populated especially by Greeks, among other peoples. Then, in the third generation after Minos, the events surrounding the Trojan War, in which the Cretans bore themselves as bravely as any in the cause of Menelaus, took place. After this, when they returned from Troy, they and their flocks and herds were afflicted by famine and pestilence, until Crete was once more left desolate. Then came a third influx of Cretans, and it is they who, with those that were left, now dwell there. It was this that the priestess bade them remember, and so prevented them from aiding the Greeks as they were previously inclined.

172 1 Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀναγκαίης τὸ πρῶτον ἐμήδισαν, ὡς διέδεξαν, ὅτι οὐ σφι ἦνδανε τὰ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι ἐμηχανῶντο. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα μέλλοντα διαβαίνειν τὸν Πέρσῃν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, πέμπουσι ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀγγέλους· ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἦσαν ἀλισμένοι πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀραιοημένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεουσέων περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. 2 ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτους τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον Ἄνδρες Ἑλληνες, δεῖ φυλάσσεσθαι τὴν ἐσβολὴν τὴν Ὀλυμπικὴν, ἵνα Θεσσαλίῃ τε καὶ ἡ σύμπασα ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου. ἡμεῖς μὲν νυν ἔτοιμοι εἰμὲν συμφυλάσσειν, πέμπειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ὑμέας στρατιὴν πολλήν, ὥς, εἰ μὴ πέμψετε, ἐπίστασθε ἡμέας ὁμολογήσειν τῷ Πέρσῃ· οὐ γάρ τι προκατημένους τοσοῦτο πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος μούνους πρὸ ὑμέων δεῖ ἀπολέσθαι. 3 βοηθέειν δὲ οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀναγκαίην ἡμῖν οὐδεμίαν οἰοί τε ἐστὲ προσφέρειν· οὐδαμὰ γὰρ ἀδυνασίης ἀνάγκη κρέσσων ἔφν. ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρησόμεθα αὐτοῖσι τινα σωτηρίην μηχανώμενοι”.

172. The Thessalians had at first sided with the Persians, not willingly but of necessity. This their acts revealed, because they

disliked the plans of the Aleuadae; as soon as they heard that the Persian was about to cross over into Europe, they sent messengers to the Isthmus, where men chosen from the cities which were best disposed towards Hellas were assembled in council for the Greek cause. To these the Thessalian messengers came and said, "Men of Hellas, the pass of Olympus must be guarded so that Thessaly and all Hellas may be sheltered from the war. Now we are ready to guard it with you, but you too must send a great force. If you will not send it, be assured that we will make terms with the Persian, for it is not right that we should be left to stand guard alone and so perish for your sakes. If you will not send help, there is nothing you can do to constrain us, for no necessity can prevail over lack of ability. As for us, we will attempt to find some means of deliverance for ourselves." These are the words of the men of Thessaly.

173 1 ταῦτα ἔλεγον οἱ Θεσσαλοί. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες πρὸς ταῦτα ἐβουλεύσαντο ἐς Θεσσαλίην πέμπειν κατὰ θάλασσαν πεζὸν στρατὸν φυλάζοντα τὴν ἐσβολὴν. ὥς δὲ συνελέχθη ὁ στρατός, ἔπλεε δι' Εὐρίπου· ἀπικόμενος δὲ τῆς Αἰαίνης ἐς Ἄλωνα, ἀποβάς ἐπορεύετο ἐς Θεσσαλίην, τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν, καὶ ἀπύκειτο ἐς τὰ Τέμπεα ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἣ περ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρει παρὰ ποταμὸν Πηνειόν, μεταξὺ δὲ Ὀλύμπου τε ὄρεος ἐόντα καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης. 2 ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατὰ μυρίους ὀπλίτας συλλεγέντες, καὶ σφι προσῆν ἡ Θεσσαλῶν ἵππος· ἐστρατήγεε δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Εὐαίνετος ὁ Καρήνου ἐκ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀραιρημένος, γένεος μέντοι ἐὼν οὐ τοῦ βασιλέως, Ἀθηναίων δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέος. ἔμειναν δὲ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐνθαῦτα. 3 ἀπικόμενοι γὰρ ἄγγελοι παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀμύντεω ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνης συνεβούλευόν σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι μηδὲ μένοντας ἐν τῇ ἐσβολῇ καταπατηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἐπιόντος, σημαίνοντες τὸ πλῆθος τε τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ τὰς νέας. ὥς δὲ οὗτοί σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, χρηστὰ γὰρ ἐδόκεον συμβουλεύειν καὶ σφι εὖνοος ἐφαίνετο ἐὼν ὁ Μακεδών, ἐπείθοντο. 4 δοκέειν δὲ μοι, ἀρρωδίῃ ἦν τὸ πείθον, ὥς ἐπύθοντο καὶ ἄλλην ἐοῦσαν ἐσβολὴν ἐς Θεσσαλοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην διὰ Περραιβῶν κατὰ Γόννον πόλιν, τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἐσέβαλε ἡ στρατιὴ ἡ Ξέρξεω. καταβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὰς νέας ὀπίσω ἐπορεύοντο ἐς τὸν

Ἴσθμόν.

173. Thereupon the Greeks resolved that they would send a land army to Thessaly by sea to guard the pass. When the forces had assembled, they passed through the Euripus and came to Alus in Achaea, where they disembarked and took the road for Thessaly, leaving their ships where they were. They then came to the pass of Tempe, which runs from the lower Macedonia into Thessaly along the river Peneus, between the mountains Olympus and Ossa. There the Greeks were encamped, about ten thousand men-at-arms altogether, and the cavalry was there as well. The general of the Lacedaemonians was Euaenetus son of Carenus, chosen from among the Polemarchs, yet not of the royal house, and Themistocles son of Neocles was the general of the Athenians. They remained there for only a few days, for messengers came from Alexander son of Amyntas, the Macedonian. These, pointing out the size of the army and the great number of ships, advised them to depart and not remain there to be trodden under foot by the invading host. When they had received this advice from the messengers (as they thought their advice was sound and that the Macedonian meant well by them), the Greeks followed their counsel. To my thinking, however, what persuaded them was fear, since they had found out that there was another pass leading into Thessaly by the hill country of Macedonia through the country of the Perrhaebi, near the town of Gonnus; this was indeed the way by which Xerxes' army descended on Thessaly. The Greeks accordingly went down to their ships and made their way back to the Isthmus.

174 ἡ αὕτη ἐγένετο ἡ ἐς Θεσσαλίην στρατήϊη, βασιλέος τε μέλλοντος διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ ἐόντος ἤδη ἐν Ἀβύδῳ. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ἐρημωθέντες συμμάχων οὕτω δὴ ἐμήδισαν προθύμως οὐδ' ἔτι ἐνδοιαστῶς, ὥστε ἐν τοῖσι πρήγμασι ἐφαίνοντο βασιλεῖ ἄνδρες ἐόντες χρησιμώτατοι.

174. This was the course of their expedition into Thessaly, while the king was planning to cross into Europe from Asia and was already at Abydos. The Thessalians, now bereft of their allies, sided with the Persian wholeheartedly and unequivocally. As a result of this they, in their acts, proved themselves to be most useful to the

king.

175 1 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπεῖτε ἀπίκατο ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμόν, ἐβουλευόντο πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν οἷοισι χώροις. ἡ νικῶσα δὲ γνώμη ἐγένετο τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξαι· στεινότερῃ γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ἐοῦσα τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην καὶ ἅμα ἀγχοτέρῃ τῆς ἐωυτῶν· 2 τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν, δι' ἣλωσαν οἱ ἀλόντες Ἑλλήνων ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, οὐδὲ ᾗδεσαν ἐοῦσαν πρότερον ἢ περ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπύθοντο Τρηχινίων. ταύτην ὧν ἐβουλευσάντο φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἐσβολὴν μὴ παριέναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον, τὸν δὲ ναυτικὸν στρατὸν πλέειν γῆς τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγχοῦ τε ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ ὥστε πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ κατὰ ἑκατέρους ἐόντα, οἳ τε χῶροι οὕτω ἔχουσι.

175. When they had come to the Isthmus, the Greeks, taking into account what was said by Alexander, deliberated as a body how and where they should stand to fight. It was decided that they should guard the pass of Thermopylae, for they saw that it was narrower than the pass into Thessaly and nearer home. The pass, then, which brought about the fall of those Greeks who fell at Thermopylae, was unknown to them until they came to Thermopylae and learned of it from the men of Trachis. This pass they were resolved to guard and so stay the barbarian's passage into Hellas, while their fleet should sail to Artemisium in the territory of Histiaea. These places are near to each other, and each force could therefore be informed of the other's doings. As for the places themselves, their nature is as follows.

176 1 τοῦτο μὲν τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον· ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους τοῦ Θρηκίου ἐξ εὐρέος συνάγεται ἐς στεινὸν ἐόντα τὸν πόρον τὸν μεταξὺ νήσου τε Σκιάθου καὶ ἡπείρου Μαγνησίης· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ στεινοῦ τῆς Εὐβοίης ἤδη τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον δέκεται αἰγιαλός, ἐν δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱόν. 2 ἡ δὲ αὖ διὰ Τρηχίνος ἔσοδος ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστὶ τῇ στεινοτάτῃ ἡμίπλεθρον. οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τοῦτό γε ἐστὶ τὸ στεινότατον τῆς χώρας τῆς ἄλλης, ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθ' ἐν Θερμοπυλέων καὶ ὀπισθε, κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνοὺς ὀπισθε ἐόντας ἐοῦσα ἀμαξιτὸς μούνη, καὶ ἔμπροσθε κατὰ Φοίνικα ποταμὸν ἀγχοῦ Ἀνθήλης πόλιος ἄλλη ἀμαξιτὸς μούνη. 3 τῶν δὲ Θερμοπυλέων τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέρης ὄρος ἄβατόν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, ὑψηλόν, ἀνατεῖνον ἐς τὴν Οἶτην· τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ τῆς ὁδοῦ θάλασσα

ὑποδέκεται καὶ τενάγεια. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ταύτῃ θερμὰ λουτρά, τὰ Χύτρους καλέουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καὶ βωμὸς ἱδρυταὶ Ἡρακλέος ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι. ἐδέδμητο δὲ τεῖχος κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐσβολάς, καὶ τό γε παλαιὸν πύλαι ἐπῆσαν. 4 ἔδειμαν δὲ Φωκέες τὸ τεῖχος δεισάντες, ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκίσοντες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα τὴν νῦν ἐκτέαται. ἅτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καταστρέφεσθαι σφέας, τοῦτο προεφυλάξαντο οἱ Φωκέες, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ θερμὸν τότε ἐπῆκαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσοδον, ὥς ἂν χαραδρωθεῖ ὁ χῶρος, πᾶν μηχανώμενοι ὅπως μὴ σφι ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν. 5 τὸ μὲν νυν τεῖχος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε ἐδέδμητο καὶ τὸ πλέον αὐτοῦ ἤδη ὑπὸ χρόνου ἔκειτο· τοῖσι δὲ αὖτις ὀρθώσασι ἔδοξε ταύτῃ ἀπαμύνειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν βάρβαρον. κόμη δὲ ἐστὶ ἀγχοτάτῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ Ἀλπινοὶ οὖνομα· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ἐπισιτιεῖσθαι ἐλογίζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες.

176. Artemisium is where the wide Thracian sea contracts until the passage between the island of Sciathus and the mainland of Magnesia is but narrow. This strait leads next to Artemisium, which is a beach on the coast of Euboea, on which stands a temple of Artemis. The pass through Trachis into Hellas is fifty feet wide at its narrowest point. It is not here, however, but elsewhere that the way is narrowest, namely, in front of Thermopylae and behind it; at Alpeni, which lies behind, it is only the breadth of a cart-way, and it is the same at the Phoenix stream, near the town of Anthele. To the west of Thermopylae rises a high mountain, inaccessible and precipitous, a spur of Oeta; to the east of the road there is nothing but marshes and sea. In this pass are warm springs for bathing, called the Basins by the people of the country, and an altar of Heracles stands nearby. Across this entry a wall had been built, and formerly there was a gate in it. It was the Phocians who built it for fear of the Thessalians when these came from Thesprotia to dwell in the Aeolian land, the region which they now possess. Since the Thessalians were trying to subdue them, the Phocians made this their protection, and in their search for every means to keep the Thessalians from invading their country, they then turned the stream from the hot springs into the pass, so that it might be a watercourse. The ancient wall had been built long ago and most of it lay in ruins; those who built it up again thought that

they would in this way bar the foreigner's way into Hellas. Very near the road is a village called Alpeni, and it is from here that the Greeks expected to obtain provisions.

177 1 οἱ μὲν νυν χώροι οὗτοι τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι εἶναι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπιτήδεοι· πάντα γὰρ προσκεψάμενοι καὶ ἐπιλογισθέντες ὅτι οὔτε πλήθει ἔξουσιν χρᾶσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε ἵππῳ, ταύτῃ σφι ἔδοξε δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὥς δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὸν Πέρσῃν ἔόντα ἐν Πιερίῃ, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐς Θερμοπύλας περὶ, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον.

177. These places, then, were thought by the Greeks to suit their purpose. After making a thorough survey, they concluded that the barbarians could not make use of their entire army, nor of their horsemen. They therefore resolved, that they would meet the invader of Hellas here. Then, when they heard that the Persian was in Pieria, they broke up from the Isthmus and set out with their army to Thermopylae and with their fleet to Artemisium.

178 1 οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθειον διαταχθέντες, Δελφοὶ δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐχρηστηριάζοντο τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ ἑωυτῶν καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταρρώδηκοτες, καὶ σφι ἐχρήσθη ἀνέμοισι εὐχεσθαι· μεγάλους γὰρ τούτους ἔσεσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι συμμάχους. 2 Δελφοὶ δὲ δεξάμενοι τὸ μαντήιον πρῶτα μὲν Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροις ἐξήγγειλαν τὰ χρησθέντα αὐτοῖσι, καὶ σφι δεινῶς καταρρώδέουσιν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐξαγγείλαντες χάριν ἀθάνατον κατέθεντο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Δελφοὶ τοῖσι ἀνέμοισι βωμόν τε ἀπέδεξαν ἐν Θυίῃ, τῇ περ τῆς Κηφισοῦ θυγατρὸς Θυίης τὸ τέμενος ἐστί, ἐπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ χώρος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει, καὶ θυσίῃσι σφέας μετήισαν.

178. So with all speed the Greeks went their several ways to meet the enemy. In the meantime, the Delphians, who were afraid for themselves and for Hellas, consulted the god. They were advised to pray to the winds, for these would be potent allies for Hellas. When they had received the oracle, the Delphians first sent word of it to those Greeks who desired to be free; because of their dread of the barbarian, they were forever grateful. Subsequently they erected an altar to the winds at Thyia, the present location of the precinct of Thyia the daughter of Cephissus, and they offered sacrifices to them.

This, then, is the reason why the Delphians to this day offer the winds sacrifice of propitiation.

179 1 Δελφοὶ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀνέμους ἱλάσκονται. ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὁρμώμενος ἐκ Θέρμης πόλιος παρέβαλε νηυσὶ τῇσι ἄριστα πλεούσῃσι δέκα ἰθὺ Σκιάθου, ἔνθα ἦσαν προφυλάσσουσαι νέες τρεῖς Ἑλληνίδες, Τροιζηνίη τε καὶ Αἰγιναιή καὶ Ἀττική. προιδόντες δὲ οὗτοι τὰς νέας τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν ὄρμησαν.

179. Xerxes' fleet, however, set forth from the city of Therma, and the ten swiftest of the ships laid their course straight for Sciathus, where there lay an advance guard of three Greek ships, a Troezenian, an Aeginetan, and an Attic. These, when they sighted the foreigners ships, took to flight.

180 1 τὴν μὲν δὴ Τροιζηνίην, τῆς ἦρχε Πρηξῖνος, αὐτίκα αἰρέουσι ἐπισπόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ἔπειτα τῶν ἐπιβατέων αὐτῆς τὸν καλλιστεύοντα ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τῆς πρῶρης τῆς νεὸς ἔσφαξαν, διαδέξιον ποιέουμένοι τὸν εἶλον τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον καὶ κάλλιστον. τῷ δὲ σφαγιασθέντι τούτῳ οὖνομα ἦν Λέων· τάχα δ' ἂν τι καὶ τοῦ οὐνόματος ἐπαύροίτο.

180. The ship of Troezen, of which Prexinus was captain, was pursued and straightway captured by the foreigners, who brought the best of its fighting men and cut his throat on the ship's prow, thinking that the sacrifice of the foremost and fairest of their Greek captives would be auspicious. The name of the sacrificed man was Leon, and it was perhaps his name that he had to thank for it.

181 1 ἡ δὲ Αἰγιναιή, τῆς ἐτρηιάρρχε Ασωνίδης, καὶ τινὰ σφι θόρυβον παρέσχε, Πυθέω τοῦ Ἰσχενοῦ ἐπιβατεύοντος, ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου γενομένου ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἡ νηὺς ἡλίσκετο ἐς τοῦτο ἀντεῖχε μαχόμενος ἐς ὃ κατεκρεουργήθη ἅπας. 2 ὥς δὲ πεσὼν οὐκ ἀπέθανε ἀλλ' ἦν ἔμπνοος, οἱ Πέρσαι, οἱ περ ἐπεβάτευον ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, δι' ἀρετὴν τὴν ἐκείνου περιποιῆσαί μιν περὶ πλείστου ἐποίησαντο, σμύρνησί τε ἰώμενοι τὰ ἔλκεα καὶ σινδόνης βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι κατελίσσοντες· 3 καὶ μιν, ὥς ὀπίσω ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἐωυτῶν στρατόπεδον, ἐπεδείκνυσαν ἐκπαγλέομενοι πάσῃ τῇ στρατιῇ περιέποντες εὖ. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τοὺς ἔλαβον ἐν τῇ νηὶ ταύτῃ περιεῖπον ὥς ἀνδράποδα.

181. The Aeginetan trireme, of which Asonides was captain, did however give them some trouble. On board this ship was Pytheas son of Ischenous, who acted heroically on that day. When his ship had been taken, he would not stop fighting until he had been entirely hacked to mincemeat. When he finally did fall, he still had life in him, and the Persian soldiers on the ships took great pains to keep him alive for his valor, tending his wounds with ointments and wrapping him in bandages of linen cloth. Upon returning to their own station, they showed him to the whole host, and made much of him and treated him with kindness. The rest of those whom they took in that ship, however, they used as slaves.

182 1 αἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν νεῶν οὕτω ἐχειρώθησαν· ἡ δὲ τρίτη, τῆς ἐτρηιάρρχεε Φόρμος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, φεύγουσα ἐξοκέλλει ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν σκάφεος ἐκράτησαν οἱ βάρβαροι, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐ· ὥς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐπώκειλαν τὴν νέα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀποθορόντες κατὰ Θεσσαλίην πορευόμενοι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐς Ἀθήνας.

182. Two of the ships, then, were made captive, and the third trireme, of which Phormus an Athenian was captain, ran aground in her flight at the mouth of the Peneus; the barbarians took her hull but not the crew, for the Athenians, as soon as they had run their craft aground, leapt out and made their way through Thessaly to Athens.

183 1 ταῦτα οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ στρατοπεδεύόμενοι πυνθάνονται παρὰ πυρσῶν ἐκ Σκιάθου· πυθόμενοι δὲ καὶ καταρῥωδήσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μετορμίζοντο ἐς Χαλκίδα, φυλάζοντες μὲν τὸν Εὐριπον, λείποντες δὲ ἡμεροσκόπους περὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῆς Εὐβοίης. 2 τῶν δὲ δέκα νεῶν τῶν βαρβάρων τρεῖς ἐπήλασαν περὶ τὸ ἔρμα τὸ μεταξὺ ἐδὼν Σκιάθου τε καὶ Μαγνησίης, καλεόμενον δὲ Μύρμηκα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ στήλην λίθου ἐπέθηκαν κομίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρμα, ὀρμηθέντες αὐτοὶ ἐκ Θέρμης, ὥς σφι τὸ ἐμποδὼν ἐγεγόνεε καθαρὸν, ἐπέπλεον πάσῃσι τῇσι νηυσί, ἔνδεκα ἡμέρας παρέντες μετὰ τὴν βασιλέος ἐξέλασιν ἐκ Θέρμης. 3 τὸ δὲ ἔρμα σφι κατηγήσατο ἐδὼν ἐν πόρῳ μάλιστα Πάμμων Σκύριος. πανημερὸν δὲ πλέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανύουσι τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρας ἐπὶ Σηπιάδα τε καὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς.

183. The Greeks who were stationed at Artemisium were informed of these matters by beacons from Sciathus. They were frightened by this and accordingly changed their anchorage from Artemisium to Chalcis, proposing to guard the Euripus and leaving watchmen on the heights of Euboea. Three of the ten barbarian ships ran aground on the reef called the Ant, which lies between Sciathus and Magnesia. The barbarians then brought a pillar of stone and set it on the reef, and when their course was plain before them, the whole fleet set forth and sailed from Therma, eleven days after the king had marched from there. It was Pammon of Scyros who showed them where in the strait the reef lay. After sailing along all day, the foreign fleet reached Sepias in Magnesia and the beach between the town of Casthanaea and the Sepiad headland.

184 1 μέχρι μὲν νυν τούτου τοῦ χώρου καὶ Θερμοπυλέων ἀπαθῆς τε κακῶν ἦν ὁ στρατός, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν τηνικαῦτα ἔτι, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης, ἑουσέων ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκοσιέων καὶ χιλιέων, τὸν μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἐκάστων τῶν ἐθνέων ἑόντα ὁμίλον τέσσερας καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας καὶ πρὸς χιλιάδα τε καὶ τετρακοσίους, ὡς ἀνὰ διηκοσίους ἄνδρας λογιζομένοισι ἐν ἐκάστη νήϊ. 2 ἐπεβάτευσον δὲ ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν νεῶν, χωρὶς ἐκάστων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐπιβατέων, Περσέων τε καὶ Μήδων καὶ Σακέων τριήκοντα ἄνδρες. οὗτος ἄλλος ὁμίλος γίνεται τρισμῦριοι καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι καὶ πρὸς διηκόσιοί τε καὶ δέκα. 3 προσθήσω δ' ἔτι τούτῳ καὶ τῷ προτέρῳ ἀριθμῷ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, ποιήσας, ὅ τι πλέον ἦν αὐτῶν ἢ ἔλασσον, ἀν' ὀγδώκοντα ἄνδρας ἐνεῖναι. συνελέχθη δὲ ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, τρισχίλια. ἤδη ὧν ἄνδρες ἂν εἶεν ἐν αὐτοῖσι τέσσερες μυριάδες καὶ εἴκοσι. 4 τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τό ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ναυτικὸν ἦν, σύμπαν ἐὸν πεντήκοντα μυριάδες καὶ μία, χιλιάδες δὲ ἔπεισι ἐπὶ ταύτησι ἑπτὰ καὶ πρὸς ἑκατοντάδες ἕξ καὶ δεκάς. τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες ἐγένοντο, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων ὀκτὼ μυριάδες. προσθήσω δ' ἔτι τούτοισι τὰς καμήλους τοὺς ἐλαύνοντας Ἀραβίους καὶ τοὺς τὰ ἄρματα Λίβυας, πλῆθος ποιήσας δισμυρίους ἄνδρας. 5 καὶ δὴ τό τε ἐκ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ πλῆθος συντιθέμενον γίνεται διηκόσιαί τε μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα καὶ μία, καὶ πρὸς χιλιάδες ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἕξ καὶ δεκάς. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ ἐξ

αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀσίας στρατεύμα ἐξαναχθὲν εἴρηται, ἄνευ τε τῆς
θεραπείης τῆς ἐπομένης καὶ τῶν σιταγωγῶν πλοίων καὶ ὅσοι
ἐνέπλεον τούτοισι.

184. Until the whole host reached this place and Thermopylae it suffered no hurt, and calculation proves to me that its numbers were still such as I will now show. The ships from Asia were twelve hundred and seven in number, and including the entire host of nations involved, there were a total of two hundred and forty-one thousand and four hundred men, two hundred being reckoned for each ship. On board all these ships were thirty fighting men of the Persians and Medes and Sacae in addition to the company which each had of native fighters; the number of this added contingent is thirty-six thousand, two hundred and ten. To this and to the first number I add the crews of the ships of fifty oars, calculating eighty men for each, whether there were actually more or fewer. Now seeing that, as has already been said, three thousand of these vessels were assembled, the number of men in them must have been two hundred and forty thousand. These, then, were the ships' companies from Asia, and the total number of them was five hundred and seventeen thousand, six hundred and ten. There were seven hundred thousand and one hundred footsoldiers and eighty thousand cavalymen; to these I add the Arabian camel-riders and Libyan charioteers, estimating them to have been twenty thousand in number. The forces of sea and land added together would consist of two million, three hundred and seventeen thousand, six hundred and ten men. So far I have spoken of the force which came from Asia itself, without the train of servants which followed it and the companies of the grain-bearing craft.

185 1 τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀγόμενον στρατεύμα ἔτι
προσλογιστέα τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ ἐξηριθμημένῳ· δόκησιν δὲ δεῖ λέγειν.
νέας μὲν νυν οἱ ἀπὸ Θρηίκης Ἑλληνες καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν νήσων τῶν
ἐπικειμενέων τῇ Θρηίκῃ παρείχοντο εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν· ἐκ μὲν νυν
τουτέων τῶν νεῶν ἄνδρες τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ δισμύριοι γίνονται. 2
πεζοῦ δὲ τὸν Θρήικες παρείχοντο καὶ Παίονες καὶ Ἑορδοὶ καὶ
Βοττιαῖοι καὶ τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος καὶ Βρύγοι καὶ Πίερες καὶ
Μακεδόνες καὶ Πεῤῥαῖβοι καὶ Ἐνιῆνες καὶ Δόλοπες καὶ Μάγνητες

καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ ὅσοι τῆς Θρηκῆς τὴν παραλίην νέμονται, τούτων τῶν ἐθνέων τριήκοντα μυριάδας δοκέω γενέσθαι. 3 αὗται ὧν αἱ μυριάδες ἐκείνησι προστεθεῖσαι τῇσι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, γίνονται αἱ πᾶσαι ἀνδρῶν αἱ μάχιμοι μυριάδες διηκόσιαι καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τέσσερες, ἔπεισι δὲ ταύτησι ἑκατοντάδες ἑκκαίδεκα καὶ δεκάς.

185. I must, however, also take into account the force brought from Europe, and I will rely on my best judgment in doing so. The Greeks of Thrace and the islands off Thrace furnished one hundred and twenty ships, and the companies of these ships must then have consisted of twenty-four thousand men. As regards the land army supplied by all the nations — Thracians, Paeonians, Eordi, Bottiaci, Chalcidians, Brygi, Pierians, Macedonians, Perrhaebi, Enienes, Dolopes, Magnesians, Achaeans, dwellers on the coast of Thrace — of all these I suppose the number to have been three hundred thousand. When these numbers are added to the numbers from Asia, the sum total of fighting men is two million, six hundred and forty-one thousand, six hundred and ten.

186 1 τοῦ μαχίμου δὲ τούτου ἐόντος ἀριθμὸν τοσούτου, τὴν θεραπῆν τὴν ἐπομένην τούτοις καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖσι σιταγωγοῖσι ἀκάτοις ἐόντας καὶ μάλα ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοις πλοίοις τοῖσι ἅμα πλέουσι τῇ στρατιῇ, τούτους τῶν μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν οὐ δοκέω εἶναι ἐλάσσονας ἀλλὰ πλεῦνας. 2 καὶ δὴ σφεας ποιέω ἴσους ἐκείνοις εἶναι καὶ οὔτε πλεῦνας οὔτε ἐλάσσονας οὐδέν· ἐξισούμενοι δὲ οὗτοι τῷ μαχίμῳ ἐκπληροῦσι τὰς ἴσας μυριάδας ἐκείνοις. οὕτω πεντακοσίας τε μυριάδας καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ χιλιάδας τρεῖς καὶ ἑκατοντάδας δύο καὶ δεκάδας δύο ἀνδρῶν ἤγαγε Ξέρξης ὁ Δαρείου μέχρι Σηπιάδος καὶ Θερμοπυλέων.

186. This then is the number of soldiers. As for the service-train which followed them and the crews of the light corn-bearing vessels and all the other vessels besides which came by sea with the force, these I believe to have been not fewer but more than the fighting men. Suppose, however, that they were equal in number, neither more nor fewer. If they were equal to the fighting contingent, they made up as many tens of thousands as the others. The number, then, of those whom Xerxes son of Darius led as far as the Sepiad headland and Thermopylae was five million, two hundred and

eighty-three thousand, two hundred and twenty.

187 1 οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦ συνάπαντος τοῦ Ξέρξεω στρατεύματος ἀριθμός, γυναικῶν δὲ σιτοποιῶν καὶ παλλακέων καὶ εὐνούχων οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀτρεκέα ἀριθμόν· οὐδ' αὖ ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτηνέων τῶν ἀχθοφόρων καὶ κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν τῶν ἐπομένων, οὐδ' ἂν τούτων ὑπὸ πλήθος οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀριθμόν. ὥστε οὐδέν μοι θῶμα παρίσταται προδοῦναι τὰ ρέεθρα τῶν ποταμῶν ἔστι ὧν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅκως τὰ σιτία ἀντέχρησε θῶμά μοι μυριάσι τοσαύτησι. 2 εὐρίσκω γὰρ συμβαλλόμενος, εἰ χοίνικα πυρῶν ἕκαστος τῆς ἡμέρης ἐλάμβανε καὶ μηδὲν πλέον, ἔνδεκα μυριάδας μεδίμνων τελομένηας ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη καὶ πρὸς τριηκοσίους τε ἄλλους μεδίμνους καὶ τεσσεράκοντα· γυναιξὶ δὲ καὶ εὐνούχοισι καὶ ὑποζυγίοισι καὶ κυσὶ οὐ λογίζομαι. ἀνδρῶν δὲ ἐουσέων τοσουτέων μυριάδων, κάλλεός τε εἵνεκα καὶ μεγάλθεος οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀξιονικότερος ἦν αὐτοῦ Ξέρξεω ἔχειν τοῦτο τὸ κράτος.

187. That is the number of Xerxes' whole force. No one, however, can say what the exact number of cooking women, and concubines, and eunuchs was, nor can one determine the number of the beasts of draught and burden, and the Indian dogs which accompanied the host; so many of them were there. It is accordingly not surprising to me that some of the streams of water ran dry. I do, however, wonder how there were provisions sufficient for so many tens of thousands, for calculation shows me, that if each man received one choenix of wheat a day and no more, eleven hundred thousand and three hundred and forty bushels would be required every day. In this calculation I take no account of the provisions for the women, eunuchs, beasts of burden and dogs. Of all those tens of thousands of men, there was not one, as regards looks and grandeur, worthier than Xerxes himself to hold that command.

188 1 ὁ δὲ δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐπεῖτε ὀρμηθεὶς ἔπλεε καὶ κατέσχε τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρας ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς, αἱ μὲν δὴ πρῶται τῶν νεῶν ὄρμεον πρὸς γῆν, ἄλλαι δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνησι ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐόντος οὐ μεγάλου, πρόκροσσαι ὀρμέοντο ἐς πόντον καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτῶ νέας. 2 ταύτην μὲν τὴν εὐφρόνην οὕτω, ἅμα δὲ ὀρθρῶ ἐξ αἰθρίας τε καὶ νηνεμίας τῆς θαλάσσης ζεσάσης ἐπέπεσέ

σφι χειμών τε μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἄνεμος ἀπηλιώτης, τὸν δὴ Ἑλλησποντὴν καλέουσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκημένοι. 3 ὅσοι μὲν νυν αὐτῶν αὐξόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον καὶ τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ὄρμου, οἱ δ' ἔφθησαν τὸν χειμῶνα ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε περιῆσαν καὶ αἱ νέες αὐτῶν· ὅσας δὲ τῶν νεῶν μεταρσίας ἔλαβε, τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἴπνους καλεομένους τοὺς ἐν Πηλίῳ, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν· αἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον, αἱ δὲ ἐς Μελίβοιαν πόλιν, αἱ δὲ ἐς Κασθαναίην ἐξεβράσσοντο· ἦν τε τοῦ χειμῶνος χρῆμα ἀφόρητον.

188. The Persian fleet put to sea and reached the beach of the Magnesian land, between the city of Casthanea and the headland of Sepia. The first ships to arrive moored close to land, with the others after them at anchor; since the beach was not large, they lay at anchor in rows eight ships deep out into the sea. They spent the night in this way, but at dawn a storm descended upon them out of a clear and windless sky, and the sea began to boil. A strong east wind blew, which the people living in those parts call Hellespontian. Those who felt the wind rising or had proper mooring dragged their ships up on shore ahead of the storm and so survived with their ships. The wind did, however, carry those ships caught out in the open sea against the rocks called the Ovens at Pelion or onto the beach. Some ships were wrecked on the Sepian headland, others were cast ashore at the city of Meliboea or at Casthanea. The storm was indeed unbearable.

189 1 λέγεται δὲ λόγος ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Βορέην ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐλθόντος σφι ἄλλου χρηστηρίου τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐπίκουρον καλέσασθαι. Βορέης δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήνων λόγον ἔχει γυναῖκα Ἀττικήν, Ὠρειθυίην τὴν Ἐρεχθέος. 2 κατὰ δὴ τὸ κῆδος τοῦτο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς φάτις ὀρμηται, συμβαλλόμενοι σφίσι τὸν Βορέην γαμβρὸν εἶναι, ναυλοχέοντες τῆς Εὐβοίης ἐν Χαλκίδι ὡς ἔμαθον αὐξόμενον τὸν χειμῶνα ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἐθύοντό τε καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο τὸν τε Βορέην καὶ τὴν Ὠρειθυίην τιμωρῆσαι σφίσι καὶ διαφθεῖραι τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας, ὡς καὶ πρότερον περὶ Ἄθων. 3 εἰ μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ὀρμέουσι Βορέης ἐπέπεσε, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· οἱ δ' ὧν Ἀθηναῖοι σφίσι λέγουσι βοηθήσαντα τὸν Βορέην πρότερον καὶ τότε ἐκεῖνα κατεργάσασθαι, καὶ ἱρὸν ἀπελθόντες Βορέῳ ἰδρύσαντο παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἴλισσόν.

189. The story is told that because of an oracle the Athenians invoked Boreas, the north wind, to help them, since another oracle told them to summon their son-in-law as an ally. According to the Hellenic story, Boreas had an Attic wife, Orithyia, the daughter of Erechtheus, ancient king of Athens. Because of this connection, so the tale goes, the Athenians considered Boreas to be their son-in-law. They were stationed off Chalcis in Euboea, and when they saw the storm rising, they then, if they had not already, sacrificed to and called upon Boreas and Orithyia to help them by destroying the barbarian fleet, just as before at Athos. I cannot say whether this was the cause of Boreas falling upon the barbarians as they lay at anchor, but the Athenians say that he had come to their aid before and that he was the agent this time. When they went home, they founded a sacred precinct of Boreas beside the Ilissus river.

190 1 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ νέας οἱ ἐλαχίστας λέγουσι διαφθαῖναι τετρακοσιέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, ἄνδρας τε ἀναριθμήτους χρημάτων τε πλῆθος ἄφθονον. ὥστε Ἀμεινοκλεί τῷ Κρητίνεω ἀνδρὶ Μάγνητι γιοχέοντι περὶ Σηπιάδα μεγάλως ἢ ναυηγίῃ αὕτη ἐγένετο χρηστή· ὃς πολλὰ μὲν χρύσεια ποτήρια ὑστέρω χρόνῳ ἐκβρασσόμενα ἀνείλετο πολλὰ δὲ ἀργύρεα, θησαυρούς τε τῶν Περσέων εὗρε, ἄλλα τε ἄφατα χρήματα περιεβάλετο. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τᾶλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων εὐρήμασι μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο· ἦν γάρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμφορὴ λυπεῦσα παιδοφόνος.

190. They say that at the very least no fewer than 400 ships were destroyed in this labor, along with innumerable men and abundant wealth. This shipwreck proved useful to Ameinocles son of Cretines, a man of Magnesia who owned land around Sepia, for he later picked up many gold and silver cups cast up on shore, found the Persian treasures, and acquired other untold riches. Although he became very rich from his findings, he did not enjoy luck in everything, for he suffered greatly when his son was murdered.

191 1 σιταγωγῶν δὲ ὀλκάδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἐπὶ ἄριθμός. ὥστε δέισαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ μὴ σφί κεκακωμένοισι ἐπιθέωνται οἱ Θεσσαλοί, ἔρκος ὑψηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ναυηγίων περιεβάλοντο· 2 ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχείμαζε τρεῖς. τέλος δὲ ἔντομά τε ποιεῦντες καὶ καταεῖδοντες γόησι

οἱ Μάγοι τῷ ἀνέμῳ, πρὸς τε τούτοισι καὶ τῇ Θέτι καὶ τῇσι Νηρηΐσι θύοντες, ἔπαυσαν τετάρτη ἡμέρῃ, ἣ ἄλλως κως αὐτὸς ἐθέλων ἐκόπασε. τῇ δὲ Θέτι ἔθουν πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἴωνων τὸν λόγον. ὥς ἐκ τοῦ χώρου τούτου ἀρπασθεῖν ὑπὸ Πηλέος, εἴη τε ἅπανα ἢ ἀκτὴ ἢ Σηπιάς ἐκεῖνης τε καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων Νηρηίδων.

191. There was no counting how many grain-ships and other vessels were destroyed. The generals of the fleet were afraid that the Thessalians might attack them now that they had been defeated, so they built a high palisade out of the wreckage. The storm lasted three days. Finally the Magi made offerings and cast spells upon the wind, sacrificing also to Thetis and the Nereids. In this way they made the wind stop on the fourth day — or perhaps it died down on its own. They sacrificed to Thetis after hearing from the Ionians the story that it was from this place that Peleus had carried her off and that all the headland of Sepia belonged to her and to the other Nereids.

192 1 ὁ μὲν δὴ τετάρτη ἡμέρῃ ἐπέπαυτο· τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλήσι οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταδραμόντες δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ὁ χειμὼν ὁ πρῶτος ἐγένετο, ἐσήμαινον πάντα τὰ γινόμενα περὶ τὴν ναυηγίην. 2 οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐπύθοντο, Ποσειδέωνι σωτῆρι εὐξάμενοι καὶ σπονδὰς προχέαντες τὴν ταχίστην ὀπίσω ἠπεύγοντο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐλπίσαντες ὀλίγας τινὰς σφι ἀντιζόους ἔσεσθαι νέας.

192. The storm, then, ceased on the fourth day. Now the scouts stationed on the headlands of Euboea ran down and told the Hellenes all about the shipwreck on the second day after the storm began. After hearing this they prayed to Poseidon as their savior and poured libations. Then they hurried to Artemisium hoping to find few ships opposing them. So they came to Artemisium a second time and made their station there. From that time on they call Poseidon their savior.

193 1 οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ δεύτερον ἐλθόντες περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐναυλόχεον, Ποσειδέωνος σωτῆρος ἐπωνυμίην ἀπὸ τούτου ἔτι καὶ ἐς τότε νομίζοντες. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ὥς ἐπαύσατό τε ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ τὸ κῶμα ἔστρωτο, κατασπάσαντες τὰς νέας ἔπλεον παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον, κάμψαντες δὲ τὴν ἄκρην τῆς Μαγνησίης ἰθέαν ἔπλεον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Παγασέων φέροντα. 2 ἔστι δὲ χῶρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἔνθα λέγεται τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰήσονος

τε καὶ τῶν συνεταίρων ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐπ' ὕδωρ πεμφθέντα, εὗτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἔπλεον ἐς Αἴαν τὴν Κολχίδα· ἐνθεῦτεν γὰρ ἔμελλον ὑδρευσάμενοι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφήσειν. ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ τῷ χώρῳ οὖνομα γέγονε Ἀφέται. ἐν τούτῳ ὦν ὄρμον οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐποιεῦντο.

193. The barbarians, when the wind ceased and the waves no longer ran high, put to sea and coasted along the mainland; they sailed around the headland of Magnesia and sailed straight into the gulf which stretches toward Pagasae. There is a place on this gulf in Magnesia, where, it is said, Heracles was sent for water and was left behind by Jason and his comrades of the Argo, when they were sailing to Aea in Colchis for the fleece; their purpose was to draw water from there and then to put out to sea. This is the reason why that place has been called Aphetae. Here Xerxes' men made their anchorage.

194 1 πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τῶν νεῶν τουτέων ἔτυχόν τε ὕσταται πολλὸν ἐξαναχθεῖσαι καὶ κως κατεῖδον τὰς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέας. ἔδοξάν τε δὴ τὰς σφετέρας εἶναι οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ πλέοντες ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους· τῶν ἐστρατήγεε ὁ ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος ὑπαρχος Σανδώκης ὁ Θαμασίου τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ἐπ' αἰτῇ τοιγῆδε λαβὼν ἀνεσταύρωσε ἐόντα τῶν βασιληίων δικαστέων. ὁ Σανδώκης ἐπὶ χρήμασι ἄδικον δίκην ἐδίκασε. 2 ἀνακρεμασθέντος ὧν αὐτοῦ, λογιζόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος εὖρέ οἱ πλέω ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πεποιημένα ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασιληίων· εὐρὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Δαρεῖος, καὶ γνοὺς ὡς ταχύτερα αὐτὸς ἢ σοφώτερα ἐργασμένος εἶη, ἔλυσε. 3 βασιλέα μὲν δὴ Δαρεῖον οὕτω διαφυγὼν μὴ ἀπολέσθαι περιῆν, τότε δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καταπλώσας ἔμελλε οὐ τὸ δεύτερον διαφυγὼν ἔσεσθαι· ὥς γὰρ σφέας εἶδον προσπλέοντας οἱ Ἕλληνες, μαθόντες αὐτῶν τὴν γινομένην ἀμαρτάδα, ἐπαναχθέντες εὐπετέως σφέας εἶλον.

194. Fifteen of those ships had put to sea a long time after all the rest, and it chanced that they sighted the Greek ships off Artemisium. Supposing these to be their own fleet, the barbarians proceeded into the midst of their enemies. Their captain was the viceroy from Cyme in Aeolia, Sandoces son of Thamasius. This man, who was one of the king's judges, had once before been taken and crucified by Darius because he had given unjust judgment for a bribe. When Sandoces

had been hung on the cross, Darius found on consideration that his good services to the royal house outweighed his offenses. The king then perceived that he had acted with more haste than wisdom and set Sandoces free. In this way he escaped from being put to death by Darius. Now that he was taken into the midst of the Greeks, however, he was not to escape a second time, for when the Greeks saw the Persians bearing down on them, they perceived their mistake and putting to sea, easily took them captive.

195 1 ἐν τούτέων μιῇ Ἀριδωλὶς πλέων ἦλω, τύραννος Ἀλαβάνδων τῶν ἐν Καρίῃ, ἐν ἐτέρῃ δὲ ὁ Πάφιος στρατηγὸς Πενθύλος ὁ Δημονόου, ὃς ἦγε μὲν δωδέκα νέας ἐκ Πάφου, ἀποβαλὼν δὲ σφέων τὰς ἑνδεκα τῷ χειμῶνι τῷ γενομένῳ κατὰ Σηπιάδα, μιῇ τῇ περιγενομένῃ καταπλέων ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦλω. τούτους οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐξιστορήσαντες τὰ ἐβούλοντο πυθέσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Ξέρξεω στρατιῆς, ἀποπέμπουσι δεδεμένους ἐς τὸν Κορινθίων ἰσθμόν.

195. In one of these ships they took Aridolis, the tyrant of Alabanda in Caria, and in another the Paphian captain Penthylus, son of Demonous; of the twelve ships which he had brought from Paphos he had lost eleven in the storm off the Sepiad headland and was in the one which remained when he was taken as he headed down on Artemisium. Having questioned these men and learned what they desired to know of Xerxes' force, the Greeks sent them away to the isthmus of Corinth in bonds.

196 1 ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατός, παρέξ τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα νεῶν τῶν εἶπον Σανδώκεα στρατηγέειν, ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ἀφέτας. Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς πορευθεὶς διὰ Θεσσαλίας καὶ Ἀχαιῆς ἐσβεβληκῶς ἦν καὶ δὴ τριταῖος ἐς Μηλιάας, ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ μὲν ἄμιλλαν ποιησάμενος ἵππων τῶν τε ἐωυτοῦ ἀποπειρώμενος καὶ τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἵππου, πυθόμενος ὡς ἀρίστη εἴη τῶν ἐν Ἑλληνισι· ἔνθα δὲ αἱ Ἑλληνίδες ἵπποι ἐλείποντο πολλόν. τῶν μὲν νυν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ποταμῶν Ὀνόχωνος μῦθος οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ρέεθρον πινόμενος· τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀχαιίῃ ποταμῶν ρεόντων οὐδὲ ὅστις μέγιστος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ Ἡπιδανός, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἀντέσχε εἰ μὴ φλαύρως.

196. So the foreign fleet, of which, with the exception of fifteen ships Sandoces was captain, came to Aphetae. Xerxes and his land army marched through Thessaly and Achaea, and it was three days

since he had entered Malis. In Thessaly he held a race for his own cavalry; this was also a test of the Thessalian horsemen, whom he had heard were the best in Hellas. The Greek horses were far outpaced in this contest. Of the Thessalian rivers, the Onochonus was the only one which could not provide enough water for his army to drink. In Achaea, however, even the greatest river there, the Apidanus, gave out, remaining but a sorry trickle.

197 1 ἐς Ἄλον δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιῆς ἀπικομένῳ Ξέρξῃ οἱ κατηγεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ βουλόμενοι τὸ πᾶν ἐξηγέσθαι ἔλεγόν οἱ ἐπιχώριον λόγον, τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Λαφυστιῦ Διός, ὡς Ἀθάμας ὁ Αἰόλου ἐμηχανήσατο Φρίξῳ μόνον σὺν Ἰνοῖ βουλευσας, μετέπειτα δὲ ὡς ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀχαιοὶ προτιθεῖσι τοῖσι ἐκείνου ἀπογόνοισι ἀέθλους τοιούσδε· 2 ὃς ἂν ἧ τοῦ γένεος τούτου πρεσβύτατος, τούτῳ ἐπιτάξαντες ἔργεσθαι τοῦ λήϊτου αὐτοῖ φυλακὰς ἔχουσι. λήϊτον δὲ καλέουσι τὸ πρυτανήιον οἱ Ἀχαιοί. ἦν δὲ ἐσέλθῃ, οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως ἔξιει πρὶν ἢ θύσεσθαι μέλλῃ· ὥς τ' ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις πολλοὶ ἤδη τούτων τῶν μελλόντων θύσεσθαι δείσαντες οἶχοντο ἀποδράντες ἐς ἄλλην χώραν, χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ὀπίσω κατελθόντες ἦν ἀλίσκονται ἐστέλλοντο ἐς τὸ πρυτανήιον· ὡς θύεται τε ἐξηγέοντο στέμμασι πᾶς πυκασθεὶς καὶ ὡς σὺν πομπῇ ἐξαχθεῖς. 3 ταῦτα δὲ πᾶσχοι οἱ Κυτισσώρου τοῦ Φρίξου παιδὸς ἀπόγονοι, διότι καθαρμὸν τῆς χώρας ποιευμένων Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀθάμαντα τὸν Αἰόλου καὶ μελλόντων μιν θύειν ἀπικόμενος οὗτος ὁ Κυτίσσωρος ἐξ Αἴης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐρρύσατο, ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο τοῖσι ἐπιγενομένοις ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέβαλε. 4 Ξέρξης δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὡς κατὰ τὸ ἄλλος ἐγίνετο, αὐτὸς τε ἔργετο αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ πάσῃ παρήγγειλε, τῶν τε Ἀθάμαντος ἀπογόνων τὴν οἰκίαν ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐσέβετο.

197. When Xerxes had come to Alus in Achaea, his guides, desiring to inform him of all they knew, told him the story which is related in that country concerning the worship of Laphystian Zeus, namely how Athamas son of Aeolus plotted Phrixus' death with Ino, and further, how the Achaeans by an oracle's bidding compel Phrixus descendants to certain tasks. They order the eldest of that family not to enter their town-hall (which the Achaeans call the People's House) and themselves keep watch there. If he should enter, he

may not come out, save only to be sacrificed. They say as well that many of those who were to be sacrificed had fled in fear to another country, and that if they returned at a later day and were taken, they were brought into the town-hall. The guides showed Xerxes how the man is sacrificed, namely with fillets covering him all over and a procession to lead him forth. It is the descendants of Phrixus' son Cytissorus who are treated in this way, because when the Achaeans by an oracle's bidding made Athamas son of Aeolus a scapegoat for their country and were about to sacrifice him, this Cytissorus came from Aea in Colchis and delivered him, thereby bringing the god's wrath on his own descendants. Hearing all this, Xerxes, when he came to the temple grove, refrained from entering it himself and bade all his army do likewise, holding the house and the precinct of Athamas' descendants alike in reverence.

198 1 ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀχαίῃ· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χώρων ἦε ἐς τὴν Μηλίδα παρὰ κόλπον θαλάσσης, ἐν τῷ ἄμπωτίς τε καὶ ῥηχίῃ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. περὶ δὲ τὸν κόλπον τοῦτον ἐστὶ χῶρος πεδινός, τῇ μὲν εὐρὺς τῇ δὲ καὶ κάρτα στενός· περὶ δὲ τὸν χῶρον ὄρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἄβατα περικληίει πᾶσαν τὴν Μηλίδα γῆν, Τρηχίνια πέτραι καλεόμεναι. 2 πρώτη μὲν νυν πόλις ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ἰόντι ἀπὸ Ἀχαΐης Ἀντικύρη, παρ' ἣν Σπερχειὸς ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐξ Ἐνιήνων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοί. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου διὰ εἴκοσί κου σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμὸς τῷ οὖνομα κεῖται Δύρας, τὸν βοηθέοντα τῷ Ἡρακλεί καιομένῳ λόγος ἐστὶ ἀναφανῆναι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου δι' ἄλλων εἴκοσι σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμὸς ἐστὶ ὃς καλέεται Μέλας.

198. These were Xerxes' actions in Thessaly and Achaea. From here he came into Malis along a gulf of the sea, in which the tide ebbs and flows daily. There is low-lying ground about this gulf, sometimes wide and sometimes very narrow, and around it stand high and inaccessible mountains which enclose the whole of Malis and are called the Rocks of Trachis. Now the first town by the gulf on the way from Achaea is Anticyra, near to which the river Spercheus flows from the country of the Enieni and issues into the sea. About twenty furlongs from that river is another named Dyrras, which is said to have risen from the ground to aid Heracles against

the fire that consumed him and twenty furlongs again from that there is another river called the Black river.

199 1 Τρηχίς δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλανος τούτου ποταμοῦ πέντε στάδια ἀπέχει. ταύτη δὲ καὶ εὐρύτατον ἐστὶ πάσης τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων ἐς θάλασσαν, κατ' ἃ Τρηχίς πεπόλισται· δισχιλία τε γὰρ καὶ δισμύρια πλέθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστί. τοῦ δὲ ὄρεος τὸ περικληθεῖν τὴν γῆν τὴν Τρηχινίην ἐστὶ διασφάξ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην Τρηχίνος, διὰ δὲ τῆς διασφάγος Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ῥέει παρὰ τὴν ὑπωρείαν τοῦ ὄρεος.

199. The town of Trachis is five furlongs away from this Black river. Here is the greatest distance in all this region between the sea and the hills on which Trachis stands, for the plain is twenty-two thousand plethra in extent. In the mountains which hem in the Trachinian land there is a ravine to the south of Trachis, through which the river Asopus flows past the lower slopes of the mountains.

200 1 ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος Φοῖνιξ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, ὃς ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων τούτων ῥέων ἐς τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ἐκδιδοῖ. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Φοῖνικα ποταμὸν στενίστατον ἐστὶ· ἀμαξιτὸς γὰρ μόνη δέδμηται. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἐστὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας. 2 ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ καὶ Θερμοπυλέων κώμη τε ἐστὶ τῇ οὖνομα Ἀνθήλη κεῖται, παρ' ἣν δὴ παραρρέων ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, καὶ χῶρος περὶ αὐτὴν εὐρύς, ἐν τῷ Δήμητρος τε ἱρὸν Ἀμφικτυονίδος ἵδρυται καὶ ἔδραι εἰσὶ Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος ἱρόν.

200. There is another river south of the Asopus, the Phoenix, a little stream which flows from those mountains into the Asopus. Near this stream is the narrowest place; there is only space for a single cart-way. Thermopylae is fifteen furlongs away from the river Phoenix. Between the river and Thermopylae there is a village named Anthele, past which the Asopus flows out into the sea, and there is a wide space around it in which stand a temple of Amphictyonic Demeter, seats for the Amphictyons, and a temple of Amphictyon himself

201 1 βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἐστρατοπεδεύετο τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Τρηχινίῃ, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῇ διόδῳ. καλέεται δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλεόνων Ἑλλήνων Θερμοπύλας, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν

ἐπιχωρίων καὶ περιοίκων Πύλαι. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν νυν ἑκάτεροι ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι χωρίοις, ἐπεκράτεε δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορρην ἄνεμον ἐχόντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχίνος, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότον καὶ μεσαμβρίην φερόντων τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡπείρου.

201. King Xerxes lay encamped in Trachis in Malis and the Hellenes in the pass. This place is called Thermopylae by most of the Hellenes, but by the natives and their neighbors Pylae. Each lay encamped in these places. Xerxes was master of everything to the north from Trachis, and the Hellenes of all that lay toward the south on the mainland.

202 1 ἦσαν δὲ οἶδε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ὑπομένοντες τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ, Σπαρτιητέων τε τριηκόσιοι ὀπλῖται καὶ Τεγεατέων καὶ Μαντινέων χίλιοι, ἡμίσεες ἑκατέρων, ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ τε τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀρκαδίας χίλιοι· τοσοῦτοι μὲν Ἀρκάδων, ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι καὶ ἀπὸ Φλειοῦντος διηκόσιοι καὶ Μυκηναίων ὀγδῶκοντα. οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρῆσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ Βοιωτῶν Θεσπιδέων τε ἑπτακόσιοι καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι.

202. The Hellenes who awaited the Persians in that place were these: three hundred Spartan armed men; one thousand from Tegea and Mantinea, half from each place; one hundred and twenty from Orchomenus in Arcadia and one thousand from the rest of Arcadia; that many Arcadians, four hundred from Corinth, two hundred from Phlius, and eighty Mycenaeans. These were the Peloponnesians present; from Boeotia there were seven hundred Thespians and four hundred Thebans.

203 1 πρὸς τούτοις ἐπὶ κλητοὶ ἐγένοντο Λοκροὶ τε οἱ Ὀπούντιοι πανστρατιῇ καὶ Φωκέων χίλιοι. αὐτοὶ γὰρ σφέας οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεκαλέσαντο, λέγοντες δι' ἀγγέλων ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἦκοιεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων προσδόκιμοι πᾶσαν εἶεν ἡμέρην, ἢ θάλασσαν τέ σφι εἶη ἐν φυλακῇ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων τε φρουρομένη καὶ Αἰγινήτεων καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντων, καὶ σφι εἶη δεινὸν οὐδέν· 2 οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπον, εἶναι δὲ θνητὸν οὐδένα οὐδὲ ἔσεσθαι τῷ κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ οὐ συνεμίχθη, τοῖσι δὲ μεγίστοις αὐτῶν μέγιστα. ὀφείλειν ὦν καὶ τὸν ἐπελαύνοντα, ὡς

έόντα θνητόν, ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσεῖν ἄν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἐβοήθεον ἐς τὴν Τρηχῖνα.

203. In addition, the Opuntian Locrians in full force and one thousand Phocians came at the summons. The Hellenes had called upon them through messengers who told them that this was only the advance guard, that the rest of the allies were expected any day now, and that the sea was being watched, with the Athenians and Aeginetans and all those enrolled in the fleet on guard. There was nothing for them to be afraid of. The invader of Hellas was not a god but a human being, and there was not, and never would be, any mortal on whom some amount of evil was not bestowed at birth, with the greatest men receiving the largest share. The one marching against them was certain to fall from pride, since he was a mortal. When they heard this, the Locrians and Phocians marched to Trachis to help.

204 1 τούτοισι ἦσαν μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατὰ πόλιας ἐκάστων, ὁ δὲ θωμαζόμενος μάλιστα καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγούμενος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν Λεωνίδης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω τοῦ Λέοντος τοῦ Εὐρυκρατίδεω τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ Εὐρυκράτεος τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Ἀλκαμένεος τοῦ Τηλέκλου τοῦ Ἀρχέλεω τοῦ Ἥγησίλεω τοῦ Δορύσσου τοῦ Λεωβώτεω τοῦ Ἐχεστράτου τοῦ Ἥγιος τοῦ Εὐρυσθένεος τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὑλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, κτησάμενος τὴν βασιληίην ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου.

204. Each city had its own general, but the one most admired and the leader of the whole army was a Lacedaemonian, Leonidas, son of Anaxandrides, son of Leon, son of Eurycratides, son of Anaxandrus, son of Eurycrates, son of Polydorus, son of Alcamenes, son of Teleclus, son of Archelaus, son of Hegesilaus, son of Doryssus, son of Leobotes, son of Echestratus, son of Agis, son of Eurysthenes, son of Aristodemus, son of Aristomachus, son of Cleodaeus, son of Hyllus, son of Heracles. Leonidas had gained the kingship at Sparta unexpectedly.

205 1 διζῶν γάρ οἱ ἐόντων πρεσβυτέρων ἀδελφεῶν, Κλεομένεός τε καὶ Δωριέος, ἀπελήλατο τῆς φροντίδος περὶ τῆς βασιληίης. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Κλεομένεος ἄπαιδος ἔρσηνος γόνου, Δωριέος τε

οὐκέτι ἐόντος ἀλλὰ τελευτήσαντος καὶ τούτου ἐν Σικελίῃ, οὕτω δὴ ἐς Λεωνίδην ἀνέβαινε ἡ βασιλείη, καὶ διότι πρότερος ἐγεγόνεε Κλεομβρότου· οὗτος γὰρ ἦν νεώτατος Ἀναξανδρίδew παῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ εἶχε Κλεομένεος θυγατέρα. 2 ὃς τότε ἦε ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κατεστεῶτας τριηκοσίους καὶ τοῖσι ἐτύγχανον παῖδες ἐόντες· παραλαβὼν δὲ ἀπίκετο καὶ Θηβαίων τοὺς ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν λογισάμενος εἶπον, τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Λεοντιάδης ὁ Εὐρυμάχου. 3 τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα τούτους σπουδὴν ἐποιήσατο Λεωνίδης μούνους Ἑλλήνων παραλαβεῖν, ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγορήτο μηδίζειν· παρεκάλει ὧν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, θέλων εἰδέναι εἴτε συμπέμψουσι εἴτε καὶ ἀπερέουσι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος τὴν Ἑλλήνων συμμαχίην. οἱ δὲ ἀλλοφρονέοντες ἔπεμπον.

205. Since he had two older brothers, Cleomenes and Dorieus, he had renounced all thought of the kingship. Cleomenes, however, died without male offspring, and Dorieus, who had met his end in Sicily, was also no longer alive. The succession therefore fell to Leonidas since he was older than Anaxandrides' youngest son Cleombrotus and had married Cleomenes' daughter. He now came to Thermopylae with the appointed three hundred he had selected, all of whom had sons. He also brought those Thebans whom I counted among the number and whose general was Leontiades son of Eurymachus. Leonidas took pains to bring only the Thebans among the Hellenes, because they were accused of medizing; he summoned them to the war wishing to know whether they would send their men with him or openly refuse the Hellenic alliance. They sent the men but intended something quite different

206 1 τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην πρῶτους ἀπέπεμψαν Σπαρτιῆται, ἵνα τούτους ὁρῶντες οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι στρατεύωνται μηδὲ καὶ οὗτοι μηδίσωσι, ἣν αὐτοὺς πυνθάνονται ὑπερβαλλομένους· μετὰ δέ, Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἦν ἐμποδῶν, ἔμελλον ὀρτάσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ κατὰ τάχος βοηθέειν πανδημεῖ. 2 ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐνένωντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιήσειν· ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὸντὸ Ὀλυμπιάς τούτοις τοῖσι πρήγμασι συμπεσοῦσα· οὐκὼν δοκέοντες κατὰ τάχος οὕτω διακριθῆσεσθαι τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι πόλεμον ἔπεμπον τοὺς προδρόμους.

206. The Spartans sent the men with Leonidas on ahead so that

the rest of the allies would see them and march, instead of medizing like the others if they learned that the Spartans were delaying. At present the Carneia was in their way, but once they had completed the festival, they intended to leave a garrison at Sparta and march out in full force with all speed. The rest of the allies planned to do likewise, for the Olympiad coincided with these events. They accordingly sent their advance guard, not expecting the war at Thermopylae to be decided so quickly.

207 1 οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτω διενένωντο ποιήσιν· οἱ δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἕλληνες, ἐπειδὴ πέλας ἐγένετο τῆς ἐσβολῆς ὁ Πέρσης, καταρρώδεοντες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς. τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοισι Πελοποννησίοισι ἐδόκεε ἐλθοῦσι ἐς Πελοπόννησον τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ· Λεωνίδης δέ, Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν περισπερχεόντων τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἐψηφίζετο πέμπειν τε ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς πόλεις κελεύοντάς σφι ἐπιβοηθεῖν, ὥς ἐόντων αὐτῶν ὀλίγων στρατὸν τὸν Μῆδων ἀλέξασθαι.

207. This is what they intended, but the Hellenes at Thermopylae, when the Persians drew near the pass, fearfully took counsel whether to depart. The rest of the Peloponnesians were for returning to the Peloponnese and guarding the isthmus, but the Phocians and Locrians were greatly angered by this counsel. Leonidas voted to remain where they were and send messengers to the cities bidding them to send help, since they were too few to ward off the army of the Medes.

208 1 ταῦτα βουλευομένων σφέων, ἔπεμπε Ξέρξης κατάσκοπον ἵππεά ιδέσθαι ὅκόσοι εἰσὶ καὶ ὅ τι ποιεοίεν. ἀκηκόεε δὲ ἔτι ἐὼν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ὥς ἀλισμένη εἶη ταύτῃ στρατιῇ ὀλίγῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὥς εἶησαν Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Λεωνίδης ἐὼν γένος Ἡρακλείδης. 2 ὥς δὲ προσήλασε ὁ ἵππεὺς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐθηεῖτό τε καὶ κατώρα πᾶν μὲν οὐ τὸ στρατόπεδον· τοὺς γὰρ ἔσω τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχεος, τὸ ἀνορθώσαντες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, οὐκ οἶά τε ἦν κατιδέσθαι· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω ἐμάνθανε, τοῖσι πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὰ ὅπλα ἔκειτο· ἔτυχον δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔξω τεταγμένοι. 3 τοὺς μὲν δὴ ὥρα γυμναζομένους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας κτενιζομένους, ταῦτα δὴ θεώμενος ἐθώμαζε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐμάνθανε. μαθὼν δὲ πάντα ἀτρεκέως ἀπήλυνε ὀπίσω κατ' ἡσυχίην· οὔτε γάρ

τις ἐδίδωκε ἀλογίης τε ἐνεκύρησε πολλῆς· ἀπελθὼν τε ἔλεγε πρὸς Ξέρξην τά περ ὁπώπее πάντα.

208. While they debated in this way, Xerxes sent a mounted scout to see how many there were and what they were doing. While he was still in Thessaly, he had heard that a small army was gathered there and that its leaders were Lacedaemonians, including Leonidas, who was of the Heracleid clan. Riding up to the camp, the horseman watched and spied out the place. He could, however, not see the whole camp, for it was impossible to see those posted inside the wall which they had rebuilt and were guarding. He did take note of those outside, whose arms lay in front of the wall, and it chanced that at that time the Lacedaemonians were posted there. He saw some of the men exercising naked and others combing their hair. He marvelled at the sight and took note of their numbers. When he had observed it all carefully, he rode back in leisure, since no one pursued him or paid him any attention at all. So he returned and told Xerxes all that he had seen.

209 1 ἀκούων δὲ Ξέρξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλέσθαι τὸ ἐόν, ὅτι παρασκευάζοντο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι τε καὶ ἀπολέοντες κατὰ δύναμιν· ἀλλ' αὐτῷ γελοῖα γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο ποιέειν, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρτην τὸν Ἀρίστωνος ἐόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· 2 ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν εἰρώτα Ξέρξης ἕκαστα τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθεῖν τὸ ποιούμενον πρὸς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ὁ δὲ εἶπε “Ἦκουσας μὲν καὶ πρότερόν μεν, εὔτε ὀρμῶμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων, ἀκούσας δὲ γέλωτά με ἔθευ λέγοντα τῇ περ ὥρων ἐκβησόμενα πρήγματα ταῦτα· ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθείην ἀσκέειν ἀντία σεῦ βασιλεῦ ἀγὼν μέγιστος ἐστί. 3 ἄκουσον δὲ καὶ νῦν· οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἀπίκαται μαχησόμενοι ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς ἐσόδου, καὶ ταῦτα παρασκευάζονται. νόμος γάρ σφι ἔχων οὕτω ἐστί· ἐπεὰν μέλλωσι κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς κεφαλὰς κοσμέονται. 4 ἐπίστασο δέ, εἰ τούτους γε καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ καταστρέψαι, ἔστι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων τὸ σὲ βασιλεῦ ὑπομενέει χεῖρας ἀνταειρόμενον· νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασιλήϊν τε καὶ καλλίστην πόλιν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι προσφέρειαι καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους”. 5 κάρτα τε δὴ Ξέρξῃ ἄπιστα ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ δεύτερα ἐπειρώτα ὄντινα τρόπον τοσοῦτοι ἐόντες τῇ ἐωυτοῦ στρατιῇ μαχίσονται. ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἀνδρὶ

ψεύστη, ἣν μὴ ταῦτά τοι ταύτη ἐκβῆ τῇ ἐγὼ λέγω”.

209. When Xerxes heard that, he could not comprehend the fact that the Lacedaemonians were actually, to the best of their ability, preparing to kill or be killed. What they did appeared laughable to him, so he sent for Demaratus the son of Ariston, who was in his camp. When this man arrived, he asked him about each of these matters, wanting to understand what it was that the Lacedaemonians were doing. Demaratus said, “You have already heard about these men from me, when we were setting out for Hellas, but when you heard, you mocked me, although I told you how I expected things to turn out. It is my greatest aim, O King, to be truthful in your presence. So hear me now. These men have come to fight us for the pass, and it for this that they are preparing. This is their custom: when they are about to risk their lives, they arrange their hair. Rest assured that if you overcome these men and those remaining behind at Sparta, there is no one else on earth who will raise his hands to withstand you, my King. You are now attacking the fairest kingdom in Hellas and men who are the very best.” What he said seemed completely incredible to Xerxes, so he then asked how they, who were so few in number, would fight against his army. Demaratus answered, “My King, take me for a liar if this does not turn out as I say.” So he spoke, but he did not persuade Xerxes.

210 1 ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ξέρξην τέσσερας μὲν δὴ παρεξῆκε ἡμέρας, ἐλπίζων αἰεὶ σφεας ἀποδρῆσεσθαι· πέμπτη δέ, ὥς οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἀλλὰ οἱ ἐφαίνοντο ἀναιδείῃ τε καὶ ἀβουλίῃ διαχρεώμενοι μένειν, πέμπει ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς Μήδους τε καὶ Κισσίους θυμωθεῖς, ἐντειλάμενος σφέας ζωγρήσαντας ἄγειν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐωντοῦ. 2 ὥς δ’ ἐσέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἐπιπτον πολλοί, ἄλλοι δ’ ἐπεσήσαν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπηλαύνοντο, καίπερ μέγας πρὸς πταίνοντες. δῆλον δ’ ἐποίουν παντὶ τεφ καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλεί, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ συμβολὴ δι’ ἡμέρης.

210. He let four days go by, expecting them to run away at any minute. They did not leave, and it seemed to him that they stayed out of folly and lack of due respect. On the fifth day he became angry and sent the Medes and Cissians against them, bidding them take

them prisoner and bring them into his presence. The Medes bore down upon the Hellenes and attacked. Many fell, but others attacked in turn, and they made it clear to everyone, especially to the king himself, that among so many people there were few real men. The battle lasted all day.

211 1 ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηχέως περιείποντο, ἐνθαῦτα οὔτοι μὲν ὑπεξήσαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι ἐπήσαν, τοὺς ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεε βασιλεύς, τῶν ἤρχε Ὑδάρνης, ὥς δὴ οὔτοι γε εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι. 2 ὥς δὲ καὶ οὔτοι συνέμισγον τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι, οὐδὲν πλεον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς Μηδικῆς ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτά, ἅτε ἐν στεينوπόρῳ τε χώρῳ μαχόμενοι καὶ δόρασι βραχυτέροισι χρεώμενοι ἢ περ οἱ Ἑλλήνες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλήθει χρήσασθαι. 3 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου, ἄλλα τε ἀποδεικνύμενοι ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοισι μάχεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενοι, καὶ ὅπως ἐντρένγειαν τὰ νῶτα, ἀλέες φεύγεσκον δῆθεν, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὀρῶντες φεύγοντας βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ ἐπήσαν, οἱ δ' ἂν καταλαμβανόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἶναι τοῖσι βαρβάροις, μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ κατέβαλλον πλήθει ἀναριθμήτους τῶν Περσέων· ἐπιπτον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐνθαῦτα ὀλίγοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνέατο παραλαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐσόδου πειρώμενοι καὶ κατὰ τέλεα καὶ παντοίως προσβάλλοντες, ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω.

211. When the Medes had been roughly handled, they retired, and the Persians whom the king called Immortals, led by Hydarnes, attacked in turn. It was thought that they would easily accomplish the task. When they joined battle with the Hellenes, they fared neither better nor worse than the Median army, since they used shorter spears than the Hellenes and could not use their numbers fighting in a narrow space. The Lacedaemonians fought memorably, showing themselves skilled fighters amidst unskilled on many occasions, as when they would turn their backs and feign flight. The barbarians would see them fleeing and give chase with shouting and noise, but when the Lacedaemonians were overtaken, they would turn to face the barbarians and overthrow innumerable Persians. A few of the Spartans themselves were also slain. When the Persians could gain no inch of the pass, attacking by companies and in every other fashion, they withdrew.

212 1 ἐν ταύτησι τῇσι προσόδοισι τῆς μάχης λέγεται βασιλέα
θηεύμενον τρις ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου δέισαντα περὶ τῇ στρατιῇ.
τότε μὲν οὕτω ἠγωνίσαντο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν
ἄμεινον ἀέθλεον. ἅτε γὰρ ὀλίγων ἐόντων, ἐλπίσαντες σφέας
κατατετρωματῖσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ οἴους τε ἔσσεσθαι ἔτι χειράς
ἀνταεῖρασθαι συνέβαλλον. 2 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάξιν τε καὶ κατὰ
ἔθνεα κεκοσμημένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν μέρει ἕκαστοι ἐμάχοντο, πλὴν
Φωκέων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἐτάχθησαν φυλάζοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν.
ὥς δὲ οὐδὲν εὗρισκον ἀλλοιότερον οἱ Πέρσαι ἢ τῇ προτεραιῇ
ἐνώρων, ἀπῆλανον.

212. It is said that during these assaults in the battle the king, as
he watched, jumped up three times from the throne in fear for his
army. This, then, is how the fighting progressed, and on the next day
the barbarians fought no better. They joined battle supposing that
their enemies, being so few, were now disabled by wounds and could
no longer resist. The Hellenes, however, stood ordered in ranks by
nation, and each of them fought in turn, except the Phocians, who
were posted on the mountain to guard the path. When the Persians
found nothing different from what they saw the day before, they
withdrew.

213 1 ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέος ὃ τι χρῆσται τῷ παρόντι
πρήγματι, Ἐπιάλτης ὁ Εὐρυδήμου ἀνὴρ Μηλιεὺς ἦλθέ οἱ ἐς λόγους·
ὃς μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέος δοκέων οἴσεσθαι ἔφρασε τε τὴν ἀτραπὸν
τὴν διὰ τοῦ ὄρεος φέρουσιν ἐς Θερμοπύλας, καὶ διέφθειρε τοὺς
ταύτῃ ὑπομείναντας Ἕλληνας. 2 ὕστερον δὲ δέισας Λακεδαιμονίους
ἔφυγε ἐς Θεσσαλίην, καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγόρων τῶν
Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐς τὴν Πυλαίην συλλεγομένων ἀργύριον ἐπεκηρύχθη.
χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, κατήλθε γὰρ ἐς Ἀντικύρην, ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ
Ἀθηνάδεω ἀνδρὸς Τρηχινίου. 3 ὁ δὲ Ἀθηνάδης οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μὲν
Ἐπιάλτεα δι' ἄλλην αἰτίην, τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι
σημανέω, ἐτιμήθη μὲντοι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲν ἥσσον.

213. The king was at a loss as to how to deal with the present
difficulty. Epialtes son of Eurydemus, a Malian, thinking he would
get a great reward from the king, came to speak with him and told
him of the path leading over the mountain to Thermopylae. In so
doing he caused the destruction of the Hellenes remaining there.

Later he fled into Thessaly in fear of the Lacedaemonians, and while he was in exile, a price was put on his head by the Pylagori when the Amphictyons assembled at Pylae. Still later he returned from exile to Anticyra and was killed by Athenades, a Trachinian. Athenades slew Epialtes for a different reason, which I will tell later in my history, but he was given no less honor by the Lacedaemonians. It was in this way, then, that Epialtes was later killed.

214 1 Ἐπιάλτης μὲν οὕτω ὕστερον τούτων ἀπέθανε, ἔστι δὲ ἕτερος λεγόμενος λόγος, ὥς Ὀνήτης τε ὁ Φαναγόρεω ἀνὴρ Καρύστιος καὶ Κορυδαλλὸς Ἀντικυρεὺς εἰσὶ οἱ εἶπαντες πρὸς βασιλέα τούτους τοὺς λόγους καὶ περιηγησάμενοι τὸ ὄρος τοῖσι Πέρσησι, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστός. 2 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τῷδε χρὴ σταθμώσασθαι, ὅτι οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Πυλαγόροι ἐπεκλήρυξαν οὐκ ἐπὶ Ὀνήτη τε καὶ Κορυδαλλῷ ἀργύριον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ἐπιάλτη τῷ Τρηκινίῳ, πάντως κου τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον πυθόμενοι· τοῦτο δὲ φεύγοντα Ἐπιάλτην ταύτην τὴν αἰτὶν οἶδαμεν. 3 εἰδείη μὲν γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐὼν μὴ Μηλῖεὺς ταύτην τὴν ἀτραπὸν Ὀνήτης, εἰ τῇ χώρῃ πολλὰ ὠμιληκῶς εἶη· ἀλλ' Ἐπιάλτης γὰρ ἐστὶ ὁ περιηγησάμενος τὸ ὄρος κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν, τοῦτον αἴτιον γράφω.

214. There is another story told, namely that Onetes son of Phanagoras, a Carystian, and Corydallus of Anticyra are the ones who gave the king this information and guided the Persians around the mountain, but I find it totally incredible. One must judge by the fact that the Pylagori set a price not on Onetes and Corydallus but on Epialtes the Trachinian, and I suppose they had exact knowledge; furthermore, we know that Epialtes was banished on this charge. Onetes might have known the path, although he was not a Malian, if he had often come to that country, but Epialtes was the one who guided them along the path around the mountain. It is he whom I put on record as guilty.

215 1 Ξέρξης δέ, ἐπεὶ ἤρεσε τὰ ὑπέσχετο ὁ Ἐπιάλτης κατεργάσασθαι, αὐτίκα περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἔπεμπε Ὑδάρνεα καὶ τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Ὑδάρνης· ὁρμέατο δὲ περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν ταύτην ἐξεύρον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Μηλῖες, ἐξευρόντες δὲ Θεσσαλοῖσι κατηγήσαντο ἐπὶ Φωκέας, τότε ὅτε οἱ Φωκέες φράξαντες τείχει τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ

πολέμου· ἔκ τε τόσου δὴ κατεδέδεκτο ἐοῦσα οὐδὲν χρηστὴ Μηλιεῦσι.

215. Xerxes was pleased by what Epialtes promised to accomplish. He immediately became overjoyed and sent out Hydarnes and the men under Hydarnes command, who set forth from the camp at about lamp-lighting time. This path had been discovered by the native Malians, who used it to guide the Thessalians into Phocis when the Phocians had fenced off the pass with a wall and were sheltered from the war. So long ago the Malians had discovered that the pass was in no way a good thing.

216 1 ἔχει δὲ ὧδε ἡ ἀτραπὸς αὕτη· ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ διὰ τῆς διασφάγος ῥέοντος, οὖνομα δὲ τῷ ὄρεϊ τούτῳ καὶ τῇ ἀτραπῷ τὸντὸ κεῖται, Ἀνόπαια· τείνει δὲ ἡ Ἀνόπαια αὕτη κατὰ ῥάχιν τοῦ ὄρους, λήγει δὲ κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνὸν πόλιν, πρώτην ἐοῦσαν τῶν Λοκρίδων πρὸς τῶν Μηλιέων, καὶ κατὰ Μελαμύγου τε καλεόμενον λίθον καὶ κατὰ Κερκώπων ἔδρας, τῇ καὶ τὸ στεινότατον ἐστί.

216. The course of the path is as follows: it begins at the river Asopus as it flows through the ravine, and this mountain and the path have the same name, Anopaea. This Anopaea stretches along the ridge of the mountain and ends at Alpenus, the Locrian city nearest to Malis, near the rock called Blackbuttock and the seats of the Cercopes, where it is narrowest.

217 1 κατὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀτραπὸν καὶ οὕτω ἔχουσιν οἱ Πέρσαι, τὸν Ἀσωπὸν διαβάντες, ἐπορεύοντο πᾶσαν τὴν νύκτα, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχοντες ὄρεα τὰ Οἰταίων, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ τὰ Τρηχινίων. ἡὼς τε δὴ διέφαινε καὶ οἱ ἐγένοντο ἐπ' ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ ὄρους. 2 κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ ὄρους ἐφύλασσον, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, Φωκέων χίλιοι ὀπλῖται, ῥυόμενοι τε τὴν σφετέρην χώραν καὶ φρουρέοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ κάτω ἐσβολὴ ἐφυλάσσετο ὑπὸ τῶν εἴρηται· τὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ ὄρους ἀτραπὸν ἐθελονταὶ Φωκέες ὑποδεξάμενοι Λεωνίδῃ ἐφύλασσον.

217. This, then, was the nature of the pass. The Persians crossed the Asopus and travelled all night along this path, with the Oetaean mountains on their right and the Trachinian on their left. At dawn they came to the summit of the pass. In this part of the mountain one

thousand armed men of the Phocians were on watch, as I have already shown, defending their own country and guarding the path. The lower pass was held by those I have mentioned, but the Phocians had voluntarily promised Leonidas to guard the path over the mountain.

218 1 ἔμαθον δὲ σφέας οἱ Φωκέες ὧδε ἀναβεβηκότας· ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐλάνθανον οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ ὄρος πᾶν ἐὼν δρυῶν ἐπίπλεον. ἦν μὲν δὴ νηνεμία, ψόφου δὲ γινομένου πολλοῦ, ὥς οἶκός ἦν φύλλων ὑποκεχυμένων ὑπὸ τοῖσι ποσί, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον οἱ Φωκέες καὶ ἐνέδυνον τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ βάρβαροι παρήσαν. 2 ὥς δὲ εἶδον ἄνδρας ἐνδυομένους ὄπλα, ἐν θώματι ἐγένοντο· ἐλπόμενοι γὰρ οὐδένα σφι φανήσεσθαι ἀντίξοον ἐνεκύρησαν στρατῷ. ἐνθαῦτα Ὑδάρνης καταρῥώδηςας μὴ οἱ Φωκέες ἔωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἶρετο Ἐπιάλτην ὁποδαπὸς εἴη ὁ στρατός, πυθόμενος δὲ ἀτρεκέως διέτασσε τοὺς Πέρσας ὥς ἐς μάχην. 3 οἱ δὲ Φωκέες ὥς ἐβάλλοντο τοῖσι τοξεύμασι πολλοῖσί τε καὶ πυκνοῖσι, οἷχοντο φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρεος τὸν κόρυμβον, ἐπιστάμενοι ὥς ἐπὶ σφέας ὀρμήθησαν ἀρχήν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὥς ἀπολεόμενοι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐφρόνεον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἐπιάλτην καὶ Ὑδάρνεα Πέρσαι Φωκέων μὲν οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῦντο, οἱ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ ὄρος κατὰ τάχος.

218. The Phocians learned in the following way that the Persians had climbed up: they had ascended without the Phocians' notice because the mountain was entirely covered with oak trees. Although there was no wind, a great noise arose like leaves being trodden underfoot. The Phocians jumped up and began to put on their weapons, and in a moment the barbarians were there. When they saw the men arming themselves, they were amazed, for they had supposed that no opposition would appear, but they had now met with an army. Hydarnes feared that the Phocians might be Lacedaemonians and asked Epialtes what country the army was from. When he had established what he wanted to know with certainty, he arrayed the Persians for battle. The Phocians, assailed by thick showers of arrows and supposing that the Persians had set out against them from the start, fled to the top of the mountain and prepared to meet their destruction. This is what they intended, but the Persians with Epialtes and Hydarnes paid no attention to the

Phocians and went down the mountain as fast as possible.

219 1 τοῖσι δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον μὲν ὁ μάντις Μεγιστίης ἐσιδὼν ἐς τὰ ἱρὰ ἔφρασε τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι ἅμα ἡοῖ σφι θάνατον, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτόμολοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐξαγγείλαντες τῶν Περσέων τὴν περίοδον. οὗτοι μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐσήμηναν, τρίτοι δὲ οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἤδη διαφαινούσης ἡμέρης. 2 ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ σφεων ἐσχίζοντο αἱ γνώμαι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔων τὴν τάξιν ἐκλιπεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἀντέτεινον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διακριθέντες οἱ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσοντο καὶ διασκεδασθέντες κατὰ πόλιν ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἅμα Λεωνίδῃ μένειν αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάδατο.

219. The seer Megistias, examining the sacrifices, first told the Hellenes at Thermopylae that death was coming to them with the dawn. Then deserters came who announced the circuit made by the Persians. These gave their signals while it was still night; a third report came from the watchers running down from the heights at dawn. The Hellenes then took counsel, but their opinions were divided. Some advised not to leave their post, but others spoke against them. They eventually parted, some departing and dispersing each to their own cities, others preparing to remain there with Leonidas.

220 1 λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς σφεας ἀπέπεμψε Λεωνίδης, μὴ ἀπόλωνται κηδόμενος· αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιητέων τοῖσι παρευοῦσι οὐκ ἔχειν εὐπρεπέως ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν ἐς τὴν ἥλθον φυλάζοντες ἀρχήν. 2 ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην πλεῖστος εἰμί, Λεωνίδην, ἐπεῖτε ἦσθετο τοὺς συμμάχους ἐόντας ἀπροθύμους καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας συνδιακινδυνεύειν, κελεῦσαι σφέας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπιέναι οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν· μένοντι δὲ αὐτοῦ κλέος μέγα ἐλείπετο, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐξηλείφετο. 3 ἐκέχρηστο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι χρεωμένοισι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐγειρομένου, ἢ Λακεδαίμονα ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τὴν βασιλέα σφέων ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ σφι ἐν ἔπεσι ἐξαμέτροισι χρᾶ λέγοντα ὦδε. 4 ὑμῖν δ', ὦ Σπάρτης οἰκήτορες εὐρυχώροιο, ἢ μέγα ἄστρ' ἐρικυδέος ὑπ' ἀνδράσι Περσεΐδῃσι πέρθεται, ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐχί, ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους δὲ γενέθλης πενθήσει βασιλῆϊ φθίμενον Λακεδαίμονος οὗρος. οὐ γὰρ τὸν ταύρων σχήσει μένος

οὐδὲ λεόντων ἀντιβίην· Ζηνὸς γὰρ ἔχει μένος· οὐδέ ἐ φημί
σχῆσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶνδ' ἕτερον διὰ πάντα δάσσηται. ταῦτά τε δὴ
ἐπιλεγόμενον Λεωνίδην, καὶ βουλόμενον κλέος καταθέσθαι μούνων
Σπαρτιητέων, ἀποπέμψαι τοὺς συμμάχους μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμη
διενειχθέντας οὕτω ἀκόσμως οἴχεσθαι τοὺς οἰχομένους.

220. It is said that Leonidas himself sent them away because he was concerned that they would be killed, but felt it not fitting for himself and the Spartans to desert that post which they had come to defend at the beginning. I, however, tend to believe that when Leonidas perceived that the allies were dispirited and unwilling to run all risks with him, he told them to depart. For himself, however, it was not good to leave; if he remained, he would leave a name of great fame, and the prosperity of Sparta would not be blotted out. When the Spartans asked the oracle about this war when it broke out, the Pythia had foretold that either Lacedaemon would be destroyed by the barbarians or their king would be killed. She gave them this answer in hexameter verses running as follows: "For you, inhabitants of wide-wayed Sparta, Either your great and glorious city must be wasted by Persian men, Or if not that, then the bound of Lacedaemon must mourn a dead king, from Heracles' line. The might of bulls or lions will not restrain him with opposing strength; for he has the might of Zeus. I declare that he will not be restrained until he utterly tears apart one of these. " Considering this and wishing to win distinction for the Spartans alone, he sent away the allies rather than have them leave in disorder because of a difference of opinion.

221 1 μαρτύριον δέ μοι καὶ τόδε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτου πέρι
γέγονε, ὅτι καὶ τὸν μάντιν ὃς εἶπετο τῇ στρατιῇ ταύτῃ, Μεγιστίην τὸν
Ἀκαρνηῖνα, λεγόμενον εἶναι τὰ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Μελάμποδος, τοῦτον
εἶπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν τὰ μέλλοντά σφι ἐκβαίνειν, φανερός ἐστι
Λεωνίδης ἀποπέμπων, ἵνα μὴ συναπόληται σφι. ὁ δὲ ἀποπεμπόμενος
αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἀπέλιπε, τὸν δὲ παῖδα συστρατευόμενον, ἐόντα οἱ
μουνογενέα, ἀπέπεμψε.

221. Not the least proof I have of this is the fact that Leonidas publicly dismissed the seer who attended the expedition, for fear that he might die with them. This was Megistias the Acarnanian, said to be descended from Melampus, the one who told from the sacrifices

what was going to happen to them. He was dismissed but did not leave; instead he sent away his only son who was also with the army.

222 1 οἱ μὲν νυν σύμμαχοι οἱ ἀποπεμπόμενοι οἷχοντό τε ἀπιόντες καὶ ἐπείθοντο Λεωνίδῃ, Θεσπιέες δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι κατέμειναν μῶνοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοισι. τούτων δὲ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἀέκοντες ἔμενον καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι· κατεῖχε γὰρ σφέας Λεωνίδης ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ποιούμενος· Θεσπιέες δὲ ἐκόντες μάλιστα, οἳ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀπολιπόντες Λεωνίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάξεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες συναπέθανον. ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτῶν Δημόφιλος Διαδρόμεω.

222. Those allies who were dismissed went off in obedience to Leonidas, only the Thespians and Thebans remaining with the Lacedaemonians. The Thebans remained against their will and desire, for Leonidas kept them as hostages. The Thespians very gladly remained, saying they would not abandon Leonidas and those with him by leaving; instead they would stay and die with them. Their general was Demophilus son of Diadromes.

223 1 Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος σπονδὰς ἐποίησατο, ἐπισχὼν χρόνον ἐς ἀγορῆς κου μάλιστα πληθῶρην πρόσοδον ἐποιέετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ Ἐπιάλτεω οὕτω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὄρεος ἡ κατάβασις συντομωτέρη τε ἐστὶ καὶ βραχύτερος ὁ χῶρος πολλὸν ἢ περ ἡ περίοδος τε καὶ ἀνάβασις. 2 οἱ τε δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην προσήισαν, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην Ἑλληνας, ὥς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξοδον ποιέουμενοι, ἤδη πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἀρχᾶς ἐπεξήισαν ἐς τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος ἐφυλάσσετο, οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιόντες ἐς τὰ στεινόπορα ἐμάχοντο. 3 τότε δὲ συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν στείνων ἐπιπτον πλήθει πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὀπισθε γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων ἔχοντες μάστιγας ἐρράπιζον πάντα ἄνδρα, αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύνοντες. πολλοὶ μὲν δὲ ἐσέπιπτον αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ διεφθείροντο, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες κατεπατέοντο ζωοὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων· ἦν δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. 4 ἅτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν μέλλοντα σφίσι ἔσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιόντων τὸ ὄρος, ἀπεδείκνυντο ῥώμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, παραχρεώμενοί τε καὶ ἀτέοντες.

223. Xerxes made libations at sunrise and waiting till about mid-morning, made his assault. Epialtes had advised this, for the descent from the mountain is more direct, and the way is much shorter than the circuit and ascent. Xerxes and his barbarians attacked, but Leonidas and his Hellenes, knowing they were going to their deaths, advanced now much farther than before into the wider part of the pass. In all the previous days they had sallied out into the narrow way and fought there, guarding the defensive wall. Now, however, they joined battle outside the narrows and many of the barbarians fell, for the leaders of the companies beat everyone with whips from behind, urging them ever forward. Many of them were pushed into the sea and drowned; far more were trampled alive by each other, with no regard for who perished. Since the Hellenes knew that they must die at the hands of those who had come around the mountain, they displayed the greatest strength they had against the barbarians, fighting recklessly and desperately.

224 1 δόρατα μὲν νυν τοῖσι πλέοσι αὐτῶν τηνικαῦτα ἤδη ἐτύγχανε κατεηγότα, οἱ δὲ τοῖσι ξίφεσι διεργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ

Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄριστος καὶ ἕτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ ὀνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα, ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων. 2 καὶ δὴ Περσέων πίπτουσι ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο παῖδες Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ Ὑπεράνθης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνεω θυγατρὸς Φραταγούνης γεγονότες Δαρείῳ. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάνης Δαρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ἦν ἀδελφεός, Ὑστάσπεος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος παῖς· ὃς καὶ ἐκδιδοὺς τὴν θυγατέρα Δαρείῳ τὸν οἶκον πάντα τὸν ἐωυτοῦ ἐπέδωκε, ὡς μούνης οἱ ἐούσης ταύτης τέκνου.

224. By this time most of them had had their spears broken and were killing the Persians with swords. Leonidas, proving himself extremely valiant, fell in that struggle and with him other famous Spartans, whose names I have learned by inquiry since they were worthy men. Indeed, I have learned by inquiry the names of all three hundred. Many famous Persians also fell there, including two sons of Darius, Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, born to Darius by Phratagune daughter of Artanes. Artanes was the brother of king Darius and son of Hystaspes son of Arsames. When he gave his daughter in marriage to Darius, he gave his whole house as dowry, since she was his only child.

225 1 Ξέρξεω τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφοὶ ἐνθαῦτα πίπτουσι μαχόμενοι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδεω Περσέων τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὠθισμὸς ἐγένετο πολλός, ἐς ὃ τοῦτόν τε ἀρετῇ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπεξείρυσαν καὶ ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους τετράκις. τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκεε μέχρι οὗ οἱ σὺν Ἐπιάλῃ παρεγένοντο. 2 ὡς δὲ τούτους ἤκειν ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος· ἐς τε γὰρ τὸ στενὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρεον ὀπίσω, καὶ παραμεινάμενοι τὸ τεῖχος ἐλθόντες ἴζοντο ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν πάντες ἀλέες οἱ ἄλλοι πλην Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ κολωνὸς ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ὅκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἔστηκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ. 3 ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῷ χώρῳ ἀλεξομένους μαχαίρησι, τοῖσι αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανον ἔτι περιεοῦσαι, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι κατέχωσαν οἱ βάρβαροι βάλλοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦ τεύχεος συγχώσαντες, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες πάντοθεν περισταδόν.

225. Two brothers of Xerxes accordingly fought and fell there.

There was a great struggle between the Persians and Lacedaemonians over Leonidas' body, until the Hellenes by their courageous prowess dragged it away and routed their enemies four times. The battle went on until the men with Epialtes arrived. When the Hellenes saw that they had come, the contest turned, for they retired to the narrow part of the way, passed behind the wall, and took their position crowded together on the hill, all except the Thebans. This hill is at the mouth of the pass, where the stone lion in honor of Leonidas now stands. In that place they defended themselves with swords, if they still had them, and with hands and teeth. The barbarians buried them with missiles, some attacking from the front and throwing down the defensive wall, others surrounding them on all sides.

226 1 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπιδίων τοιούτων γενομένων ὁμῶς λέγεται ἀνὴρ ἄριστος γενέσθαι Σπαρτιτῆς Διηνέκης· τὸν τότε φασὶ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἔπος πρὶν ἢ συμμῖξαι σφέας τοῖσι Μήδοισι, πυθόμενον πρὸς τευ τῶν Τρηχινίων ὥς ἐπεὰν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπίωσι τὰ τοξεύματα, τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὀιστῶν ἀποκρύπτουσι· τοσοῦτο πλήθος αὐτῶν εἶναι. 2 τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτοις εἰπεῖν ἐν ἀλογίᾳ ποιούμενον τὸ Μήδων πλήθος, ὥς πάντα σφι ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχίνιος ξεῖνος ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν Μήδων τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ σκιῇ ἔσοιτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἡλίῳ.

226. This then is how the Lacedaemonians and Thespians conducted themselves, but the Spartan Dieneces is said to have exhibited the greatest courage of all. They say that he made the following speech before they joined battle with the Medes: he had learned from a Trachinian that there were so many of the barbarians that when they shot their missiles, the sun was hidden by the multitude of their arrows. He was not at all disturbed by this and made light of the multitude of the Medes, saying that their Trachinian foreigner brought them good news. If the Medes hid the sun, they could fight them in the shade instead of in the sun. This saying and others like it, they claim, Dieneces the Lacedaemonian left behind as a memorial.

227 1 ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα ἔπεα φασὶ Διηνέκεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀριστεῦσαι λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο ἀδελφοί, Ἀλφεός τε καὶ Μάρων

Ὀρσιφάντου παῖδες. Θεσπιδέων δὲ εὐδοκίμειε μάλιστα τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Διθύραμβος Ἀρματίδew.

227. Next after him two Lacedaemonian brothers, Alpheus and Maron, sons of Orsiphantus, are said to have been most courageous. The Thespian who gained most renown was one whose name was Dithyrambus son of Harmatides.

228 1 θαφθεῖσι δὲ σφι αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇ περ ἔπεσον, καὶ τοῖσι πρότερον τελευτήσασι ἢ ὑπὸ Λεωνίδew ἀποπεμφθέντας οἴχεσθαι, ἐπιέγραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέτορες. 2 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι πᾶσι ἐπιέγραπται, τοῖσι δὲ Σπαρτιήτησι ἰδίῃ. ὧ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι. 3 Λακεδαιμονίοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ μάντι τόδε. μνήμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγιστία, ὃν ποτε Μῆδοι Σπερχεῖον ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι, μάντιος, ὃς τότε κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδῶς οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνα προλιπεῖν. 4 ἐπιγράμμασι μὲν νυν καὶ στήλῃσι, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ μάντιος ἐπίγραμμα, Ἀμφικτύονες εἰσὶ σφῆας οἱ ἐπικοσμήσαντες· τὸ δὲ τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίew Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπος ἐστὶ κατὰ ξεινίην ὁ ἐπιγράψας.

228. There is an inscription written over these men, who were buried where they fell, and over those who died before the others went away, dismissed by Leonidas. It reads as follows: "Here four thousand from the Peloponnese once fought three million. " That inscription is for them all, but the Spartans have their own: "Foreigner, go tell the Spartans that we lie here obedient to their commands. " That one is to the Lacedaemonians, this one to the seer: "This is a monument to the renowned Megistias, Slain by the Medes who crossed the Spercheius river. The seer knew well his coming doom, But endured not to abandon the leaders of Sparta. " Except for the seer's inscription, the Amphictyons are the ones who honored them by erecting inscriptions and pillars. That of the seer Megistias was inscribed by Simonides son of Leoprepes because of his tie of guest-friendship with the man.

229 1 δύο δὲ τούτων τῶν τριηκοσίων λέγεται Εὐρυτόν τε καὶ Ἀριστόδημον, παρεὼν αὐτοῖσι ἀμφοτέροισι κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησαμένοισι ἢ ἀποσωθῆναι ὁμοῦ ἐς Σπάρτην, ὥς μεμετιμένοι γε

ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὑπὸ Λεωνίδεω καὶ κατεκέατο ἐν Ἀλπηνοῖσι ὀφθαλμιῶντες ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον, ἢ εἴ γε μὴ ἐβούλοντο νοστήσαι, ἀποθανεῖν ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι, παρεόν σφι τούτων τὰ ἕτερα ποιεῖν οὐκ ἐθέλησαι ὁμοφρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ γνώμη διενειχθέντας Εὐρυτον μὲν, πυθόμενον τῶν Περσέων τὴν περίοδον, αἰτήσαντά τε τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ἐνδύντα ἄγειν ἐωυτὸν κελεῦσαι τὸν εἴλωτα ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους, ὅκως δὲ αὐτὸν ἦγαγε, τὸν μὲν ἀγαγόντα οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, τὸν δὲ ἐσπεσόντα ἐς τὸν ὄμιλον διαφθαρῆναι, Ἀριστόδημον δὲ λιποψυχέοντα λειψθῆναι. 2 εἰ μὲν νυν ἦ μοῦνον Ἀριστόδημον ἀλγήσαντα ἀπονοστήσαι ἐς Σπάρτην ἢ καὶ ὁμοῦ σφεων ἀμφοτέρων τὴν κοιμίδην γενέσθαι, δοκέειν ἐμοί, οὐκ ἂν σφι Σπαρτιότηας μῆνιν οὐδεμίαν προσθέσθαι· νυνὶ δὲ τοῦ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπολομένου, τοῦ δὲ τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς ἐχομένου προφάσιος οὐκ ἐθελήσαντος δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀναγκαίως σφι ἔχειν μηνῖσαι μεγάλως Ἀριστοδήμῳ.

229. It is said that two of these three hundred, Eurytus and Aristodemus, could have agreed with each other either to come home safely together to Sparta, since Leonidas had dismissed them from the camp and they were lying at Alpeni very sick of ophthalmia, or to die with the others, if they were unwilling to return home. They could have done either of these things, but they could not agree and had different intentions. When Eurytus learned of the Persians circuit, he demanded his armor and put it on, bidding his helot to lead him to the fighting. The helot led him there and fled, but he rushed into the fray and was killed. Aristodemus, however, lost his strength and stayed behind. Now if Aristodemus alone had been sick and returned to Sparta, or if they had both made the trip, I think the Spartans would not have been angry with them. When, however, one of them died, and the other had the same excuse but was unwilling to die, the Spartans had no choice but to display great anger towards Aristodemus.

230 1 οἱ μὲν νυν οὕτω σωθῆναι λέγουσι Ἀριστόδημον ἐς Σπάρτην καὶ διὰ πρόφασιν τοιήνδε, οἱ δὲ ἄγγελον πεμφθέντα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἐξέδον αὐτῷ καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην γινομένην οὐκ ἐθέλησαι, ἀλλ' ὑπομείναντα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ περιγενέσθαι, τὸν δὲ συνάγγελον αὐτοῦ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀποθανεῖν.

230. Some say that Aristodemus came home safely to Sparta in this way and by this excuse. Others say that he had been sent out of the camp as a messenger and could have gotten back in time for the battle but chose not to, staying behind on the road and so surviving, while his fellow-messenger arrived at the battle and was killed.

231 1 ἀπονοστήσας δὲ ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα ὁ Ἀριστόδημος εἶχε ὄνειδος τε καὶ ἀτιμίην· πάσχων δὲ τοιάδε ἡτίμωτο· οὔτε οἱ πῦρ οὔδεις ἔναυε Σπαρτιητέων οὔτε διελέγετο. ὄνειδος δὲ εἶχε ὁ τρέσας Ἀριστόδημος καλεόμενος. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι μάχῃ ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπενειχθεῖσαν αἰτίην·

231. When Aristodemus returned to Lacedaemon, he was disgraced and without honor. He was deprived of his honor in this way: no Spartan would give him fire or speak with him, and they taunted him by calling him Aristodemus the Trembler. In the battle at Plataea, however, he made up for all the blame brought against him.

232 1 λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀποπεμφθέντα ἄγγελον ἐς Θεσσαλίην τῶν τριηκοσίων τούτων περιγενέσθαι, τῷ οὔνομα εἶναι Παντίτην· νοστήσαντα δὲ τοῦτον ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς ἡτίμωτο, ἀπάγξασθαι.

232. It is said that another of the three hundred survived because he was sent as a messenger to Thessaly. His name was Pantites. When he returned to Sparta, he was dishonored and hanged himself.

233 1 οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, τῶν ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐστρατήγεε, τέως μὲν μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐόντες ἐμάχοντο ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι πρὸς τὴν βασιλέος στρατιήν· ὡς δὲ εἶδον κατυπέρτερα τῶν Περσέων γινόμενα τὰ πρήγματα, οὕτω δὴ, τῶν σὺν Λεωνίδῃ Ἑλλήνων ἐπειγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνόν, ἀποσχισθέντες τούτων χεῖρας τε προέτεινον καὶ ἦσαν ἄσσον τῶν βαρβάρων, λέγοντες τὸν ἀληθέστατον τῶν λόγων, ὡς καὶ μηδίζουσι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν πρώτοισι ἔδοσαν βασιλεί, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀπικοίατο καὶ ἀναίτιοι εἶεν τοῦ τρώματος τοῦ γεγονότος βασιλεί. 2 ὥστε ταῦτα λέγοντες περιεγίνοντο· εἶχον γὰρ καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς τούτων τῶν λόγων μάρτυρας· οὐ μέντοι τά γε πάντα εὐτύχησαν· ὡς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔλαβον οἱ βάρβαροι ἐλθόντας, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν προσιόντας, τοὺς δὲ πλεῖνας αὐτῶν κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλῆα, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Λεοντιάδεω· τοῦ τὸν παῖδα Εὐρύμαχον χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσαν Πλαταιέες

στρατηγήσαντα ἀνδρῶν Θηβαίων τετρακοσίων καὶ σχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων.

233. The Thebans, whose general was Leontiades, fought against the king's army as long as they were with the Hellenes and under compulsion. When, however, they saw the Persian side prevailing and the Hellenes with Leonidas hurrying toward the hill, they split off and approached the barbarians, holding out their hands. With the most truthful words ever spoken, they explained that they were Medizers, had been among the first to give earth and water to the king, had come to Thermopylae under constraint, and were guiltless of the harm done to the king. By this plea they saved their lives, and the Thessalians bore witness to their words. They were not, however, completely lucky. When the barbarians took hold of them as they approached, they killed some of them even as they drew near. Most of them were branded by Xerxes command with the kings marks, starting with the general Leontiades. His son Eurymachus long afterwards was murdered by the Plataeans when, as general of four hundred Thebans, he seized the town of Plataea.

234 1 οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ Θερμοπύλας Ἕλληνες οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο, Ξέρξης δὲ καλέσας Δημάρητον εἰρώτα ἀρξάμενος ἐνθένδε. “Δημάρητε, ἀνὴρ εἰς ἀγαθός. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· ὅσα γὰρ εἶπας, ἅπαντα ἀπέβη οὕτω. νῦν δέ μοι εἰπέ, κόσσοι τινὲς εἰσὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τούτων ὁκόσοι τοιοῦτοι τὰ πολέμια εἴτε καὶ ἅπαντες”. 2 ὁ δ’ εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, πλῆθος μὲν πολλὸν πάντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πόλιες πολλαί· τὸ δὲ θέλεις ἐκμαθεῖν, εἰδήσεις. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη πόλις ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστα, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοισι· οἷ γε μὲν ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοις μὲν οὐκ ὅμοιοι, ἀγαθοὶ δέ”. 3 εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης “Δημάρητε, τέφω τρόπῳ ἀποννητότατα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἐπικρατήσομεν; ἴθι ἐξηγέο· σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων οἷα βασιλεὺς γενόμενος”.

234. This, then, is how the Greeks fought at Thermopylae. Xerxes then sent for Demaratus and questioned him, saying first, “Demaratus you are a good man. I hold that proven by the plain truth, for things have turned out no differently than you foretold. Now, tell me this: how many Lacedaemonians are left, and how

many of them are warriors like these? or is it so with them all?” “My king,” said Demaratus, “the number of the Lacedaemonians is great, and so too the number of their cities. But what you would like to know, I will tell you: there is in Lacedaemon a city called Sparta, a city of about eight thousand men, all of them equal to those who have fought here; the rest of the Lacedaemonians are not equal to these, yet they are valiant men.” “And how, Demaratus,” answered Xerxes, “can we overcome those men with the least trouble to ourselves? Come, disclose that to me, for you have been their king and know the plan and order of their counsels.”

235 1 ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο ὥς βασιλεῦ, εἰ μὲν δὴ συμβουλευαί μοι προθύμως, δίκαιόν με σοὶ ἐστὶ φράζειν τὸ ἄριστον· εἰ τῆς ναυτικῆς στρατιῆς νέας τριηκοσίας ἀποστείλειας ἐπὶ τὴν Λάκαιναν χώραν. 2 ἔστι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ νῆσος ἐπικειμένη τῇ οὐνομα ἐστὶ Κύθηρα, τὴν Χίλων ἀνὴρ παρ' ἡμῖν σοφώτατος γενόμενος κέρδος μέζον ἂν ἔφη εἶναι Σπαρτιήτησι κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καταδεδυκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπερέχειν, αἰεὶ τι προσδοκῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τοιοῦτο ἔσεσθαι οἷόν τοι ἐγὼ ἐξηγέομαι, οὔτι τὸν σὸν στόλον προειδώς, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως φοβεόμενος ἀνδρῶν στόλον. 3 ἐκ ταύτης τῆς νήσου ὁρμώμενοι φοβεόντων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. παροίκου δὲ πολέμου σφι ἐόντος οἰκίου, οὐδὲν δεινοὶ ἔσονται τοι μὴ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀλίσκομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ βοηθέωσι ταύτῃ. καταδουλωθείσης δὲ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀσθενὲς ἤδη τὸ Λακωνικὸν μόνον λείπεται. 4 ἦν δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήης, τάδε τοι προσδόκα ἔσεσθαι. ἔστι τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἰσθμὸς στενός· ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ πάντων Πελοποννησίων συνομοσάντων ἐπὶ σοὶ μάχας ἰσχυροτέρας ἄλλας τῶν γενομένων προσδέκεο ἔσεσθαι τοι. ἐκεῖνο δὲ ποιήσαντι ἀμαχητὶ ὃ τε ἰσθμὸς οὗτος καὶ αἱ πόλεις προσχωρήσουσι”.

235. “My king,” Demaratus replied, “if you in sincerity ask my counsel, it is but right that I should point out to you the best way. It is this, namely that you should send three hundred ships of your fleet to the Laconian land. There is an island lying off their coasts called Cythera. Chilon, a man of much wisdom among us, says about it that it would be better for the Spartans if Cythera were beneath the sea rather than above it. This he said because he expected that it would provide an opportunity for attack just as I am suggesting — not that

he had any foreknowledge of your force, but he dreaded all men's forces alike. Let them then make that island their station and set out from there to strike fear into the Lacedaemonians. If these have a war of their own on their borders, you will have no cause to fear that they will send men to save the rest of Hellas from being overrun by your armies; furthermore, the enslavement of the rest of Hellas must weaken Laconia if it is left to stand alone. If, however, you do not do this, then expect what I will now tell you: a narrow isthmus leads to the Peloponnese; all the Peloponnesians will be banded together there against you, and you may expect battles more stubborn than those that you have fought already. But if you do as I have said, then you may have that isthmus and all their cities without striking a blow."

236 1 λέγει μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀχαιμένης, ἀδελφεός τε ἐὼν Ξέρξεω καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατηγός, παρατυχὼν τε τῷ λόγῳ καὶ δείσας μὴ ἀναγνωσθῇ Ξέρξης ποιέειν ταῦτα, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὁρῶ σε ἀνδρὸς ἐνδεκόμενον λόγους ὃς φθονεῖ τοι εὖ πρήσσοντι ἢ καὶ προδοῖ πρήγματα τὰ σά. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τρόποισι τοιούτοιςι χρεώμενοι Ἕλληνες χαίρουσι· τοῦ τε εὐτυχέειν φθονέουσι καὶ τὸ κρέσσον στυγέουσι. 2 εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τῇσι παρεούσησι τύχησι, τῶν νέες νευαυγηῆκαςι τετρακόσιαι, ἄλλας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τριηκοσίας ἀποπέμψεις περιπλέειν Πελοπόννησον, ἀξιόμαχοί τοι γίνονται οἱ ἀντίπαλοι· ἀλῆς δὲ ἐὼν ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς δυσμεταχείριστός τε αὐτοῖσι γίνεται, καὶ ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοί τοι ἔσονται, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ναυτικὸς τῷ πεζῷ ἀρήξει καὶ ὁ πεζὸς τῷ ναυτικῷ ὁμοῦ πορευόμενος· εἰ δὲ διασπάσεις, οὔτε σὺ ἔσσαι ἐκείνοισι χρήσιμος οὔτε ἐκείνοι σοί. 3 τὰ σεωτοῦ δὲ τιθέμενον εὖ γνώμην ἔχω τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων μὴ ἐπιλέγεσθαι πρήγματα, τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον τά τε ποιήσουσι ὅσοι τε πλῆθος εἰσὶ. ἱκανοὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι γε αὐτοὶ ἐωυτῶν πέρι φροντίζειν εἰσὶ, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμέων ὡσαύτως. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἦν ἴωσι ἀντία Πέρσῃσι ἐς μάχην, οὐδὲν τὸ παρεὸν τρώμα ἀκεῦνται".

236. Next spoke Achaemenes, Xerxes' brother and admiral of the fleet; it chanced that he was present during their conversation, and he feared that Xerxes would be persuaded to follow Demaratus' counsel. "O king," he said, "I see that you are listening to a man who is jealous of your good fortune or is perhaps even a traitor to your

cause. These are the ways that are dear to the hearts of all Greeks: they are jealous of success and they hate power. No, if after the recent calamity which has wrecked four hundred of your ships you send away three hundred more from your fleet to sail round the Peloponnese, your enemies will be enough to do battle with you; while your fleet is united, however, it is invincible, and your enemies will not be so many as to be enough to fight; moreover, all your navy will be a help to your army and your army to your navy, both moving together. If you separate some of your fleet from yourself, you will be of no use to them, nor they to you. My counsel is rather that you make your own plans well, and take no account of the business of your adversaries, what battlefields they will choose, what they will do, and how many they are. They are able enough to think for themselves, and we similarly for ourselves. As for the Lacedaemonians, if they meet the Persians in the field, they will in no way repair their most recent losses.”

237 1 ἀμεΐβεται Ξέρξης τοῖσιδε. “Ἀχαΐμενες, εὖ τε μοι δοκέεις λέγειν καὶ ποιήσω ταῦτα. Δημάρητος δὲ λέγει μὲν τὰ ἄριστα ἔλπεται εἶναι ἐμοί, γνώμη μέντοι ἐσσοῦται ὑπὸ σεῦ. 2 οὐ γὰρ δὴ κείνῳ γε ἐνδέξομαι ὅπως οὐκ εὐνοέει τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι, τοῖσί τε λεγομένοισι πρότερον ἐκ τούτου σταθμώμενος καὶ τῷ ἐόντι, ὅτι πολίτης μὲν πολίτη εὖ πρήσσοντι φθονέει καὶ ἔστι δυσμενῆς τῇ σιγῇ, οὐδ’ ἂν συμβουλευομένου τοῦ ἀστοῦ πολίτης ἀνὴρ τὰ ἄριστά οἱ δοκέοντα εἶναι ὑποθέοιτο, εἰ μὴ πρόσω ἀρετῆς ἀνήκοι· σπάνιοι δὲ εἰσὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι· 3 ξείνος δὲ ξείνῳ εὖ πρήσσοντι ἐστὶ εὐμένεστατον πάντων, συμβουλευομένου τε ἂν συμβουλεύσειε τὰ ἄριστα. οὕτω ὦν κακολογίης τῆς ἐς Δημάρητον, ἐόντος ἐμοὶ ξείνου πέρι, ἔχεσθαι τινὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ κελεύω”.

237. “Achaemenes,” Xerxes answered, “I think that you speak well, and I will do as you counsel. Despite the fact that your advice is better than his, Demaratus does say what he supposes to be most serviceable to me, for assuredly I will never believe that he is no friend to my cause. I believe this of him because of all that he has already said and by what is the truth, namely, that if one citizen prospers, another citizen is jealous of him and shows his enmity by silence, and no one, (except if he has attained the height of

excellence; and such are seldom seen) if his own townsman asks for counsel, will give him what he thinks to be the best advice. If one stranger prospers, however, another stranger is beyond all men his well-wisher and will, if he is asked, impart to him the best counsel he has. It is for this reason that I bid you all to refrain from maligning Demaratus, seeing that he is a stranger and a friend.”

238 1 ταῦτα εἶπας Ξέρξης διεζήιε διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ Λεωνίδεω, ἀκηκοῶς ὅτι βασιλεὺς τε ἦν καὶ στρατηγὸς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκέλευσε ἀποταμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρῶσαι. 2 δῆλά μοι πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι τεκμηρίοισι, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷδε οὐκ ἦκιστα γέγονε, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης πάντων δὴ μάλιστα ἀνδρῶν ἐθυμώθη ζῶντι Λεωνίδῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτε ἐς τὸν νεκρὸν ταῦτα παρενόμησε, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν μάλιστα νομίζουσι τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀνθρώπων Πέρσαι ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, τοῖσι ἐπετέτακτο ποιέειν.

238. Having spoken in this way, Xerxes passed over the place where the dead lay and hearing that Leonidas had been king and general of the Lacedaemonians, he gave orders to cut off his head and impale it. It is plain to me by this piece of evidence among many others, that while Leonidas lived, king Xerxes was more incensed against him than against all others; otherwise he would never have dealt so outrageously with his dead body, for the Persians are beyond all men known in the habit of honoring valiant warriors. They, then, who received these orders did as I have said.

239 1 ἄνειμι δὲ ἐκεῖσε τοῦ λόγου τῇ μοι τὸ πρότερον ἐξέλιπε. ἐπύθοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅτι βασιλεὺς στέλλοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρῶτοι, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψαν, ἔνθα δὴ σφι ἐχρήσθη τὰ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἶπον· ἐπύθοντο δὲ τρόπῳ θωμασίῳ. 2 Δημάρητος γὰρ ὁ Ἀρίστωνος φυγὼν ἐς Μήδους, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω καὶ τὸ οἶκος ἐμοὶ συμμάχεται, οὐκ ἦν εὖνοος Λακεδαιμονίοισι, πάρεστι δὲ εἰκάζειν εἴτε εὐνοίῃ ταῦτα ἐποίησε εἴτε καὶ καταχαίρων. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ Ξέρξῃ ἔδοξε στρατηλατέειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐὼν ἐν Σούσοισι ὁ Δημάρητος καὶ πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἠθέλησε Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐξαγγεῖλαι. 3 ἄλλως μὲν δὴ οὐκ εἶχε σημῆναι· ἐπικίνδυνον γὰρ ἦν μὴ λαμφθεῖν· ὁ δὲ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε· δελτίον δίπτυχον λαβὼν τὸν κηρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξέκνησε, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν τῷ

ξύλῳ τοῦ δελτίου ἔγραψε τὴν βασιλέως γνώμην, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ὀπίσω ἐπέτηξε τὸν κηρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ γράμματα, ἵνα φερόμενον κεινὸν τὸ δελτίον μηδὲν πρῆγμα παρέχοι πρὸς τῶν ὁδοφυλάκων. 4 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμόνα, οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὶν γε δὴ σφι, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Κλεομένεος μὲν θυγάτηρ Λεωνίδεω δὲ γυνὴ Γοργῷ ὑπέθετο ἐπιφρασθεῖσα αὐτῇ, τὸν κηρὸν κνᾶν κελεύουσα, καὶ εὐρήσειν σφέας γράμματα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ. πειθόμενοι δὲ εὗρον καὶ ἐπελέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήσι ἐπέστειλαν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι.

239. I return now to that place in my history where it earlier left off. The Lacedaemonians were the first to be informed that the king was equipping himself to attack Hellas; with this knowledge it was that they sent to the oracle at Delphi, where they received the answer about which I spoke a little while ago. Now the way in which they were informed of this was strange. Demaratus son of Ariston, an exile among the Medes, was, as I suppose (reason being also my ally), no friend to the Lacedaemonians, and I leave it to be imagined whether what he did was done out of goodwill or spiteful triumph. When Xerxes was resolved to march against Hellas, Demaratus, who was then at Susa and had knowledge of this, desired to send word of it to the Lacedaemonians. He, however, feared detection and had no other way of informing them than this trick: — taking a double tablet, he scraped away the wax from it, and then wrote the king's plan on the wood. Next he melted the wax back again over the writing, so that the bearer of this seemingly blank tablet might not be troubled by the way-wardens. When the tablet came to Lacedaemon, the Lacedaemonians could not guess its meaning, until at last (as I have been told) Gorgo, Cleomenes' daughter and Leonidas' wife, discovered the trick herself and advised them to scrape the wax away so that they would find writing on the wood. When they did so, they found and read the message, and presently sent it to the rest of the Greeks. This is the story, as it is told.

Βιβλίο Η – Ουρανία. Book VIII.

1 1 οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἦσαν οἷδε, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νέας παρεχόμενοι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτὰ· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίας Πλαταιέες ἄπειροι τῆς ναυτικῆς ἐόντες συνεπλήρουν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς νέας. Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσεράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, Μεγαρέες δὲ εἴκοσι. 2 καὶ Χαλκιδέες ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι, Ἀθηναίων σφι παρεχόντων τὰς νέας, Αἰγινῆται δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα, Σικυώνιοι δὲ δυοκαίδεκα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δέκα, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτώ, Ἐρετρίες δὲ ἑπτὰ, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Στυρές δὲ δύο, καὶ Κήιοι δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέρους δύο· Λοκροὶ δὲ σφι οἱ Ὀπούντιοι ἐπεβοήθεον πεντηκοντέρους ἔχοντες ἑπτὰ.

1. The Greeks appointed to serve in the fleet were these: the Athenians furnished a hundred and twenty-seven ships; the Plataeans manned these ships with the Athenians, not that they had any knowledge of seamanship, but because of mere valor and zeal. The Corinthians furnished forty ships and the Megarians twenty; the Chalcidians manned twenty, the Athenians furnishing the ships; the Aeginetans eighteen, the Sicyonians twelve, the Lacedaemonians ten, the Epidaurians eight, the Eretrians seven, the Troezenians five, the Styrians two, and the Ceans two, and two fifty-oared barks; the Opuntian Locrians brought seven fifty-oared barks to their aid.

2 1 ἦσαν μὲν ὧν οὗτοι οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, εἴρηται δέ μοι καὶ ὡς τὸ πλῆθος ἕκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρείχοντο. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλλεχθεισέων νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, διηκόσια καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ μία. 2 τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κράτος ἔχοντα παρείχοντο Σπαρτιῆται Εὐρυβιάδην Εὐρυκλείδεω· οἱ γὰρ σύμμαχοι οὐκ ἔφασαν, ἦν μὴ ὁ Λάκων ἡγεμονεύῃ, Ἀθηναίοισι ἔψεσθαι ἡγεομένοισι, ἀλλὰ λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι στράτευμα.

2. These are the forces which came to Artemisium for battle, and I have now shown how they individually furnished the whole sum. The number of ships mustered at Artemisium was two hundred and seventy-one, besides the fifty-oared barks. The Spartans, however,

provided the admiral who had the chief command, Eurybiades, son of Euryclides, for the allies said that if the Laconian were not their leader, they would rather make an end of the fleet that was assembling than be led by the Athenians.

3 1 ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν ἐπὶ συμμαχίην, ὡς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοισι χρεὸν εἶη ἐπιτρέπειν. ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἶκον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μέγα πεποιημένοι περιεῖναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ γνόντες, εἰ στασιάζουσι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὡς ἀπολέεται ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὀρθὰ νοεῦντες· στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσοῦτω κάκιον ἐστὶ ὅσῳ πόλεμος εἰρήνης. 2 ἐπιστάμενοι ὦν αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀντέτεινον ἀλλ' εἶκον, μέχρι ὅσου κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν, ὡς διέδεξαν· ὡς γὰρ δὴ ὠσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσην περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἥδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο, πρόφασιν τὴν Πausανίῳ ὕβριν προῖσχόμενοι ἀπέειλοντο τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.

3. In the first days, before the sending to Sicily for alliance, there had been talk of entrusting the command at sea to the Athenians. However, when the allies resisted, the Athenians waived their claim, considering the safety of Hellas of prime importance and seeing that if they quarrelled over the leadership, Hellas must perish. In this they judged rightly, for civil strife is as much worse than united war as war is worse than peace. Knowing that, they gave ground and waived their claim, but only so long as they had great need of the others. This is clear, for when they had driven the Persian back and the battle was no longer for their territory but for his, they made a pretext of Pausanias' highhandedness and took the command away from the Lacedaemonians. All that, however, took place later.

4 1 τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἑλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι ὡς εἶδον νέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας καὶ στρατιῆς ἅπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἢ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον, καταρῶδήσαντες δρησμὸν ἐβουλεύοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. 2 γνόντες δὲ σφέας οἱ Εὐβοεῖς ταῦτα βουλευομένους ἐδέοντο Εὐρυβιάδεω προσμεῖναι χρόνον ὀλίγον, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθον, μεταβάντες τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθῷ τριήκοντα ταλάντοις,

ἐπ' ᾧ τε καταμείναντες πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίης ποιήσονται τὴν ναυμαχίην.

4. But now, the Greeks who had at last come to Artemisium saw a multitude of ships launched at Aphetae and forces everywhere, and contrary to all expectation, the barbarian was shown to be in much different shape than they had supposed. They accordingly lost heart and began to deliberate about flight from Artemisium homewards into Hellas. Then the Euboeans, noticing that they were making such plans, entreated Eurybiades to wait a little while, till they themselves had removed their children and households. When they could not prevail with him, they tried another way and gave Themistocles, the Athenian admiral, a bribe of thirty talents on the condition that the Greek fleet should remain there and fight, when they fought, to defend Euboea.

5 1 ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπισχεῖν ὧδε ποιεῖ· Εὐρυβιάδῃ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδίδοι πέντε τάλαντα ὡς παρ' ἑωυτοῦ δῆθεν διδούς. ὡς δέ οἱ οὗτος ἀνεπέπειστο, Ἀδεΐμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὠκύτου ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς τῶν λοιπῶν ἥσπαιρε μῦνος, φάμενος ἀποπλεύσεσθαι τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ οὐ παραμένειν, πρὸς δὴ τοῦτον εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπομόσας 2 “οὐ σύ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεὶ τοι ἐγὼ μέζω δῶρα δώσω ἢ βασιλεὺς ἂν τοι ὁ Μῆδων πέμπειε ἀπολιπόντι τοὺς συμμάχους“. ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἠγόρευε καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀδειμάντου τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρία· 3 οὗτοί τε δὴ πάντες δώροισι ἀναπεισμένοι ἦσαν καὶ τοῖσι Εὐβοεῦσι ἐκεχάριστο, αὐτὸς τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκέρδηνε, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἠπιστέατο οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ τὰ χρήματα.

5. This was the way in which Themistocles made the Greeks stay where they were: he gave Eurybiades for his share five talents of that money, as though he were making the present of his own money. When Eurybiades had been won over in this way, none of the rest was inclined to resist save Adimantus, son of Ocytus, the Corinthian admiral, who said that he would not remain but sail away from Artemisium; to him Themistocles, adding an oath, said: “No, you of all men will not desert us, for I will give you a greater gift than the king of the Medes would send you for deserting your allies.” With that he sent three talents of silver to Adimantus ship. These two,

then, were won over by gifts, the Euboeans got what they wanted, and Themistocles himself was the gainer. No one knew that he had kept the rest of the money, and those who had received a part of it supposed that it had been sent for that purpose by the Athenians.

6 1 οὕτω δὴ κατέμεινάν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν, ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε. ἐπεῖτε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας περὶ δεῖλην πρωΐην γινομένην ἀπικάτο οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἔτι καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπιχειρεῖν, εἴ κως ἔλοιεν αὐτάς. 2 ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίης προσπλέειν οὐ κώ σφι ἐδόκεε τῶνδε εἵνεκα, μή κως ἰδόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες προσπλέοντας ἐς φυγὴν ὁρμήσειαν φεύγοντάς τε εὐφρόνη καταλαμβάνη· καὶ ἔμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι, ἔδει δὲ μὴδὲ πυρφόρον τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι.

6. So the Greeks remained in Euboea and fought there; this came about as I will now reveal. Having arrived at Aphetae in the early part of the afternoon, the barbarians saw for themselves the few Greek ships that they had already heard were stationed off Artemisium, and they were eager to attack so that they might take them. They were not prepared to make a head-on attack since they feared that the Greeks would see them coming and turn to flee with night close upon them as they fled; it was their belief that the Greeks would save themselves by flight, and they did not want even so much as a firebearer to be saved.

7 1 πρὸς ταῦτα ὧν τάδε ἐμηχανῶντο· τῶν νεῶν ἀπασέων ἀποκρίναντες διηκοσίας περιέπεμπον ἔξωθεν Σκιάθου, ὥς ἂν μὴ ὀφθείησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλέουσai Εὐβοίαν κατὰ τε Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐς τὸν Εὐρίπον, ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν οἱ μὲν ταύτη ἀπικόμενοι καὶ φράζαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀπίσω φέρουσαν ὁδόν, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἐξ ἐναντίας. 2 ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀπέπεμπον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐπιθήσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν περιπλεόντων ὥς ἡκόντων. ταύτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων νεῶν ἐν τῇσι Ἀφέτῃσι ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμόν.

7. Taking these things into consideration, they devised the following plan; separating two hundred ships from the whole

number, they sent them to cruise outside Sciathus so that the enemies might not see them sailing round Euboea and by way of Caphereus round Geraestus to the Euripus so that they might catch the Greeks between them, the one part holding that course and barring the retreat, and they themselves attacking in front. Upon making these plans they sent the appointed ships on their way, intending not to make an attack upon the Greeks either on that day or before the signal should be seen, whereby the ships that sailed round were to declare their coming. So they sent those ships to sail round, and set about counting the rest at Aphetae.

8 1 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι ἀριθμὸν ἐποιεῦντο τῶν νεῶν, ἣν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλίης Σκιωναῖος δύτης τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἄριστος, ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίῃ τῇ κατὰ Πήλιον γενομένη πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσησι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο· οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλίης ἐν νόῳ μὲν εἶχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολήσῃν ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἱ παρέσχε ὥς τότε. 2 ὅτε μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἔτι ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως, θωμάζω δὲ εἰ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐστὶ ἀληθέα· λέγεται γὰρ ὥς ἐξ Ἀφετέων δὺς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἢ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, σταδίους μάλιστα κη τούτους ἐς ὀγδώκοντα διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διεξελθόν. 3 λέγεται μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλα ψευδέσι εἴκελα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα· περὶ μέντοι τούτου γνώμη μοι ἀποδεδέχθω πλοίῳ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ὥς δὲ ἀπίκετο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμνηε τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὴν τε ναυηγίην ὥς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθείσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὐβοίαν.

8. Now when they were engaged in this count, there was in the fleet one Scyllias, a man of Scione; he was the best diver of the time, and in the shipwreck at Pelion he had saved for the Persians much of their possessions and gotten much for himself in addition; this Scyllias had before now, it would seem, intended to desert to the Greeks, but he never had had so fair an occasion as now. By what means he did at last make his way to the Greeks, I cannot with exactness say. If the story is true, it is marvellous indeed, for it is said that he dove into the sea at Aphetae and never rose to the surface till he came to Artemisium, thus passing underneath the sea for about

eighty furlongs. There are many tales about this man, some similar to lies and some true, but as regards the present business it is my opinion that he came to Artemisium in a boat. After arriving, he straightway told the admirals the story of the shipwreck, and of the ships that had been sent round Euboea.

9 1 τοῦτο δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες λόγον σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ἐδίδοσαν. πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων ἐνίκα τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μέιναντάς τε καὶ αὐλισθέντας, μετέπειτα νύκτα μέσῃν παρέντας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἀπαντᾶν τῇσι περιπλεούσῃσι τῶν νεῶν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ὥς οὐδεὶς σφι ἐπέπλεε, δέιλῃν ὀψίην γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες αὐτοὶ ἐπανεπλεον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου.

9. Hearing that, the Greeks took counsel together; there was much talk, but the opinion prevailed that they should remain and encamp where they were for that day, and then, after midnight, to put to sea and meet the ships which were sailing around. Presently, however, meeting with no opposition, they waited for the late afternoon of the day and themselves advanced their ships against the barbarian, desiring to put to the proof his fashion of fighting and the art of breaking the line.

10 1 ὁρῶντες δὲ σφέας οἱ τε ἄλλοι στρατιῶται οἱ Ξέρξῳ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλέοντας νηυσὶ ὀλίγησι, πάγχυ σφι μανίην ἐπενείκοντες ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας, ἐλπίσαντες σφέας εὐπετέως αἰρήσειν, οἰκότα κάρτα ἐλπίσαντες, τὰς μὲν γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρῶντες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἐωυτῶν πλήθει τε πολλαπλησίας καὶ ἄμεινον πλεούσας. καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα ἐκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον. 2 ὅσοι μὲν νυν τῶν Ἰώνων ἦσαν εὐνοοὶ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀέκοντές τε ἐστρατεύοντο συμφορὴν τε ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην ὁρῶντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὥς οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀπονοστήσει· οὕτω ἀσθενέα σφι ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα. 3 ὅσοισι δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον, ἄμιλλαν ἐποιεῦντο ὅκως αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτος νέα Ἀττικὴν ἐλὼν παρὰ βασιλέος δῶρα λάμψεται· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖσι λόγος ἦν πλεῖστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα.

10. When Xerxes' men and their generals saw the Greeks bearing down on them with but a few ships, they thought that they were

definitely mad and put out to sea themselves, thinking that they would win an easy victory; this expectation was very reasonable, since they saw that the Greek ships so few while their own were many times more numerous and more seaworthy. With this assurance, they hemmed in the Greeks in their midst. Now all the Ionians who were friendly to the Greeks came unwillingly to the war and were distressed to see the Greeks surrounded. They supposed that not one of them would return home, so powerless did the Greeks seem to them to be. Those who were glad about the business, however, vied each with each that he might be the first to take an Attic ship and receive gifts from the king, for it was the Athenians of whom there was most talk in the fleet.

11 1 τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλήσι ὥς ἐσήμνηνε, πρῶτα μὲν ἀντίπρωροι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον, δευτέρα δὲ σημήναντος ἔργου εἶχοντο ἐν ὀλίγῳ περ ἀπολαμφθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. 2 ἐνθαῦτα τριήκοντα νέας αἰρέουσι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Γόργου τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸν Φιλάονα τὸν Χέρσιος, λόγιμον ἐόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ Ἑλλήνων νέα τῶν πολεμίων εἶλε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Λυκομήδης Αἰσχυραίου, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήριον ἔλαβε οὗτος. 3 τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ ἑτεραλκέως ἀγωνιζομένους νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλληνες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλεον, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Ἀντίδωρος Λήμιος μόνος τῶν σὺν βασιλείᾳ Ἑλλήνων ἐόντων αὐτομολέει ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χῶρον ἐν Σαλαμῖνι.

11. But the Greeks, when the signal was given them, first drew the sterns of their ships together, their prows turned towards the foreigners; then at the second signal they put their hands to the work, despite the fact that they were hemmed in within a narrow space and were fighting face-to-face. There they took thirty of the foreigners ships as well as the brother of Gorgus king of Salamis, Philaon son of Chersis, a man of note in the fleet. The first Greek to take an enemy ship was an Athenian, Lycomedes, son of Aeschraeus, and he it was who received the prize for valor. They fought that sea-fight with doubtful issue, and nightfall ended the battle; the Greeks sailed

back to Artemisium, and the barbarians to Aphetae, after faring far below their hopes in the fight. In that battle Antidorus of Lemnos, the only one of the Greeks siding with the Persian, deserted to the Greeks, and for that the Athenians gave him land in Salamis.

12 1 ὥς δὲ εὐφρόνη ἐγεγόνεε, ἣν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον θέρος, ἐγίνετο δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἄπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ σκληραὶ βρονταὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου· οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυήγια ἐξεφέποντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, καὶ περὶ τε τὰς πρόρας τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο καὶ ἐτάρασσον τοὺς тарσοὺς τῶν κωπέων. 2 οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτη ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες ἀπαγγεῖσθαι ἐς οἷα κακὰ ἦκον. πρὶν γὰρ ἢ καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι σφέας ἔκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ Πήλιον, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχίῃ καρτερή, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίης ὄμβρος τε λάβρος καὶ ρεύματα ἰσχυρὰ ἐς θάλασσαν ὀρμημένα βρονταὶ τε σκληραί.

12. When darkness came on, the season being then midsummer, there was abundance of rain all through the night and violent thunderings from Pelion. The dead and the wrecks were driven towards Aphetae, where they were entangled with the ships' prows and jumbled the blades of the oars. The ships crews who were there were dismayed by the noise of this, and considering their present bad state, expected utter destruction; for before they had recovered from the shipwreck and the storm off Pelion, they next endured a stubborn sea-fight, and after the sea-fight, rushing rain and mighty torrents pouring seaward and violent thunderings.

13 1 καὶ τοῦτοισι μὲν τοιαύτη ἡ νύξ ἐγίνετο, τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλέειν Εὐβοίαν ἢ αὐτὴ περ ἐοῦσα νύξ πολλὸν ἦν ἔτι ἀγριωτέρη, τοσοῦτω ὅσῳ ἐν πελάγεϊ φερομένοισι ἐπέπιπτε, καὶ τὸ τέλος σφὶ ἐγίνετο ἄχαρι. ὥς γὰρ δὴ πλέουσι αὐτοῖσι χειμῶν τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο ἐοῦσι κατὰ τὰ Κοῦλα τῆς Εὐβοίης, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας· ἐποίετό τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπως ἂν ἐξίσωθῃ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικὸν μηδὲ πολλῶ πλεον εἶη.

13. This is how the night dealt with them. To those who were appointed to sail round Euboea, however, that same night was still more cruel since it caught them on the open sea. Their end was a terrible one, for when the storm and the rain came on them in their

course off the Hollows of Euboea, they were driven by the wind in an unknown direction and were driven onto the rocks. All this was done by the god so that the Persian power might be more equally matched with the Greek, and not much greater than it.

14 1 οὗτοι μὲν νυν περὶ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης διεφθείροντο· οἱ δ' ἐν Ἀφέτῃσι βάρβαροι, ὥς σφι ἄσμενοισι ἡμέρῃ ἐπέλαμψε, ἀτρέμας τε εἶχον τὰς νέας καὶ σφι ἀπεχρᾶτο κακῶς πρήσουσι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι. τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλήσι ἐπεβοήθειον νέες τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα Ἀττικάι. 2 αὗται τε δὴ σφεας ἐπερρώσαν ἀπικόμεναι καὶ ἅμα ἀγγελίῃ ἐλθοῦσα, ὥς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ περιπλέοντες τὴν Εὐβοίαν πάντες εἶσαν διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου χειμῶνος. φυλάξαντες δὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, πλέοντες ἐπέπεσον νηυσὶ Κιλικίῃσι· ταύτας δὲ διαφθείραντες, ὥς εὐφρόνῃ ἐγίνετο, ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμισιον.

14. These men, then, perished at the Hollows of Euboea. As for the barbarians at Aphetae, when to their great comfort the day dawned, they kept their ships unmoved, being in their evil plight well content to do nothing for the moment. Now fifty-three Attic ships came to aid the Greeks, who were encouraged both by the ships coming and by the news that the barbarians sailing round Euboea had all perished in the recent storm. They waited then for the same hour as before, and fell upon certain Cilician ships when they put to sea. After destroying these when night fell, they sailed back to Artemisium.

15 1 τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ δεινόν τι ποιησάμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων νέας οὕτω σφι ὀλίγας λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξεω δειμαίνοντες, οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἔτι τοὺς Ἑλληνας μάχης ἄρξαι, ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρης ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας. συνέπιπτε δὲ ὥστε τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας τὰς τε ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας καὶ τὰς πεζομαχίας τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι. 2 ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ ἀγὼν τοῖσι κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ Εὐρίπου, ὥσπερ τοῖσι ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην τὴν ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ παρεκελεύοντο ὅπως μὴ παρήσουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἱ δ' ὅπως τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα διαφθείραντες τοῦ πόρου κρατήσουσι. ὥς δὲ ταξάμενοι οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐπέπλεον, οἱ Ἑλληνες ἀτρέμας εἶχον πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μηνοειδὲς ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἐκυκλοῦντο, ὥς

περιλάβοιεν αὐτούς.

15. On the third day, however, the barbarian admirals, finding it hard to bear that so few ships should do them hurt and fearing Xerxes' anger, waited no longer for the Greeks to begin the fight, but gave the word and put out to sea about midday. So it came to pass that these sea-battles were fought on the same days as the land-battles at Thermopylae; the seamen's whole endeavor was to hold the Euripus while Leonidas' men strove to guard the passage; the Greeks were ordered to give the barbarian no entry into Hellas, and the Persians to destroy the Greek host and win the strait.

16 1 ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπανεπλέον τε καὶ συνέμισγον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐγίνοντο. 2 ὁ γὰρ Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὑπὸ μεγάρθους τε καὶ πλήθεος αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐωυτοῦ ἐπιπτε, ταρασσομενέων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπιπτουσέων περὶ ἀλλήλας· ὁμῶς μέντοι ἀντείχε καὶ οὐκ εἶκε· δεινὸν γὰρ χρῆμα ἐποιεῦντο ὑπὸ νεῶν ὀλιγέων ἐς φυγὴν τρέπεσθαι. 3 πολλαὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέες διεφθείροντο πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες νέες τε τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἄνδρες, οὕτω δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενοι διέστησαν χωρὶς ἑκάτεροι.

16. So when Xerxes' men ordered their battle and advanced, the Greeks remained in their station off Artemisium, and the barbarians made a half circle of their ships striving to encircle and enclose them. At that the Greeks charged and joined battle. In that sea-fight both had equal success. Xerxes' fleet did itself harm by its numbers and size. The ships were thrown into confusion and ran foul of each other; nevertheless they held fast and did not yield, for they could not bear to be put to flight by a few ships. Many were the Greek ships and men that perished there, and far more yet of the foreigners' ships and men; this is how they fought until they drew off and parted from each other.

17 1 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν τῶν Ξέρξεω στρατιωτέων ἠρίστευσαν, οἱ ἄλλα τε μεγάλα ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ νέας αὐτοῖσι ἀνδράσι εἶλον Ἑλληνίδας πέντε. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ἠρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναίων Κλεινὴς ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδew, ὃς δαπάνην οἰκίην παρεχόμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἀνδράσι τε διηκοσίοις καὶ οἰκίῃ νηί.

17. In that sea-fight of all Xerxes' fighters the Egyptians conducted themselves with the greatest valor; besides other great feats of arms which they achieved, they took five Greek ships together with their crews. As regards the Greeks, it was the Athenians who bore themselves best on that day, and of the Athenians Clinias son of Alcibiades. He brought to the war two hundred men and a ship of his own, all at his own expense.

18 1 ὥς δὲ διέστησαν, ἄσμενοι ἑκάτεροι ἐς ὄρμον ἠπείγοντο. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς διακριθέντες ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἀπηλλάχθησαν, τῶν μὲν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων ἐπεκράτεον, τρηχέως δὲ περιεφθέντες, καὶ οὐκ ἤκιστα Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν αἰ ἡμίσειαι τῶν νεῶν τετρωμέναι ἦσαν, δρησμὸν δὲ ἐβούλευον ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

18. So they parted, and each hurried gladly to his own place of anchorage. When the Greeks had withdrawn and come out of the battle, they were left in possession of the dead and the wrecks. They had, however, had a rough time of it themselves, chiefly the Athenians, half of whose ships had suffered some damage. Now their counsel was to flee to the inner waters of Hellas

19 1 νόῳ δὲ λαβὼν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὡς εἰ ἀπορράγειν ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου τό τε Ἴωνικὸν φῦλον καὶ τὸ Καρικόν, οἳοί τε εἶσαν ἂν τῶν λοιπῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι, ἐλαυνόντων τῶν Εὐβοέων πρόβατα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ταύτην, συλλέξας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγέ σφι ὡς δοκεοί ἔχειν τινὰ παλάμην, τῇ ἐλπίζοι τῶν βασιλέος συμμάχων ἀποστήσειν τοὺς ἀρίστους. 2 ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμνου, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι τάδε ποιητέα σφι εἶναι ἔλεγε, τῶν τε προβάτων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταθῆναι ὅσα τις ἐθέλοι· κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν στρατιὴν ἔχειν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους· παραΐνέε τε προειπεῖν τοῖσι ἑωυτῶν ἑκάστους πῦρ ἀνακαίειν· κομιδῆς δὲ πέρι τὴν ὥρην αὐτῷ μελήσειν, ὥστε ἀσινέας ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ταῦτα ἤρεσέ σφι ποιέειν, καὶ αὐτίκα πῦρ ἀνακαυσάμενοι ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα.

19. Themistocles thought that if the Ionian and Carian nations were removed from the forces of the barbarians, the Greeks might be strong enough to prevail over the rest. Now it was the custom of the Euboeans to drive their flocks down to the sea there. Gathering the admirals together, he told them that he thought he had a device

whereby he hoped to draw away the best of the king's allies. So much he revealed for the moment, but merely advised them to let everyone slay as many from the Euboean flocks as he wanted; it was better that the fleet should have them, than the enemy. Moreover, he counselled them each to order his men to light a fire; as for the time of their departure from that place, he would see to it that they would return to Hellas unscathed. All this they agreed to do and immediately lit fires and set upon the flocks.

20 1 οἱ γὰρ Εὐβοέες, παραχρησάμενοι τὸν Βάκιδος χρησμὸν ὥς οὐδὲν λέγοντα, οὔτε τι ἐξεκοίμisanτο οὐδὲν οὔτε προσεσάζαντο ὥς παρεσόμενου σφι πολέμου, περιπετέα τε ἐποίησαντο σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τὰ πρήγματα. 2 Βάκιδι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχει περὶ τούτων ὁ χρησμὸς. φράζω, βαρβαρόφωνος ὅταν ζυγὸν εἰς ἄλα βάλλῃ βύβλινον, Εὐβοίης ἀπέχειν πολυμηκάδας αἶγας. τούτοισι οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἔπεσι χρησαμένοισι ἐν τοῖσι τότε παρευοῦσί τε καὶ προσδοκίμοισι κακοῖσι παρῆν σφι συμφορῇ χρᾶσθαι πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα.

20. Now the Euboeans had neglected the oracle of Bacis, believing it to be empty of meaning, and neither by carrying away nor by bringing in anything had they shown that they feared an enemy's coming. In so doing they were the cause of their own destruction, for Bacis' oracle concerning this matter runs as follows "When a strange-tongued man casts a yoke of papyrus on the waves, Then take care to keep bleating goats far from the coasts of Euboea " To these verses the Euboeans gave no heed; but in the evils then present and soon to come they suffered the greatest calamity.

21 1 οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔπρησσαν, παρῆν δὲ ὁ ἐκ Τρηχῖνος κατάσκοπος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ κατάσκοπος Πολύας, γένος Ἀντικυρεύς, τῷ προσετέτακτο, καὶ εἶχε πλοῖον κατῆρες ἔτοιμον, εἰ παλήσειε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός, σημαίνειν τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐοῦσι· ὥς δ' αὐτως ἦν Ἀβρώνιχος ὁ Λυσικλέος Ἀθηναῖος καὶ παρὰ Λεωνίδῃ ἔτοιμος τοῖσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐοῦσι ἀγγέλλειν τριηκοντέρῳ, ἦν τι καταλαμβάνῃ νεώτερον τὸν πεζόν. 2 οὗτος ὢν ὁ Ἀβρώνιχος ἀπικόμενός σφι ἐσήμαινε τὰ γεγονότα περὶ Λεωνίδην καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, οὐκέτι ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιεῦντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ἐκομίζοντο δὲ ὥς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν, Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι, ὕστατοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι.

21. While the Greeks were doing as I have said, there came to them their lookout from Trachis. There was a scout at Artemisium, one Polyas, a native of Anticyra, who was charged (and had a rowing boat standing ready for it), if the fleet should suffer a reverse to declare it to the men at Thermopylae. Similarly, if any ill should befall the land army, Abronichus son of Lysicles, an Athenian, was with Leonidas, ready for his part to bring the news in a thirty-oared bark to the Greeks at Artemisium. So this Abronichus came and declared to them the fate of Leonidas and his army. When the Greeks learned this, they no longer delayed their departure but went their ways in their appointed order, the Corinthians first and last of all the Athenians.

22 1 Ἀθηναίων δὲ νέας τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας ἐπιλεξάμενος Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπορεύετο περὶ τὰ πότιμα ὕδατα, ἐντάμνων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοισι γράμματα. τὰ Ἴωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ ὕστεραίῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπελέξαντο. τὰ δὲ γράμματα τάδε ἔλεγε. “ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οὐ ποιεῖτε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατεύομενοι καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλοῦμενοι. 2 ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθε· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο μὴ δυνατόν ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν Καρῶν δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιεῖν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων οἶόν τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἀναγκαίης μέζονος κατέζευχθε ἢ ὥστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, ἐθελοκακέετε μεμνημένοι ὅτι ἀπ’ ἡμέων γεγόνετε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχῆθεν ἢ ἔχθρη πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ’ ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε “. 3 Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ταῦτα ἔγραφε, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρα νοέων, ἵνα ἢ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἴωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἐωυτῶν, ἢ ἐπεῖτε ἀνενειχθῇ καὶ διαβληθῇ πρὸς Ξέρξην, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἴωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιῶν αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχη.

22. Themistocles, however, picked out the seaworthiest Athenian ships and made his way to the places where drinking water could be found. Here he engraved on the rocks words which the Ionians read on the next day when they came to Artemisium. This was what the writing said: “Men of Ionia, you do wrongly to fight against the land of your fathers and bring slavery upon Hellas. It would best for you to join yourselves to us, but if that should be impossible for you, then

at least now withdraw from the war, and entreat the Carians to do the same as you. If neither of these things may be and you are fast bound by such constraint that you cannot rebel, yet we ask you not to use your full strength in the day of battle. Remember that you are our sons and that our quarrel with the barbarian was of your making in the beginning.” To my thinking Themistocles wrote this with a double intent, namely that if the king knew nothing of the writing, it might induce the Ionians to change sides and join with the Greeks, while if the writing were maliciously reported to Xerxes, he might thereby be led to mistrust the Ionians and keep them out of the sea-fights.

23 1 Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν ταῦτα ἐνέγραψε· τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα πλοῖφ ἦλθε ἀνὴρ Ἰστιαιεὺς ἀγγέλλων τὸν δρησμὸν τὸν ἂπ’ Ἀρτεμισίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οἱ δ’ ὑπ’ ἀπιστῆς τὸν μὲν ἀγγέλλοντα εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, νέας δὲ ταχέας ἀπέστειλαν προκατοψομένας· ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ τούτων τὰ ἦν, οὕτω δὴ ἅμα ἡλίῳ σκιδναμένῳ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐπέπλεε ἀλῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ἐπισχόντες δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρης, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔπλεον ἐς Ἰστιαίην· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔσχον τῶν Ἰστιαίων, καὶ τῆς Ἑλλοπίνης μοίρης γῆς δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος τὰς παραθαλασσίας χώρας πάσας ἐπέδραμον.

23. Such was Themistocles’ writing. Immediately after this there came to the barbarians a man of Histiaea in a boat, telling them of the flight of the Greeks from Artemisium. Not believing this, they kept the bringer of the news in confinement and sent swift ships to spy out the matter. When the crews of these brought word of the truth, the whole armada sailed all together to Artemisium at the crack of dawn. Here they waited till midday and then sailed to Histiaea. Upon their arrival they took possession of the Histiaeans’ city and overran all the villages on the seaboard of the Ellopiian region, which is a district belonging to Histiaea.

24 1 ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τούτων ἐόντων, Ξέρξης ἐτοιμασάμενος τὰ περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἔπεμπε ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κήρυκα, προετοιμάσατο δὲ τάδε· ὅσοι τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἦσαν νεκροὶ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι (ἦσαν δὲ καὶ δύο μυριάδες), ὑπολιπόμενος τούτων ὡς χιλίους, τοὺς λοιποὺς τάφρους ὀρυζάμενος ἔθαψε, φυλλάδα τε

ἐπιβαλὼν καὶ γῆν ἐπαμυσάμενος, ἵνα μὴ ὀφθείησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ. 2 ὥς δὲ διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην ὁ κῆρυξ, σὺλλογον ποιησάμενος παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγε τάδε. “ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τῷ βουλομένῳ ὑμέων παραδίδωσι ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἐλθόντα θεήσασθαι ὅπως μάχεται πρὸς τοὺς ἀνοήτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ ἥλπισαν τὴν βασιλείος δύναμιν ὑπερβαλέσθαι “.

24. While they were there, Xerxes sent a herald to the fleet. Before sending him, Xerxes had made the following preparations: of all his own soldiers who had fallen at Thermopylae (that is, as many as twenty thousand) he left about a thousand, and the rest he buried in trenches, which he covered with leaves and heaped earth so that the men of the fleet might not see them. When the herald had crossed over to Histiaea, he assembled all the men of the fleet and said: “Men of our allies, King Xerxes permits any one of you who should so desire to leave his place and come to see how he fights against those foolish men who thought they could overcome the king’s power.”

25 1 ταῦτα ἐπαγγειλαμένου, μετὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πλοίων σπανιώτερον· οὕτω πολλοὶ ἤθελον θεήσασθαι. διαπεραιωθέντες δὲ ἐθηεῦντο διεξιόντες τοὺς νεκρούς· πάντες δὲ ἠπιστέατο τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Θεσπιάας, ὁρῶντες καὶ τοὺς εἴλωτας. 2 οὐ μὲν οὐδ’ ἐλάνθανε τοὺς διαβεβηκότας Ξέρξης ταῦτα πρήξας περὶ τοὺς νεκρούς τοὺς ἐωντοῦ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ γελοῖον ἦν· τῶν μὲν χίλιοι ἐφαίνοντο νεκροὶ κείμενοι, οἱ δὲ πάντες ἐκέατο ἄλλες συγκεκομισμένοι ἐς τὸν αὐτὸ χωρίον, τέσσερες χιλιάδες. 3 ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πρὸς θέν ἐτράποντο, τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίῃ οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλεον ἐς Ἰστιαίην ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην ἐς ὁδὸν ὁρμέατο.

25. After this proclamation, there was nothing so hard to get as a boat, so many were they who wanted to see this. They crossed over and went about viewing the dead. All of them supposed that the fallen Greeks were all Lacedaemonians and Thespians, though helots were also there for them to see. For all that, however, those who crossed over were not deceived by what Xerxes had done with his own dead, for the thing was truly ridiculous; of the Persians a thousand lay dead before their eyes, but the Greeks lay all together

assembled in one place, to the number of four thousand. All that day they spent in observation, and on the next the shipmen returned to their fleet at Histiaea while Xerxes' army set forth on its march.

26 1 ἦκον δέ σφι αὐτόμολοι ἄνδρες ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας ὀλίγοι τινές, βίου τε δεόμενοι καὶ ἐνεργοὶ βουλόμενοι εἶναι. ἄγοντες δὲ τούτους ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέος ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Πέρσαι περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τί ποιεοίεν· εἷς δὲ τις πρὸ πάντων ἦν ὁ εἰρωτῶν αὐτοὺς ταῦτα. 2 οἱ δέ σφι ἔλεγον ὥς Ὀλύμπια ἄγουσι καὶ θεωροῦσιν ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικόν. ὁ δὲ ἐπείρετο ὅ τι τὸ ἄθλον εἴη σφι κείμενον περὶ ὅτεν ἀγωνίζονται· οἱ δ' εἶπον τῆς ἐλαΐης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον. ἐνθαῦτα εἶπας γνώμην γενναιοτάτην Τιγράνης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου δειλίην ὥφλε πρὸς βασιλέος. 3 πυνθανόμενος γὰρ τὸ ἄθλον ἐὼν στέφανον ἄλλ' οὐ χρήματα, οὕτε ἠνέσχετο σιγῶν εἰπέ τε ἐς πάντας τάδε. “παπαῖ Μαρδόνιε, κοίους ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἤγαγες μαχησομένους ἡμέας, οἱ οὐ περὶ χρημάτων τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιεῦνται ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀρετῆς “. τοῦτω μὲν διὰ ταῦτα εἴρητο.

26. There had come to them a few deserters, men of Arcadia, lacking a livelihood and desirous to find some service. Bringing these men into the king's presence, the Persians inquired of them what the Greeks were doing, there being one who put this question in the name of all. When the Arcadians told them that the Greeks were holding the Olympic festival and viewing sports and horseraces, the Persian asked what was the prize offered, for which they contended. They told him of the crown of olive that was given to the victor. Then Tigranes son of Artabanus uttered a most noble saying (but the king deemed him a coward for it); when he heard that the prize was not money but a crown, he could not hold his peace, but cried, “Good heavens, Mardonius, what kind of men are these that you have pitted us against? It is not for money they contend but for glory of achievement!” Such was Tigranes' saying.

27 1 ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐπεῖτε τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τρῶμα ἐγεγόνεε, αὐτίκα Θεσσαλοὶ πέμπουσι κήρυκα ἐς Φωκέας, ἅτε σφι ἔχοντες αἰεὶ χόλον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὑστάτου τρώματος καὶ τὸ κάρτα. 2 ἐσβαλόντες γὰρ πανστρατιῇ αὐτοῖ τε οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Φωκέας, οὐ πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον ταύτης τῆς βασιλέος στρατηλασίης, ἐσώθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων καὶ

περιέφθησαν τρηχέως. 3 ἐπεῖτε γὰρ κατελήθησαν ἐς τὸν Παρνησὸν οἱ Φωκέες ἔχοντες μάντιν Τελλίην τὸν Ἡλεῖον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Τελλίης οὗτος σοφίζεται αὐτοῖσι τοιόνδε. γυνώσας ἄνδρας ἐξακοσίους τῶν φωκέων τοὺς, ἀρίστους, αὐτοὺς τε τούτους καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς ἐπεθήκατο τοῖσι Θεσσαλοῖσι, προεῖπας αὐτοῖσι, τὸν ἂν μὴ λευκανθίζοντα ἴδωνται, τοῦτον κτείνειν. 4 τούτους ὧν αἱ τε φυλακαὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν πρῶται ἰδοῦσαι ἐφοβήθησαν, δόξασαι ἄλλο τι εἶναι τέρας, καὶ μετὰ τὰς φυλακὰς αὐτὴ ἡ στρατιὴ οὕτω ὥστε τετρακισχίλιον κρατῆσαι νεκρῶν καὶ ἀσπίδων Φωκέας, τῶν τὰς μὲν ἡμισέας ἐς Ἄβας ἀνέθεσαν τὰς δὲ ἐς Δελφούς· 5 ἡ δὲ δεκάτη ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστεῶτες ἔμπροσθε τοῦ νηοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι ἐν Ἀβησι ἀνακέαται.

27. In the meantime, immediately after the misfortune at Thermopylae, the Thessalians sent a herald to the Phocians, because they bore an old grudge against them and still more because of their latest disaster. Now a few years before the king's expedition, the Thessalians and their allies had invaded Phocis with their whole army but had been worsted and roughly handled by the Phocians. When the Phocians were besieged on Parnassus, they had with them the diviner Tellias of Elis; Tellias devised a stratagem for them: he covered six hundred of the bravest Phocians with gypsum, themselves and their armor, and led them to attack the Thessalians by night, bidding them slay whomever they should see not whitened. The Thessalian sentinels were the first to see these men and to flee for fear, supposing falsely that it was something supernatural, and after the sentinels the whole army fled as well. The Phocians made themselves masters of four thousand dead, and their shields, of which they dedicated half at Abae and the rest at Delphi. A tithe of what they won in that fight went to the making of the great statues that stand around the tripod in front of the shrine at Delphi, and there are others like them dedicated at Abae.

28 1 ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὸν πεζὸν ἐργάσαντο τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ Φωκέες πολιορκέοντας ἐαυτούς· ἐσβαλοῦσαν δὲ ἐς τὴν χώραν τὴν ἵππον αὐτῶν ἐλυμήναντο ἀνηκέστως. ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσβολῇ ἥ ἐστὶ κατὰ Ὑάμπολιν, ἐν ταύτῃ τάφρον μεγάλην ὀρύξαντες ἀμφορέας κενεοὺς

ἐς αὐτὴν κατέθηκαν, χοῦν δὲ ἐπιφορήσαντες καὶ ὁμοιώσαντες τῷ ἄλλῳ χώρῳ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἐσβάλλοντας. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Φωκέας φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς ἀμφορέας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἵπποι τὰ σκέλεα διεφθάρησαν.

28. This is what the besieged Phocians did with the Thessalian footsoldiers. When the Thessalian horsemen rode into their country, the Phocians did them mortal harm; they dug a great pit in the pass near Hyampolis and put empty jars inside it. They then covered it with earth till all was like the rest of the ground and awaited the onset of the Thessalians. These rode on intending to sweep the Phocians before them, and fell in among the jars, whereby their horses' legs were broken.

29 1 τούτων δὴ σφι ἀμφοτέρων ἔχοντες ἔγκοτον οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἠγόρευον τάδε. “ὦ Φωκέες, ἤδη τι μᾶλλον γνωσιμαχέετε μὴ εἶναι ὅμοιοι ἡμῖν. 2 πρόσθε τε γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι, ὅσον χρόνον ἐκεῖνα ἡμῖν ἦνδανε, πλέον αἰεὶ κοτε ὑμέων ἐφερόμεθα· νῦν τε παρὰ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τοσοῦτο δυνάμεθα ὥστε ἐπ' ἡμῖν ἐστι τῆς γῆς ἐστερηθῆναι καὶ πρὸς ἠνδραποδίσθαι ὑμέας. ἡμεῖς μέντοι τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες οὐ μνησικακέομεν, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν γενέσθω ἀντ' αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, καὶ ὑμῖν ὑποδεκόμεθα τὰ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἀποτρέψειν “.

29. These two deeds had never been forgiven by the Thessalians, and now they sent a herald with this message: “Men of Phocis, it is time now that you confess yourselves to be no match for us. We were even formerly preferred to you by the Greeks, as long as we were on their side, and now we bear such weight with the foreigner that it lies in our power to have you deprived of your lands and to have you enslaved. Nevertheless, although we could easily do these things, we bear you no ill-will for the past. Pay us fifty talents of silver for what you did, and we promise to turn aside what threatens your land.”

30 1 ταῦτά σφι ἐπαγγέλλοντο οἱ Θεσσαλοί. οἱ γὰρ Φωκέες μοῦνοι τῶν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμῆδιζον, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὥς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν· 2 εἰ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἠῤῥον, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐμῆδιζον ἂν οἱ Φωκέες. ταῦτα ἐπαγγελλομένων Θεσσαλῶν, οὔτε δώσειν ἔφασαν χρήματα, παρέχειν τε σφίσι Θεσσαλοῖσι ὁμοίως μῆδιζειν, εἰ ἄλλως

βουλοίατο· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔσσεσθαι ἐκόντες εἶναι προδόται τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

30. This was the Thessalians' offer. The Phocians alone of all that region would not take the Persians' side, and that for no other reason (if I argue correctly) than their hatred of the Thessalians. Had the Thessalians aided the Greek side, then the Phocians would certainly have stood for the Persians. They replied to the offer of the Thessalians that they would give no money; they could do as the Thessalians did and take the Persian part, if for any cause they so wished, but they would not willingly betray the cause of Hellas.

31 1 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ κεχολωμένοι τοῖσι Φωκεῦσι ἐγένοντο ἡγεμόνες τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς Τρηχινίης ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον· τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρας ποδεῶν στεινὸς ταύτη κατατείνει, ὥς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστά κη εὖρος, κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ Φωκίδος χώρας, ἥ περ ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυοπίς· ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωριέων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. ταύτην ὦν τὴν Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ ἐσίναντο ἐσβαλόντες οἱ βάρβαροι· ἐμήδιζόν τε γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἐδόκεε Θεσσαλοῖσι.

31. When this answer was returned to them, the Thessalians in their wrath against the Phocians began to guide the barbarian on his march. From the lands of Trachis they broke into Doris; there is a narrow tongue of Dorian land stretching that way, about thirty furlongs wide, between the Malian territory and the Phocian, which in old time was Dryopian. This region is the motherland of the Dorians of the Peloponnese. To this Dorian territory the barbarians did no harm at their invasion, for the people took the Persian side, and the Thessalians would not have them harmed.

32 1 ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσέβαλον, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Φωκέας οὐκ αἰρέουσι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκέων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀνέβησαν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδέη δέξασθαι ὄμιλον τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἢ κορυφῇ, κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν κειμένη ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς· Τιθορέα οὖνομα αὐτῇ· ἐς τὴν δὴ ἀνηνεύκοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν. 2 οἱ δὲ πλεῖνες αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Ὀζόλας Λοκροὺς ἐξεκομίσαντο, ἐς Ἀμφισσαν πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισαίου πεδίου οἰκημένην. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα· Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ οὕτω ἦγον τὸν στρατόν· ὁκόσα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ

ἔκειρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐνιέντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά.

32. When they entered Phocis from Doris, they could not take the Phocians themselves, for some of the Phocians ascended to the heights of Parnassus. The peak of Parnassus called Tithorea, which rises by itself near the town Neon, has room enough for a multitude of people. It was there that they carried their goods and themselves ascended to it, but most of them made their way out of the country to the Ozolian Locrians, where the town of Amphissa lies above the Crisaeian plain. The barbarians, while the Thessalians so guided their army, overran the whole of Phocis. All that came within their power they laid waste to and burnt, setting fire to towns and temples.

33 1 πορευόμενοι γὰρ ταύτη παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν ποταμὸν ἐδήριον πάντα, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔκαυσαν Δρυμὸν πόλιν κατὰ δὲ Χαράδραν καὶ Ἑρώχον καὶ Τεθρώνιον καὶ Ἀμφίκαιαν καὶ Νέωνα καὶ Πεδιέας καὶ Τριτέας καὶ Ἐλάτειαν καὶ Ὑάμπολιν καὶ Παραποταμίους καὶ Ἄβας, ἔνθα ἦν ἱρὸν Ἀπόλλωνος πλούσιον, θησαυροῖσί τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖσι κατεσκευασμένον· ἦν δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρηστήριον αὐτόθι. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν συλῆσαντες ἐνέπρησαν. καὶ τινὰς διώκοντες εἶλον τῶν Φωκέων πρὸς τοῖσι ὄρεσι, καὶ γυναῖκας τινὰς διέφθειραν μισγόμενοι ὑπὸ πλήθους.

33. Marching this way down the river Cephissus, they ravaged everything that lay in their way, burning the towns of Drymus, Charadra, Erochus, Tethronium, Amphicaea, Neon, Pediea, Tritaea, Elatea, Hyampolis, Parapotamii, and Abae, where there was a richly endowed temple of Apollo, provided with wealth of treasure and offerings. There was also then as now a place of divination at this place. This temple, too, they plundered and burnt, and they pursued and caught some of the Phocians near the mountains. Certain women too perished because of the multitude of their violators.

34 1 παραποταμίους δὲ παραμειβόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Πανοπέας. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἤδη διακρινόμενη ἡ στρατιὴ αὐτῶν ἐσχίζετο. τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον καὶ δυνατώτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορευόμενον ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐσέβαλε ἐς Βοιωτούς, ἐς γῆν τὴν Ὀρχομενίαν. Βοιωτῶν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμήδιζε, τὰς δὲ πόλεις αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένοι ἔσωζον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες· ἔσωζον δὲ τῇδε, δῆλον βουλόμενοι ποιέειν Ξέρξῃ

ὅτι τὰ Μήδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονέοιεν.

34. Passing Parapotamii, the foreigners came to Panopea. There their army parted into two companies. The greater and stronger part of the host marched with Xerxes himself towards Athens and broke into the territory of Orchomenus in Boeotia. Now the whole population of Boeotia took the Persian side, and men of Macedonia sent by Alexander safeguarded their towns, each in his appointed place; the reason of the safeguarding was that Xerxes should see that the Boeotians were on the Persian side.

35 1 οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες ὁρμέατο ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Παρνησὸν ἀπέργοντες. ὅσα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος, πάντα ἐσιναμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανοπέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ Αἰολιδέων. 2 ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅπως συλήσαντες τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι βασιλεί Ξέρξῃ ἀποδέξαιεν τὰ χρήματα. πάντα δ' ἠπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ὅσα λόγου ἦν ἄξια Ξέρξης, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἄμεινον ἢ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι ἔλιπε, πολλῶν αἰεὶ λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροίσου τοῦ Ἀλυάττεω ἀναθήματα.

35. So this part of the barbarian army marched as I have said, and others set forth with guides for the temple at Delphi, keeping Parnassus on their right. These, too, laid waste to every part of Phocis which they occupied, burning the towns of the Panopeans and Daulii and Aeolidae. The purpose of their parting from the rest of the army and marching this way was that they might plunder the temple at Delphi and lay its wealth before Xerxes, who (as I have been told) had better knowledge of the most notable possessions in the temple than of what he had left in his own palace, chiefly the offerings of Croesus son of Alyattes; so many had always spoken of them.

36 1 οἱ Δελφοὶ δὲ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρώδιην ἀπίκατο, ἐν δείματι δὲ μεγάλῳ κατεστεῶτες ἐμαντεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων, εἴτε σφέα κατὰ γῆς κατορύζωσι εἴτε ἐκκομίσωσι ἐς ἄλλην χώραν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφέας οὐκ ἔα κινέειν, φᾶς αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς εἶναι τῶν ἐωυτοῦ προκατῆσθαι. 2 Δελφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες σφέων αὐτῶν πέρι ἐφρόντιζον. τέκνα μὲν νυν καὶ γυναῖκας πέρην ἐς τὴν Ἀχαίην διέπεμψαν, αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ

Παρνησοῦ τὰς κορυφὰς καὶ ἐς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον ἀνηνείκαντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἄμφισσαν τὴν Λοκρίδα ὑπεξῆλθον. πάντες δὲ ὧν οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, πλὴν ἐξήκοντα ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ προφήτεω.

36. When the Delphians learned all this, they were very much afraid, and in their great fear they inquired of the oracle whether they should bury the sacred treasure in the ground or take it away to another country. The god told them to move nothing, saying that he was able to protect what belonged to him. Upon hearing that, the Delphians took thought for themselves. They sent their children and women overseas to Achaia. Most of the men went up to the peaks of Parnassus and carried their goods into the Corycian cave, but some escaped to Amphissa in Locris. In short, all the Delphians left the town save sixty men and the prophet.

37 1 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιόντες καὶ ἀπώρων τὸ ἱρόν, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀκήρατος, ὁρᾷ πρὸ τοῦ νηοῦ ὄπλα προκειμένα ἔσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξενηνεγμένα ἰρά, τῶν οὐκ ὅσιον ἦν ἅπτεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί. 2 ὁ μὲν δὴ ἦε Δελφῶν τοῖσι παρεοῦσι σημανέων τὸ τέρας· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο ἐπειγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἱρόν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐπιγίνεται σφι τέρεα ἔτι μέζονα τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου τέρεος. θῶμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο κάρτα ἐστί, ὄπλα ἀρήγια αὐτόματα φανῆναι ἔξω προκειμένα τοῦ νηοῦ· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεύτερα ἐπιγενόμενα καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων ἄξια θαμάσαι μάλιστα. 3 ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἦσαν ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἱρόν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀπορῥαγεῖσαι δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῶ πατάγῳ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέβαλον συχνούς σφεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προναίης βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγίνετο.

37. Now when the barbarians drew near and could see the temple, the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, saw certain sacred arms, which no man might touch without sacrilege, brought out of the chamber within and laid before the shrine. So he went to tell the Delphians of this miracle, but when the barbarians came with all speed near to the temple of Athena Pronaea, they were visited by miracles yet greater than the aforesaid. Marvellous indeed it is, that weapons of war should of their own motion appear lying outside in

front of the shrine, but the visitation which followed was more wondrous than anything else ever seen. When the barbarians were near to the temple of Athena Pronaea, they were struck by thunderbolts from the sky, and two peaks broken off from Parnassus came rushing among them with a mighty noise and overwhelmed many of them. In addition to this a shout and a cry of triumph were heard from the temple of Athena.

38 1 συμμιγέντων δὲ τούτων πάντων, φόβος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ἐνεπετώκεε. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγοντας σφέας, ἐπικαταβάντες ἀπέκτειναν πλῆθος τι αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ περιέοντες ἰθὺ Βοιωτῶν ἔφευγον. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ὡς πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἄλλα ὥρων θεῖα· δύο γὰρ ὀπλίτας μέζοντας ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἔχοντας ἔπεσθαί σφι κτείνοντας καὶ διώκοντας.

38. All of this together struck panic into the barbarians, and the Delphians, perceiving that they fled, descended upon them and killed a great number. The survivors fled straight to Boeotia. Those of the barbarians who returned said (as I have been told) that they had seen other divine signs besides what I have just described: two men-at-arms of stature greater than human, they said, had come after them, slaying and pursuing.

39 1 τούτους δὲ τοὺς δύο Δελφοὶ λέγουσι εἶναι ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας, Φυλάκον τε καὶ Αὐτόνοον, τῶν τὰ τεμένεια ἐστὶ περὶ τὸ ἱρόν, Φυλάκου μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν κατύπερθε τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Προναίης, Αὐτονόου δὲ πέλας τῆς Κασταλίνης ὑπὸ τῇ Ὑαμπείῃ κορυφῇ. 2 οἱ δὲ πεσόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ λίθοι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ἦσαν σοοί, ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης κείμενοι, ἐς τὸ ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων φερόμενοι. τούτων μὲν νυν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀπαλλαγὴ γίνεται.

39. These two, say the Delphians, were the native heroes Phylacus and Autinous, whose precincts are near the temple, Phylacus' by the road itself above the shrine of Athena Pronaea, and Autinous' near the Castalian spring, under the Hyarapean Peak. The rocks that fell from Parnassus were yet to be seen in my day, lying in the precinct of Athena Pronaea, from where their descent through the foreigners' ranks had hurled them. Such, then, was the manner of those men's

departure from the temple.

40 1 ὁ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου Ἀθηναίων δεηθέντων ἐς Σαλαμῖνα κατίσχει τὰς νέας. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα προσεδεήθησαν αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμῖνα Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα αὐτοὶ παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξαγάγωνται ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλευσῶνται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλὴν ἔμελλον ποιήσασθαι ὡς ἐψευσμένοι γνώμης. 2 δοκέοντες γὰρ εὐρήσειν Πελοποννησίους πανδημεὶ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτῇ ὑποκατημένους τὸν βάρβαρον, τῶν μὲν εὖρον οὐδὲν ἐόν, οἱ δὲ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Ἴσθμὸν αὐτοὺς τειχέοντας, ὡς τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου τε ποιευμένους περιεῖναι καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ ἀπιέναι. ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι οὕτω δὴ προσεδεήθησαν σφέων σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα.

40. At the request of the Athenians, the fleet of the Hellenes came from Artemisium and put in at Salamis. The Athenians requested them to put in at Salamis so that they take their children and women out of Attica and also take counsel what they should do. They had been disappointed in their plans, so they were going to hold a council about the current state of affairs. They expected to find the entire population of the Peloponnese in Boeotia awaiting the barbarian, but they found no such thing. They learned that they were fortifying the Isthmus instead and considered the defense of the Peloponnese the most important thing, disregarding all the rest. When the Athenians learned this, they asked the fleet to put in at Salamis.

41 1 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιζιν κήρυγμα ἐποιήσαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σώζειν τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἐς Τροίζηνα ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Αἴγιναν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. 2 ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρετέειν καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦδε εἵνεκα οὐκ ἦκιστα. λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ὄφιν μέγαν φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ· λέγουσὶ τε ταῦτα καὶ δὴ ὡς ἐόντι ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες· τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσα ἐστί. 3 αὕτη δὴ ἡ μελιτόεσσα ἐν τῷ πρόσθε αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμουμένη τότε ἦν ἄγναυστος. σημηνάσης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱρείης, μᾶλλον τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ

ἀπολελοιπυῖης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὥς δέ σφι πάντα ὑπεξέκειτο, ἔπλεον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

41. While the others put in at Salamis, the Athenians landed in their own country. When they arrived, they made a proclamation that every Athenian should save his children and servants as he best could. Thereupon most of them sent the members of their households to Troezen, and some to Aegina and Salamis. They were anxious to get everything out safely because they wished to obey the oracle, and also not least because of this: the Athenians say that a great snake lives in the sacred precinct guarding the acropolis. They say this and even put out monthly offerings for it as if it really existed. The monthly offering is a honey-cake. In all the time before this the honey-cake had been consumed, but this time it was untouched. When the priestess interpreted the significance of this, the Athenians were all the more eager to abandon the city since the goddess had deserted the acropolis. When they had removed everything to safety, they returned to the camp.

42 1 ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συνέρρεε καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυνθανόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐκ Τροίζηνος· ἐς γὰρ Πώγωνα τὸν Τροϊζηνίων λιμένα προεῖρητο συλλέγεσθαι. συνελέχθησάν τε δὴ πολλῶ πλεῦνες νέες ἢ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχεον καὶ ἀπὸ πολίων πλεύων. 2 ναύαρχος μὲν νυν ἐπὶν οὗτος ὅς περ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Εὐρυβιάδης ὁ Εὐρυκλείδew ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιήτης, οὐ μέντοι γένεος τοῦ βασιλείου ἐών· νέας δὲ πολλῶ πλείστας τε καὶ ἄριστα πλεούσας παρείχοντο Ἀθηναῖοι.

42. When those from Artemisium had put in at Salamis, the rest of the Hellenic fleet learned of this and streamed in from Troezen, for they had been commanded to assemble at Pogon, the harbor of Troezen. Many more ships assembled now than had fought at Artemisium, and from more cities. The admiral was the same as at Artemisium, Eurybiades son of Euryclides, a Spartan but not of royal descent. The ships provided by the Athenians were by far the most numerous and the most seaworthy.

43 1 ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ οἷδε· ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἑκκαίδεκα νέας παρεχόμενοι, Κορίνθιοι δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα παρεχόμενοι καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ· Σικυώνιοι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα

παρείχοντο νέας, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ δέκα, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Ἑρμιονέες δὲ τρεῖς, ἔοντες οὗτοι πλὴν Ἑρμιονέων Δωρικόν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος, ἐξ Ἐρινεοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὀρμηθέντες. οἱ δὲ Ἑρμιονέες εἰσὶ Δρύοπες, ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέος τε καὶ Μηλιάων ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος καλεομένης χώρας ἐξαναστάντες.

43. The following took part in the war: from the Peloponnese, the Lacedaemonians provided sixteen ships; the Corinthians the same number as at Artemisium; the Sicyonians furnished fifteen ships, the Epidaurians ten, the Troezenians five, the Hermioneans three. All of these except the Hermioneans are Dorian and Macedonian and had last come from Erineus and Pindus and the Dryopian region. The Hermioneans are Dryopians, driven out of the country now called Doris by Herakles and the Malians.

44 1 οὗτοι μὲν νυν Πελοποννησίων ἐστρατεύοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔξω ἡπείρου, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους παρεχόμενοι νέας ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, μοῦνοι· ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γὰρ οὐ συνεναυμάχησαν Πλαταιέες Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τοιόνδε τι πρῆγμα· ἀπαλλασσομένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, ὥς ἐγίνοντο κατὰ Χαλκίδα, οἱ Πλαταιέες ἀποβάντες ἐς τὴν περαιὶν τῆς Βοιωτῆς χώρας πρὸς ἐκκομιδὴν ἐτράποντο τῶν οἰκετέων. οὗτοι μὲν νυν τούτους σώζοντες ἐλείφθησαν. 2 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ἔχόντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλεομένην ἦσαν Πελασγοί, ὀνομαζόμενοι Κραναοί, ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος βασιλέος ἐκλήθησαν Κεκροπίδαι, ἐκδεξαμένου δὲ Ἐρεχθέος τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀθηναῖοι μετωνομάσθησαν, Ἴωνος δὲ τοῦ Ξούθου στρατάρχεω γενομένου Ἀθηναίοισι ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου Ἴωνες.

44. These, then, were the Peloponnesians who took part in the war. From the mainland outside the Peloponnese came the following: the Athenians provided more than all the rest, one hundred and eighty ships. They provided these alone, since the Plataeans did not fight with the Athenians at Salamis for this reason: when the Hellenes departed from Artemisium and were off Chalcis, the Plataeans landed on the opposite shore of Boeotia and attended to the removal of their households. In bringing these to safety they were left behind. The Athenians, while the Pelasgians ruled what is now called Hellas, were Pelasgians, bearing the name of Cranai. When

Cecrops was their king they were called Cecropidae, and when Erechtheus succeeded to the rule, they changed their name and became Athenians. When, however, Ion son of Xuthus was commander of the Athenian army, they were called after him Ionians.

45 1 Μεγαρέες δὲ τὸν πλοῦτον παρέχοντο καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Ἀμπρακιῶται δὲ ἑπτὰ νέας ἔχοντες ἐπεβοήθησαν, Λευκάδιοι δὲ τρεῖς, ἔθνος ἑὸν οὗτοι Δωρικὸν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου.

45. The Megarians provided the same number as at Artemisium. The Ampraciots came to help with seven ships, and the Leucadians, who are Dorians from Corinth, with three.

46 1 νησιωτέων δὲ Αἰγινῆται τριήκοντα παρέχοντο. ἦσαν μὲν σφι καὶ ἄλλαι πεπληρωμέναι νέες, ἀλλὰ τῇσι μὲν τὴν ἐκείνων ἐφύλασσαν, τριήκοντα δὲ τῇσι ἄριστα πλεούσησι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ἐνανυμάχησαν. Αἰγινῆται δὲ εἰσὶ Δωριεῖς ἀπὸ Ἐπιδαύρου· 2 τῇ δὲ νήσῳ πρότερον οὖνομα ἦν Οἰνώνη. μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινήτας Χαλκιδεῖς τὰς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ εἴκοσι παρεχόμενοι καὶ Ἐρετριεῖς τὰς ἑπτὰ· οὗτοι δὲ Ἴωνες εἰσὶ. μετὰ δὲ Κήιοι τὰς αὐτὰς παρεχόμενοι, ἔθνος ἐὸν Ἴωνικὸν ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων. 3 Νάξιοι δὲ παρέχοντο τέσσαρας, ἀποπεμφθέντες μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτέων κατὰ περ οἱ ἄλλοι νησιῶται, ἀλογήσαντες δὲ τῶν ἐντολέων ἀπίκατο ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας Δημοκρίτου σπεύσαντος, ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου καὶ τότε τριηραρχέοντος. Νάξιοι δὲ εἰσὶ Ἴωνες ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων γεγονότες. 4 Στυρέες δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς παρέχοντο νέας τὰς περ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Κύθιοι δὲ μίαν καὶ πεντηκόντερον, ἑὸντες συναμφοτέροι οὗτοι Δρύοπες. καὶ Σερίφιοι τε καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ Μήλιοι ἐστρατεύοντο· οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ ἔδοσαν μοῦνοι νησιωτέων τῷ βαρβάρῳ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ.

46. Of the islanders, the Aeginetans provided thirty ships. They had other manned ships, but they guarded their own land with these and fought at Salamis with the thirty most seaworthy. The Aeginetans are Dorians from Epidaurus, and their island was formerly called Oenone. After the Aeginetans came the Chalcidians with their twenty ships from Artemisium, and the Eretrians with the same seven; these are Ionians. Next were the Ceans, Ionians from Athens, with the same ships as before. The Naxians provided four ships. They had been sent by their fellow citizens to the Persians, like

the rest of the islanders, but they disregarded their orders and came to the Hellenes at the urging of Democritus, an esteemed man among the townsmen and at that time captain of a trireme. The Naxians are Ionians descended from Athens. The Styrians provided the same number of ships as at Artemisium, and the Cythnians one trireme and a fifty-oared boat; these are both Dryopians. The Seriphians, Siphnians, and Melians also took part, since they were the only islanders who had not given earth and water to the barbarian.

47 1 οὗτοι μὲν ἅπαντες ἐντὸς οἰκημένοι Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ Ἀχέροντος ποταμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο· Θεσπρωτοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ ὁμυρέοντες Ἀμπρακιώτησι καὶ Λευκαδίοισι, οἱ ἐξ ἐσχατέων χωρέων ἐστρατεύοντο. τῶν δὲ ἐκτὸς τούτων οἰκημένων Κροτωνιῆται μοῦνοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐβοήθησαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνεύουσι μὴ νηί, τῆς ἥρχε ἀνὴρ τρις πυθιονίκης Φάυλλος· Κροτωνιῆται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἀχαιοί.

47. All these people who live this side of Thesprotia and the Acheron river took part in the war. The Thesprotians border on the Ampraciots and Leucadians, who were the ones who came from the most distant countries to take part in the war. The only ones living beyond these to help Hellas in its danger were the Crotonians, with one ship. Its captain was Phayllus, three times victor in the Pythian games. The Crotonians are Achaeans by birth.

48 1 οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι τριήρεας παρεχόμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο, Μήλιοι δὲ καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ Σερίφιοι πεντηκοντέρους· Μήλιοι μὲν γένος ἐόντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαίμονος δύο παρείχοντο, Σίφνιοι δὲ καὶ Σερίφιοι Ἴωνες ἐόντες ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων μίαν ἐκάτεροι. ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, τριηκόσiai καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ.

48. All of these came to the war providing triremes, except the Melians and Siphnians and Seriphians, who brought fifty-oared boats. The Melians (who are of Lacedaemonian stock) provided two; the Siphnians and Seriphians, who are Ionians from Athens, one each. The total number of ships, besides the fifty-oared boats, was three hundred and seventy-eight.

49 1 ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημενέων πολιῶν, ἐβουλεύοντο, προθέντος Εὐρυβιάδεω γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον, ὅκου δοκέει ἐπιτηδεότατον εἶναι

ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι τῶν αὐτοῖ χωρέων ἐγκρατέες εἰσί· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ἀπεῖτο ἤδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων πέρι προετίθεε. 2 αἱ γινῶμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλεῖσται συνεζέπιπτον πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν πλώσαντας ναυμαχέειν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὥς εἰ νικηθέωσι τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μὲν ἐόντες πολιορκήσονται ἐν νήσῳ, ἵνα σφι τιμωρίῃ οὐδεμία ἐπιφανήσεται, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἴσθμῳ ἐς τοὺς ἐσωτῶν ἐξοίσονται.

49. When the generals from the aforementioned cities, met at Salamis, they held a council and Eurybiades proposed that whoever wanted to should give his opinion on what place under their control was most suitable for a sea battle. Attica was already lost, and he proposed that they consider the places which were left. The consensus of most of the speakers was to sail to the Isthmus and fight at sea for the Peloponnese, giving this reason: if they were defeated in the fight at Salamis they would be besieged on an island, where no help could come to them, but if they were at the Isthmus they could go ashore to their own lands.

50 1 ταῦτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγομένων, ἐληλύθεε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἡκεῖν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέεσθαι. 2 ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξῃ, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπιέων τὴν πόλιν, αὐτῶν ἐκλελοιπότων ἐς Πελοπόννησον, καὶ τὴν Πλαταιέων ὡσαύτως, ἦκέ τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐδήϊου. ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θέσπειάν τε καὶ Πλάταιαν πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμῆδιζον.

50. While the generals from the Peloponnese considered this argument, an Athenian came with the message that the barbarians had reached Attica and were destroying all of it by fire. The army with Xerxes had made its way through Boeotia and burnt the city of the Thespians, who had abandoned it and gone to the Peloponnese, and Plataea likewise. Now the army had come to Athens and was devastating everything there. The army burnt Thespia and Plataea upon learning from the Thebans that they had not medized.

51 1 ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἔνθεν πορεύεσθαι ἤρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἓνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες μῆνα ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν τρισὶ ἐτέροισι μῆσι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιάδεω ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοισι. 2 καὶ αἰρέουσι ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ,

καί τινες ὀλίγους εὐρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἐόντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους, οἱ φραζάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρησί τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἡμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήιον τὸ ἡ Πυθίῃ σφι ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον ἔσεσθαι· αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήιον καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας.

51. Since the crossing of the Hellespont, where the barbarians began their journey, they had spent one month there crossing into Europe and in three more months were in Attica, when Calliades was archon at Athens. When they took the town it was deserted, but in the sacred precinct they found a few Athenians, stewards of the sacred precinct and poor people, who defended themselves against the assault by fencing the acropolis with doors and logs. They had not withdrawn to Salamis not only because of poverty but also because they thought they had discovered the meaning of the oracle the Pythia had given, namely that the wooden wall would be impregnable. They believed that according to the oracle this, not the ships, was the refuge.

52 1 οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὄχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλέουσι Ἀρήιον πάγον, ἐπολιόρκεον τρόπον τοιόνδε· ὅκως στυππεῖον περὶ τοὺς οἰστοὺς περιθέντες ἄψειαν, ἐτόξευον ἐς τὸ φράγμα. ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολιορκεόμενοι ὁμῶς ἡμύνοντο, καίπερ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προδεδωκότος· 2 οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν προσφερόντων περὶ ὁμολογίης ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντεμηχανῶντο καὶ δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὀλοιτρόχους ἀπίεσαν, ὥστε Ξέρξην ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀπορήσει ἐνέχεσθαι οὐ δυνάμενον σφέας ἐλεῖν.

52. The Persians took up a position on the hill opposite the acropolis, which the Athenians call the Areopagus, and besieged them in this way: they wrapped arrows in tar and set them on fire, and then shot them at the barricade. Still the besieged Athenians defended themselves, although they had come to the utmost danger and their barricade had failed them. When the Pisistratids proposed terms of surrender, they would not listen but contrived defenses such

as rolling down boulders onto the barbarians when they came near the gates. For a long time Xerxes was at a loss, unable to capture them.

53 1 χρόνῳ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη δὴ τις ἔξοδος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἔδεε γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. ἔμπροσθε ὦν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὴ οὔτε τις ἐφύλασσε οὔτ' ἂν ἤλπισε μὴ κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίῃ ἀνθρώπων, ταύτῃ ἀνέβησαν τινὲς κατὰ τὸ ἶρόν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου, καίτοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ χώρου. 2 ὥς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἑωυτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κάτω καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον. τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς ἰκέτας ἐφόνευσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφι πάντες κατέστρωντο, τὸ ἶρόν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρηναν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

53. In time a way out of their difficulties was revealed to the barbarians, since according to the oracle all the mainland of Attica had to become subject to the Persians. In front of the acropolis, and behind the gates and the ascent, was a place where no one was on guard, since no one thought any man could go up that way. Here some men climbed up, near the sacred precinct of Cecrops' daughter Aglaurus, although the place was a sheer cliff. When the Athenians saw that they had ascended to the acropolis, some threw themselves off the wall and were killed, and others fled into the chamber. The Persians who had come up first turned to the gates, opened them, and murdered the suppliants. When they had levelled everything, they plundered the sacred precinct and set fire to the entire acropolis.

54 1 σχὼν δὲ παντελέως τὰς Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Σοῦσα ἄγγελον ἱππέα Ἀρταβάνῳ ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρικοῦσαν σφι εὐπρηξίην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψιος τοῦ κήρυκος δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς φυγάδας, ἑωυτῷ δὲ ἐπομένους, ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ θῆσαι τὰ ἱρὰ ἀναβάντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, εἴτε δὴ ὦν ὅψιν τινὰ ἰδὼν ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ ἐνθύμιόν οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντι τὸ ἶρόν. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα.

54. So it was that Xerxes took complete possession of Athens, and he sent a horseman to Susa to announce his present success to Artabanus. On the day after the messenger was sent, he called together the Athenian exiles who accompanied him and asked them go up to the acropolis and perform sacrifices in their customary way, an order given because he had been inspired by a dream or because he felt remorse after burning the sacred precinct. The Athenian exiles did as they were commanded.

55 1 τοῦ δὲ εἶνεκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φράσω. ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθεὸς τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηὸς, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῃ τε καὶ θάλασσά ἐστι, τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδῶνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρας μαρτύρια θέσθαι. ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἐλαίην ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέος κελεύόμενοι ὥς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἱρόν, ὥρων βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον ἀναδεδραμηκότα. οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔφρασαν.

55. I will tell why I have mentioned this. In that acropolis is a shrine of Erechtheus, called the “Earthborn,” and in the shrine are an olive tree and a pool of salt water. The story among the Athenians is that they were set there by Poseidon and Athena as tokens when they contended for the land. It happened that the olive tree was burnt by the barbarians with the rest of the sacred precinct, but on the day after its burning, when the Athenians ordered by the king to sacrifice went up to the sacred precinct, they saw a shoot of about a cubit’s length sprung from the stump, and they reported this.

56 1 οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἕλληνες, ὥς σφι ἐξηγγέλθη ὥς ἔσχε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, ἐς τοσοῦτον θόρυβον ἀπίκοντο ὥς ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθῆναι ἔμενον τὸ προκείμενον πρῆγμα, ἀλλ’ ἔς τε τὰς νέας ἐσέπιπτον καὶ ἰστία αἰείροντο ὥς ἀποθευσόμενοι· τοῖσί τε ὑπολειπομένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμαχεῖν. νύξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ οἱ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐσέβαινον ἐς τὰς νέας.

56. When this business concerning the Athenian acropolis was announced to the Hellenes at Salamis, some of the Peloponnesian generals became so alarmed that they did not even wait for the

proposed matter to be decided, but jumped into their ships and hoisted their sails for flight. Those left behind resolved that the fleet should fight for the Isthmus. Night fell, and they dissolved the assembly and boarded their ships.

57 1 ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Θεμιστοκλέα ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νέα εἵρετο Μνησιφίλος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ὃ τι σφι εἶη βεβουλευμένον. πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς εἶη δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναυμαχέειν, εἶπε 2 “οὔτ’ ἄρα, ἣν ἀπαείρωσι τὰς νέας ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, περὶ οὐδεμῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις· κατὰ γὰρ πόλις ἕκαστοι τρέψονται, καὶ οὔτε σφέας Εὐρυβιάδης κατέχειν δυνήσεται οὔτε τις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος ὥστε μὴ οὐ διασκεδασθῆναι τὴν στρατιήν· ἀπολέεταί τε ἡ Ἑλλάς ἀβουλίῃσι. ἀλλ’ εἴ τις ἐστὶ μηχανή, ἣτι καὶ πειρῶ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἣν κως δύνῃ ἀναγνῶσαι Εὐρυβιάδην μεταβουλεύσασθαι ὥστε αὐτοῦ μένειν “.

57. When Themistocles returned to his ship, Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, asked him what had been decided. Learning from him that they had resolved to sail to the Isthmus and fight for the Peloponnese, he said, “If they depart from Salamis, you will no longer be fighting for one country. Each will make his way to his own city, and neither Eurybiades nor any other man will be able to keep them from disbanding the army. Hellas will be destroyed by bad planning. If there is any way at all that you could persuade Eurybiades to change his decision and remain here, go try to undo this resolution.”

58 1 κάρτα τε τῷ Θεμιστοκλεί ἤρεσε ἡ ὑποθήκη, καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμεινῶμενος ἦε ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔφη ἐθέλειν οἱ κοινόν τι πρῆγμα συμμῖζαι· ὃ δ’ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νέα ἐκέλευε ἐσβάντα λέγειν, εἴ τι θέλει. 2 ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης παριζόμενός οἱ καταλέγει ἐκεῖνά τε πάντα τὰ ἤκουσε Μνησιφίλου, ἐωυτοῦ ποιεύμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προστιθείς, ἐς ὃ ἀνέγνωσε χρηίζων ἕκ τε τῆς νεὸς ἐκβῆναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον.

58. This advice greatly pleased Themistocles. He made no answer and went to the ship of Eurybiades. When he arrived there, he said he wanted to talk with him on a matter of common interest, so

Eurybiades bade him come aboard and say what he wanted. Themistocles sat next to him and told him all that he had heard from Mnesiphilus, pretending it was his own idea and adding many other things. Finally by his entreaty he persuaded him to disembark and gather the generals for a council of war.

59 1 ὥς δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθησαν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην προθεῖναι τὸν λόγον τῶν εἵνεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολλὸς ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος· λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδεΐμαντος ὁ Ὠκύτου εἶπε “ὦ Θεμιστόκλεες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι ραπίζονται “. ὁ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος ἔφη “οἱ δέ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανοῦνται “.

59. When they were assembled and before Eurybiades had a chance to put forward the reason he had called the generals together, Themistocles spoke at length in accordance with the urgency of his request. While he was speaking, the Corinthian general Adeimantus son of Ocytus said, “Themistocles, at the games those who start before the signal are beaten with rods.” Themistocles said in justification, “Those left behind win no crown.”

60 1 τότε μὲν ἡπίως πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμείψατο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην ἔλεγε ἐκείνων μὲν ἔτι οὐδὲν τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, ὥς ἐπεὰν ἀπαείρωσι ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος διαδρήσονται· παρεόντων γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἔφερε οἱ κόσμον οὐδένα κατηγορεῖν· ὁ δὲ ἄλλου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων τάδε. 60A. “ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστὶ σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἣν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιέεσθαι, μηδὲ πειθόμενος τούτων τοῖσι λόγοισι ἀναζεύξης πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν τὰς νέας. ἀντίθες γὰρ ἑκάτερον ἀκούσας. πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγει ἀναπεπταμένῳ ναυμαχήσεις, ἐς τὸ ἥκιστα ἡμῖν σύμφορον ἐστὶ νέας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονας· τοῦτο δὲ ἀπολέεις Σαλαμῖνά τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Αἴγιναν, ἣν περ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχήσωμεν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ ναυτικῷ αὐτῶν ἔψεται καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός, καὶ οὕτω σφέας αὐτὸς ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνεύσεις τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι. 60B. ἦν δὲ τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω ποιήσης, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι χρηστὰ εὐρήσεις· πρῶτα μὲν ἐν στεινῷ συμβάλλοντες νηυσὶ ὀλίγησι πρὸς πολλάς, ἦν τὰ οἰκότα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβαίνει, πολλὸν κρατήσομεν· τὸ γὰρ ἐν στεινῷ ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς ἡμέων ἐστὶ, ἐν εὐρυχωρίῃ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνων. αὐτὶς δὲ Σαλαμὶς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν

ἡμῖν ὑπέκκειται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ μὲν καὶ τόδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι, τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα· ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε μένων προναυμαχήσεις Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἴσθμῳ, οὐδὲ σφέας, εἴ περ εὖ φρονέεις, ἄξις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. 60C. ἦν δέ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγὼ ἐλπίζω γένηται καὶ νικήσωμεν τῇσι νηυσί, οὔτε ὑμῖν ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμον παρέσονται οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε προβήσονται ἑκαστέρῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀπίασί τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, Μεγάροισι τε κερδανέομεν περιεοῦσι καὶ Αἰγίνῃ καὶ Σαλαμῖνι, ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιον ἐστὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατ' ὑπερθε γενέσθαι. οἰκότα μὲν νυν βουλευομένοισι ἀνθρώποισι ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι· μὴ δὲ οἰκότα βουλευομένοισι οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσχωρέειν πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπίας γνώμας “.

60. He answered the Corinthian mildly and said to Eurybiades nothing of what he had said before, how if they put out from Salamis they would flee different ways, for it would be unbecoming for him to accuse the allies in their presence. Instead he relied on a different argument and said, 60A. “It is in your hands to save Hellas, if you will obey me and remain here to fight, and not obey the words of these others and move your ships back to the Isthmus. Compare each plan after you have heard. If you join battle at the Isthmus, you will fight in the open sea where it is least to our advantage, since our ships are heavier and fewer in number. You will also lose Salamis and Megara and Aegina, even if we succeed in all else. Their land army will accompany their fleet, and so you will lead them to the Peloponnese and risk all Hellas. 60B. But if you do what I say, you will find it useful in these ways: first, by engaging many ships with our few in the strait, we shall win a great victory, if the war turns out reasonably, for it is to our advantage to fight in a strait and to their advantage to fight in a wide area. Second, Salamis will survive, where we have carried our children and women to safety. It also has in it something you are very fond of: by remaining here you will be fighting for the Peloponnese just as much as at the Isthmus, and you will not lead them to the Peloponnese, if you exercise good judgment. 60C. If what I expect happens and we win the victory with our ships, you will not have the barbarians upon you at the Isthmus. They will advance no further than Attica and depart in no order, and

we shall gain an advantage by the survival of Megara, Aegina, and Salamis, where it is prophesied that we will prevail against our enemies. Men usually succeed when they have reasonable plans. If their plans are unreasonable, the god does not wish to assent to human intentions.”

61 1 ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέος αὐτίς ὁ Κορίνθιος Ἀδείμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, σιγᾶν τε κελεύων τῷ μὴ ἐστὶ πατρις καὶ Εὐρυβιάδην οὐκ ἔῶν ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπόλι ἀνδρί· πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον οὕτω ἐκέλευε γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι. ταῦτα δέ οἱ προέφερε ὅτι ἡλώκεσάν τε καὶ κατείχοντο αἱ Ἀθῆναι. 2 τότε δὴ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς κεῖνόν τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους πολλά τε καὶ κακὰ ἔλεγε, ἐωυτοῖσι τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ ὥς εἶη καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ μέζων ἢ περ ἐκείνοισι, ἔστ’ ἂν διηκόσiai νέες σφι ἔωσι πεπληρωμένοι· οὐδαμοὺς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὺς ἐπίνοντας ἀποκρούσεσθαι.

61. As Themistocles said this, Adeimantus the Corinthian attacked him again, advising that a man without a city should keep quiet and that Eurybiades should not ask the vote of a man without a city. He advised Themistocles to contribute his opinion when he provided a city — attacking him in this way because Athens was captured and occupied. This time Themistocles said many things against him and the Corinthians, declaring that so long as they had two hundred manned ships, the Athenians had both a city and a land greater than theirs, and that none of the Hellenes could repel them if they attacked.

62 1 σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ διέβαινε ἐς Εὐρυβιάδην, λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα. “σὺ εἰ μενέεις αὐτοῦ καὶ μένων ἔσεαι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ νέες. ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ πείθεο. 2 εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσης, ἡμεῖς μὲν ὥς ἔχομεν ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκέτας κομιεύμεθα ἐς Σῆριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ, ἢ περ ἡμετέρη τε ἐστὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὑπ’ ἡμέων αὐτὴν δέειν κτισθῆναι· ὑμεῖς δὲ συμμάχων τοιῶνδε μουνωθέντες μεμνήσεσθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγον “.

62. Next he turned his argument to Eurybiades, saying more vehemently than before, “If you remain here, you will be an noble man. If not, you will ruin Hellas. All our strength for war is in our ships, so listen to me. If you do not do this, we will immediately

gather up our households and travel to Siris in Italy, which has been ours since ancient times, and the prophecies say we must found a colony there. You will remember these words when you are without such allies.”

63 1 ταῦτα δὲ Θεμιστοκλέος λέγοντος ἀνεδιδάσκετο Εὐρυβιάδης· δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδήσας μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνεδιδάσκετο, μή σφεας ἀπολίπωσι, ἦν πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἀγάγη τὰς νέας· ἀπολιπόντων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων οὐκέτι ἐγίνοντο ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ λοιποί. ταύτην δὲ αἰρέεται τὴν γνώμην, αὐτοῦ μένοντας διαναναμαχεῖν.

63. When Themistocles said this, Eurybiades changed his mind. I think he did so chiefly out of fear that the Athenians might desert them if they set sail for the Isthmus. If the Athenians left, the rest would be no match for the enemy, so he made the choice to remain there and fight.

64 1 οὕτω μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἔπεσι ἀκροβολισάμενοι, ἐπεῖτε Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἔδοξε, αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς ναυμαχῆσοντες. ἡμέρη τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι σεισμὸς ἐγένετο ἐν τε τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ. 2 ἔδοξε δέ σφι εὗξασθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμμαχοῦς. ὥς δέ σφι ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίηυν ταῦτα· εὐζάμενοι γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Αἴαντά τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας νέα ἀπέστελλον ἐς Αἴγινα.

64. After this skirmish of words, since Eurybiades had so resolved, the men at Salamis prepared to fight where they were. At sunrise on the next day there was an earthquake on land and sea, and they resolved to pray to the gods and summon the sons of Aeacus as allies. When they had so resolved, they did as follows: they prayed to all the gods, called Ajax and Telamon to come straight from Salamis, and sent a ship to Aegina for Aeacus and his sons.

65 1 ἔφη δὲ Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεις, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος φυγὰς τε καὶ παρὰ Μήδοισι λόγιμος γενόμενος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐπεῖτε ἐκείρετο ἡ Ἀττικὴ χώρα ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ξέρξεω ἐοῦσα ἔρημος Ἀθηναίων, τυχεῖν τότε ἐὼν ἅμα Δημαρήτῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ, ἰδεῖν δὲ κονιορτὸν χωρέοντα ἀπ’ Ἐλευσῖνος ὥς ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα κη τρισμυρίων, ἀποθωμάζειν τε σφέας τὸν κονιορτὸν ὅτεων κοτὲ εἷη ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πρόκατε φωνῆς ἀκούειν,

καὶ οἱ φαίνεσθαι τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν Ἰακχον. 2 εἶναι δ' ἀδαήμονα τῶν ἱρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι γινομένων τὸν Δημάρητον, εἰρέσθαι τε αὐτὸν ὃ τι τὸ φθεγγόμενον εἴη τοῦτο. αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπεῖν “Δημάρητε, οὐκ ἔστι ὅκως οὐ μέγα τι σίνος ἔσται τῇ βασιλέως στρατιῇ· τάδε γὰρ ἀρίδηλα, ἐρήμου ἐούσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θεῖον τὸ φθεγγόμενον, ἀπ' Ἐλευσίνος ἰὼν ἐς τιμωρίην Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ τοῖσι συμμάχοισι. 3 καὶ ἦν μὲν γε κατασκήψῃ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κίνδυνος αὐτῷ τε βασιλεί καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἔσται, ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς νέας τράπηται τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κινδυνεύσει βασιλεὺς ἀποβαλεῖν. 4 τὴν δὲ ὀρτὴν ταύτην ἄγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτεα τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μυεῖται· καὶ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς ἀκούεις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὀρτῇ ἰακχάζουσι “. πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεῖν Δημάρητον “σίγα τε καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον εἴπης· 5 ἦν γάρ τοι ἐς βασιλέα ἀνενειχθῇ τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα, ἀποβαλέεις τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ σε οὔτε ἐγὼ δυνήσομαι ρύσασθαι οὔτ' ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ εἷς. ἀλλ' ἔχ' ἥσυχος, περὶ δὲ στρατιῆς τῆσδε θεοῖσι μελήσει “. 6 τὸν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παραινέειν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι νέφος καὶ μεταρσιωθὲν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὕτω δὴ αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ξέρξῳ ἀπολέεσθαι μέλλοι. ταῦτα μὲν Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος ἔλεγε, Δημαρήτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενος.

65. Dicaeus son of Theocydes, an Athenian exile who had become important among the Medes, said that at the time when the land of Attica was being laid waste by Xerxes' army and there were no Athenians in the country, he was with Demaratus the Lacedaemonian on the Thriasian plain and saw advancing from Eleusis a cloud of dust as if raised by the feet of about thirty thousand men. They marvelled at what men might be raising such a cloud of dust and immediately heard a cry. The cry seemed to be the “Iacchus” of the mysteries, and when Demaratus, ignorant of the rites of Eleusis, asked him what was making this sound, Dicaeus said, “Demaratus, there is no way that some great disaster will not befall the king's army. Since Attica is deserted, it is obvious that this voice is divine and comes from Eleusis to help the Athenians and their allies. If it

descends upon the Peloponnese, the king himself and his army on the mainland will be endangered. If, however, it turns towards the ships at Salamis, the king will be in danger of losing his fleet. Every year the Athenians observe this festival for the Mother and the Maiden, and any Athenian or other Hellene who wishes is initiated. The voice which you hear is the ‘Iacchus’ they cry at this festival.” To this Demaratus replied, “Keep silent and tell this to no one else. If these words of yours are reported to the king, you will lose your head, and neither I nor any other man will be able to save you, so be silent. The gods will see to the army.” Thus he advised, and after the dust and the cry came a cloud, which rose aloft and floated away towards Salamis to the camp of the Hellenes. In this way they understood that Xerxes’ fleet was going to be destroyed. Dicaeus son of Theocydes used to say this, appealing to Demaratus and others as witnesses.

66 1 οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ξέρξεω ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Τρηχῖνος θεησάμενοι τὸ τρῶμα τὸ Λακωνικὸν διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην, ἐπισχόντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἔπλεον δι’ Εὐρίπου, καὶ ἐν ἐτέρησι τρισὶ ἡμέρησι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. ὥς μὲν ἔμοι δοκέειν, οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, κατὰ τε ἡπειρον καὶ τῆσι νηυσὶ ἀπικόμενοι, ἢ ἐπὶ τε Σηπιάδα ἀπίκοντο καὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας· 2 ἀντιθήσω γὰρ τοῖσι τε ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος αὐτῶν ἀπολομένοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι καὶ τῆσι ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχίῃσι τούσδε τοὺς τότε οὐκω ἐπομένους βασιλεῖ, Μηλιάς καὶ Δωριέας καὶ Λοκροὺς καὶ Βοιωτοὺς πανστρατῇ ἐπομένους πλὴν Θεσπιέων καὶ Πλαταιέων, καὶ μάλα Καρυστίους τε καὶ Ἀνδρίους καὶ Τηγίους τε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς νησιώτας πάντας, πλὴν τῶν πέντε πολίων τῶν ἐπεμνήσθημεν πρότερον τὰ οὐνόματα. ὅσῳ γὰρ δὴ προέβαινε ἐσωτέρῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁ Πέρσης, τοσούτῳ πλέω ἔθνεά οἱ εἶπετο.

66. When those stationed with Xerxes’ fleet had been to see the Laconian disaster at Thermopylae, they crossed over from Trachis to Histiaea, waited three days, and then sailed through the Euripus, and in three more days they were at Phalerum, the port of Athens. I think no less a number invaded Athens by land and sea than came to Sepias and Thermopylae. Those killed by the storm, at Thermopylae, and in the naval battles at Artemisium, I offset with those who did

not yet follow the king: the Melians and Dorians and Locrians and the whole force of Boeotia except the Thespians and Plataeans; and the Carystians and Andrians and Teneans and all the rest of the islanders, except the five cities whose names I previously mentioned. The farther into Hellas the Persian advanced, the more nations followed him.

67 1 ἐπεὶ ὦν ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πάντες οὗτοι πλὴν Παρίων (Πάριοι δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες ἐν Κύθνῳ ἐκαραδόκεον τὸν πόλεμον κῆ ἀποβήσεται), οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ὡς ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ Φάληρον, ἐνθαῦτα κατέβη αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, ἐθέλων σφι συμμῖζαι τε καὶ πυθέσθαι τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων τὰς γνώμας. 2 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπικόμενος προΐζετο, παρῆσαν μετάπεμπτοι οἱ τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν σφετέρων τύραννοι καὶ ταξίαρχοι ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, καὶ ἴζοντο ὥς σφι βασιλεὺς ἐκάστῳ τιμὴν ἐδεδώκεε, πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος βασιλεὺς, μετὰ δὲ ὁ Τύριος, ἐπὶ δὲ ὄλλοι. ὡς δὲ κόσμῳ ἐπεξῆς ἴζοντο, πέμψας Ξέρξης Μαρδόνιον εἰρώτα ἀποπειρώμενος ἐκάστου εἰ ναυμαχίην ποιεοίτο.

67. All these came to Athens except the Parians. The Parians stayed behind in Cythnus watching to see which way the war turned out. When the rest of them reached Phalerum, Xerxes himself went down to the ships, wishing to mix with the sailors and hear their opinions. He came and sat on his throne, and present at his summons were the tyrants of all the peoples and the company leaders from the fleet. They sat according to the honor which the king had granted each of them, first the king of Sidon, then the king of Tyre, then the rest. When they sat in order one after another, Xerxes sent Mardonius to test each by asking if they should fight at sea.

68 1 ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τῶν εἰρώτα ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιδωνίου, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατὰ τὸν γνῶμην ἐξεφέροντο κελεύοντες ναυμαχίην ποιεέσθαι, Ἀρτεμισίη δὲ τάδε ἔφη. 68A. “εἰπεῖν μοι πρὸς βασιλέα, Μαρδόνιε, ὡς ἐγὼ τάδε λέγω, οὔτε κακίστη γενομένη ἐν τῇσι ναυμαχίῃσι τῇσι πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ οὔτε ἐλάχιστα ἀποδεξαμένη. δέσποτα, τὴν δὲ ἐοῦσαν γνῶμην με δίκαιον ἐστὶ ἀποδείκνυσθαι, τὰ τυγχάνω φρονέουσα ἄριστα ἐς πρήγματα τὰ σά. καὶ τοι τάδε λέγω, φείδεο τῶν νεῶν μηδὲ ναυμαχίην ποιεό. οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες τῶν σῶν ἀνδρῶν κρέσσονες τοσοῦτο εἰσὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ὅσον ἄνδρες γυναικῶν. 2 τί δὲ πάντως δέει σε ναυμαχίῃσι ἀνακινδυνεύειν; οὐκ

ἔχεις μὲν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν περ εἵνεκα ὀρμήθης στρατεύεσθαι, ἔχεις δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα ; ἐμποδῶν δέ τοι ἴσταται οὐδείς· οἱ δέ τοι ἀντέστησαν, ἀπήλλαξαν οὕτω ὥς κείνους ἔπρεπε. 68B. τῇ δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω ἀποβήσεσθαι τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων πρήγματα, τοῦτο φράσω. ἦν μὲν μὴ ἐπειχθῆς ναυμαχίην ποιεύμενος, ἀλλὰ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ ἔχης πρὸς γῇ μένων ἢ καὶ προβαίνων ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, εὐπετέως τοι δέσποτα χωρήσει τὰ νοέων ἐλήλυθας. 2 οὐ γὰρ οἰοί τε πολλὸν χρόνον εἰσί τοι ἀντέχειν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ σφέας διασκεδᾷς, κατὰ πόλιν δὲ ἕκαστοι φεύζονται. οὔτε γὰρ σῖτος πάρα σφι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, οὔτε αὐτοὺς οἰκός, ἦν σὺ ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλαύνης τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν, ἀτρεμεῖν τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῶν ἤκοντας, οὐδέ σφι μελήσει πρὸ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ναυμαχεῖν. 68C. ἦν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπειχθῆς ναυμαχῆσαι, δειμαίνω μὴ ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακῶθεις τὸν πεζὸν προσδηλήσῃται. πρὸς δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τόδε ἐς θυμὸν βάλευ, ὥς τοῖσι μὲν χρηστοῖσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακοὶ δοῦλοι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι, τοῖσι δὲ κακοῖσι χρηστοί. σοὶ δὲ ἐόντι ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρῶν πάντων κακοὶ δοῦλοι εἰσί, οἱ ἐν συμμάχων λόγῳ λέγονται εἶναι ἐόντες Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ Κύπριοι καὶ Κίλικες καὶ Πάμφυλοι, τῶν ὄφελος ἐστὶ οὐδέν “.

68. Mardonius went about questioning them, starting with the Sidonian, and all the others were unanimous, advising to fight at sea, but Artemisia said, 68A. “Tell the king, Mardonius, that I, who neither was most cowardly in the sea battles off Euboea nor performed the least feats of arms, say this: ‘Master, it is just for me to declare my real opinion, what I consider to be best for your cause. And I say to you this: spare your ships, and do not fight at sea. Their men are as much stronger than your men by sea as men are stronger than women. Why is it so necessary for you to risk everything by fighting at sea? Do you not possess Athens, for which you set out on this march, and do you not have the rest of Hellas? No one stands in your way. Those who opposed you have received what they deserved. 68B. I will tell you how I think the affairs of your enemies will turn out: If you do not hurry to fight at sea, but keep your ships here and stay near land, or even advance into the Peloponnese, then, my lord, you will easily accomplish what you had in mind on coming here. The Hellenes are not able to hold out against you for a long

time, but you will scatter them, and they will each flee to their own cities. I have learned that they have no food on this island, and it is not likely, if you lead your army against the Peloponnese, that those of them who have come from there will sit still, nor will they care to fight at sea for Athens. 68C. But if you hurry to fight at sea immediately, I fear that your fleet if reduced to cowardice may also injure your army on land. In addition, my King, take this to heart: Good people's slaves tend to be base, and the slaves of the base tend to be good. You, who are best among men, have base slaves, who are accounted your allies, the Egyptians and Cyprians and Cilicians and Pamphylians, who are of no use at all.'"

69 1 ταῦτα λεγούσης πρὸς Μαρδόνιον, ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν εὖνοοι τῇ Ἀρτεμισίῃ, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο τοὺς λόγους ὥς κακόν τι πεισομένης πρὸς βασιλέος, ὅτι οὐκ ἔα ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀγαιόμενοι τε καὶ φθονέοντες αὐτῇ, ἅτε ἐν πρώτοισι τετιμημένης διὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων, ἐτέρποντο τῇ ἀνακρίσει ὥς ἀπολεομένης αὐτῆς. 2 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν αἱ γινῶμαι ἐς Ξέρξην, κάρτα τε ἦσθη τῇ γνώμῃ τῇ Ἀρτεμισίης, καὶ νομίζων ἔτι πρότερον σπουδαίην εἶναι τότε πολλῶ μᾶλλον αἶνεε. ὅμως δὲ τοῖσι πλέοσι πείθεσθαι ἐκέλευε, τάδε καταδόξας, πρὸς μὲν Εὐβοίῃ σφέας ἐθελοκακέειν ὥς οὐ παρεόντος αὐτοῦ, τότε δὲ αὐτὸς παρεσκεύαστο θεήσασθαι ναυμαχέοντας.

69. When she said this to Mardonius, all who were well disposed towards Artemisia lamented her words, thinking she would suffer some ill from the king because she advised against fighting at sea. Those who were jealous and envied her, because she was given honor among the chief of all the allies, were glad at her answer, thinking she would be killed. But when the counsels were reported to Xerxes, he was greatly pleased by Artemisia's opinion. Even before this he had considered her of excellent character, and now he praised her much more highly. Still he ordered that the majority be obeyed, for he believed that at Euboea they had purposely fought badly because he was not there. This time he had made preparations to see the battle in person.

70 1 ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήγγελλον ἀναπλέειν, ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα καὶ παρεκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες κατ' ἡσυχίην. τότε μὲν

νυν οὐκ ἐξέχρησέ σφι ἡ ἡμέρη ναυμαχίην ποιήσασθαι· νῦξ γὰρ ἐπεγένετο· οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην. 2 τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνας εἶχε δέος τε καὶ ἀρρώδιη, οὐκ ἦκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου· ἀρρώδεον δὲ ὅτι αὐτοῖ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατήμενοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχεῖν μέλλοιεν, νικηθέντες τε ἐν νήσῳ ἀπολαμφθέντες πολιορκήσονται, ἀπέντες τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἀφύλακτον· τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεζὸς ὑπὸ τὴν παρεούσαν νύκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

70. When the command to put out to sea was given, they set sail for Salamis and were calmly marshalled in line. There was not enough daylight left for them to fight, since night came on, so they made preparations for the next day. Fear and dread possessed the Hellenes, especially those from the Peloponnese. They were afraid because they were stationed in Salamis and were about to fight at sea on behalf of the land of the Athenians, and if they were defeated they would be trapped on an island and besieged, leaving their own land unguarded.

71 1 καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο ὅκως κατ' ἡπειρον μὴ ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὥς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα Πελοποννήσιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν πολίων ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἵζοντο, καὶ σφι ἐπὶ στρατηγὸς Κλεόμβροτος ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew, Λεωνίδew δὲ ἀδελφεός. 2 ἰζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδόν, μετὰ τοῦτο ὥς σφι ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ τεῖχος. ἅτε δὲ ἐουσέων μυριάδων πολλέων καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου, ἦνετο τὸ ἔργον· καὶ γὰρ λίθοι καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρεις ἐσεφέροντο, καὶ ἐλίνυον οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρης.

71. That very night the land army of the barbarians began marching to the Peloponnese. Yet every possible device had been used to prevent the barbarians from invading by the mainland. As soon as the Peloponnesians learned that Leonidas and his men at Thermopylae were dead, they ran together from their cities and took up their position at the Isthmus. Their general was Cleombrotus son of Anaxandrides, the brother of Leonidas. When they were in position at the Isthmus, they demolished the Scironian road and then,

after resolving in council, built a wall across the Isthmus. Since there were many tens of thousands and everyone worked, the task was completed, as they brought in stones and bricks and logs and baskets full of sand. At no moment of the day or night did those who had marched out there rest from their work.

72 1 οἱ δὲ βοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν πανδημεὶ οἶδε ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες πάντες καὶ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Φλιάσιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Ἑρμιονέες. οὗτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ βοηθήσαντες καὶ ὑπεραρβώδεοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνεύουσι· τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Πελοποννησίοισι ἔμελε οὐδέν. Ὀλύμπια δὲ καὶ Κάρνεια παροιχόκεε ἤδη.

72. These were the Hellenes who marched out in a body to the Isthmus: the Lacedaemonians and all the Arcadians, the Eleans and Corinthians and Sicyonians and Epidaurians and Phliasians and Troezenians and Hermioneans. These were the ones who marched out and feared for Hellas in her peril. The rest of the Peloponnesians cared nothing, though the Olympian and Carnean festivals were now past.

73 1 οἰκέει δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔθνεα ἑπτὰ. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα ἐόντα κατὰ χώραν ἵδρυται νῦν τε καὶ τὸ πάλαι οἶκεον, Ἀρκάδες τε καὶ Κυνοῦριοι· ἐν δὲ ἔθνος τὸ Ἀχαιϊκὸν ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου οὐκ ἐξεχώρησε, ἐκ μέντοι τῆς ἐωυτῶν, οἰκέει δὲ τὴν ἀλλοτρίην. 2 τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἔθνεα τῶν ἑπτὰ τέσσερα ἐπήλυδα ἐστί, Δωριέες τε καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Δρύοπες καὶ Λήμνιοι. Δωριέων μὲν πολλαί τε καὶ δόκιμοι πόλεις, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ Ἥλις μούνη, Δρυόπων δὲ Ἑρμιῶν τε καὶ Ἀσίνη ἢ πρὸς Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ, Λημνίων δὲ Παρωρεῖται πάντες. 3 οἱ δὲ Κυνοῦριοι αὐτόχθονες ἐόντες δοκεύουσι μόννοι εἶναι Ἴωνες, ἐκδεδωρίευνται δὲ ὑπὸ τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, ἐόντες Ὀρνεῖται καὶ οἱ περίοικοι. τούτων ὧν τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐθνέων αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις, πάρεξ τῶν κατέλεξα, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατέατο· εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέρως ἔξεστι εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ κατήμενοι ἐμήδιζον.

73. Seven nations inhabit the Peloponnese. Two of these are aboriginal and are now settled in the land where they lived in the old days, the Arcadians and Cynurians. One nation, the Achaean, has never left the Peloponnese, but it has left its own country and inhabits another nation's land. The four remaining nations of the

seven are immigrants, the Dorians and Aetolians and Dryopians and Lemnians. The Dorians have many famous cities, the Aetolians only Elis, the Dryopians Hermione and Asine near Laconian Cardamyle, the Lemnians all the Paroreatae. The Cynurians are aboriginal and seem to be the only Ionians, but they have been Dorianized by time and by Argive rule. They are the Orneatae and the perioikoi. All the remaining cities of these seven nations, except those I enumerated, stayed neutral. If I may speak freely, by staying neutral they medized.

74 1 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν, ἅτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη δρόμου θεόντες καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἐλλάμψεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὁμῶς ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἀρρώδεον, οὐκ οὕτω περὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δειμαίνοντες ὥς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. 2 τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παραστάς σιγῇ λόγον ἐποιέετο, θῶμα ποιεύμενοι τὴν Εὐρυβιάδew ἀβουλίην· τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη ἐς τὸ μέσον. σύλλογός τε δὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο τῶν αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν ὥς ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεὸν εἶη ἀποπλέειν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν μηδὲ πρὸ χώρας δοριαλώτου μένοντας μάχεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Αἰγινῆται καὶ Μεγαρέες αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνεσθαι.

74. Those at the Isthmus were involved in so great a labor, since all they had was at stake and they did not expect the ships to win distinction. Those at Salamis heard of their labors but still were full of dread, fearing not for themselves but for the Peloponnese. For a time each man talked quietly to his neighbor, wondering at Eurybiades' folly, but finally it came out into the open. They held an assembly and talked at length on the same matters as before: some said they must sail away to the Peloponnese and risk battle for that country, not stay and fight for a captured land; but the Athenians and Aeginetans and Megarians said they must stay and defend themselves.

75 1 ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλῆς ὥς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων ἄνδρα πλοῖον ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεόν, τῷ οὐνομα μὲν ἦν Σίκιννος, οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος παίδων· τὸν δὴ ὕστερον τούτων τῶν

πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλέης Θεσπία τε ἐποίησε, ὥς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπῖες πολιήτας, καὶ χρήμασι ὄλβιον. 2 ὃς τότε πλοίῳ ἀπικόμενος ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν βαρβάρων τάδε. “ἔπεμψέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναίων λάθρη τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος καὶ βουλούμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ὑμέτερα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα) φράσσοντα ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες δρησμὸν βουλευόνται καταρρώδηκοτες, καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργων ἀπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἣν μὴ περιίδητε διαδράντας αὐτούς. 3 οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι ὁμοφρονέουσι οὔτε ἀντιστήσονται ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἑωυτούς τε σφέας ὄψεσθε ναυμαχέοντας τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας καὶ τοὺς μὴ “.

75. When the Peloponnesians were outvoting him, Themistocles secretly left the assembly, and sent a man by boat to the Median fleet after ordering him what to say. His name was Sicinnus, and he was Themistocles’ servant and his sons’ attendant. Later Themistocles enrolled him as a Thespian, when the Thespians were adopting citizens, and made him wealthy with money. He now came by boat and said to the generals of the barbarians, “The Athenian general has sent me without the knowledge of the other Hellenes. He is on the king’s side and prefers that your affairs prevail, not the Hellenes’. I am to tell you that the Hellenes are terrified and plan flight, and you can now perform the finest deed of all if you do not allow them to escape. They do not all have the same intent, and they will no longer oppose you. Instead you will see them fighting against themselves, those who are on your side against those who are not.” After indicating this to them he departed.

76 1 ὁ μὲν ταῦτά σφι σημήνας ἐκποδὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο· τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἀγγελθέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνός τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβίβασαντο· τοῦτο δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνήγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ’ ἐσπέρης κέρας κυκλοῦμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, ἀνήγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχόν τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νησί. 2 τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα ἀνήγον τὰς νέας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μηδὲ φυγεῖν ἐξῆ, ἀλλ’ ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι δοῖεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἀγωνισμάτων. ἐς δὲ τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν

καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὥς ἐπεὰν γίνηται ναυμαχίη, ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων (ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι ἔκειτο ἡ νῆσος), ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιέωσι τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρωσι. 3 ἐποίησεν δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὥς μὴ πυνθανοίητο οἱ ἐναντίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες παραρτέοντο.

76. Finding the message credible, they first landed many of the Persians on the islet of Psyttalea, which lies between Salamis and the mainland. When it was midnight, they brought their western wing in a circle towards Salamis, and those stationed at Ceos and Cynosura also put out to sea, occupying all the passage as far as Munychia with their ships. They launched their ships in this way so that the Hellenes would have no escape: they would be trapped at Salamis and pay the penalty for the battles at Artemisium. The purpose of their landing Persians on the islet called Psyttalea was this: when the battle took place, it was chiefly there that the men and wrecks would be washed ashore, for the island lay in the path of the impending battle. The Persians would be able to save some of those who washed up and kill the others. They did this in silence for fear that their enemies hear, making their preparations at night without sleep.

77 1 χρησμοῖσι δὲ οὐκ ἔχω ἀντιλέγειν ὥς οὐκ εἰσὶ ἀληθεές, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐναργέως λέγοντας πειρᾶσθαι καταβάλλειν, ἐς τοιαῶδε πρήγματα ἐσβλέψας. ἀλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαόρου ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν νηυσὶ γεφυρώσωσι καὶ εἰναλίην Κυνόσουραν ἐλπίδι μαινομένη, λιπαρὰς πέρσαντες Ἀθήνας, δῖα δίκη σβέσσει κρατερὸν κόρον, ὕβριος υἷόν, δεινὸν μαιμώνοντα, δοκεῦντ' ἀνὰ πάντα πίεσθαι. 2 χαλκὸς γὰρ χαλκῷ συμμίζεται, αἷματι δ' Ἄρης πόντον φοινίξει. τότε ἑλεύθερον Ἑλλάδος ἡμᾶρ εὐρύοπα Κρονίδης ἐπάγει καὶ πότνια Νίκη. ἐς τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ οὕτω ἐναργέως λέγοντι Βάκιδι ἀντιλογίης χρησμῶν περὶ οὔτε αὐτὸς λέγειν τολμέω οὔτε παρ' ἄλλων ἐνδέκομαι.

77. I cannot say against oracles that they are not true, and I do not wish to try to discredit them when they speak plainly. Look at the following matter: “When the sacred headland of golden-sworded Artemis and Cynosura by the sea they bridge with ships, After sacking shiny Athens in mad hope, Divine Justice will extinguish

mighty Greed the son of Insolence Lusting terribly, thinking to devour all. “ “Bronze will come together with bronze, and Ares Will redden the sea with blood. To Hellas the day of freedom Far-seeing Zeus and august Victory will bring. “ Considering this, I dare to say nothing against Bacis concerning oracles when he speaks so plainly, nor will I consent to it by others.

78 1 τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν ἐγίνετο ὥτισμός λόγων πολλός· ἥδεσαν δὲ οὐκ ὅτι σφέας περιεκυκλοῦντο τῇσι νηυσὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὥρων αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους, ἐδόκεον κατὰ χώραν εἶναι.

78. Among the generals at Salamis there was fierce argument. They did not yet know that the barbarians had encircled them with their ships, supposing them still marshalled in the place where they had seen them by day.

79 1 συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐξ Αἰγίνης διέβη Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος μὲν ἐξωστρακισμένος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου· τὸν ἐγὼ νενόμικα, πυνθανόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, ἄριστον ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι καὶ δικαιοτάτον. 2 οὗτος ὦν ἡρστάς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἐξεκαλέετο Θεμιστοκλέα, ἔοντα μὲν ἐωυτῷ οὐ φίλον ἐχθρὸν δὲ τὰ μάλιστα· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν λήθην ἐκείνων ποιεύμενος ἐξεκαλέετο, θέλων αὐτῷ συμμῖξαι· προακηκόεε δὲ ὅτι σπεύδοιεν οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμόν. 3 ὥς δὲ ἐξῆλθέ οἱ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἔλεγε Ἀριστείδης τάδε. “ ἡμέας στασιάζειν χρεόν ἐστι ἐν τε τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷδε περὶ τοῦ ὀκότερος ἡμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάσεται. 4 λέγω δέ τοι ὅτι ἴσον ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ ὀλίγα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλόου τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν Πελοποννησίοισι. ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτόπτης τοι λέγω γενόμενος ὅτι νῦν οὐδ’ ἦν θέλωσι Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ αὐτὸς Εὐρυβιάδης οἰοί τε ἔσονται ἐκπλῶσαι· περιεχόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κύκλῳ. ἀλλ’ ἐσελθὼν σφί ταῦτα σήμηνον “· ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε.

79. As the generals disputed, Aristides son of Lysimachus, an Athenian, crossed over from Aegina. Although he had been ostracized by the people, I, learning by inquiry of his character, have come to believe that he was the best and most just man in Athens. This man stood at the assembly and called Themistocles out,

although he was no friend of his, but his bitter enemy. Because of the magnitude of the present ills, he deliberately forgot all that and called him out, wanting to talk to him. He had already heard that those from the Peloponnese were anxious to set sail for the Isthmus, so when Themistocles came out he said, “On all occasions and especially now our contention must be over which of us will do our country more good. I say that it is all the same for the Peloponnesians to speak much or little about sailing away from here, for I have seen with my own eyes that even if the Corinthians and Eurybiades himself wanted to, they would not be able to escape. We are encircled by the enemy. Go in and indicate this to them.”

80 1 “κάρτα τε χρηστὰ διακελεύεται καὶ εὖ ἡγγειλας· τὰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐδεόμην γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ἦκεις. ἴσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιούμενα ὑπὸ Μήδων· ἔδεε γάρ, ὅτε οὐκ ἐκόντες ἤθελον ἐς μάχην κατίστασθαι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀέκοντας παραστήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ ἐπεὶ περ ἦκεις χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτὸς σφί ἄγγελιον. 2 ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγω, δόξω πλάσας λέγειν καὶ οὐ πείσω, ὥς οὐ ποιούντων τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ σφί σήμηνον αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὥς ἔχει. ἐπεὰν δὲ σημῆνης, ἣν μὲν πείθονται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα, ἣν δὲ αὐτοῖσι μὴ πιστὰ γένηται, ὅμοιον ἡμῖν ἔσται· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διαδρήσονται, εἴ περ περιεχόμεθα πανταχόθεν, ὥς σὺ λέγεις “.

80. Themistocles answered, “Your exhortation is most useful and you bring good news. You have come as an eyewitness of just what I wanted to happen. Know that I am the cause of what the Medes are doing. When the Hellenes would not willingly enter battle, it was necessary to force them against their will. Since you have come bringing good news, tell it to them yourself. If I say these things, they will think I invented it, and they will not believe that the barbarians are doing this. Go in yourself and let them know how it stands. It would be best if they believe you when you tell them, but if they find these things incredible it is all the same to us. They will not be able to run away, if indeed we are surrounded on all sides as you say.”

81 1 ἐνθαῦτα ἔλεγε παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, φάμενος ἐξ Αἰγίνης τε ἦκειν καὶ μόγις ἐκπλῶσαι λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας· περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ξέρξεω·

παραρτέεσθαι τε συνεβούλευε ὡς ἀλεξισομένους. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας μετεστήκεε, τῶν δὲ αὖτις ἐγένετο λόγων ἀμφισβασίη· οἱ γὰρ πλεῦνες τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο τὰ ἐσαγγελθέντα.

81. Aristides went in and told them, saying that he had come from Aegina and had barely made it past the blockade when he sailed out, since all the Hellenic camp was surrounded by Xerxes' ships. He advised them to prepare to defend themselves. He said this and left, and again a dispute arose among them. The majority of the generals did not believe the news.

82 1 ἀπιστεόντων δὲ τούτων ἦκε τριήρης ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων αὐτομολέουσα, τῆς ἦρχε ἀνὴρ Παναίτιος ὁ Σωσιμένεος, ἥ περ δὴ ἔφερε τὴν ἀληθείην πᾶσαν. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐνεγράφησαν Τήνιοι ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα ἐν τοῖσι τὸν βάρβαρον κατελοῦσι. 2 σὺν δὲ ὧν ταύτῃ τῇ νηὶ τῇ αὐτομολησάσῃ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα καὶ τῇ πρότερον ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τῇ Λημνίῃ ἐξεπληροῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ἐς τὰς ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας νέας· δύο γὰρ δὴ νεῶν τότε κατέδεε ἐς τὸν ἀριθμόν.

82. While they were still held by disbelief, a trireme of Tenian deserters arrived, captained by Panaetius son of Sosimenes, which brought them the whole truth. For this deed the Tenians were engraved on the tripod at Delphi with those who had conquered the barbarian. With this ship that deserted at Salamis and the Lemnian which deserted earlier at Artemisium, the Hellenic fleet reached its full number of three hundred and eighty ships, for it had fallen short of the number by two ships.

83 1 τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλήσι ὡς πιστὰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἦν τῶν Τηνίων ῥήματα, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχήσοντες. ἡὼς τε διέφαινε καὶ οἱ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμενοι, προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλῆς, τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν πάντα κρέσσω τοῖσι ἥσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα, ὅσα δὴ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ καταστάσι ἐγγίνεται· 2 παραινέσας δὲ τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἰρέεσθαι καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νέας. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐσέβαινον, καὶ ἦκε ἡ ἀπ' Αἰγίνης τριήρης, ἥ κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀπεδήμησε.

83. When they found the words of the Tenians worthy of belief, the Hellenes prepared to fight at sea. As dawn glimmered, they held an assembly of the fighting men, and Themistocles gave the best

address among the others. His entire speech involved comparing the better and lesser elements in human nature and the human condition. He concluded his speech by advising them to choose the better of these, then gave the command to mount the ships. Just as they embarked, the trireme which had gone after the sons of Aeacus arrived from Aegina.

84 1 ἐνθαῦτα ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἀπάσας Ἕλληνες, ἀναγομένοισι δέ σφι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο οἱ βάρβαροι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ πρύμνην ἀνεκρούοντο καὶ ὤκελλον τὰς νέας, Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλληνεὺς ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἐξαναχθεὶς νηὶ ἐμβάλλει· συμπλακείσης δὲ τῆς νεὸς καὶ οὐ δύναμένων ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινίῃ βοηθέοντες συνέμισγον. 2 Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι τῆς ναυμαχίης γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, Αἰγινῆται δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς Αἶγιναν, ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὥς φάσμα σφι γυναικὸς ἐφάνη, φανεῖσαν δὲ διακελεύσασθαι ὥστε καὶ ἅπαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὀνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε, “ὦ δαιμόνιοι, μέχρι κόσου ἔτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούεσθε; “

84. Then the Hellenes set sail with all their ships, and as they were putting out to sea the barbarians immediately attacked them. The rest of the Hellenes began to back water and tried to beach their ships, but Ameinias of Pallene, an Athenian, charged and rammed a ship. When his ship became entangled and the crew could not free it, the others came to help Ameinias and joined battle. The Athenians say that the fighting at sea began this way, but the Aeginetans say that the ship which had been sent to Aegina after the sons of Aeacus was the one that started it. The story is also told that the phantom of a woman appeared to them, who cried commands loud enough for all the Hellenic fleet to hear, reproaching them first with, “Men possessed, how long will you still be backing water?”

85 1 κατὰ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἐτετάχατο Φοίνικες (οὔτοι γὰρ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς Ἐλευσίνος τε καὶ ἐσπέρης κέρας), κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους Ἴωνες· οὔτοι δ' εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιέα. ἐθελοκάκεον μέντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέος ἐντολὰς ὀλίγοι, οἱ δὲ πλεῖνες οὔ. 2 ἔχω μὲν νυν συχνῶν οὐνόματα τριηράρχων καταλέξει τῶν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ἐλόντων, χρήσομαι δὲ αὐτοῖσι οὐδὲν πλὴν Θεομήστορος τε τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφοτέρων. 3 τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα μέμνημαι τούτων μούνων, ὅτι Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννευσε καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων, Φύλακος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη καὶ χώρα ἐδωρήθη πολλῇ. οἱ δ' εὐεργέται βασιλέος ὀροσάγγαι καλέονται περσιστί.

85. The Phoenicians were marshalled against the Athenians, holding the western wing toward Eleusis. Against the Lacedaemonians were the Ionians, on the eastern wing toward Piraeus, and a few of them fought badly according to Themistocles' instructions, but the majority did not. I can list the names of many captains who captured Hellenic ships, but I will mention none except Theomestor son of Androdamas and Phylacus son of Histiaeus, both Samians. I mention only these because Theomestor was appointed tyrant of Samos by the Persians for this feat, and Phylacus was recorded as a benefactor of the king and granted much land. The king's benefactors are called “orosangae” in the Persian language.

86 1 περὶ μὲν νυν τούτους οὕτω εἶχε· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ἐκεραΐζετο, αἱ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι αἱ δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγινητέων. ἅτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεόντων καὶ κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὔτε τεταγμένων ἔτι οὔτε σὺν νόῳ ποιεόντων οὐδέν, ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι οἷόν περ ἀπέβη. καίτοι ἥσαν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῷ ἁμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἑωυτῶν ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ, πᾶς τις προθυμεόμενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ξέρξην, ἐδόκεε τε ἕκαστος ἑωυτὸν θεήσασθαι βασιλέα.

86. Thus it was concerning them. But the majority of the ships at Salamis were sunk, some destroyed by the Athenians, some by the Aeginetans. Since the Hellenes fought in an orderly fashion by line, but the barbarians were no longer in position and did nothing with forethought, it was likely to turn out as it did. Yet they were brave that day, much more brave than they had been at Euboea, for they all showed zeal out of fear of Xerxes, each one thinking that the king was watching him.

87 1 κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως ὥς ἕκαστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἠγωνίζοντο· κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ' ὧν εὐδοκίμησε μᾶλλον ἔτι παρὰ βασιλεί. 2 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπίκετο τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἡ νηὺς ἡ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νεὸς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἡ οὐκ ἔχουσα διαφυγεῖν, ἔμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νέες φίλιαι, ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε ἐοῦσα, ἔδοξε οἱ τότε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεκε ποιησάσῃ. διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νηὶ φιλίῃ ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλέος Δαμασιθύμου. 3 εἰ μὲν καὶ τι νεῖκος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνεε ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἐόντων, οὐ μέντοι ἔχω γε εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, οὔτε εἰ συνεκύρησε ἡ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσοῦσα νηὺς. 4 ὥς δὲ ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ κατέδυσε, εὐτυχίῃ χρησαμένη διπλᾷ ἑωυτὴν ἀγαθὰ ἐργάσατο. ὃ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νεὸς τριήραρχος ὥς εἶδέ μιν ἐμβάλλουσαν νηὶ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης ἢ Ἑλληνίδα εἶναι ἢ αὐτομολεῖν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἀμύνειν, ἀποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπετο.

87. I cannot say exactly how each of the other barbarians or Hellenes fought, but this is what happened to Artemisia, and it gave

her still higher esteem with the king: When the king's side was all in commotion, at that time Artemisia's ship was pursued by a ship of Attica. She could not escape, for other allied ships were in front of her and hers was the nearest to the enemy. So she resolved to do something which did in fact benefit her: as she was pursued by the Attic ship, she charged and rammed an allied ship, with a Calyndian crew and Damasithymus himself, king of the Calyndians, aboard. I cannot say if she had some quarrel with him while they were still at the Hellespont, or whether she did this intentionally or if the ship of the Calyndians fell in her path by chance. But when she rammed and sank it, she had the luck of gaining two advantages. When the captain of the Attic ship saw her ram a ship with a barbarian crew, he decided that Artemisia's ship was either Hellenic or a deserter from the barbarians fighting for them, so he turned away to deal with others.

88 1 τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ συνέβη ὥστε κακὸν ἐργασαμένην ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρὰ Ξέρξῃ. 2 λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θηεῦμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νέα ἐμβαλοῦσαν, καὶ δὴ τινα εἰπεῖν τῶν παρεόντων “δέσποτα, ὁρᾷς Ἀρτεμισίην ὡς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νέα τῶν πολεμίων κατέδυσσε; “ καὶ τὸν ἐπειρέσθαι εἰ ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς φάναι, σαφῶς τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νεὸς ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ διαφθαρεῖσαν ἡπιστέατο εἶναι πολεμίνην. 3 τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὡς εἴρηται, αὐτῇ συνήνεικε ἐς εὐτυχίην γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυνδικῆς νεὸς μηδένα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ εἰπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα “οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες “. ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἰπεῖν.

88. Thus she happened to escape and not be destroyed, and it also turned out that the harmful thing which she had done won her exceptional esteem from Xerxes. It is said that the king, as he watched the battle, saw her ship ram the other, and one of the bystanders said, “Master, do you see how well Artemisia contends in the contest and how she has sunk an enemy ship?” When he asked if the deed was truly Artemisia's, they affirmed it, knowing reliably the marking of her ship, and they supposed that the ruined ship was an

enemy. As I have said, all this happened to bring her luck, and also that no one from the Calyndian ship survived to accuse her. It is said that Xerxes replied to what was told him, “My men have become women, and my women men.” They say this is what Xerxes said.

89 1 ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξεω ἐὼν ἀδελφεός, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τε καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ Περσέων καὶ Μήδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινὲς καὶ Ἑλλήνων· ἅτε γὰρ νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ νέες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διένεον. 2 τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ διεφθάρησαν νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλεῖσται διεφθείροντο· οἱ γὰρ ὀπισθε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῇσι νηυσὶ παριέναι πειρώμενοι ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοι τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλεί, τῇσι σφετέρῃσι νηυσὶ φευγούσῃσι περιέπιπτον.

89. In this struggle the general Ariabignes died, son of Darius and the brother of Xerxes. Many other famous men of the Persians and Medes and other allies also died, but only a few Hellenes, since they knew how to swim. Those whose ships were sunk swam across to Salamis, unless they were killed in action, but many of the barbarians drowned in the sea since they did not know how to swim. Most of the ships were sunk when those in the front turned to flee, since those marshalled in the rear, as they tried to go forward with their ships so they too could display some feat to the king, ran afoul of their own side's ships in flight.

90 1 ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ. τῶν τινες Φοινίκων, τῶν αἱ νέες διεφθάρησαν, ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοὺς Ἴωνας, ὡς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολοῖατο αἱ νέες, ὡς προδόντων. συνήνευκε ὦν οὕτω ὥστε Ἴωνων τε τοὺς στρατηγούς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι Φοινίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοιόνδε μισθόν. 2 ἔτι τούτων ταῦτα λεγόντων ἐνέβαλε νηὶ Ἀττικῇ Σαμοθρηκικῇ νηὺς. ἥ τε δὴ Ἀττικὴ κατεδύετο καὶ ἐπιφερομένη Αἰγιναιὴ νηὺς κατέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρηκικῶν τὴν νέα. ἅτε δὲ ἐόντες ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Σαμοθρηκικὲς τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νεὸς βάλλοντες ἀπήραζαν καὶ ἐπέβησάν τε καὶ ἔσχον αὐτήν. 3 ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐρρύσατο· ὡς γὰρ εἶδε σφέας Ξέρξης ἔργον μέγα ἐργασαμένους, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοινίκας οἷα ὑπερλυπεόμενός τε καὶ πάντας

αἰτιώμενος, καὶ σφεων ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποταμεῖν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωσι. 4 ὅκως γάρ τινα ἴδιοι Ξέρξης τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἔργον τι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἀντίον Σαλαμῖνος τὸ καλέεται Αἰγάλεως, ἀνεπυνθάνετο τὸν ποιήσαντα, καὶ οἱ γραμματισταὶ ἀνέγραφον πατρόθεν τὸν τριήραρχον καὶ τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δέ τι καὶ προσεβάλετο φίλος ἐὼν Ἀριαράμνης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης παρεὼν τούτου τοῦ Φοινικηίου πάθεος. οἱ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐτράποντο.

90. It also happened in this commotion that certain Phoenicians whose ships had been destroyed came to the king and accused the Ionians of treason, saying that it was by their doing that the ships had been lost. It turned out that the Ionian generals were not put to death, and those Phoenicians who slandered them were rewarded as I will show. While they were still speaking, a Samothracian ship rammed an Attic ship. The Attic ship sank and an Aeginetan ship bore down and sank the Samothracian ship, but the Samothracians, being javelin-throwers, by pelting them with missiles knocked the fighters off the ship that had sunk theirs and boarded and seized it. This saved the Ionians. In his deep vexation Xerxes blamed everyone. When he saw the Ionians performing this great feat, he turned to the Phoenicians and commanded that their heads be cut off, so that they who were base not slander men more noble. Whenever Xerxes, as he sat beneath the mountain opposite Salamis which is called Aegaleos, saw one of his own men achieve some feat in the battle, he inquired who did it, and his scribes wrote down the captain's name with his father and city of residence. The presence of Ariaramnes, a Persian and a friend of the Ionians, contributed still more to this calamity of the Phoenicians. Thus they dealt with the Phoenicians.

91 1 τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν τραπομένων καὶ ἐκπλεόντων πρὸς τὸ Φάληρον, Αἰγινῆται ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο λόγου ἄξια. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκεραίζον τὰς τε ἀντισταμένας καὶ τὰς φευγούσας τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται τὰς ἐκπλεύουσας· ὅκως δὲ τινὲς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαφύγοιεν, φερόμενοι ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας.

91. The barbarians were routed and tried to flee by sailing out to Phalerum, but the Aeginetans lay in wait for them in the strait and

then performed deeds worth telling. The Athenians in the commotion destroyed those ships which either resisted or tried to flee, the Aeginetans those sailing out of the strait. Whoever escaped from the Athenians charged right into the Aeginetans.

92 1 ἐνθαῦτα συνεκύρεον νέες ἥ τε Θεμιστοκλέος διώκουσα νέα καὶ ἡ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Κριοῦ ἀνδρὸς Αἰγινήτεω νηὶ ἐμβαλοῦσα Σιδωνίῃ, ἥ περ εἶλε τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ τὴν Αἰγιναίην, ἐπ' ἧς ἐπλεε Πυθέης ὁ Ἰσχενοῦ, τὸν οἱ Πέρσαι κατακοπέντα ἀρετῆς εἵνεκα εἶχον ἐν τῇ νηὶ ἐκπαγλόμενοι· τὸν δὲ περιάγουσα ἅμα τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἤλω ἡ νηὺς ἡ Σιδωνίῃ, ὥστε Πυθέην οὕτω σωθῆναι ἐς Αἶγιναν. 2 ὡς δὲ ἐσεῖδε τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Πολύκριτος, ἔγνω τὸ σημήιον ἰδὼν τῆς στρατηγίδος, καὶ βώσας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπεκερτόμησε ἐς τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν μηδισμὸν ὀνειδίζων. ταῦτα μὲν νυν νηὶ ἐμβάλων ὁ Πολύκριτος ἀπέρριψε ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγένοντο, φεύγοντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Φάληρον ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν.

92. The ships of Themistocles, as he was pursuing a ship, and of Polycritus son of Crius, an Aeginetan, then met. Polycritus had rammed a Sidonian ship, the one which had captured the Aeginetan ship that was on watch off Sciathus, and on it was Pytheas son of Ischenous, the one the Persians marvelled at when severely wounded and kept aboard their ship because of his virtue. This Sidonian ship carrying him with the Persians was now captured, so Pytheas came back safe to Aegina. When Polycritus saw the Attic ship, he recognized it by seeing the flagship's marking and shouted to Themistocles, mocking and reproaching him concerning the Medizing of the Aeginetans. After ramming an enemy ship, Polycritus hurled these insults at Themistocles. The barbarians whose ships were still intact fled and reached Phalerum under cover of the land army.

93 1 ἐν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἤκουσαν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστα Αἰγινῆται, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτός τε ὁ Αἰγινήτης καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀναγυράσιος καὶ Ἀμεινίης Παλληγεύς, ὃς καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπεδίωξε. εἰ μὲν νυν ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ πλέοι Ἀρτεμισίη, οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσατο πρότερον ἢ εἶλε μιν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤλω. 2 τοῖσι γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τριηράρχοισι παρεκεκέλευστο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ

ἄεθλον ἔκειτο μύριαι δραχμαί, ὃς ἂν μιν ζώῃν ἔλῃ· δεινὸν γάρ τι ἐποιεῦντο γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας στρατεύεσθαι. αὕτη μὲν δὴ, ὥς πρότερον εἴρηται, διέφυγε· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγεγόνεσαν, ἐν τῷ Φαλήρῳ.

93. In this battle the Hellenes with the reputation as most courageous were the Aeginetans, then the Athenians. Among individuals they were Polycritus the Aeginetan and the Athenians Eumenes of Anagyrus and Aminias of Pallene, the one who pursued Artemisia. If he had known she was in that ship, he would not have stopped before either capturing it or being captured himself. Such were the orders given to the Athenian captains, and there was a prize offered of ten thousand drachmas to whoever took her alive, since they were indignant that a woman waged war against Athens. But she escaped, as I said earlier, and the others whose ships survived were also in Phalerum.

94 1 Ἀδεΐμαντον δὲ τὸν Κορίνθιον στρατηγὸν λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχάς, ὥς συνέμισγον αἱ νέες, ἐκπλαγέντα τε καὶ ὑπερδείσαντα, τὰ ἰστία ἀειράμενον οἷχεσθαι φεύγοντα, ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τὴν στρατηγίδα φεύγουσαν ὡσαύτως οἷχεσθαι. 2 ὥς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γίνεσθαι τῆς Σαλαμίνης κατὰ ἱρὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος, περιπίπτειν σφι κέλητα θεῖη πομπῇ, τὸν οὔτε πέμψαντα φανῆναι οὐδένα, οὔτε τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς εἰδόσι προσφέρεσθαι τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι. τῇδε δὲ συμβάλλονται εἶναι θεῖον τὸ πρῆγμα. ὥς γὰρ ἀγχοῦ γενέσθαι τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κέλητος λέγειν τάδε. 3 “Ἀδεΐμαντε, σὺ μὲν ἀποστρέψας τὰς νέας ἐς φυγὴν ὄρμησαι καταπροδοὺς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας· οἱ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι ὅσον αὐτοὶ ἡρῶντο ἐπικρατήσαντες τῶν ἐχθρῶν “. ταῦτα λεγόντων ἀπιστέειν γὰρ τὸν Ἀδεΐμαντον, αὐτίς τάδε λέγειν, ὥς αὐτοὶ οἰοί τε εἶεν ἀγόμενοι ὄμηροι ἀποθνήσκειν, ἣν μὴ νικῶντες φαίνονται οἱ Ἑλληνες. 4 οὕτω δὴ ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν νέα αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε Κορίνθιοι ὁμολογεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν πρώτοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς ναυμαχίης νομίζουσι γενέσθαι· μαρτυρεῖ δέ σφι καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς.

94. The Athenians say that when the ships joined battle, the Corinthian general Adeimantus, struck with bewilderment and terror,

hoisted his sails and fled away. When the Corinthians saw their flagship fleeing, they departed in the same way, but when in their flight they were opposite the sacred precinct of Athena Sciras on Salamis, by divine guidance a boat encountered them. No one appeared to have sent it, and the Corinthians knew nothing about the affairs of the fleet when it approached. They reckon the affair to involve the gods because when the boat came near the ships, the people on the boat said, “Adeimantus, you have turned your ships to flight and betrayed the Hellenes, but they are overcoming their enemies to the fulfillment of their prayers for victory.” Adeimantus did not believe them when they said this, so they spoke again, saying that they could be taken as hostages and killed if the Hellenes were not seen to be victorious. So he and the others turned their ships around and came to the fleet, but it was all over. The Athenians spread this rumor about them, but the Corinthians do not agree at all, and they consider themselves to have been among the foremost in the battle. The rest of Hellas bears them witness.

95 1 Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ Λυσιμάχου ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγω τι πρότερον τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου, οὗτος ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ τῷ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα γενομένῳ τάδε ἐποίηε· παραλαβὼν πολλοὺς τῶν ὀπλιτέων οἱ παρατετάχατο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμινίης χώρας, γένος ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νῆσον ἀπέβησε ἄγων, οἱ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησίδι ταύτῃ κατεφόνευσαν πάντας.

95. Aristides son of Lysimachus, the Athenian whom I mentioned a little before this as a valiant man, did this in the commotion that arose at Salamis: taking many of the armed men who were arrayed along the shore of Salamis, he brought them across and landed them on the island of Psyttalea, and they slaughtered all the Persians who were on that islet.

96 1 ὥς δὲ ἡ ναυμαχία διελέλυτο, κατειρύσαντες ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα οἱ Ἕλληνες τῶν ναυηγίων ὅσα ταύτῃ ἐτύγχανε ἔτι ἐόντα, ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν ἐς ἄλλην ναυμαχίην, ἐλπίζοντες τῇσι περιεούσησι νηυσὶ ἔτι χρῆσεσθαι βασιλείᾳ. 2 τῶν δὲ ναυηγίων πολλὰ ὑπολαβὼν ἄνεμος ζέφυρος ἔφερε τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡϊόνα τὴν καλεομένην Κωλιάδα· ὥστε ἀποπλησθῆναι τὸν χρησμόν τόν τε ἄλλον πάντα τὸν περὶ τῆς

ναυμαχίης ταύτης εἰρημένοι Βάκιδι καὶ Μουσαίῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ναυήγια τὰ ταύτη ἐξενειχθέντα τὸ εἰρημένον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐν χρησμῷ Λυσιστράτῳ Ἀθηναίῳ ἀνδρὶ χρησμολόγῳ, τὸ ἐλελήθεε πάντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας, Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναιῖκες ἐρετμοῖσι φρύξουσι τοῦτο δὲ ἔμελλε ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέος ἔσεσθαι.

96. When the battle was broken off, the Hellenes towed to Salamis as many of the wrecks as were still there and kept ready for another battle, supposing that the king could still make use of his surviving ships. A west wind had caught many of the wrecks and carried them to the shore in Attica called Colias. Thus not only was all the rest of the oracle fulfilled which Bacis and Musaeus had spoken about this battle, but also what had been said many years before this in an oracle by Lysistratus, an Athenian soothsayer, concerning the wrecks carried to shore there. Its meaning had eluded all the Hellenes: "The Colian women will cook with oars. But this was to happen after the king had marched away. "

97 1 Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε τὸ γεγονὸς πάθος, δέισας μή τις τῶν Ἰόνων ὑποθῇται τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ἢ αὐτοὶ νοήσωσι πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμφθεὶς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κινδυνέουσα ἀπολέσθαι, δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε. θέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπίδηλος εἶναι μήτε τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι μήτε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα χῶμα ἐπειράτο διαχοῦν, γαύλους τε Φοινικηίους συνέδεε, ἵνα ἀντί τε σχεδίας ἔωσι καὶ τείχεος, ἀρτέετό τε ἐς πόλεμον ὡς ναυμαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος. 2 ὁρῶντες δὲ μιν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα εὖ ἠπιστέατο ὡς ἐκ παντὸς νόου παρεσκευάσται μένων πολεμήσειν· Μαρδόνιον δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλάνθανε ὡς μάλιστα ἔμπειρον ἔοντα τῆς ἐκείνου διανοίης.

97. When Xerxes understood the calamity which had taken place, he feared that some of the Ionians might advise the Hellenes, if they did not think of it themselves, to sail to the Hellespont and destroy the bridges. He would be trapped in Europe in danger of destruction, so he resolved on flight. He did not want to be detected either by the Hellenes or by his own men, so he attempted to build a dike across to Salamis, and joined together Phoenician cargo ships to be both a bridge and a wall, making preparations as if to fight another sea

battle. All who saw him doing this confidently supposed that he fully intended to stay and fight there, but none of this eluded Mardonius, who had the most experience of the king's intentions. While doing all this, Xerxes sent a messenger to Persia to announce the disaster.

98 1 ταῦτά τε ἅμα Ξέρξης ἐποίεε καὶ ἔπεμπε ἐς Πέρσας ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφι συμφορὴν. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐστὶ οὐδὲν ὃ τι θᾶσσον παραγίνεται θνητὸν ἔόν· οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξεύρηται τοῦτο. λέγουσι γὰρ ὡς ὁσέων ἂν ἡμερέων ἦ ἡ πᾶσα ὁδός, τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες διεστᾶσι κατὰ ἡμερησίην ὁδὸν ἐκάστην ἵππος τε καὶ ἀνὴρ τεταγμένος· τοὺς οὔτε νιφετός, οὐκ ὄμβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ νύξ ἔργει μὴ οὐ κατανύσαι τὸν προκείμενον αὐτῷ δρόμον τὴν ταχίστην. 2 ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος δραμὼν παραδιδοῖ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἦδη κατ' ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον διεξέρχεται παραδιδόμενα, κατὰ περ ἐν Ἑλλήσι ἢ λαμπαδηφορίῃ τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελέουσι. τοῦτο τὸ δράμημα τῶν ἵππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ἀγγαρήιον.

98. While Xerxes did thus, he sent a messenger to Persia with news of his present misfortune. Now there is nothing mortal that accomplishes a course more swiftly than do these messengers, by the Persians' skillful contrivance. It is said that as many days as there are in the whole journey, so many are the men and horses that stand along the road, each horse and man at the interval of a day's journey. These are stopped neither by snow nor rain nor heat nor darkness from accomplishing their appointed course with all speed. The first rider delivers his charge to the second, the second to the third, and thence it passes on from hand to hand, even as in the Greek torch-bearers' race in honor of Hephaestus. This riding-post is called in Persia, angareion.

99 1 ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγελίη ἀπικομένη, ὡς ἔχοι Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης, ἔτερψε οὕτω δὴ τι Περσέων τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ὡς τάς τε ὁδοὺς μυρσίῃ πάσας ἐστόρεσαν καὶ ἐθυμίων θυμῖματα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐν θυσίῃσι τε καὶ εὐπαθείῃσι. 2 ἡ δὲ δευτέρη σφι ἀγγελίη ἐπεσελθοῦσα συνέχεε οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς κιθῶνας κατερῥήξαντο πάντες, βοῇ τε καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἐχρέωντο ἀπλέτῳ, Μαρδόνιον ἐν αἰτίῃ τιθέντες. οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίουν ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ δειμαίνοντες.

99. When the first message came to Susa, saying that Xerxes had taken Athens, it gave such delight to the Persians who were left at home that they strewed all the roads with myrtle boughs and burnt incense and gave themselves up to sacrificial feasts and jollity. The second, however, coming on the heels of the first, so confounded them that they all tore their tunics, and cried and lamented without ceasing, holding Mardonius to blame; it was not so much in grief for their ships that they did this as because they feared for Xerxes himself.

100 1 καὶ περὶ Πέρσας μὲν ἦν ταῦτα τὸν πάντα μεταξὺ χρόνον γενόμενον, μέχρι οὗ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς σφεας ἀπικόμενος ἔπαυσε. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὄρων μὲν Ξέρξην συμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ποιούμενον, ὑποπτεύων δὲ αὐτὸν δρησμὸν βουλεύειν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, φροντίσας πρὸς ἑωυτὸν ὥς δώσει δίκην ἀναγνώσας βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ οἱ κρέσσον εἶη ἀνακινδυνεύσαι ἢ κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἢ αὐτὸν καλῶς τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἰωρηθέντα· πλεον μέντοι ἔφερε οἱ ἢ γνώμη κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα· λογισάμενος ὧν ταῦτα προσέφερε τὸν λόγον τόνδε. 2 “δέσποτα, μήτε λυπέο μήτε συμφορὴν μηδεμίαν μεγάλην ποιεῖ τοῦδε τοῦ γεγονότος εἵνεκα πρήγματος. οὐ γὰρ ξύλων ἀγών ὁ τὸ πᾶν φέρων ἐστὶ ἡμῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων. σοὶ δὲ οὔτε τις τούτων τῶν τὸ πᾶν σφίσι ἤδη δοκεόντων κατεργάσθαι ἀποβάς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πειρήσεται ἀντιωθῆναι οὔτ’ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου τῆσδε· οἱ τε ἡμῖν ἠντιώθησαν, ἔδοσαν δίκας. 3 εἰ μὲν νυν δοκέει, αὐτίκα πειρώμεθα τῆς Πελοποννήσου· εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκέει ἐπισχεῖν, παρέχει ποιέειν ταῦτα. μηδὲ δυσθύμεε· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι Ἑλλησι οὐδεμία ἔκδυσις μὴ οὐ δόντας λόγον τῶν ἐποίησαν νῦν τε καὶ πρότερον εἶναι σοὺς δούλους. μάλιστα μὲν νυν ταῦτα ποίεε· εἰ δ’ ἄρα τοι βεβούλευται αὐτὸν ἀπελαύνοντα ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιήν, ἄλλην ἔχω καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε βουλήν. 4 σὺ Πέρσας, βασιλεῦ, μὴ ποιήσης καταγελάστους γενέσθαι Ἑλλησι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν Πέρσῃσί τοί τι δεδῆλγται τῶν πρηγμάτων, οὐδ’ ἐρέεις ὅκου ἐγενόμεθα ἄνδρες κακοί. εἰ δὲ Φοίνικές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Κύπριοί τε καὶ Κίλικες κακοὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν πρὸς Πέρσας τοῦτο προσήκει τὸ πάθος. 5 ἦδη ὧν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ Πέρσαι τοι αἵτιοι εἰσὶ, ἐμοὶ πείθεο· εἴ τοι δέδοκται μὴ παραμένειν, σὺ μὲν ἐς ἡθεα τὰ σεωντοῦ ἀπέλαυνε τῆς στρατιῆς

ἀπάγων τὸ πολλόν, ἐμὲ δὲ σοὶ χρή τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖν δεδουλωμένην, τριήκοντα μυριάδας τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον “.

100. Such was the plight of the Persians for all the time until the coming of Xerxes himself ended it. Mardonius, however, seeing that Xerxes was greatly distressed because of the sea-fight, and suspecting that he planned flight from Athens, thought that he would be punished for persuading the king to march against Hellas and that it was better for him to risk the chance of either subduing Hellas or dying honorably while engaged in a noble cause; yet his hope rather inclined to the subduing of Hellas. Taking all this into account, he made this proposal: “Sire, be not grieved nor greatly distressed because of what has befallen us. It is not on things of wood that the issue hangs for us, but on men and horses; furthermore, there is no one among these men, who thinks that he has now won a crowning victory and will disembark from his ship in an attempt to withstand you, no, nor anyone from this mainland. Those who have withstood us have paid the penalty. If then you so desire, let us straightway attack the Peloponnese, or if it pleases you to wait, that also we can do. Do not be downcast, for the Greeks have no way of escaping guilt for their former and their later deeds and from becoming your slaves. It is best then that you should do as I have said, but if you have resolved to lead your army away, even then I have another plan. Do not, O king, make the Persians the laughing-stock of the Greeks, for if you have suffered harm, it is by no fault of the Persians. Nor can you say that we have anywhere done less than brave men should, and if Phoenicians and Egyptians and Cyprians and Cilicians have so done, it is not the Persians who have any part in this disaster. Therefore, since the Persians are in no way to blame, be guided by me; if you are resolved not to remain, march homewards with the greater part of your army. It is for me, however, to enslave and deliver Hellas to you with three hundred thousand of your host whom I will choose.”

101 1 ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης ὥς ἐκ κακῶν ἐχάρη τε καὶ ἦσθη, πρὸς Μαρδόνιον τε βουλευσάμενος ἔφη ὑποκρινέεσθαι ὁκότερον ποιήσει τούτων. ὥς δὲ ἐβουλευέτο ἅμα Περσέων τοῖσι ἐπικλήτοισι, ἔδοξε οἱ καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐς συμβουλίην μεταπέμψασθαι, ὅτι

πρότερον ἐφαίνετο μούνη νοέουσα τὰ ποιητέα ἦν. 2 ὥς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἡ Ἀρτεμισίη, μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τε συμβούλους Περσέων καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους, ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε. “κελεύει με Μαρδόνιος μένοντα αὐτοῦ πειρᾶσαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, λέγων ὥς μοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς οὐδενὸς μεταίτιοι πάθεος εἰσὶ, ἀλλὰ βουλομένοισι σφι γένοιτ’ ἂν ἀπόδεξις. 3 ἐμὲ ὦν ἡ ταῦτα κελεύει ποιέειν, ἡ αὐτὸς ἐθέλει τριήκοντα μυριάδας ἀπολεξάμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρασχεῖν μοι τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεδουλωμένην, αὐτὸν δέ με κελεύει ἀπελαύνειν σὺν τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ ἐς ἡθεα τὰ ἐμά. 4 σὺ ὦν ἐμοί, καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας εὖ συνεβούλευσας τῆς γενομένης οὐκ ἐῷσα ποιέεσθαι, νῦν τε συμβούλευσον ὁκότερα ποιέων ἐπιτύχω εὖ βουλευσάμενος”.

101. When Xerxes heard that, he was as glad and joyful as a man in his situation might be and said to Mardonius that he would answer him after deliberating which of the two plans he would follow. When he consulted with those Persians whom he summoned, he resolved to send for Artemisia as well, because he saw that she alone at the former sitting had discerned what was best to do. When Artemisia came, Xerxes bade all others withdraw, both Persian councillors and guards, and said to her: “It is Mardonius’ advice that I should follow here and attack the Peloponnese, for the Persians, he says, and the land army are not to blame for our disaster; of that they would willingly give proof. Therefore he advises me to do this, or else he offers to choose three hundred thousand men of the army and deliver Hellas to me enslaved, while I myself by his counsel march homeward with the rest of the host. Now I ask of you, seeing that you correctly advised me against the late sea-fight, counsel me as to which of these two things would be best for me to do.”

102 1 ὁ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβουλεύετο, ἡ δὲ λέγει τάδε. “βασιλεῦ, χαλεπὸν μὲν ἐστὶ συμβουλευομένῳ τυχεῖν τὰ ἄριστα εἶπασαν, ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι δοκέει μοι αὐτὸν μὲν σε ἀπελαύνειν ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιον δέ, εἰ ἐθέλει τε καὶ ὑποδέκεται ταῦτα ποιήσιν, αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν σὺν τοῖσι ἐθέλει. 2 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἦν καταστρέψηται τὰ φησὶ θέλειν καὶ οἱ προχωρήσῃ τὰ νοέων λέγει, σὸν τὸ ἔργον ὧ δέσποτα γίνεται· οἱ γὰρ σοὶ δοῦλοι κατεργάσαντο. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τὰ ἐναντία τῆς Μαρδονίου γνώμης γένηται, οὐδεμία

συμφορὴ μεγάλη ἔσται σέο τε περιέοντος καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν πρηγμάτων περὶ οἶκον τὸν σόν· 3 ἦν γὰρ σύ τε περιῆς καὶ οἶκος ὁ σός, πολλοὺς πολλάκις ἀγῶνας δραμέονται περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οἱ Ἕλληνες. Μαρδονίου δέ, ἦν τι πάθη, λόγος οὐδεὶς γίνεται, οὐδέ τι νικῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῶσι, δοῦλον σὸν ἀπολέσαντες· σὺ δέ, τῶν εἵνεκα τὸν στόλον ἐποίησας, πυρώσας τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπελῶς “.

102. When she was asked for advice, she replied: “It is difficult, O king, to answer your plea for advice by saying that which is best, but in the present turn of affairs I think it best that you march back and that Mardonius, if he so wishes and promises to do as he says, be left here with those whom he desires. For if he subdues all that he offers to subdue and prospers in his design, the achievement, Sire, is yours since it will be your servants who have accomplished it. If, on the other hand, the issue is contrary to Mardonius’ expectation, it is no great misfortune so long as you and all that household of yours are safe; for while you and the members of your household are safe, many a time will the Greeks have to fight for their lives. As for Mardonius, if any disaster befalls him, it is does not much matter, nor will any victory of the Greeks be a real victory when they have but slain your servant. As for you, you will be marching home after the burning of Athens, which thing was the whole purpose of your expedition.”

103 1 ἦσθη τε δὴ τῇ συμβουλίῃ Ξέρξης· λέγουσα γὰρ ἐπετύγχανε τὰ περ αὐτὸς ἐνόεε. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ μένειν, ἔμενε ἂν δοκέειν ἐμοί· οὕτω καταβῶδῃκεε. ἐπαινέσας δὲ τὴν Ἀρτεμισίην, ταύτην μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἄγουσαν αὐτοῦ παῖδας ἐς Ἐφεσον· νόθοι γὰρ τινὲς παῖδές οἱ συνέσποντο.

103. Artemisia’s counsel pleased Xerxes, for it happened that she spoke what he himself had in mind. In truth, I think that he would not have remained even if all men and women had counselled him so to do — so panic-stricken was he. Having then thanked Artemisia, he sent her away to take his sons to Ephesus, for he had some bastard sons with him.

104 1 συνέπεμπε δὲ τοῖσι παισὶ φύλακον Ἑρμότιμον, γένος μὲν ἐόντα Πηδασέα, φερόμενον δὲ οὐ τὰ δεύτερα τῶν εὐνούχων παρὰ βασιλεί· [οἱ δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέουσι ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησοῦ· ἐν δὲ τοῖσι

Πηδάσοισι τούτοισι τοιόνδε συμφέρεται πρῆγμα γίνεσθαι· ἐπεὰν τοῖσι ἀμφικτυόσι πᾶσι τοῖσι ἀμφὶ ταύτης οἰκέουσι τῆς πόλιος μέλλη τι ἐντὸς χρόνου ἔσεσθαι χαλεπόν, τότε ἡ ἱρεὶα αὐτόθι τῆς Ἀθηναίης φύει πώγωνα μέγαν. τοῦτο δέ σφι δις ἤδη ἐγένετο.

104. With these sons he sent Hermotimus as guardian. This man was by birth of Pedasa, and the most honored by Xerxes of all his eunuchs. The people of Pedasa dwell above Halicarnassus. The following thing happens among these people: when anything untoward is about to befall those who dwell about their city, the priestess of Athena then grows a great beard. This had already happened to them twice.

105 1 ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν Πηδασέων ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἦν] τῷ μεγίστῃ τίσις ἤδη ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. ἀλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ πωλεόμενον ὠνέεται Πανιώνιος ἀνὴρ Χίος, ὃς τὴν ζόην κατεστήσατο ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων· ὅκως γὰρ κτήσαιο παῖδας εἵδεος ἐπαμμένους, ἐκτάμνων ἀγινέων ἐπώλεε ἐς Σάρδεις τε καὶ Ἐφεσον χρημάτων μεγάλων. 2 παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τιμιώτεροι εἰσὶ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι πίστιος εἵνεκα τῆς πάσης τῶν ἐνορχίων. ἄλλους τε δὴ ὁ Πανιώνιος ἐξέταμε πολλούς, ἅτε ποιεύμενος ἐκ τούτου τὴν ζόην, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦτον. καὶ οὐ γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐδυστύχεε ὁ Ἑρμότιμος, ἀπικνέεται ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα μετ' ἄλλων δώρων, χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος πάντων τῶν εὐνούχων ἐτιμήθη μάλιστα παρὰ Ξέρξη.

105. Hermotimus, who came from Pedasa, had achieved a fuller vengeance for wrong done to him than had any man whom we know. When he had been taken captive by enemies and put up for sale, he was bought by one Panionius of Chios, a man who had set himself to earn a livelihood out of most wicked practices. He would procure beautiful boys and castrate and take them to Sardis and Ephesus where he sold them for a great price, for the barbarians value eunuchs more than perfect men, by reason of the full trust that they have in them. Now among the many whom Panionius had castrated was Hermotimus, who was not entirely unfortunate; he was brought from Sardis together with other gifts to the king, and as time went on, he stood higher in Xerxes' favor than any other eunuch.

106 1 ὥς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Περσικὸν ὄρμα βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς

Ἀθήνας ἐὼν ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐνθαῦτα καταβάς κατὰ δὴ τι πρῆγμα ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἐς γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, τὴν Χῖοι μὲν νέμονται Ἀταρνεὺς δὲ καλέεται, εὐρίσκει τὸν Πανιώνιον ἐνθαῦτα. 2 ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλοὺς καὶ φιλίους λόγους, πρῶτα μὲν οἱ καταλέγων ὅσα αὐτὸς δι' ἐκεῖνον ἔχοι ἀγαθὰ, δευτέρα δὲ οἱ ὑπισχνεύμενος ἀντὶ τούτων ὅσα μιν ἀγαθὰ ποιήσει ἢν κομίσας τοὺς οἰκέτας οἰκὴ ἐκείνη, ὥστε ὑποδεξάμενον ἄσμενον τοὺς λόγους τὸν Πανιώνιον κομίσει τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα. 3 ὥς δὲ ἄρα πανοικίη μιν περιέλαβε, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἑρμότιμος τάδε. “ὦ πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἤδη μάλιστα ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων τὸν βίον κτησάμενε, τί σε ἐγὼ κακὸν ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τίς σε προγόνων ἐργάσατο, ἢ σὲ ἢ τῶν σῶν τινα, ὅτι με ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς ἐποίησας τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι; ἐδόκεές τε θεοὺς λήσειν οἷα ἐμχανῶ τότε· οἱ σε ποιήσαντα ἀνόσια, νόμῳ δικαίῳ χρεώμενοι, ὑπήγαγον ἐς χεῖρας τὰς ἐμάς, ὥστε σε μὴ μέμψασθαι τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέο τοι ἐσομένην δίκην “. 4 ὥς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα ὠνειδισε, ἀχθέντων τῶν παίδων ἐς ὅψιν ἠναγκάζετο ὁ Πανιώνιος τῶν ἐωυτοῦ παίδων τεσσέρων ἐόντων τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀποτάμνειν, ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ἐποίηε ταῦτα· αὐτοῦ τε, ὥς ταῦτα ἐργάσατο, οἱ παῖδες ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀπέταμνον. Πανιώνιον μὲν νυν οὕτω περιῆλθε ἢ τε τίσις καὶ Ἑρμότιμος.

106. Now while the king was at Sardis and preparing to lead his Persian army against Athens, Hermotimus came for some business down to the part of Mysia which is inhabited by Chians and called Atarneus. There he found Panionius. Perceiving who he was, he held long and friendly converse with him, telling him that it was to him that he owed all this prosperity and promising that he would make him prosperous in return if he were to bring his household and dwell there. Panionius accepted his offer gladly, and brought his children and his wife. When Hermotimus had gotten the man and all his household into his power, he said to him: “Tell me, you who have made a livelihood out of the wickedest trade on earth, what harm had I or any of my forefathers done to you or yours, that you made me to be no man, but a thing of nought? You no doubt thought that the gods would have no knowledge of your former practices, but their just law has brought you for your wicked deeds into my hands. Now you will be well content with the fullness of that justice which I will execute

upon you.” With these words of reproach, he brought Panionius’ sons before him and compelled him to castrate all four of them — his own children; this Panionius was compelled to do. When he had done this, the sons were compelled to castrate their father in turn. This, then, was the way in which Panionius was overtaken by vengeance at the hands of Hermotimus.

107 1 Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπέτρεψε Ἀρτεμισίῃ ἀπάγειν ἐς Ἔφεσον, καλέσας Μαρδόνιον ἐκέλευσέ μιν τῆς στρατιῆς διαλέγειν τοὺς βούλεται, καὶ ποιεῖν τοῖσι λόγοισι τὰ ἔργα πειρώμενον ὅμοια. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγίνετο, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς κελεύσαντος βασιλέος τὰς νέας οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκ τοῦ Φαλήρου ἀπῆγον ὀπίσω ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ὡς τάχεις εἶχε ἕκαστος, διαφυλαξούσας τὰς σχεδίας πορευθῆναι βασιλεί. 2 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν Ζωστήρος πλέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γὰρ ἄκραι λεπταὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης, ἔδοξάν τε νέας εἶναι καὶ ἔφευγον ἐπὶ πολλόν· χρόνῳ δὲ μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ νέες εἶεν ἀλλ’ ἄκραι, συλλεχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο.

107. Having given his sons to Artemisia’s charge to be carried to Ephesus, Xerxes called Mardonius to him and bade him choose whom he would from the army, and make his words good so far as endeavor availed. That is as far as matters went on that day; in the night, however, the admirals, by the king’s command, put out to sea from Phalerum and made for the Hellespont again with all speed to guard the bridges for the king’s passage. When the barbarians came near to the “Girdle” in their course, they thought that certain little headlands, which here jut out from the mainland, were ships, and they fled for a long way. When they learned at last that they were no ships but headlands, they drew together and went on their way.

108 1 ὡς δὲ ἡμέρην ἐγίνετο, ὁρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες κατὰ χώραν μένοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν πεζὸν ἤλπιζον καὶ τὰς νέας εἶναι περὶ Φάληρον, ἐδόκεόν τε ναυμαχῆσιν σφέας παραρτέοντό τε ὡς ἀλεξισόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὰς νέας οἰχωκυίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκεε ἐπιδιώκειν. τὸν μὲν νυν ναυτικὸν τὸν Ξέρξῳ στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπέιδον διώξαντες μέχρι Ἀνδρου, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀνδρὸν ἀπικόμενοι ἐβουλεύοντο. 2 Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο διὰ νήσων τραπομένους καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας τὰς νέας πλέειν ἰθέως ἐπὶ τὸν

Ἑλλησποντον λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας· Εὐρυβιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίην ταύτη γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων ὥς εἰ λύσουσι τὰς σχεδίας, τοῦτ' ἂν μέγιστον πάντων σφι κακῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐργάσαιο. 3 εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθεῖη ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, πειρῶτο ἂν ἡσυχίην μὴ ἄγειν, ὥς ἄγοντι μὲν οἱ ἡσυχίην οὔτε τι προχωρεῖν οἶόν τε ἔσται τῶν πρηγμάτων οὔτε τις κομιδὴ τὰ ὀπίσω φανήσεται, λιμῶ τέ οἱ ἡ στρατιὴ διαφθερέεται, ἐπιχειροῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔργου ἐχομένῳ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην οἷά τε ἔσται προσχωρῆσαι κατὰ πόλιν τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα, ἥτοι ἀλικομένων γε ἢ πρὸ τούτου ὁμολογεόντων· τροφήν τε ἔξιν σφέας τὸν ἐπέτειον αἰεὶ τὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καρπὸν. 4 ἀλλὰ δοκέειν γὰρ νικηθέντα τῇ ναυμαχίῃ οὐ μενέειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσιν· ἐατέον ὧν εἶναι φεύγειν, ἐς ὃ ἔλθοι φεύγων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ποιέεσθαι ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκέλευε. ταύτης δὲ εἶχοντο τῆς γνώμης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἄλλων οἱ στρατηγοί.

108. When it was day, the Greeks saw the land army abiding where it had been and supposed the ships also to be at Phalerum. Thinking also that there would be a sea-fight they prepared to defend themselves. When, however, they learned that the ships were gone, they straightway resolved on pursuit; so they pursued Xerxes' fleet as far as Andros, but failed to catch sight of it. When they came to Andros, they held a council there. Themistocles declared his opinion that they should hold their course through the islands, and having pursued the ships, should sail forthwith to the Hellespont to break the bridges. Eurybiades, on the other hand, offered a contrary opinion, saying that to break the bridges would be the greatest harm that they could do to Hellas. "For," said he, "if the Persian is cut off and compelled to remain in Europe, he will attempt not to be inactive. This he will do because if he remains inactive, he can neither make his cause prosper nor find any way of return home, but his army will perish of hunger. If, on the other hand, he is enterprising and active, it may well be that every town and nation in Europe will join itself to him, by conquest or, before that, by compact. He will then live on whatever yearly fruits of the earth Hellas produces. But, as I think that the Persian will not remain in Europe after his defeat in the sea-fight, let us permit him to flee to his own country. Thereafter let it be

that country and not ours which is at stake in the war.” With that opinion the rest of the Peloponnesian admirals also agreed.

109 1 ὥς δὲ ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐ πείσει τοὺς γε πολλοὺς πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (οὗτοι γὰρ μάλιστα ἐκπεφευγότεων περιημέκτεον, ὁρμέατό τε ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι, εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι μὴ βουλοίατο) ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. 2 “καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη πολλοῖσι παρεγενόμην καὶ πολλῷ πλέω ἀκήκοα τοιάδε γενέσθαι, ἄνδρας ἐς ἀναγκαίην ἀπειληθέντας νενικημένους ἀναμάχεσθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα. ἡμεῖς δέ, εὖρημα γὰρ εὐρήκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, νέφος τοσοῦτο ἀνθρώπων ἀνωσάμενοι, μὴ διώκωμεν ἄνδρας φεύγοντας. 3 τάδε γὰρ οὐκ ἡμεῖς κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τε καὶ ἥρωες, οἱ ἐφθόνησαν ἄνδρα ἓνα τῆς τε Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεῦσαι ἔοντα ἀνόσιόν τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλον· ὃς τὰ τε ἱρὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποίεετο, ἐμπιπράς τε καὶ καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα· ὃς καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατῆκε. 4 ἀλλ’ εὖ γὰρ ἔχει ἐς τὸ παρεὸν ἡμῖν, νῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταμείναντας ἡμέων τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τῶν οἰκετέων, καὶ τις οἰκίην τε ἀναπλάσασθω καὶ σπόρου ἀνακῶς ἔχέτω, παντελέως ἀπελάσας τὸν βάρβαρον· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι καταπλέωμεν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Ἰωνίης “. 5 ταῦτα ἔλεγε ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσασθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσην, ἵνα ἦν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος ἔχῃ ἀποστροφῇ· τὰ περ ὧν καὶ ἐγένετο.

109. When Themistocles perceived that he could not persuade the greater part of them to sail to the Hellespont, he turned to the Athenians (for they were the angriest at the Persians’ escape, and they were minded to sail to the Hellespont even by themselves, if the rest would not) and addressed them as follows: “This I have often seen with my eyes and heard yet more often, namely that beaten men, when they be driven to bay, will rally and retrieve their former mishap. Therefore I say to you, — as it is to a fortunate chance that we owe ourselves and Hellas, and have driven away so mighty a band of enemies — let us not pursue men who flee, for it is not we who have won this victory, but the gods and the heroes, who deemed Asia and Europe too great a realm for one man to rule, and that a wicked man and an impious one who dealt alike with temples and

bones, burning and overthrowing the images of the gods, — yes, and one who scourged the sea and threw fetters into it. But as it is well with us for the moment, let us abide now in Hellas and take thought for ourselves and our households. Let us build our houses again and be diligent in sowing, when we have driven the foreigner completely away. Then when the next spring comes, let us set sail for the Hellespont and Ionia.” This he said with intent to have something to his credit with the Persian, so that he might have a place of refuge if ever (as might chance) he should suffer anything at the hands of the Athenians — and just that did in fact happen.

110 1 Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπειθοῦντο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ πρότερον δεδογμένος εἶναι σοφὸς ἐφάνη ἐὼν ἀληθῆως σοφός τε καὶ εὖβουλος, πάντως ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν λέγοντι πείθεσθαι. 2 ὥς δὲ οὗτοί οἱ ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμπε ἔχοντας πλοῖον, τοῖσι ἐπίστευε σιγᾶν ἐς πᾶσαν βάσανον ἀπικνεομένοισι τὰ αὐτὸς ἐντεῖλατο βασιλείῃ φράσαι· τῶν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκέτης αὐτὶς ἐγένετο· οἱ ἐπεῖτε ἀπίκοντο πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οἱ μὲν κατέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ, Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβὰς παρὰ Ξέρξην ἔλεγε τάδε. 3 “ἔπεμψέ με Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλῆος, στρατηγὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων ἄριστος καὶ σοφώτατος, φράσοντά τοι ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, σοὶ βουλόμενος ὑπουργεῖν, ἔσχε τοὺς Ἑλλήνας τὰς νέας βουλομένους διώκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ γεφύρας λύειν. καὶ νῦν κατ’ ἡσυχίην πολλὴν κομίζεο “. οἱ μὲν ταῦτα σημήναντες ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω.

110. Thus spoke Themistocles with intent to deceive, and the Athenians obeyed him; since he had always been esteemed wise and now had shown himself to be both wise and prudent, they were ready to obey whatever he said. Having won them over, Themistocles straightway sent men in a boat whom he could trust not to reveal under any question the message which he charged them to deliver to the king; one of these was his servant Sicinnus. When these men came to Attica, the rest remained with the boat, and Sicinnus went up to Xerxes; “Themistocles son of Neocles,” he said, “who is the Athenian general and of all the allies the worthiest and wisest, has sent me to tell you this: Themistocles the Athenian has out of his

desire to do you a service stayed the Greeks when they wanted to pursue your ships and break the bridges of the Hellespont. Now he bids you go your way, none hindering you.” With that message, the men returned in their boat.

111 1 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεῖτε σφι ἀπέδοξε μήτ’ ἐπιδιώκειν ἔτι προσωτέρω τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας μήτε πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὸν πόρον, τὴν Ἄνδρον περικατέατο ἐξελεῖν ἐθέλοντες. 2 πρῶτοι γὰρ Ἄνδριοι νησιωτέων αἰτηθέντες πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέος χρήματα οὐκ ἔδωσαν, ἀλλὰ προῖσχομένου Θεμιστοκλέος λόγον τόνδε, ὥς ἦκοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ ἐωυτοὺς ἔχοντες δύο θεοὺς μεγάλους, πειθῶ τε καὶ ἀναγκαίην, οὕτω τέ σφι κάρτα δοτέα εἶναι χρήματα, ὑπεκρίναντο πρὸς ταῦτα λέγοντες ὥς κατὰ λόγον ἦσαν ἄρα αἱ Ἀθῆναι μεγάλαι τε καὶ εὐδαίμονες, αἱ καὶ θεῶν χρηστῶν ἦκοιεν εἴ, 3 ἐπεὶ Ἀνδρίους γε εἶναι γεωπεινάς ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκοντας, καὶ θεοὺς δύο ἀχρήστους οὐκ ἐκλείπειν σφέων τὴν νῆσον ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ φιλοχωρεῖν, πενίην τε καὶ ἀμηχανίην, καὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἐπηβόλους ἐόντας Ἀνδρίους οὐ δώσειν χρήματα· οὐδέκοτε γὰρ τῆς ἐωυτῶν ἀδυναμίας τὴν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν εἶναι κρέσσω.

111. But the Greeks, now that they were no longer minded to pursue the barbarians’ ships farther or sail to the Hellespont and break the way of passage, besieged Andros so that they might take it, for the men of that place, the first islanders of whom Themistocles demanded money, would not give it. When, however, Themistocles gave them to understand that the Athenians had come with two great gods to aid them, Persuasion and Necessity, and that the Andrians must therefore certainly give money, they said in response, “It is then but reasonable that Athens is great and prosperous, being blessed with serviceable gods. As for us Andrians, we are but blessed with a plentiful lack of land, and we have two unserviceable gods who never quit our island but want to dwell there forever, namely Poverty and Helplessness. Since we are in the hands of these gods, we will give no money; the power of Athens can never be stronger than our inability.”

112 1 οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὑποκρινάμενοι καὶ οὐ δόντες τὰ χρήματα ἐπολιορκέοντο. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύετο

πλεονεκτέων, ἐσπέμπων ἐς τὰς ἄλλας νήσους ἀπειλητήριους λόγους αἵτεε χρήματα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων, χρεώμενος τοῖσι καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα ἐχρήσατο, λέγων ὡς εἰ μὴ δώσουσι τὸ αἰτεόμενον, ἐπάξει τὴν στρατιὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πολιορκέων ἐξαιρήσει. 2 λέγων ταῦτα συνέλεγε χρήματα μεγάλα παρὰ Καρυστίων τε καὶ Παρίων, οἱ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν τε Ἄνδρον ὡς πολιορκέοιτο διότι ἐμήδισε, καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα ὡς εἶη ἐν αἴνῃ μεγίστη τῶν στρατηγῶν, δείσαντες ταῦτα ἔπεμπον χρήματα. εἰ δὲ δὴ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι ἔδοσαν νησιωτέων, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκέω δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους δοῦναι καὶ οὐ τούτους μούνουσιν. 3 καίτοι Καρυστίοισι γε οὐδὲν τούτου εἴνεκα τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβολὴ ἐγένετο· Πάριοι δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα χρήμασι ἱλασάμενοι διέφυγον τὸ στράτευμα. Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν νυν ἐξ Ἄνδρου ὁρμώμενος χρήματα παρὰ νησιωτέων ἐκτᾶτο λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν.

112. It was for giving this answer and refusing to give what was asked of them that they were besieged. There was no end to Themistocles' avarice; using the same agents whom he had used with the king, he sent threatening messages to the other islands, demanding money and saying that if they would not give what he asked he would bring the Greek armada upon them and besiege and take their islands. Thereby he collected great sums from the Carystians and Parians, for these were informed that Andros was besieged for taking the Persian side and that Themistocles was of all the generals the most esteemed. This frightened them so much that they sent money. I suppose that there were other islanders too who gave and not these alone, but I cannot with certainty say. Nevertheless, the Carystians got no respite from misfortune by doing this. The Parians, however, propitiated Themistocles with money and so escaped the force. So Themistocles went away from Andros and took money from the islanders, unknown to the other generals.

113 1 οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην ἐξήλαυνον ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν. ἔδοξε γὰρ Μαρδονίῳ ἅμα μὲν προπέμψαι βασιλέα, ἅμα δὲ ἀνωρὴ εἶναι τοῦ ἔτεος πολεμέειν, χιμερίσαι τε ἄμεινον εἶναι ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, καὶ ἔπειτα ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πειραῖσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου. 2 ὡς δὲ ἀπύκατο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίην, ἐνθαῦτα Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέγετο πρώτους μὲν τοὺς

Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς ἀθανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν Ὑδάρνεος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ (οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέος), μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν χιλὴν, καὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Σάκας καὶ Βακτρίους τε καὶ Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἵππον. 3 ταῦτα μὲν ἔθνεα ὅλα εἶλετο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐξελέγετο κατ' ὀλίγους, τοῖσι εἶδεά τε ὑπῆρχε διαλέγων καὶ εἰ τεοῖσι τι χρηστὸν συνήδεε πεποιημένον· ἐν δὲ πλεῖστον ἔθνος Πέρσας αἰρέετο, ἄνδρας στρεπτοφόρους τε καὶ ψελιοφόρους, ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδους· οὗτοι δὲ τὸ πλῆθος μὲν οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἦσαν τῶν Περσέων, ῥώμη δὲ ἥσσονες. ὥστε σύμπαντας τριήκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι σὺν ἱπευσι.

113. Those who were with Xerxes waited for a few days after the sea-fight and then marched away to Boeotia by the road by which they had come. Mardonius wanted to give the king safe conduct and thought the time of year unseasonable for war; it was better, he thought, to winter in Thessaly, and then attack the Peloponnese in the spring. When they had arrived in Thessaly, Mardonius first chose all the Persians called Immortals, save only Hydarnes their general who said that he would not quit the king's person, and next, the Persian cuirassiers and the thousand horse and the Medes and Sacae and Bactrians and Indians, alike their infantrymen and the rest of the horsemen. These nations he chose in their entirety; of the rest of his allies he picked out a few from each people, the best men and those whom he knew to have done some good service. The Persians whom he chose (men who wore torques and bracelets) were more in number than those of any other nation and next to them the Medes; these indeed were as many as the Persians, but not such stout fighters. Thereby the whole number, together with the horsemen, grew to three hundred thousand men.

114 1 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Μαρδόνιός τε τὴν στρατιὴν διέκρινε καὶ Ξέρξης ἦν περὶ Θεσσαλίην, χρηστήριον ἐληλύθεε ἐκ Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι, Ξέρξην αἰτέειν δίκας τοῦ Λεωνίδεω φόνου καὶ τὸ διδόμενον ἐξ ἐκείνου δέκεσθαι. πέμπουσι δὴ κήρυκα τὴν ταχίστην Σπαρτιῆται, ὃς ἐπειδὴ κατέλαβε ἐοῦσαν ἔτι πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ἐλθὼν ἐς ὅσιν τὴν Ξέρξεω ἔλεγε τάδε. 2 “ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, Λακεδαιμόνιοί τέ σε καὶ Ἡρακλεῖδαι οἱ ἀπὸ

Σπάρτης αἰτέουσι φόνου δίκας, ὅτι σφέων τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέκτεινας ῥυόμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα “. ὁ δὲ γελάσας τε καὶ κατασχὼν πολλὸν χρόνον, ὥς οἱ ἐτύγχανε παρεστεῶς Μαρδόνιος, δεικνὺς ἐς τοῦτον εἶπε “τοιγὰρ σφι Μαρδόνιος ὅδε δίκας δώσει τοιαύτας οἷας ἐκείνοισι πρέπει “.

114. Now while Mardonius was choosing his army and Xerxes was in Thessaly, there came an oracle from Delphi to the Lacedaemonians, that they should demand justice of Xerxes for the slaying of Leonidas and take whatever he should offer them. The Spartans then sent a herald with all speed. He found the army yet undivided in Thessaly, came into Xerxes' presence, and spoke as follows: “The Lacedaemonians and the Heraclidae of Sparta demand of you, king of the Medes, that you pay the penalty for the death of their king, whom you killed while he defended Hellas.” At that Xerxes laughed, and after a long while, he pointed to Mardonius, who chanced to be standing by him and said, “Then here is Mardonius, who shall pay those you speak of such penalty as befits them.”

115 1 ὁ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενος τὸ ῥηθὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο, Ξέρξης δὲ Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καταλιπὼν αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὸν πόρον τῆς διαβάσιος ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρησι, ἀπάγων τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος ὥς εἰπεῖν. 2 ὅκου δὲ πορευόμενοι γινοίατο καὶ κατ' οὔστινας ἀνθρώπους, τὸν τούτων καρπὸν ἀρπάζοντες ἐσιτέοντο· εἰ δὲ καρπὸν μηδένα εὔροien, οἱ δὲ τὴν ποίην τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναφυομένην καὶ τῶν δενδρέων τὸν φλοιὸν περιλέποντες καὶ τὰ φύλλα καταδρέποντες κατήσθιον, ὁμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρωι καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων, καὶ ἔλειπον οὐδέν· ταῦτα δ' ἐποίηον ὑπὸ λιμοῦ. 3 ἐπιλαβὼν δὲ λοιμός τε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερίη κατ' ὁδὸν ἔφθαιρε. τοὺς δὲ καὶ νοσέοντας αὐτῶν κατέλειπε, ἐπιτάσσων τῇσι πόλισι, ἵνα ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο ἐλαύνων, μελεδαίνειν τε καὶ τρέφειν, ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ τε τινὰς καὶ ἐν Σίρι τῆς Παιονίης καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίῃ. 4 ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἵππικόν ἄρμα καταλιπὼν τοῦ Διός, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤλαυνε, ἀπὼν οὐκ ἀπέλαβε, ἀλλὰ δόντες οἱ Παιόνες τοῖσι Θρήξι ἀπαιτέοντος Ξέρξεω ἔφασαν νεμομένας ἀρπασθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνω Θρηίκων τῶν περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Στρυμόνος οἰκημένων.

115. So the herald took that response and departed, but Xerxes left Mardonius in Thessaly. He himself journeyed with all speed to the Hellespont and came in forty-five days to the passage for crossing, bringing back with him as good as none (if one may say so) of his host. Wherever and to whatever people they came, they seized and devoured its produce. If they found none, they would eat the grass of the field and strip the bark and pluck the leaves of the trees, garden and wild alike, leaving nothing — such was the degree of their starvation. Moreover, pestilence and dysentery broke out among them on their way, from which they died. Some who were sick Xerxes left behind, charging the cities to which he came in his march to care for them and nourish them, some in Thessaly and some in Siris of Paeonia and in Macedonia. In Siris he had left the sacred chariot of Zeus when he was marching to Hellas, but on his return he did not get it back again. The Paeonians had given it to the Thracians, and when Xerxes demanded it back, they said that the horses had been carried off from pasture by the Thracians of the hills who dwelt about the headwaters of the Strymon.

116 1 ἔνθα καὶ ὁ τῶν Βισαλτέων βασιλεὺς γῆς τε τῆς Κρηστωνικῆς Θρηΐξ ἔργον ὑπερφυῆς ἐργάσατο· ὃς οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐκὼν εἶναι δουλεύσειν, ἀλλ' οἷχeto ἄνω ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ῥοδόπην, τοῖσί τε παισὶ ἀπηγόρευε μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. 2 οἱ δὲ ἀλογήσαντες, ἢ ἄλλως σφι θυμὸς ἐγένετο θεήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐστρατεύοντο ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχώρησαν ἀσινέες πάντες ἕξ ἐόντες, ἐξώρυξε αὐτῶν ὁ πατὴρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διὰ τὴν αἰτίην ταύτην.

116. It was then that a monstrous deed was done by the Thracian king of the Bisaltæ and the Crestonian country. He had refused to be of his own free will Xerxes' slave, and fled to the mountains called Rhodope. He forbade his sons to go with the army to Hellas, but they took no account of that; they had always wanted to see the war, and they followed the Persians' march. For this reason, when all the six of them returned back scatheless, their father tore out their eyes.

117 1 καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τοῦτον τὸν μισθὸν ἔλαβον, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὥς ἐκ τῆς Θρηίκης πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον, ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον τῇσι νηυσὶ διέβησαν ἐς Ἄβυδον· τὰς γὰρ σχεδίας

οὐκ εὖρον ἔτι ἐντεταμένους ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλελυμένους. 2 ἐνθαῦτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι σιτία τε πλέω ἢ κατ' ὁδὸν ἐλάγχανον, καὶ οὐδένα τε κόσμον ἐμπιπλάμενοι καὶ ὕδατα μεταβάλλοντες ἀπέθνησκον τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ περιέοντος πολλοί. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις.

117. This was their reward. Now the Persians, journeying through Thrace to the passage, made haste to cross to Abydos in their ships, for they found the bridges no longer made fast but broken by a storm. There their march halted, and more food was given them than on their way. Then by reason of their immoderate gorging and the change of the water which they drank, many of the army that had survived died. The rest came with Xerxes to Sardis.

118 1 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὁδε λόγος λεγόμενος, ὥς ἐπειδὴ Ξέρξης ἀπελαύνων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἀπίκετο ἐπ' Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκέτι ὁδοιπορίῃσι διεχρᾶτο, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν Ὑδάρνει ἐπιτράπει ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ νεὸς Φοινίσσης ἐπιβὰς ἐκομίζετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. 2 πλέοντα δὲ μιν ἄνεμον Στρυμονίην ὑπολαβεῖν μέγαν καὶ κυματίνην. καὶ δὴ μᾶλλον γάρ τι χειμαίνεσθαι γεμούσης τῆς νεός, ὥστε ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐπεόντων συγχῶν Περσέων τῶν σὺν Ξέρξῃ κομιζομένων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς δεῖμα πεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα εἰρέσθαι βώσαντα τὸν κυβερνήτην εἴ τις ἐστί σφι σωτηρίη, 3 καὶ τὸν εἶπαι “δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι οὐδεμία, εἰ μὴ τούτων ἀπαλλαγὴ τις γένηται τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιβατέων “. καὶ Ξέρξην λέγεται ἀκούσαντα ταῦτα εἰπεῖν “ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, νῦν τις διαδεξάτω ὑμέων βασιλέος κηδόμενος· ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι ἐμοὶ ἡ σωτηρίη “. 4 τὸν μὲν ταῦτα λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ προσκυνέοντας ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ τὴν νέα ἐπικουφισθεῖσαν οὕτω δὴ ἀποσωθῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. ὥς δὲ ἐκβῆναι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τὸν Ξέρξην, ποιῆσαι τοιόνδε· ὅτι μὲν ἔσωσε βασιλέος τὴν ψυχὴν, δωρήσασθαι χρυσέῃ στεφάνῃ τὸν κυβερνήτην, ὅτι δὲ Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε, ἀποταμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

118. There is, however, another tale, which is this: when Xerxes came in his march from Athens to Eion on the Strymon, he travelled no farther than that by land, but committed his army to Hydarnes to be led to the Hellespont. He himself embarked and set sail for Asia in a Phoenician ship. In the course of this voyage he was caught by a

strong wind called the Strymonian, which lifted up the waves. This storm bearing the harder upon him by reason of the heavy load of the ship (for the Persians of his company who were on the deck were so many), the king grew afraid and cried to the ship's pilot asking him if there were any way of deliverance. To this the man said, "Sire, there is none, if we do not rid ourselves of these many who are on board." Hearing that, it is said, Xerxes said to the Persians, "Now it is for you to prove your concern for your king, for it seems that my deliverance rests with you." At this they bowed and leapt into the sea. The ship, now much lighter, came by these means safe to Asia. No sooner had Xerxes disembarked on land, than he made the pilot a gift of a golden crown for saving the king's life but cut off his head for being the death of many Persians.

119 ὁ οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος περὶ τοῦ Ξέρξεω νόστου, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστὸς οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο πάθος· εἰ γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα οὕτω εἰρέθη ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτεω πρὸς Ξέρξην, ἐν μυρίησι γνώμησι μίαν οὐκ ἔχω ἀντίξοον μὴ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι βασιλέα τοιόνδε, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος καταβιβάσαι ἐς κοίλην νέα ἐόντας Πέρσας καὶ Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, τῶν δ' ἐρετέων ἐόντων Φοινίκων ὅκως οὐκ ἂν ἴσον πλῆθος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξέβαλε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ὁδῶ χρεώμενος ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

119. This is the other tale of Xerxes' return; but I for my part believe neither the story of the Persians' fate nor any other part of it. For if indeed the pilot had spoken to Xerxes in this way, I think that there is not one in ten thousand who would not say that the king would have bidden the men on deck (who were Persians and of the best blood of Persia) descend into the ship's hold, and would have taken from the Phoenician rowers a number equal to the number of the Persians and cast them into the sea. No, the truth is that Xerxes did as I have already said, and returned to Asia with his army by road.

120 μέγα δὲ καὶ τόδε μαρτύριον· φαίνεται γὰρ Ξέρξης ἐν τῇ ὀπίσω κομιδῇ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Ἀβδῆρα καὶ ξεινίην τέ σφι συνθέμενος καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀκινάκη τε χρυσέῳ καὶ τήρῃ χρυσοπάστω. καὶ ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Ἀβδηρίται, λέγοντες ἔμοιγε οὐδαμῶς πιστά,

πρῶτον ἐλύσατο τὴν ζώνην φεύγων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὀπίσω, ὥς ἐν ἀδείῃ ἐών. τὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρα ἱδρυταὶ πρὸς τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ τῆς Ἡϊόνος, ὅθεν δὴ μιν φασὶ ἐπιβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν νέα.

120. There is further proof of this, for it is known that when Xerxes came to Abdera in his return, he made a compact of friendship with its people and gave them a golden sword and a gilt tiara. As the people of Abdera say (but for my part I wholly disbelieve them), it was here that Xerxes in his flight back from Athens first loosed his girdle, as being here in safety. Now Abdera lies nearer to the Hellespont than the Strymon and Eion, where they say that he took ship.

121 1 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπεῖτε οὐκ οἴοι τε ἐγίνοντο ἐξελεῖν τὴν Ἄνδρον, τραπόμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον καὶ δηιώσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμίνα. πρῶτα μὲν νυν τοῖσι θεοῖσι ἐξεῖλον ἀκροθίνια ἄλλα τε καὶ τριήρας τρεῖς Φοινίσσας, τὴν μὲν ἐς Ἴσθμὸν ἀναθεῖναι, ἥ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σούνιον, τὴν δὲ τῷ Αἴαντι αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμίνα. 2 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διεδάσαντο τὴν λήϊν καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐκ τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδριὰς ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκρωτήριον νεός, ἐὼν μέγαθος δυώδεκα πηχέων· ἔστηκε δὲ οὗτος τῇ περ ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ χρύσεος.

121. As for the Greeks, not being able to take Andros, they went to Carystus. When they had laid it waste, they returned to Salamis. First of all they set apart for the gods, among other first-fruits, three Phoenician triremes, one to be dedicated at the Isthmus, where it was till my lifetime, the second at Sunium, and the third for Ajax at Salamis where they were. After that, they divided the spoils and sent the first-fruits of it to Delphi; of this was made a man's image twelve cubits high, holding in his hand the figurehead of a ship. This stood in the same place as the golden statue of Alexander the Macedonian.

122 1 πέμψαντες δὲ ἀκροθίνια οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τὸν θεὸν κοινῇ εἰ λελάβηκε πλήρεα καὶ ἀρεστὰ τὰ ἀκροθίνια. ὁ δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήνων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἔφησε ἔχειν, παρὰ Αἰγινητέων δὲ οὐ, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀριστήια τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίης. Αἰγινῆται δὲ πυθόμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἀστέρας χρυσοῦς, οἱ ἐπὶ ἰστοῦ χαλκέου ἐστᾶσι τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίης, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κροίσου κρητῆρος.

122. Having sent the first-fruits to Delphi, the Greeks, in the name of the country generally, made inquiry of the god whether the first-fruits which he had received were of full measure and whether he was content. To this he said that he was content with what he had received from all other Greeks, but not from the Aeginetans. From these he demanded the victor's prize for the sea-fight of Salamis. When the Aeginetans learned that, they dedicated three golden stars which are set on a bronze mast, in the angle, nearest to Croesus' bowl.

123 1 μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς λήϊς ἔπλεον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἀριστήια δώσοντες τῷ ἀξιοτάτῳ γενομένῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον. 2 ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ διένεμον τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντες ἐκ πάντων, ἐνθαῦτα πᾶς τις αὐτῶν ἐωυτῷ ἐτίθετο τὴν ψῆφον, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος δοκέων ἄριστος γενέσθαι, δεύτερα δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτον Θεμιστοκλέα κρίνοντες. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐμουνούντο, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ δευτερείοισι ὑπερεβάλλετο πολλόν.

123. After the division of the spoils, the Greeks sailed to the Isthmus, there to award the prize of excellence to him who had shown himself most worthy of it in that war. But when the admirals came and at the altar of Poseidon gave their votes to judge who was first and who second among them, each of them voted for himself, supposing himself to have done the best service. The greater part of them, however, united in giving the second place to Themistocles. So they each gained but one vote, while Themistocles far outstripped them in votes for the second place.

124 1 οὐ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα κρίνειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φθόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἀποπλεόντων ἑκάστων ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἀκρίτων, ὅμως Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐβῶσθη τε καὶ ἐδοξώθη εἶναι ἀνὴρ πολλὸν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. 2 ὅτι δὲ νικῶν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχησάντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα ἀπῖκετο θέλων τιμηθῆναι· καὶ μιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλῶς μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο, μεγάλως δὲ ἐτίμησαν. ἀριστήια μὲν νυν ἔδοσαν.. Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἐλαίης στέφανον, σοφίης δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος Θεμιστοκλεί καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἐλαίης· ἐδωρήσαντό τέ μιν ὄχῳ τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύσαντι. 3 αἰνέσαντες δὲ πολλὰ, προέπεμψαν ἀπίοντα

τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὔτοι οἱ περ ἱππέες καλέονται, μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Τεγεητικῶν. μῦνον δὴ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Σπαρτιῆται προέπεμψαν.

124. The Greeks were too jealous to assign the prize and sailed away each to his own place, leaving the matter undecided; nevertheless, Themistocles was lauded, and throughout all of Hellas was deemed the wisest man by far of the Greeks. However, because he had not received from those that fought at Salamis the honor due to his preeminence, he immediately afterwards went to Lacedaemon in order that he might receive honor there. The Lacedaemonians welcomed him and paid him high honor. They bestowed on Eurybiades a crown of olive as the reward of excellence and another such crown on Themistocles for his wisdom and cleverness. They also gave him the finest chariot in Sparta, and with many words of praise, they sent him home with the three hundred picked men of Sparta who are called Knights to escort him as far as the borders of Tegea. Themistocles was the only man of whom we know to whom the Spartans gave this escort.

125 1 ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπῖκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἐόν, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, φθόνῳ καταμαργέων ἐνείκεε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἄπιξιν προφέρων, ὥς διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχοι τὰ γέρεα τὰ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἐωυτόν. 2 ὁ δέ, ἐπεῖτε οὐκ ἐπαύετο λέγων ταῦτα ὁ Τιμόδημος, εἶπε “οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὗτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἐὼν Βελβινίτης ἐτιμήθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων, οὗτ' ἂν σὺ, ὄνθρωπε, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος “. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

125. But when Themistocles returned to Athens from Lacedaemon, Timodemus of Aphidnae, who was one of Themistocles' enemies but not a man of note, was crazed with envy and spoke bitterly to Themistocles of his visit to Lacedaemon, saying that the honors he had from the Lacedaemonians were paid him for Athens' sake and not for his own. This he kept saying until Themistocles replied, “This is the truth of the matter: if I had been a man of Belbina I would not have been honored in this way by the Spartans, nor would you, sir, for all you are a man of Athens.” Such

was the end of that business.

126 1 Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος ἀνὴρ ἐν Πέρσῃσι λόγιμος καὶ πρόσθε ἑὼν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Πλαταικῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι γενόμενος, ἔχων ἕξ μυριάδας στρατοῦ τοῦ Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέξατο, προέπεμπε βασιλέα μέχρι τοῦ πόρου. 2 ὥς δὲ ὁ μὲν ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω πορευόμενος κατὰ τὴν Παλλήνην ἐγένετο, ἅτε Μαρδονίου τε χειμερίζοντος περὶ Θεσσαλίην τε καὶ Μακεδονίην καὶ οὐδέν κω κατεπείγοντος ἤκειν ἐς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἐδικαίου ἐντυχὼν ἀπεστεῶσι Ποτιδαίηταισι μὴ οὐκ ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι σφέας. 3 οἱ γὰρ Ποτιδαίηται, ὥς βασιλεὺς παρεξεληλάκεε καὶ ὁ ναυτικὸς τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι οἰχώκεε φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀπέστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τὴν Παλλήνην ἔχοντες.

126. Artabazus son of Pharnaces, who was already a notable man among the Persians and grew to be yet more so through the Plataean business, escorted the king as far as the passage with sixty thousand men of the army that Mardonius had chosen. Xerxes, then, was now in Asia, and when Artabazus came near Pallene in his return (for Mardonius was wintering in Thessaly and Macedonia and making no haste to come to the rest of his army), he thought it right that he should enslave the people of Potidaea, whom he found in revolt. When the king had marched away past the town and the Persian fleet had taken flight from Salamis, Potidaea had openly revolted from the barbarians and so too had the rest of the people of Pallene.

127 1 ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Ποτίδαιαν. ὑποπεύσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ταύτην ἐπολιόρκεε· εἶχον δὲ αὐτὴν Βοττιαῖοι ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου ἐξαναστάντες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας εἴλε πολιορκέων, κατέσφαξε ἐξαγαγὼν ἐς λίμνην, τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδιδοῖ Κριτοβούλῳ Τορωναίῳ ἐπιτροπεύειν καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει, καὶ οὕτω Ὀλυνθον Χαλκιδέες ἔσχον.

127. Thereupon Artabazus laid siege to Potidaea, and suspecting that Olynthus too was plotting revolt from the king, he laid siege to it also. This town was held by Bottiaeans who had been driven from the Thermaic gulf by the Macedonians. Having besieged and taken Olynthus, he brought these men to a lake and there cut their throats and delivered their city over to the charge of Critobulus of Torone

and the Chalcidian people. It was in this way that the Chalcidians gained possession of Olynthus.

128 1 ἐξελὼν δὲ ταύτην ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος τῇ Ποτιδαίῃ ἐντεταμένως προσεῖχε· προσέχοντι δὲ οἱ προθύμως συντίθεται προδοσίην Τιμόξεινος ὁ τῶν Σκιωναίων στρατηγός, ὄντινα μὲν τρόπον ἀρχήν, ἔγωγε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν [οὐ γὰρ ὧν λέγεται], τέλος μέντοι τοιαύδε ἐγένετο· ὅκως βυβλίον γράψει ἢ Τιμόξεινος ἐθέλων παρὰ Ἀρτάβαζον πέμψαι ἢ Ἀρτάβαζος παρὰ Τιμόξεινον, τοξεύματος παρὰ τὰς γλυφίδας περιειλίζαντες καὶ πτερώσαντες τὸ βυβλίον ἐτόξευον ἐς συγκείμενον χωρίον. 2 ἐπαίστος δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ Τιμόξεινος προδιδούς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν· τοξεύων γὰρ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, ἁμαρτῶν τοῦ χωρίου τούτου βάλλει ἀνδρὸς Ποτιδαιήτεω τὸν ὦμον, τὸν δὲ βληθέντα περιέδραμε ὄμιλος, οἷα φιλέει γίνεσθαι ἐν πολέμῳ, οἱ αὐτίκα τὸ τόξευμα λαβόντες ὥς ἔμαθον τὸ βυβλίον, ἔφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς· παρῆν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Παλληναίων συμμαχίν. 3 τοῖσι δὲ στρατηγοῖσι ἐπιλεξαμένοισι τὸ βυβλίον καὶ μαθοῦσι τὸν αἴτιον τῆς προδοσίης ἔδοξε μὴ καταπλῆξαι Τιμόξεινον προδοσίῃ τῆς Σκιωναίων πόλιος εἵνεκα, μὴ νομιζοίατο εἶναι Σκιωναῖοι ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον αἰεὶ προδόται.

128. Having taken Olynthus, Artabazus dealt immediately with Potidaea, and his zeal was aided by Timoxenus the general of the Scionaeans, who agreed to betray the place to him. I do not know how the agreement was first made, since there is no information available about it. The result, however, was as I will now show. Whenever Timoxenus wrote a letter to be sent to Artabazus, or Artabazus to Timoxenus, they would wrap it around the shaft of an arrow at the notches, attach feathers to the letter, and shoot it to a place upon which they had agreed. Timoxenus' plot to betray Potidaea was, however, discovered, for Artabazus in shooting an arrow to the place agreed upon, missed it and hit the shoulder of a man of Potidaea. A throng gathered quickly around the man when he was struck (which is a thing that always happens in war), and they straightway took the arrow, found the letter, and carried it to their generals; the rest of their allies of Pallene were also there present. The generals read the letter and perceived who was the traitor, but they resolved for Scione's sake that they would not condemn

Timoxenus with a charge of treason, for fear that the people of Scione should hereafter be called traitors.

129 1 ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ ἐπάιστος ἐγεγόνεε· Ἀρταβάζω δὲ ἐπειδὴ πολιορκέοντι ἐγεγόνεσαν τρεῖς μῆνες, γίνεται ἄμπωτις τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τέναγος γενόμενον παρήρισαν ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην. 2 ὥς δὲ τὰς δύο μὲν μοίρας διοδοιπορήκεσαν, ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι ἦσαν, τὰς διελθόντας χρῆν εἶναι ἔσω ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ἐπῆλθε πλημμυρίς τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη, ὅση οὐδαμὰ κω, ὥς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι, πολλάκις γινομένη. οἱ μὲν δὴ νέειν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι διεφθείροντο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπισταμένους οἱ Ποτιδαῖται ἐπιπλώσαντες πλοίοισι ἀπώλεσαν. 3 αἴτιον δὲ λέγουσι Ποτιδαῖται τῆς τε ῥήχης καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος καὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ πάθεος γενέσθαι τόδε, ὅτι τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἠσέβησαν οὗτοι τῶν Περσέων οἱ περ καὶ διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης· αἴτιον δὲ τοῦτο λέγοντες εὖ λέγειν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν. τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους ἀπῆγε Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς Θεσσαλίην παρὰ Μαρδόνιον. οὗτοι μὲν οἱ προπέμψαντες βασιλέα οὕτω ἔπρηξαν.

129. This is how Timoxenus' treachery was brought to light. But when Artabazus had besieged Potidaea for three months, there was a great ebb-tide in the sea which lasted for a long while, and when the foreigners saw that the sea was turned to a marsh, they prepared to pass over it into Pallene. When they had made their way over two-fifths of it, however, and three yet remained to cross before they could be in Pallene, there came a great flood-tide, higher, as the people of the place say, than any one of the many that had been before. Some of them who did not know how to swim were drowned, and those who knew were slain by the Potidaeans, who came among them in boats. The Potidaeans say that the cause of the high sea and flood and the Persian disaster lay in the fact that those same Persians who now perished in the sea had profaned the temple and the image of Poseidon which was in the suburb of the city. I think that in saying that this was the cause they are correct. Those who escaped alive were led away by Artabazus to Mardonius in Thessaly. This is how the men who had been the king's escort fared.

130 1 ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ὁ Ξέρξεω περιγενόμενος ὥς προσέμιξε τῇ

Ἀσίῃ φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Χερσονήσου διεπόρθμευσε ἐς Ἄβυδον, ἐχειμέριζε ἐν Κύμῃ. ἕαρος δὲ ἐπιλάμπαντος πρώϊος συνελέγετο ἐς Σάμον· αἱ δὲ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐχειμέρισαν αὐτοῦ· Περσέων δὲ καὶ Μήδων οἱ πλεῖνες ἐπεβάτευον. 2 στρατηγοὶ δὲ σφι ἐπῆλθον Μαρδόντης τε ὁ Βαγαίου καὶ Ἀρταΰντης ὁ Ἀρταχάειω· συνῆρχε δὲ τούτοισι καὶ ἀδελφιδέος αὐτοῦ Ἀρταΰντεω προσελομένου Ἰθαμίτρης. ἅτε δὲ μεγάλως πληγέντες, οὐ προήισαν ἀνωτέρω τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης, οὐδ' ἐπηνάγκαζε οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ κατήμενοι ἐφύλασσον τὴν Ἰωνίην μὴ ἀποστῇ, νέας ἔχοντες σὺν τῇσι Ἰάσι τριηκοσίας. 3 οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ προσεδέκοντο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀλλ' ἀποχρήσειν σφι τὴν ἐωυτῶν φυλάσσειν, σταθμεύμενοι ὅτι σφέας οὐκ ἐπεδίωξαν φεύγοντας ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἀλλ' ἄσμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο. κατὰ μὲν νυν τὴν θάλασσαν ἐσσωμένοι ἦσαν τῷ θυμῷ, πεζῇ δὲ ἐδόκεον πολλῷ κρατήσκειν τὸν Μαρδόνιον. 4 ἐόντες δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ ἅμα μὲν ἐβουλεύοντο εἴ τι δυναίαιτο κακὸν τοὺς πολεμίους ποιεῖν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὠτακούστεον ὅκη πεσέεται τὰ Μαρδονίου πρήγματα.

130. All that was left of Xerxes' fleet, having in its flight from Salamis touched the coast of Asia and ferried the king and his army over from the Chersonese to Abydos, wintered at Cyme. Then early in the first dawn of spring they mustered at Samos, where some of the ships had wintered. The majority of their fighting men were Persians and Medes. Mardontes son of Bagaeus and Artayntes son of Artachaees came to be their admirals, and Artayntes chose also his own nephew Ithamitres to have a share in the command. But by reason of the heavy blow dealt them they went no further out to sea westwards, nor did anyone insist that they should so do. They did, however, lie off Samos keeping watch against a revolt in Ionia. The whole number of their ships, Ionian and other, was three hundred. In truth they did not expect that the Greeks would come to Ionia, but rather that they would be content to guard their own country. This they thought because the Greeks had not pursued them when they fled from Salamis, but had been glad to be quit of them. In regard to the sea, the Persians were at heart beaten men, but they supposed that on land Mardonius would easily prevail. So they were at Samos, and there planned to do what harm they could to their enemies and to

listen in the interim for news of how Mardonius' affairs were proceeding.

131 1 τοὺς δὲ Ἑλληνας τό τε ἔαρ γινόμενον ἤγειρε καὶ Μαρδόνιος ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ἑὼν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεζὸς οὐκω συνελέγετο, ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἀπίκετο ἐς Αἴγιναν, νέες ἀριθμὸν δέκα καὶ ἑκατόν. 2 στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ ναύαρχος ἦν Λευτυχίδης ὁ Μενάρεος τοῦ Ἥγησίλεω τοῦ Ἱπποκρατίδεω τοῦ Λευτυχίδεω τοῦ Ἀναξίλεω τοῦ Ἀρχιδήμου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω τοῦ Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλεω τοῦ Εὐνόμου τοῦ Πολυδέκτεω τοῦ Πρυτανίου τοῦ Εὐρυφώντος τοῦ Προκλέος τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὑλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, ἑὼν τῆς ἐτέρης οἰκίης τῶν βασιλέων. 3 οὗτοι πάντες, πλὴν τῶν ἐπτά τῶν μετὰ Λευτυχίδα πρῶτων καταλεχθέντων, οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλέες ἐγένοντο Σπάρτης. Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος.

131. As for the Greeks, the coming of spring and Mardonius' being in Thessaly moved them to action. They had not yet begun the mustering of their army, but their fleet, one hundred and ten ships, came to Aegina. Their general and admiral was Leutychides son of Menares, who traced his lineage from son to father through Hegesilaus, Hippocratides, Leutychides, Anaxilaus, Archidemus, Anaxandrides, Theopompus, Nicandrus, Charilaus, Eunomus, Polydectes, Prytanis, Euryphon, Procles, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodaeus, to Hyllus who was the son of Heracles. He was of the second royal house. All the aforesaid had been kings of Sparta, save the seven named first after Leutychides. The general of the Athenians was Xanthippus son of Ariphron.

132 1 ὥς δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Αἴγιναν πᾶσαι αἱ νέες, ἀπίκοντο Ἰώνων ἄγγελοι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἱ καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην ὀλίγω πρότερον τούτων ἀπικόμενοι ἐδέοντο Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλευθεροῦν τὴν Ἰωνίην· 2 τῶν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Βασιλίδεω ἦν· οἱ στασιῶται σφίσι γενόμενοι ἐπεβούλευον θάνατον Στράττι τῷ Χίου τυράννῳ, ἐόντες ἀρχὴν ἐπτά· ἐπιβουλευόντες δὲ ὥς φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο, ἐξενείκαντος τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἑνὸς τῶν μετεχόντων, οὕτω δὴ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐξ ἐόντες ὑπεξέσχον ἐκ τῆς Χίου καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην τε ἀπίκοντο καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐς τὴν Αἴγιναν, τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεόμενοι καταπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην· οἱ προήγαγον αὐτοὺς μόγις μέχρι Δήλου.

3 τὸ γὰρ προσωτέρω πᾶν δεινὸν ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι οὔτε τῶν χώρων ἐοῦσι ἐμπείροισι, στρατιῆς τε πάντα πλέα ἐδόκεε εἶναι, τὴν δὲ Σάμον ἐπιστέατο δόξῃ καὶ Ἡρακλέας στήλας ἴσον ἀπέχειν. συνέπιπτε δὲ τοιοῦτο ὥστε τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἀνωτέρω Σάμου μὴ τολμᾶν καταπλῶσαι καταρρώδηκότας, τοὺς δὲ Ἑλληνας, χρηζόντων Χίων, τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ κατωτέρω Δήλου· οὕτω δέος τὸ μέσον ἐφύλασσε σφέων.

132. When all the ships had arrived at Aegina, there came to the Greek quarters messengers from the Ionians, the same who a little while before that had gone to Sparta and entreated the Lacedaemonians to free Ionia. One of these was Herodotus the son of Basileides. These, who at first were seven, made a faction and conspired to slay Strattis, the tyrant of Chios, but when their conspiracy became known, one of the accomplices having revealed their enterprise, the six who remained got them secretly out of Chios, from where they went to Sparta and now to Aegina, entreating the Greeks to sail to Ionia. The Greeks took them as far as Delos, and that not readily, for they, having no knowledge of those parts and thinking that armed men were everywhere, feared all that lay beyond. They supposed too that Samos was no nearer to them than the Pillars of Heracles. So it happened that the barbarians were too disheartened to dare to sail farther west than Samos, while at the same time the Greeks dared to go at the Chians' request no farther east than Delos. It was fear which kept the middle space between them.

133 1 οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλληνες ἔπλεον ἐς τὴν Δήλον, Μαρδόνιος δὲ περὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίην ἐχείμαζε. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὀρμώμενος ἔπεμπε κατὰ τὰ χρηστήρια ἄνδρα Εὐρωπέα γένος, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Μῦς, ἐντειλάμενος πανταχῇ μιν χρησόμενον ἐλθεῖν, τῶν οἷά τε ἦν σφι ἀποπειρήσασθαι. ὃ τι μὲν βουλόμενος ἐκμαθεῖν πρὸς τῶν χρηστηρίων ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· οὐ γὰρ ὧν λέγεται· δοκέω δ' ἔγωγε περὶ τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων καὶ οὐκ ἄλλων πέμψαι.

133. The Greeks, then, sailed to Delos, and Mardonius wintered in Thessaly. Having his headquarters there he sent a man of Europus called Mys to visit the places of divination, charging him to inquire of all the oracles which he could test. What it was that he desired to

learn from the oracles when he gave this charge, I cannot say, for no one tells of it. I suppose that he sent to inquire concerning his present business, and that alone.

134 1 οὗτος ὁ Μῦς ἔς τε Λεβάδειαν φαίνεται ἀπικόμενος καὶ μισθῷ πείσας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἄνδρα καταβῆναι παρὰ Τροφώνιον, καὶ ἔς Ἄβας τὰς Φωκέων ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔς Θήβας πρῶτα ὡς ἀπίκετο, τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐχρήσατο· ἔστι δὲ κατὰ περ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἱροῖσι αὐτόθι χρηστηριάζεσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ ξεῖνον τινὰ καὶ οὐ Θηβαῖον χρήμασι πείσας κατεκοίμησε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω. 2 Θηβαίων δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεστι μαντεύεσθαι αὐτόθι διὰ τόδε· ἐκέλευσε σφέας ὁ Ἀμφιάρεως διὰ χρηστηρίων ποιεύμενος ὁκότερα βούλονται ἐλέσθαι τούτων, ἑαυτῷ ἢ ἅτε μάντι χρᾶσθαι ἢ ἅτε συμμάχῳ, τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀπεχομένους· οἱ δὲ σύμμαχόν μιν εἶλοντο εἶναι. διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἔξεστι Θηβαίων οὐδενὶ αὐτόθι ἐγκατακοιμηθῆναι.

134. This man Mys is known to have gone to Lebadea and to have bribed a man of the country to go down into the cave of Trophonius and to have gone to the place of divination at Abae in Phocis. He went first to Thebes where he inquired of Ismenian Apollo (sacrifice is there the way of divination, as at Olympia), and moreover he bribed one who was no Theban but a stranger to lie down to sleep in the shrine of Amphiarus. No Theban may seek a prophecy there, for Amphiarus bade them by an oracle to choose which of the two they wanted and forgo the other, and take him either for their prophet or for their ally. They chose that he should be their ally. Therefore no Theban may lie down to sleep in that place.

135 1 τότε δὲ θῶμά μοι μέγιστον γενέσθαι λέγεται ὑπὸ Θηβαίων· ἐλθεῖν ἄρα τὸν Εὐρωπέα Μῦν, περιστροφώμενον πάντα τὰ χρηστήρια, καὶ ἔς τοῦ Πτόφου Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ τέμενος. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν καλέεται μὲν Πτῶον, ἔστι δὲ Θηβαίων, κεῖται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Κωπαΐδος λίμνης πρὸς ὄρεϊ ἀγχοτάτῳ Ἀκραιφίης πόλιος. 2 ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν ἐπεῖτε παρελθεῖν τὸν καλεόμενον τοῦτον Μῦν, ἔπεσθαι δὲ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν αἶρετοὺς ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὡς ἀπογραφομένους τὰ θεσπίειν ἔμελλε, καὶ πρόκατε τὸν πρόμαντιν βαρβάρῳ γλώσσει χρᾶν. 2 καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπομένους τῶν Θηβαίων ἐν θώματι ἔχεσθαι ἀκούοντας βαρβάρου γλώσσης ἀντὶ Ἑλλάδος, οὐδὲ

ἔχειν ὃ τι χρήσονται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι· τὸν δὲ Εὐρωπέα Μῦν ἐξαργάσαντα παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἐφέροντο δέλτον, τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτεω γράφειν ἐς αὐτήν, φάναι δὲ Καρίῃ μιν γλώσσει χρᾶν, συγγραψάμενον δὲ οἷχεσθαι ἀπιόντα ἐς Θεσσαλίην.

135. But at this time there happened, as the Thebans say, a thing at which I marvel greatly. It would seem that this man Mys of Europus came in his wanderings among the places of divination to the precinct of Ptoan Apollo. This temple is called Ptoum, and belongs to the Thebans. It lies by a hill, above lake Copais, very near to the town Acraephia. When the man called Mys entered into this temple together with three men of the town who were chosen on the state's behalf to write down the oracles that should be given, straightway the diviner prophesied in a foreign tongue. The Thebans who followed him were astonished to hear a strange language instead of Greek and knew not what this present matter might be. Mys of Europus, however, snatched from them the tablet which they carried and wrote on it that which was spoken by the prophet, saying that the words of the oracle were Carian. After writing everything down, he went back to Thessaly.

136 1 Μαρδόνιος δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὃ τι δὴ λέγοντα ἦν τὰ χρηστήρια μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε ἄγγελον ἐς Ἀθήνας Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντεω ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα, ἅμα μὲν ὅτι οἱ προσκηδέες οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν· Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀδελφεὴν Γυγαίην, Ἀμύντεω δὲ θυγατέρα, Βουβάρης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ἔσχε, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἐγγεγόνεε Ἀμύντης ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ἔχων τὸ οὖνομα τοῦ μητροπάτορος, τῷ δὴ ἐκ βασιλέος τῆς Φρυγίης ἐδόθη Ἀλάβανδα πόλις μεγάλη νέμεσθαι· ἅμα δὲ ὁ Μαρδόνιος πυθόμενος ὅτι πρόξεινός τε εἶη καὶ εὐεργέτης ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔπεμπε· 2 τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους οὕτω ἐδόκεε μάλιστα προσκτήσεσθαι, λεῶν τε πολλὸν ἄρα ἀκούων εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν συντυχόντα σφι παθήματα κατεργασαμένους μάλιστα Ἀθηναίους ἐπίστατο. 3 τούτων δὲ προσγενομένων κατήλπιζε εὐπετέως τῆς θαλάσσης κρατήσκειν, τὰ περ ἂν καὶ ἦν, πεζῇ τε ἐδόκεε πολλῷ εἶναι κρέσσων, οὕτω τε ἐλογίζετο κατ' ὑπερθεῖ οἱ τὰ πρήγματα ἔσεσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν. τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια ταῦτά οἱ προλέγοι, συμβουλευόντα σύμμαχον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ποιέεσθαι· τοῖσι δὲ πειθόμενος ἔπεμπε.

136. Mardonius read whatever was said in the oracles, and presently he sent a messenger to Athens, Alexander, a Macedonian, son of Amyntas. Him he sent, partly because the Persians were akin to him; Bubares, a Persian, had taken to wife Gygaea Alexander's sister and Amyntas' daughter, who had borne to him that Amyntas of Asia who was called by the name of his mother's father, and to whom the king gave Alabanda a great city in Phrygia for his dwelling. Partly too he sent him because he learned that Alexander was a protector and benefactor to the Athenians. It was thus that he supposed he could best gain the Athenians for his allies, of whom he heard that they were a numerous and valiant people, and knew that they had been the chief authors of the calamities which had befallen the Persians at sea. If he gained their friendship he thought he would easily become master of the seas, as truly he would have been. On land he supposed himself to be by much the stronger, and he accordingly reckoned that thus he would have the upper hand of the Greeks. This chanced to be the prediction of the oracles which counseled him to make the Athenians his ally. It was in obedience to this that he sent his messenger.

137 1 τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τούτου ἑβδομος γενέτωρ Περδίκκης ἐστὶ ὁ κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐξ Ἄργεος ἔφυγον ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τῶν Τημένου ἀπογόνων τρεῖς ἀδελφεοί, Γαυάνης τε καὶ Ἀέροπος καὶ Περδίκκης, ἐκ δὲ Ἰλλυριῶν ὑπερβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην ἀπίκοντο ἐς Λεβαίην πόλιν. 2 ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἐθήτευν ἐπὶ μισθῷ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὃ μὲν ἵππους νέμων, ὁ δὲ βοῦς, ὁ δὲ νεώτατος αὐτῶν Περδίκκης τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῇ τὰ σιτία σφι ἔπεσσε· ἦσαν γὰρ τὸ πάλαι καὶ αἱ τυραννίδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενέες χρήμασι, οὐ μόνον ὁ δῆμος· 3 ὅπως δὲ ὀπτῶν, ὁ ἄρτος τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ θητὸς Περδίκκew διπλήσιος ἐγίνετο αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰεὶ τῶντὸ τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑωυτῆς· τὸν δὲ ἀκούσαντα ἐσῆλθε αὐτίκα ὡς εἶη τέρας καὶ φέροι μέγα τι. καλέσας δὲ τοὺς θῆτας προηγόρευέ σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ γῆς τῆς ἑωυτοῦ. 4 οἱ δὲ τὸν μισθὸν ἔφασαν δίκαιοι εἶναι ἀπολαβόντες οὕτω ἐξίεναι. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μισθοῦ περὶ ἀκούσας, ἣν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν καπνοδόκην ἐς τὸν οἶκον ἐσέχων ὁ ἥλιος, εἶπε θεοβλαβὴς γενόμενος “μισθὸν δὲ ὑμῖν

ἐγὼ ὑμέων ἄξιον τόνδε ἀποδίδωμι “, δέξας τὸν ἥλιον. 5 ὁ μὲν δὴ Γαυάνης τε καὶ ὁ Ἀέροπος οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἔστασαν ἐκπεπληγμένοι, ὥς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ παῖς, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἔχων μάχαιραν, εἶπας τάδε “δεκόμεθα ὦ βασιλεῦ τὰ διδοῖς “, περιγράφει τῇ μαχαίρῃ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ οἴκου τὸν ἥλιον, περιγράψας δέ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τρις ἀρυσάμενος τοῦ ἡλίου, ἀπαλλάσσετο αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ’ ἐκείνου.

137. This Alexander was seventh in descent from Perdiccas, who got for himself the tyranny of Macedonia in the way that I will show. Three brothers of the lineage of Temenus came as banished men from Argos to Illyria, Gauanes and Aeropus and Perdiccas; and from Illyria they crossed over into the highlands of Macedonia till they came to the town Lebaea. There they served for wages as thetes in the king’s household, one tending horses and another oxen. Perdiccas, who was the youngest, tended the lesser flocks. Now the king’s wife cooked their food for them, for in old times the ruling houses among men, and not the common people alone, were lacking in wealth. Whenever she baked bread, the loaf of the thete Perdiccas grew double in size. Seeing that this kept happening, she told her husband, and it seemed to him when he heard it that this was a portent signifying some great matter. So he sent for his thetes and bade them depart from his territory. They said it was only just that they should have their wages before they departed. When they spoke of wages, the king was moved to foolishness and said, “That is the wage you merit, and it is that I give you,” pointing to the sunlight that shone down the smoke vent into the house. Gauanes and Aeropus, who were the elder, stood astonished when they heard that, but the boy said, “We accept what you give, O king,” and with that he took a knife which he had with him and drew a line with it on the floor of the house round the sunlight. When he had done this, he three times gathered up the sunlight into the fold of his garment and went his way with his companions.

138 1 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπήισαν, τῷ δὲ βασιλεί σημαίνει τις τῶν παρέδρων οἷόν τι χρῆμα ποιήσῃε ὁ παῖς καὶ ὥς σὺν νόφ κείνων ὁ νεώτατος λάβοι τὰ διδόμενα. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ ὀξυνθεὶς πέμπει ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἵππεας ἀπολέοντας. ποταμὸς δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, τῷ θύουσι οἱ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπ’ Ἀργεος ἀπόγονοι

σωτήρι· 2 οὗτος, ἐπεῖτε διέβησαν οἱ Τημενίδαι, μέγας οὕτω ἐρρύη ὥστε τοὺς ἱππείας μὴ οἴους τε γενέσθαι διαβῆναι. οἱ δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς ἄλλην γῆν τῆς Μακεδονίης οἴκησαν πέλας τῶν κήπων τῶν λεγομένων εἶναι Μίδεω τοῦ Γορδίου, ἐν τοῖσι φύεται αὐτόματα ῥόδα, ἐν ἑκαστον ἔχον ἐξήκοντα φύλλα, ὁδμῇ τε ὑπερφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων. 3 ἐν τούτοις καὶ ὁ Σιληνὸς τοῖσι κήποις ἦλθον, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν κήπων ὄρος κεῖται Βέρμιον οὖνομα, ἄβατον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁρμώμενοι, ὡς ταύτην ἔσχον, κατεστρέφοντο καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίην.

138. So they departed, but one of those who sat nearby declared to the king what this was that the boy had done and how it was of set purpose that the youngest of them had accepted the gift offered. When the king heard this, he was angered, and sent riders after them to slay them. There is, however, in that land a river, to which the descendants from Argos of these men offer sacrifice as their deliverer. This river, when the sons of Temenus had crossed it, rose in such flood that the riders could not cross. So the brothers came to another part of Macedonia and settled near the place called the garden of Midas son of Gordias, where roses grow of themselves, each bearing sixty blossoms and of surpassing fragrance. In this garden, according to the Macedonian story, Silenus was taken captive. Above it rises the mountain called Bermius, which none can ascend for the wintry cold. From there they issued forth when they had won that country and presently subdued also the rest of Macedonia.

139 1 ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Περδίκκεω Ἀλέξανδρος ὧδε ἐγένετο· Ἀμύντεω παῖς ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀμύντης δὲ Ἀλκέτεω, Ἀλκέτεω δὲ πατὴρ ἦν Αἰόπος, τοῦ δὲ Φίλιππος, Φιλίππου δὲ Ἀργαῖος, τοῦ δὲ Περδίκκης ὁ κτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν. 140Α ἐγεγόνεε μὲν δὴ ὧδε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω· ὡς δὲ ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου, ἔλεγε τάδε. “ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Μαρδόνιος τάδε λέγει. ἐμοὶ ἀγγελίη ἦκει παρὰ βασιλέος λέγουσα οὕτω “. Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς ἁμαρτάδας τὰς ἐς ἐμὲ ἐξ ἐκείνων γενομένας πάσας μετήμι. 2 νῦν τε ὧδε Μαρδόνιε ποίει· τοῦτο μὲν τὴν γῆν σφι ἀπόδος, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτην ἐλέσθων αὐτοί, ἥντινα ἂν ἐθέλωσι, ἐόντες αὐτόνομοι· ἰρά τε πάντα σφι, ἣν δὴ βούλωνται γε ἐμοὶ ὁμολογέειν,

ἀνόρθωσον, ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐνέπρησα “. τούτων δὲ ἀπιγμένων ἀναγκαίως
 ἔχει μοι ποιέειν ταῦτα, ἣν μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον αἴτιον γένηται. 3 λέγω δὲ
 ὑμῖν τάδε. νῦν τί μαίνεσθε πόλεμον βασιλείᾳ ἀειρόμενοι; οὔτε γὰρ ἂν
 ὑπερβάλαισθε οὔτε οἰοί τε ἐστὲ ἀντέχειν τὸν πάντα χρόνον. εἴδετε
 μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ξέρξεω στρατηλασίης τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ ἔργα,
 πυνθάνεσθε δὲ καὶ τὴν νῦν παρ’ ἐμοὶ ἐοῦσαν δύναμιν· ὥστε καὶ ἦν
 ἡμέας ὑπερβάλησθε καὶ νικήσητε, τοῦ περ ὑμῖν οὐδεμία ἐλπίς εἴ περ
 εὖ φρονέετε, ἄλλη παρέσται πολλαπλησίη. 4 μὴ ὦν βούλεσθε
 παρισούμενοι βασιλείᾳ στέρεσθαι μὲν τῆς χώρας, θέειν δὲ αἰεὶ περὶ
 ὑμέων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καταλύσασθε· παρέχει δὲ ὑμῖν κάλλιστα
 καταλύσασθαι, βασιλέος ταύτῃ ὀρμημένου. ἔστε ἐλεύθεροι, ἡμῖν
 ὁμαιχμίην συνθέμενοι ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης. 140B. Μαρδόνιος
 μὲν ταῦτα ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐντεῖλατό μοι εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμέας· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ
 μὲν εὐνοίης τῆς πρὸς ὑμέας ἐούσης ἐξ ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν λέξω, οὐ γὰρ ἂν
 νῦν πρῶτον ἐκμάθοιτε, προσχρηίζω δὲ ὑμέων πείθεσθαι Μαρδονίῳ.
 2 ἐνορῶ γὰρ ὑμῖν οὐκ οἰοίσι τε ἐσομένοισι τὸν πάντα χρόνον
 πολεμέειν Ξέρξῃ· εἰ γὰρ ἐνῶρων τοῦτο ἐν ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἂν κοτε ἐς ὑμέας
 ἦλθον ἔχων λόγους τούσδε· καὶ γὰρ δύναμις ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἢ
 βασιλέος ἐστὶ καὶ χεὶρ ὑπερμήκης. 3 ἦν ὦν μὴ αὐτίκα ὁμολογήσητε,
 μεγάλα προτεινόντων ἐπ’ οἷσι ὁμολογέειν ἐθέλουσι, δειμαίνω ὑπὲρ
 ὑμέων ἐν τρίβῳ τε μάλιστα οἰκημένων τῶν συμμαχῶν πάντων αἰεὶ τε
 φθειρομένων μούνων, ἐξαίρετον μεταίχμιόν τε τὴν γῆν ἐκτημένων. 4
 ἀλλὰ πείθεσθε· πολλοῦ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἄξια ταῦτα, εἰ βασιλεύς γε ὁ μέγας
 μούνοισι ὑμῖν Ἑλλήνων τὰς ἀμαρτάδας ἀπειὺς ἐθέλει φίλος γενέσθαι
 “.

139. From that Perdiccas Alexander was descended, being the son
 of Amyntas, who was the son of Alcetes; Alcetes’ father was
 Aeropus, and his was Philippos; Philippos’ father was Argæus, and
 his again was Perdiccas, who won that lordship. 140A. Such was the
 lineage of Alexander son of Amyntas. When he came to Athens from
 Mardonius who had sent him, he spoke as follows : “This, Athenians,
 is what Mardonius says to you: — there is a message come to me
 from the king, saying, ‘I forgive the Athenians all the offenses which
 they have committed against me; and now, Mardonius, I bid you do
 this: — Give them back their territory and let them choose more for
 themselves besides, where ever they will, and dwell under their own

laws. Rebuild all their temples which I burnt, if they will make a pact with me.' This is the message, and I must obey it (says Mardonius), unless you take it upon yourselves to hinder me. This too I say to you: — Why are you so insane as to wage war against the king? You cannot overcome him, nor can you resist him forever. As for the multitude of Xerxes' army, what it did, you have seen, and you have heard of the power that I now have with me. Even if you overcome and conquer us (whereof, if you be in your right minds, you can have no hope), yet there will come another host many times as great as this. Be not then minded to match yourselves against the king, and thereby lose your land and always be yourselves in jeopardy, but make peace. This you can most honorably do since the king is that way inclined. Keep your freedom, and agree to be our brothers in arms in all faith and honesty. — 140B. This Athenians, is the message which Mardonius charges me to give you. For my own part I will say nothing of the goodwill that I have towards you, for it would not be the first that you have learned of that. But I entreat you to follow Mardonius' counsel. Well I see that you will not have power to wage war against Xerxes forever. If I saw such power in you, I would never have come to you with such language as this, for the king's might is greater than human, and his arm is long. If, therefore, you will not straightway agree with them, when the conditions which they offer you are so great, I fear what may befall you. For of all the allies you dwell most in the very path of the war, and you alone will never escape destruction, your country being marked out for a battlefield. No, rather follow his counsel, for it is not to be lightly regarded by you who are the only men in Hellas whose offenses the great king is ready to forgive and whose friend he would be."

141 1 Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ἤκειν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς Ἀθήνας εἰς ὁμολογίην ἄξοντα τῷ βαρβάρῳ Ἀθηναίους, ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν λόγιων ὥς σφεας χρεόν ἐστι ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Δωριεῦσι ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Μήδων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων, κάρτα τε ἔδεισαν μὴ ὁμολογήσωσι τῷ Πέρσῃ Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτίκα τέ σφι ἔδοξε πέμπειν ἀγγέλους. 2 καὶ δὴ συνέπιπτε ὥστε ὁμοῦ σφεων γίνεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν· ἐπανέμειναν γὰρ οἱ

Ἀθηναῖοι διατρίβοντες, εὖ ἐπιστάμενοι ὅτι ἔμελλον Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεύσεσθαι ἤκοντα παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἄγγελον ἐπ' ὁμολογίῃ, πυθόμενοί τε πέμψειν κατὰ τάχος ἀγγέλους. ἐπίτηδες ὧν ἐποίευν, ἐνδεικνύμενοι τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι τὴν ἐωυτῶν γνώμην.

141. These were the words of Alexander. The Lacedaemonians, however, had heard that Alexander had come to Athens to bring the Athenians to an agreement with the barbarian. Remembering the oracles, how that they themselves with the rest of the Dorians must be driven out of the Peloponnese by the Medes and the Athenians, they were greatly afraid that the Athenians should agree with the Persian, and they straightway resolved that they would send envoys. Moreover, it so fell out for both that they made their entry at one and the same time, for the Athenians delayed and waited for them, being certain that the Lacedaemonians were going to hear that the messenger had come from the Persians for an agreement. They had heard that the Lacedaemonians would send their envoys with all speed. Therefore it was of set purpose that they did this in order that they might make their will known to the Lacedaemonians.

142 1 ὥς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λέγων Ἀλέξανδρος, διαδεξάμενοι ἔλεγον οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἄγγελοι “ἡμέας δὲ ἐπεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι δεησομένους ὑμέων μήτε νεώτερον ποιέειν μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα μήτε λόγους ἐνδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου. 2 οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὐδαμῶς οὔτε κόσμον φέρον οὔτε γε ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι, ὑμῖν δὲ δὴ καὶ διὰ πάντων ἦκιστα πολλῶν εἵνεκα. ἡγεῖρατε γὰρ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ὑμεῖς οὐδὲν ἡμέων βουλομένων, καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχῆθεν ὁ ἀγὼν ἐγένετο, νῦν δὲ φέρει καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα· 3 ἄλλως τε τούτων ἀπάντων αἰτίους γενέσθαι δουλοσύνης τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι Ἀθηναίους οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν, οἵτινες αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ πάλαι φαίνεσθε πολλοὺς ἐλευθερώσαντες ἀνθρώπων. πιεζυμένοισι μέντοι ὑμῖν συναχθόμεθα, καὶ ὅτι καρπῶν ἐστερήθητε διζῶν ἤδη καὶ ὅτι οἰκοφθόρησθε χρόνον ἤδη πολλόν. 4 ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ ὑμῖν Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπαγγέλλονται γυναικᾶς τε καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἄχρηστα οἰκετέων ἐχόμενα πάντα ἐπιθρέψειν, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε συνεστήκη. μηδὲ ὑμέας Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἀναγνώσῃ, λείνας τὸν Μαρδονίου λόγον. 5 τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ποιητέα ἐστί· τύραννος γὰρ ἐὼν τυράννῳ συγκατεργάζεται· ὑμῖν δὲ

οὐ ποιητέα, εἴ περ εὖ τυγχάνετε φρονέοντες, ἐπισταμένοισι ὡς βαρβάροισι ἐστὶ οὔτε πιστὸν οὔτε ἀληθὲς οὐδέν “· ταῦτα ἔλεξαν οἱ ἄγγελοι.

142. So when Alexander had made an end of speaking, the envoys from Sparta said, “We on our part have been sent by the Lacedaemonians to entreat you to do nothing harmful to Hellas and accept no offer from the barbarian. That would be unjust and dishonorable for any Greek, but for you most of all, on many counts; it was you who stirred up this war, by no desire of ours, and your territory was first the stake of that battle in which all Hellas is now engaged. Apart from that, it is unbearable that not all this alone but slavery too should be brought upon the Greeks by you Athenians, who have always been known as givers of freedom to many. Nevertheless, we grieve with you in your afflictions, seeing that you have lost two harvests and your substance has been for a long time wasted. In requital for this the Lacedaemonians and their allies declare that they will nourish your women and all of your household members who are unserviceable for war, so long as this war will last. Let not Alexander the Macedonian win you with his smooth-tongued praise of Mardonius’ counsel. It is his business to follow that counsel, for as he is a tyrant so must he be the tyrant’s fellow-worker; it is not your business, if you are men rightly minded, for you know that in foreigners there is no faith nor truth.” These are the words of the envoys.

143 1 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. “καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦτό γε ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι πολλαπλησίη ἐστὶ τῇ Μήδῳ δύναμις ἢ περ ἡμῖν, ὥστε οὐδὲν δέει τοῦτό γε ὀνειδίζειν. ἀλλ’ ὅμως ἐλευθερίας γλιχόμενοι ἀμυνέμεθα οὕτω ὅκως ἂν καὶ δυνώμεθα. ὁμολογήσαι δὲ τῷ βαρβάρῳ μήτε σὺ ἡμέας πειρῶ ἀναπεῖθιν οὔτε ἡμεῖς πεισόμεθα. 2 νῦν τε ἀπάγγελλε Μαρδονίῳ ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, ἔστ’ ἂν ὁ ἥλιος τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἦ τῇ περ καὶ νῦν ἔρχεται, μήποτε ὁμολογήσειν ἡμέας Ξέρξῃ· ἀλλὰ θεοῖσί τε συμμάχοισι πίσυνοί μιν ἐπέξιμεν ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ τοῖσι ἥρωσι, τῶν ἐκείνος οὐδεμίαν ὅπιν ἔχων ἐνέπρησε τούς τε οἴκους καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα. 3 σύ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ λόγους ἔχων τοιούσδε μὴ ἐπιφαίνεο Ἀθηναίοισι, μηδὲ δοκέων χρηστὰ ὑπουργεῖν ἀθέμιστα ἔρδειν παραίνεε· οὐ γάρ σε βουλόμεθα οὐδὲν

ἄχαρι πρὸς Ἀθηναίων παθεῖν ἐόντα πρόξεινόν τε καὶ φίλον “.

143. But to Alexander the Athenians replied as follows: “We know of ourselves that the power of the Mede is many times greater than ours. There is no need to taunt us with that. Nevertheless in our zeal for freedom we will defend ourselves to the best of our ability. But as regards agreements with the barbarian, do not attempt to persuade us to enter into them, nor will we consent. Now carry this answer back to Mardonius from the Athenians, that as long as the sun holds the course by which he now goes, we will make no agreement with Xerxes. We will fight against him without ceasing, trusting in the aid of the gods and the heroes whom he has disregarded and burnt their houses and their adornments. Come no more to Athenians with such a plea, nor under the semblance of rendering us a service, counsel us to act wickedly. For we do not want those who are our friends and protectors to suffer any harm at Athenian hands.”

144 1 πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἀγγέλους τάδε. “τὸ μὲν δεῖσαι Λακεδαιμονίους μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ βαρβάρῳ, κάρτα ἀνθρωπῆιον ἦν· ἀτὰρ αἰσχυρῶς γε οἴκατε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὸ Ἀθηναίων φρόνημα ἀρρώδῃσαι, ὅτι οὔτε χρυσὸς ἐστὶ γῆς οὐδαμόθι τοσοῦτος οὔτε χώρα κάλλει καὶ ἀρετῇ μέγα ὑπερφέρουσα, τὰ ἡμεῖς δεξάμενοι ἐθέλοιμεν ἂν μηδίσαντες καταδουλώσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. 2 πολλὰ τε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα ἐστὶ τὰ διακωλύοντα ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖν μηδ’ ἣν ἐθέλωμεν, πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπερησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα, τοῖσι ἡμέας ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τιμωρεῖν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα μᾶλλον ἢ περ ὁμολογέειν τῷ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένῳ, αὐτὶς δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὸν ὅμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἡθεὰ τε ὁμότροπα, τῶν προδότας γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἂν εὖ ἔχοι. 3 ἐπίστασθέ τε οὕτω, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐτυγχάνετε ἐπιστάμενοι, ἔστ’ ἂν καὶ εἷς περιῇ Ἀθηναίων, μηδαμὰ ὁμολογήσοντας ἡμέας Ξέρξῃ. ὑμέων μέντοι ἀγάμεθα τὴν προνοίην τὴν πρὸς ἡμέας ἐοῦσαν, ὅτι προεῖдете ἡμέων οἰκοφθορημένων οὕτω ὥστε ἐπιθρέψαι ἐθέλιν ἡμέων τοὺς οἰκέτας. 4 καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἡ χάρις ἐκπεπλήρωται, ἡμεῖς μέντοι λιπαρήσομεν οὕτω ὅπως ἂν ἔχωμεν, οὐδὲν λυπέοντες ὑμέας. νῦν δέ, ὥς οὕτω ἐχόντων, στρατιὴν ὡς τάχιστα ἐκπέμπετε. 5 ὥς γὰρ ἡμεῖς εἰκάζομεν, οὐκ ἐκὰς χρόνου

παρέσται ὁ βάρβαρος ἐσβαλὼν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα πύθεται τὴν ἀγγελίην ὅτι οὐδὲν ποιήσομεν τῶν ἐκεῖνος ἡμέων προσεδέετο. πρὶν ὧν παρεῖναι ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἡμέας καιρὸς ἐστὶ προβοηθῆσαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην “. οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ὑποκριναμένων Ἀθηναίων ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σπάρτην.

144. Such was their answer to Alexander, but to the Spartan envoys they said, “It was most human that the Lacedaemonians should fear our making an agreement with the barbarian. We think that it is an ignoble thing to be afraid, especially since we know the Athenian temper to be such that there is nowhere on earth such store of gold or such territory of surpassing fairness and excellence that the gift of it should win us to take the Persian part and enslave Hellas. For there are many great reasons why we should not do this, even if we so desired; first and foremost, the burning and destruction of the adornments and temples of our gods, whom we are constrained to avenge to the utmost rather than make pacts with the perpetrator of these things, and next the kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of gods and the sacrifices that we have in common, and the likeness of our way of life, to all of which it would not befit the Athenians to be false. Know this now, if you knew it not before, that as long as one Athenian is left alive we will make no agreement with Xerxes. Nevertheless we thank you for your forethought concerning us, in that you have so provided for our wasted state that you offer to nourish our households. For your part, you have given us full measure of kindness, yet for ourselves, we will make shift to endure as best we may, and not be burdensome to you. But now, seeing that this is so, send your army with all speed, for as we guess, the barbarian will be upon us and invade our country in no long time as soon as the message comes to him that we will do nothing that he requires of us; therefore, before he comes into Attica, now is the time for us to march first into Boeotia.” At this reply of the Athenians the envoys returned back to Sparta.

Βιβλίο Θ – Καλλιόπη. Book IX.

1 1 Μαρδόνιος δέ, ὥς οἱ ἀπονοστήσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐσήμηνε, ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἤγε τὴν στρατιὴν σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας. ὅκου δὲ ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο, τούτους παρελάμβανε. τοῖσι δὲ Θεσσαλίας ἡγεομένοισι οὔτε τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πεπρηγμένα μετέμελε οὐδὲν πολλῶ τε μᾶλλον ἐπῆγον τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ συμπροέπεμψέ τε Θώρηξ ὁ Ληρισαῖος Ξέρξην φεύγοντα καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ παρήκε Μαρδόνιον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

1. When Alexander returned and told him what he had heard from the Athenians, Mardonius set forth from Thessaly and led his army with all zeal against Athens; he also took with him all the people to whose countries he came along the way. The rulers of Thessaly did not repent of what they had already done and were readier than before to further his march. Thorax of Larissa, who had given Xerxes safe-conduct in his flight, now, without any attempt of concealment, opened a passage for Mardonius into Hellas.

2 1 ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος γίνεται ὁ στρατὸς ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι, οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ λέγοντες ὥς οὐκ εἴη χῶρος ἐπιτηδεότερος ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐκείνου, οὐδὲ ἔων ἰέναι ἐκαστέρῳ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἰζόμενον ποιέειν ὅκως ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα καταστρέψεται. 2 κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν Ἑλληνας ὁμοφρονέοντας, οἳ περ καὶ πάρος ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον, χαλεπὰ εἶναι περιγίνεσθαι καὶ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποισι· “εἰ δὲ ποιήσεις τὰ ἡμεῖς παραινέομεν ,,, ἔφασαν λέγοντες, “ἔξεις ἀπόνως πάντα τὰ ἐκείνων ἰσχυρὰ βουλευμάτων· 3 πέμπε χρήματα ἐς τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ἄνδρας ἐν τῇσι πόλεσι, πέμπων δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τοὺς μὴ τὰ σὰ φρονέοντας ῥηιδίως μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων καταστρέψαι ,,,

2. But when, in the course of its march, the army had come into Boeotia, the Thebans attempted to stay Mardonius, advising him that he could find no country better fitted than theirs for encampment; he should not (they begged) go further, but rather halt there and subdue all Hellas without fighting. As long as the Greeks who were previously in accord remained so, it would be difficult even for the

whole world to overcome them by force of arms; “but if you do as we advise,” said the Thebans, “you will without trouble be master of all their battle plans. Send money to the men who have power in their cities, and thereby you will divide Hellas against itself; after that, with your partisans to aid you, you will easily subdue those who are your adversaries.”

3 1 οἱ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθετο, ἀλλὰ οἱ δεινὸς ἐνέστακτο ἥμερος τὰς Ἀθήνας δεύτερα ἐλεῖν, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ’ ἀγνωμοσύνης, ἅμα δὲ πυρσοῖσι διὰ νήσων ἐδόκεε βασιλείᾳ δηλώσειν ἐόντι ἐν Σάρδισι ὅτι ἔχοι Ἀθήνας· 2 ὃς οὐδὲ τότε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εὔρε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ’ ἐν τε Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς πλείστους ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι ἐν τε τῇσι νηυσί, αἰρέει τε ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ. ἡ δὲ βασιλέος αἵρεσις ἐς τὴν ὑστέρην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἐπιστρατηίην δεκάμηνος ἐγένετο.

3. Such was their counsel, but he would not follow it. What he desired was to take Athens once more; this was partly out of mere perversity, and partly because he intended to signify to the king at Sardis by a line of beacons across the islands that he held Athens. When he came to Attica, however, he found the city as unpopulated as before, for, as he learned, the majority of them were on shipboard at Salamis. So he took the city, but without any of its men. There were ten months between the kings taking of the place and the later invasion of Mardonius.

4 1 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἐγένετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος, πέμπει ἐς Σαλαμῖνα Μουρυχίδην ἄνδρα Ἑλλησπόντιον φέροντα τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διεπόρθημεν. 2 ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέστελλε προέχων μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας, ἐλπίζων δὲ σφέας ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης, ὥς δοριαλώτου ἐούσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρας καὶ ἐούσης ὑπ’ ἐωυτῷ.

4. When Mardonius came to Athens, he sent to Salamis a certain Murychides, a man from Hellespont, bearing the same offer as Alexander the Macedonian had ferried across to the Athenians. He sent this for the second time because although he already knew the Athenians’ unfriendly purpose, he expected that they would abandon their stubbornness now that Attica was the captive of his spear and lay at his mercy.

5 1 τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα ἀπέπεμψε Μουρυχίδην ἐς Σαλαμίνα, ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ Μαρδονίου. τῶν δὲ βουλευτέων Λυκίδης εἶπε γνώμην ὡς ἐδόκεε ἄμεινον εἶναι δεξαμένους τὸν λόγον, τὸν σφι Μουρυχίδης προφέρει, ἐξενεῖκαι ἐς τὸν δῆμον. 2 ὁ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο, εἴτε δὴ δεδεγμένος χρήματα παρὰ Μαρδονίου, εἴτε καὶ ταῦτά οἱ ἔάνδανε· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ αὐτίκα δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι οἳ τε ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν ὡς ἐπύθοντο, περιστάντες Λυκίδην κατέλευσαν βάλλοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἑλλησπόντιον Μουρυχίδην ἀπέπεμψαν ἄσινέα. 3 γενομένου δὲ θορύβου ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι περὶ τὸν Λυκίδην, πυνθάνονται τὸ γινόμενον αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Ἀθηναίων, διακελευσαμένη δὲ γυνὴ γυναικὶ καὶ παραλαβοῦσα ἐπὶ τὴν Λυκίδεω οἰκίην ἦσαν αὐτοκελές, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔλευσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα κατὰ δὲ τὰ τέκνα.

5. For this reason he sent Murychides to Salamis who came before the council and conveyed to them Mardonius message. Then Lycidas, one of the councillors, said that it seemed best to him to receive the offer brought to them by Murychides and lay it before the people. This was the opinion which he declared, either because he had been bribed by Mardonius, or because the plan pleased him. The Athenians in the council were, however, very angry; so too were those outside when they heard of it. They made a ring round Lycidas and stoned him to death. Murychides the Hellespontian, however, they permitted to depart unharmed. There was much noise at Salamis over the business of Lycidas; and when the Athenian women learned what was afoot, one calling to another and bidding her follow, they went on their own impetus to the house of Lycidas and stoned to death his wife and his children.

6 1 ἐς δὲ τὴν Σαλαμίνα διέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὧδε. ἕως μὲν προσεδέκοντο ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν ἥξειν τιμωρήσοντά σφι, οἳ δὲ ἔμενον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἳ μὲν μακρότερα καὶ σχολαίτερα ἐποίηον, ὁ δὲ ἐπιὼν καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὕτω δὴ ὑπέξεκομίσαντό τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἐς Σαλαμίνα, ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα τε ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἅμα μὲν μεμψομένους τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ὅτι περιεῖδον ἐμβalόντα τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄλλ' οὐ μετὰ σφέων ἠντίασαν ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίν, ἅμα δὲ ὑπομνήσοντας ὅσα σφι ὑπέσχετο ὁ Πέρσης μεταβαλοῦσι δώσειν,

προεῖπαι τε ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἀμυνεῦσι Ἀθηναίοισι, ὥς καὶ αὐτοὶ τινα ἀλεωρὴν εὐρήσονται.

6. Now this was how the Athenians had crossed over to Salamis. As long as they expected that the Peloponnesian army would come to their aid, they remained in Attica. But when the Peloponnesians took longer and longer to act and the invader was said to be in Boeotia already, they then conveyed all their goods out of harms way and themselves crossed over to Salamis. They also sent envoys to Lacedaemon, who were to upbraid the Lacedaemonians for permitting the barbarian to invade Attica and not helping the Athenians to meet him in Boeotia; and who were to remind the Lacedaemonians of the promises which the Persian had made to Athens if she would change sides, and warn them that the Athenians would devise some means of salvation for themselves if the Lacedaemonians sent them no help.

7 1 οἱ γὰρ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὄρταζόν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ σφι ἦν Ὑακίνθια, περὶ πλείστου δ' ἦγον τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν· ἅμα δὲ τὸ τεῖχος σφι, τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐτείχεον, καὶ ἤδη ἐπάλξις ἐλάμβανε. ὥς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμόνα οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι ἔκ τε Μεγάρων ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐκ Πλαταιέων, ἔλεγον τάδε ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους. 7A. “ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Ἀθηναῖοι λέγοντες ὅτι ἡμῖν βασιλεὺς ὁ Μήδων τοῦτο μὲν τὴν χώραν ἀποδιδόῃ, τοῦτο δὲ συμμαχούς ἐθέλει ἐπ' ἴση τε καὶ ὁμοίῃ ποιήσασθαι ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης, ἐθέλει δὲ καὶ ἄλλην χώραν πρὸς τῇ ἡμετέρῃ διδόναι, τὴν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐλώμεθα. 2 ἡμεῖς δὲ Δία τε Ἑλλήνιον αἰδεσθέντες καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινὸν ποιούμενοι προδοῦναι οὐ καταινέσαμεν ἀλλ' ἀπειπάμεθα, καίπερ ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ καταπροδιδόμενοι, ἐπιστάμενοί τε ὅτι κερδαλεώτερον ἐστὶ ὁμολογέειν τῷ Πέρσῃ μᾶλλον ἢ περ πολεμέειν· οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ὁμολογήσομεν ἐκόντες εἶναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ' ἡμέων οὕτω ἀκίβδηλον νέμεται ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας· 7B. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρώδιην τότε ἀπικόμενοι μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ Πέρσῃ, ἐπεῖτε ἐξεμάθετε τὸ ἡμέτερον φρόνημα σαφέως, ὅτι οὐδαμὰ προδώσομεν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ διότι τεῖχος ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐλαυνόμενον ἐν τέλει ἐστί, καὶ δὴ λόγον οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιέεσθε, συνθέμενοί τε ἡμῖν τὸν Πέρσῃ ἀντιώσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτὴν προδεδώκατε, περιεϊδετέ τε

προεσβαλόντα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸν βάρβαρον. 2 ἐς μὲν νυν τὸ παρεὸν Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμῖν μηνίουσι· οὐ γὰρ ἐποιήσατε ἐπιτηδέως. νῦν δὲ ὅτι τάχος στρατιὴν ἅμα ἡμῖν ἐκέλευσαν ὑμέας ἐκπέμπειν, ὥς ἂν τὸν βάρβαρον δεκώμεθα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν τῆς Βοιωτῆς, τῆς γε ἡμετέρης ἐπιτηδεότατον ἐστὶ μαχέσασθαι τὸ Θυριάσιον πεδίον „.

7. The Lacedaemonians were at this time celebrating the festival of Hyacinthus, and their chief concern was to give the god his due; moreover, the wall which they were building on the Isthmus was by now getting its battlements. When the Athenian envoys arrived in Lacedaemon, bringing with them envoys from Megara and Plataea, they came before the ephors and said: 7A. “The Athenians have sent us with this message: the king of the Medes is ready to give us back our country, and to make us his confederates, equal in right and standing, in all honor and honesty, and to give us whatever land we ourselves may choose besides our own. But we, since we do not want to sin against Zeus the god of Hellas and think it shameful to betray Hellas, have not consented. This we have done despite the fact that the Greeks are dealing with us wrongfully and betraying us to our hurt; furthermore, we know that it is more to our advantage to make terms with the Persians than to wage war with him, yet we will not make terms with him of our own free will. For our part, we act honestly by the Greeks; 7B. but what of you, who once were in great dread lest we should make terms with the Persian? Now that you have a clear idea of our sentiments and are sure that we will never betray Hellas, and now that the wall which you are building across the Isthmus is nearly finished, you take no account of the Athenians, but have deserted us despite all your promises that you would withstand the Persian in Boeotia, and have permitted the barbarian to march into Attica. For the present, then, the Athenians are angry with you since you have acted in a manner unworthy of you. Now they ask you to send with us an army with all speed, so that we may await the foreigner’s onset in Attica; since we have lost Boeotia, in our own territory the most suitable place for a battle is the Thriasian plain.”

8 1 ὥς δὲ ἄρα ἤκουσαν οἱ ἔφοροι ταῦτα, ἀνεβάλλοντο ἐς τὴν

ὕστεραίην ὑποκρίνασθαι, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς τὴν ἐτέρην· τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ἐποίουν, ἐξ ἡμέρης ἐς ἡμέρην ἀναβαλλόμενοι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἐτείχεον σπουδὴν ἔχοντες πολλὴν πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι, 2 καὶ σφι ἦν πρὸς τέλει. οὐδ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ αἴτιον διότι ἀπικομένου μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνοιο ἐς Ἀθήνας σπουδὴν μεγάλην ἐποίησαντο μὴ μηδίσαι Ἀθηναίους, τότε δὲ ὥρην ἐποίησαντο οὐδεμίαν, ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι ὁ Ἴσθμός σφι ἐτετείχιστο καὶ ἐδόκεον Ἀθηναίων ἔτι δεῖσθαι οὐδέν· ὅτε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπύκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οὐκ ἔπαυε τείχεσθαι, ἐργάζοντο δὲ μεγάλως καταρρώδηκοτες τοὺς Πέρσας.

8. When the ephors heard that, they delayed answering till the next day, and again till the day after. This they did for ten days, putting it off from day to day. In the meantime all the Peloponnesians were doing all they could to fortify the Isthmus, and they had nearly completed the task. I cannot say for certain why it was that when Alexander the Macedonian came to Athens the Lacedaemonians insisted that the Athenians should not join the side of the Persian, yet now took no account of that; it may be that with the Isthmus fortified, they thought they had no more need of the Athenians, whereas when Alexander came to Attica, their wall was not yet built and they were working at this in great fear of the Persians.

9 1 τέλος δὲ τῆς τε ὑποκρίσεως καὶ ἐξόδου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐγένετο τρόπος τοιόσδε. τῇ προτεραίῃ τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσεως μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι Χίλεος ἀνὴρ Τεγεήτης, δυνάμενος ἐν Λακεδαίμονι μέγιστον ξεινῶν, τῶν ἐφόρων ἐπύθετο πάντα λόγον τὸν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Χίλεος ἔλεγε ἅρα σφι τάδε. 2 “οὕτω ἔχει, ἄνδρες ἔφοροι· Ἀθηναίων ἡμῖν ἐόντων μὴ ἀρθμίων τῷ δὲ βαρβάρῳ συμμάχων, καίπερ τείχεος διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένου καρτεροῦ, μεγάλα κλισιάδες ἀναπεπτεῖται ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἀλλ' ἐσακούσατε, πρὶν τι ἄλλο Ἀθηναίοισι δόξαι σφάλμα φέρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι ,..

9. The nature of their response was as follows: on the day before the final hearing of the Athenian delegation, Chileus, a man of Tegea, who had more authority with the Lacedaemonians than any other of their guests, learned from the ephors all that the Athenians had said. Upon hearing this he, as the tale goes, said to the ephors,

“Sirs, if the Athenians are our enemies and the barbarians allies, then although you push a strong wall across the Isthmus, a means of access into the Peloponnese lies wide open for the Persian. No, give heed to what they say before the Athenians take some new resolve which will bring calamity to Hellas.”

10 ὁ μὲν σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλευε· οἱ δὲ φρενὶ λαβόντες τὸν λόγον αὐτίκα, φράσαντες οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι ἀπιγμένοισι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, νυκτὸς ἔτι ἐκπέμπουσι πεντακισχιλίους Σπαρτιητέων καὶ ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τάξαντες τῶν εἰλώτων, Πausανίῃ τῷ Κλεομβρότου ἐπιτάξαντες ἐξάγειν. 2 ἐγίνετο μὲν ἡ ἡγεμονίη Πλειστάρχου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω· ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἦν ἔτι παῖς, ὁ δὲ τούτου ἐπίτροπός τε καὶ ἀνεψιός. Κλεόμβροτος γὰρ ὁ Πausανίεω μὲν πατήρ Ἀναξανδρίδεω δὲ παῖς οὐκέτι περιῆν, ἀλλ’ ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τὸ τεῖχος δέμασαν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τινὰ βιοὺς ἀπέθανε. 3 ἀπῆγε δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ διὰ τόδε· θυομένῳ οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ ὁ ἥλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. προσαιρέεται δὲ ἐωυτῷ Πausανίης Εὐρυάνακτα τὸν Δωριέος, ἄνδρα οἰκίης ἐόντα τῆς αὐτῆς.

10. This was the counsel he gave the ephors, who straightway took it to heart. Without saying a word to the envoys who had come from the cities, they ordered five thousand Spartans to march before dawn. Seven helots were appointed to attend each of them, and they gave the command to Pausanias son of Cleombrotus. The leader’s place rightfully belonged to Pleistarchus son of Leonidas, but he was still a boy, and Pausanias his guardian and cousin. Cleombrotus, Pausanias’ father and Anaxandrides’ son, was no longer living. After he led the army which had built the wall away from the Isthmus, he lived but a little while before his death. The reason for Cleombrotus leading his army away from the Isthmus was that while he was offering sacrifice for victory over the Persian, the sun was darkened in the heavens. Pausanias chose as his colleague a man of the same family, Euryanax son of Dorieus.

11 1 οἱ μὲν δὴ σὺν Πausανίῃ ἐξεληλύθεσαν ἔξω Σπάρτης· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι, ὥς ἡμέρῃ ἐγεγόνεε, οὐδὲν εἰδότες περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἐν νόῳ δὴ ἔχοντες ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ ἕκαστος· ἐπελθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον τάδε. “ὕμεῖς μὲν, ὧ

Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοῦ τῆδε μένοντες Ὑακίνθιά τε ἄγετε καὶ παίζετε, καταπροδόντες τοὺς συμμάχους· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπὸ ὑμέων χήτεϊ τε συμμάχων καταλύσονται τῷ Πέρσῃ οὕτω ὅκως ἂν δύνωνται· 2 καταλυσάμενοι δέ, δηλα γάρ ὅτι σύμμαχοι βασιλέος γινόμεθα, συστρατευσόμεθα ἐπ' ἣν ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγέωνται. ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν μαθήσεσθε ὁκοῖον ἂν τι ὑμῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκβαίνει „ ταῦτα λεγόντων τῶν ἀγγέλων, οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπ' ὄρκου καὶ δὴ δοκέειν εἶναι ἐν Ὁρεσθειῷ στείχοντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους. ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς βαρβάρους. 3 οἱ δὲ ὡς οὐκ εἰδότες ἐπειρώτων τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπειρόμενοι δὲ ἐξέμαθον πᾶν τὸ ἐόν, ὥστε ἐν θώματι γενόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο τὴν ταχίστην διώκοντες· σὺν δέ σφι τῶν περιοίκων Λακεδαιμονίων λογάδες πεντακισχίλιοι ὀπλῖται τώυτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίηον.

11. So Pausanias' army had marched away from Sparta; but as soon as it was day, the envoys came before the ephors, having no knowledge of the expedition, and being minded themselves too to depart each one to his own place. When they arrived, "You Lacedaemonians," they said, "remain where you are, observing your Hyacinthia and celebrating, leaving your allies deserted. For the wrong that you do them and for lack of allies, the Athenians, will make their peace with the Persian as best they can, and thereafter, in so far as we will be king's allies, we will march with him against whatever land his men lead us. Then will you learn what the issue of this matter will be for you." In response to this the ephors swore to them that they believed their army to be even now at Orestheum, marching against the "strangers," as they called the barbarians. Having no knowledge of this, the envoys questioned them further as to the meaning of this and thereby learned the whole truth; they marvelled at this and hastened with all speed after the army. With them went five thousand men-at-arms of the Lacedaemonian countrymen.

12 1 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἠπειύοντο· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντο τοὺς μετὰ Πανσανίῳ ἐξηληλυθότας ἐκ Σπάρτης, πέμπουσι κήρυκα τῶν ἡμεροδρόμων ἀνευρόντες τὸν ἄριστον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, πρότερον αὐτοῖς Μαρδονίῳ ὑποδεξάμενοι σχήσειν τὸν Σπαρτιήτην μὴ ἐξιέναι· 2 ὃς ἐπεῖτε ἀπίκητο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔλεγε

τάδε. “Μαρδόνιε, ἔπεμψάν με Ἀργεῖοι φράσοντά τοι ὅτι ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος ἐξελήλυθε ἡ νεότης, καὶ ὥς οὐ δυνατοὶ αὐτὴν ἔχειν εἰς Ἀργεῖοι μὴ οὐκ ἐξιέναι. πρὸς ταῦτα τύγχανε εὖ βουλευόμενος ..”

12. So they made haste to reach the Isthmus. The Argives, however, had already promised Mardonius that they would prevent the Spartans from going out to war. As soon as they were informed that Pausanias and his army had departed from Sparta, they sent as their herald to Attica the swiftest runner of long distances whom they could find. When he came to Athens, he spoke to Mardonius in the following manner: “I have been sent by the Argives to tell you that the young men have gone out from Lacedaemon to war, and that the Argives cannot prevent them from so doing; therefore, make plans accordingly.”

13 1 ὁ μὲν δὴ εἶπας ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιος δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἔτι πρόθυμος ἦν μένειν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὥς ἤκουσε ταῦτα. πρὶν μὲν νυν ἢ πυθέσθαι ἀνεκώχευε, θέλων εἰδέναι τὸ παρ’ Ἀθηναίων, ὁκοῖόν τι ποιήσουσι, καὶ οὔτε ἐπήμαινε οὔτε ἐσίνετο γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἐλπίζων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου ὁμολογήσειν σφέας· 2 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, πυθόμενος πάντα λόγον, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς μετὰ Πausανίῳ ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἐσβαλεῖν, ὑπεξεχώρεε ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἰ κού τι ὀρθὸν ἦν τῶν τειχεῶν ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρῶν, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας. 3 ἐξήλαινε δὲ τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅτι οὔτε ἱπασίμη ἢ χώρα ἦν ἡ Ἀττικὴ, εἰ τε νικῶτο συμβαλὼν, ἀπάλλαξις οὐκ ἦν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ στεινόν, ὥστε ὀλίγους σφέας ἀνθρώπους ἴσχειν. ἐβουλευετο ὦν ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐς τὰς Θήβας συμβαλεῖν πρὸς πόλιν τε φιλίῃ καὶ χώρῃ ἱπασίμῃ.

13. So spoke the herald, and went back again. When Mardonius heard that, he no longer desired to remain in Attica. Before he had word of it, he had held his land, desiring to know the Athenians’ plan and what they would do; he neither harmed nor harried the land of Attica, for he still supposed that they would make terms with him. But when he could not prevail upon them and learned the truth of the matter, he withdrew before Pausanias’ army prior to its entering the Isthmus. First, however, he burnt Athens, and utterly overthrew and demolished whatever wall or house or temple was left standing. The reason for his marching away was that Attica was not a land fit for

horses, and if he should be defeated in a battle, there was no way of retreat save one so narrow that a few men could prevent his passage. He therefore planned to retreat to Thebes and do battle where he had a friendly city at his back and ground suitable for horsemen.

14 1 Μαρδόνιος μὲν δὴ ὑπεξεχώρεε, ἥδη δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐόντι αὐτῷ ἦλθε ἀγγελίη πρόδρομον ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἥκειν ἐς Μέγαρα, Λακεδαιμονίων χιλίους· πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύετο θέλων εἴ πως τούτους πρῶτον ἔλοι. ὑποστρέψας δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ἦγε ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα· ἡ δὲ ἵππος προελθοῦσα κατιππάσατο χώραν τὴν Μεγαρίδα. ἐς ταύτην δὴ ἐκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου δύνοντος ἡ Περσικὴ αὕτη στρατιὴ ἀπίκετο.

14. So Mardonius drew his men off, and when he had now set forth on his road there came a message that in addition to the others, an advance guard of a thousand Lacedaemonians had arrived at Megara. When he heard this, he deliberated how he might first make an end of these. He accordingly turned about and led his army against Megara, his cavalry going first and overrunning the lands of that city. That was the westernmost place in Europe which this Persian army reached.

15 1 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μαρδονίῳ ἦλθε ἀγγελίη ὡς ἀλέες εἶσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ. οὕτω δὲ ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο διὰ Δεκελῆς· οἱ γὰρ βοιωτάρχαι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσωπίων, οὗτοι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδὸν ἠγέοντο ἐς Σφενδαλέας, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐς Τάναγραν· 2 ἐν Τανάγρῃ δὲ νύκτα ἐναυλίσάμενος, καὶ τραπόμενος τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς Σκῶλον ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων ἦν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων καίπερ μηδιζόντων ἔκειρε τοὺς χώρους, οὗτι κατὰ ἔχθος αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μεγάλης ἐχόμενος ἔρυμά τε τῷ στρατῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἦν συμβαλόντι οἱ μὴ ἐκβαίνειν ὁκοῖόν τι ἐθέλοι, κρησφύγετον τοῦτο ἐποιέετο. 3 παρήκε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων παρὰ Ὑσιᾶς, κατέτεινε δὲ ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν τεταγμένον. οὐ μέντοι τό γε τεῖχος τοσοῦτο ἐποιέετο, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους μάλιστά κη μέτωπον ἕκαστον.

15. Presently there came a message to Mardonius that the Greeks were gathered together on the Isthmus. Thereupon he marched back again through Decelea; the rulers of Boeotia sent for those of the

Asopus country who lived nearby, and these guided him to Sphendalae and from there to Tanagra. Here he camped for the night, and on the next day he turned from there to Scolus, where he was in Theban territory. There he laid waste the lands of the Thebans, though they sided with the Persian part. This he did, not for any ill-will that he bore them, but because sheer necessity drove him to make a stronghold for his army and to have this for a refuge if the fortune of battle were other than he wished. His army, stationed along the Asopus river, covered the ground from Erythrae past Hysiae and up to the lands of Plataea. I do not mean to say that the walled camp which he made was of this size; each side of it was of a length of about ten furlongs.

16 1 ἔχόντων δὲ τὸν πόνον τοῦτον τῶν βαρβάρων, Ἀτταγῖνος ὁ Φρύνωνος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως ἐκάλεε ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτόν τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ πεντήκοντα Περσέων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους, κληθέντες δὲ οὗτοι εἶποντο· ἦν δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ποιούμενον ἐν Θήβησι. τάδε δὲ ἤδη τὰ ἐπίλοιπα ἤκουον Θερσάνδρου ἀνδρὸς μὲν Ὀρχομενίου, λογίμου δὲ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ. ἔφη δὲ ὁ Θέρσανδρος κληθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀτταγίνου ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦτο, κληθῆναι δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἄνδρας πεντήκοντα, καὶ σφεων οὐ χωρὶς ἐκατέρους κλῖναι, ἀλλὰ Πέρσην τε καὶ Θηβαῖον ἐν κλίνῃ ἐκάστη. 2 ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, διαπινόντων τὸν Πέρσην τὸν ὁμόκλινον Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἰέντα εἰρέσθαι αὐτὸν ὁποδαπὸς ἐστὶ, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὥς εἴη Ὀρχομενίος. τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν “ἐπεὶ νῦν ὁμοτράπεζός τέ μοι καὶ ὁμόσπονδος ἐγένεο, μνημόσυνά τοι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς καταλιπέσθαι θέλω, ἵνα καὶ προειδῶς αὐτὸς περὶ σεαυτοῦ βουλευέσθαι ἔχῃς τὰ συμφέροντα. 3 ὁρᾷς τούτους τοὺς δαινυμένους Πέρσας καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἐλίπομεν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ στρατοπεδευόμενον· τούτων πάντων ὄψαι ὀλίγου τινὸς χρόνου διελθόντος ὀλίγους τινὰς τοὺς περιγενομένους, .. ταῦτα ἅμα τε τὸν Πέρσην λέγειν καὶ μετιέναι πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων. 4 αὐτὸς δὲ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν “οὐκῶν Μαρδονίῳ τε ταῦτα χρεόν ἐστὶ λέγειν καὶ τοῖσι μετ’ ἐκείνον ἐν αἴνῃ εὐοῦσι Περσέων; .. τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰπεῖν “ξεῖνε, ὃ τι δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμήχανον ἀποτρέψαι ἀνθρώπῳ· οὐδὲ γὰρ πιστὰ λέγουσι ἐθέλει πείθεσθαι οὐδεὶς. 5 ταῦτα δὲ Περσέων συγχοὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπόμεθα

ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεδεμένοι, ἐχθίστη δὲ ὀδύνη ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι αὕτη, πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρατέειν „ ταῦτα μὲν Ὀρχομενίου Θερσάνδρου ἤκουον, καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοις, ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτίκα λέγει ταῦτα πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πρότερον ἢ γενέσθαι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν μάχην.

16. While the barbarians were engaged in this task, Attaginus son of Phrynon, a Theban, made great preparations and invited Mardonius with fifty who were the most notable of the Persians to be his guests at a banquet. They came as they were bidden; the dinner was held at Thebes. What follows was told me by Thersander of Orchomenus, one of the most notable men of that place. Thersander too (he said) was invited to this dinner, and fifty Thebans in addition. Attaginus made them sit, not each man by himself but on each couch a Persian and a Theban together. Now as they were drinking together after dinner, the Persian who sat with him asked Thersander in the Greek tongue from what country he was. Thersander answered that he was from Orchomenus. Then said the Persian: “Since you have eaten at the board with me and drunk with me afterwards, I would like to leave a memorial of my belief, so that you yourself may have such knowledge as to take fitting counsel for your safety. Do you see these Persians at the banquet and that host which we left encamped by the river side? In a little while you shall see but a small remnant left alive of all these.” As he said this, the Persian wept bitterly. Marvelling at these words, Thersander answered: “Must you not then tell this to Mardonius and those honorable Persians who are with him?” “Sir,” said the Persian, “that which a god wills to send no man can turn aside, for even truth sometimes finds no one to believe it. What I have said is known to many of us Persians, but we follow, in the bonds of necessity. It is the most hateful thing for a person to have much knowledge and no power.” This tale I heard from Thersander of Orchomenus who told me in addition that he had straightway told this to others before the battle of Plataea.

17 ὁ Μαρδονίου δὲ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ στρατοπεδευομένου οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παρείχοντο ἅπαντες στρατιὴν καὶ συνεσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας, ὅσοι περ ἐμήδιζον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, μούνοι δὲ Φωκέες οὐ συνεσέβαλον (ἐμήδιζον γὰρ δὴ σφόδρα καὶ οὗτοι) οὐκ

έκόντες ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης. 2 ἡμέρησι δὲ οὐ πολλῇσι μετὰ τὴν ἄπιξιν τὴν ἐς Θήβας ὕστερον ἦλθον αὐτῶν ὀπλίται χίλιοι, ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀρμοκύδης ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκατο καὶ οὗτοι ἐς Θήβας, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἱππέας ἐκέλευσε σφέας ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἵζεσθαι. 3 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα, αὐτίκα παρὴν ἵππος ἡ ἅπασα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διεξῆλθε μὲν διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μήδων ἐόντος φήμη ὥς κατακοντιεῖ σφεας, διεξῆλθε δὲ δι' αὐτῶν Φωκέων τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο. 4 ἔνθα δὴ σφί ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρμοκύδης παραίνειε λέγων τοιάδε. “ὦ Φωκέες, πρόδηλα γὰρ ὅτι ἡμέας οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι μέλλουσι προόπτῳ θανάτῳ δώσειν, διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν, ὥς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω· νῦν ἄνδρα πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρεόν ἐστι γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν· κρέσσον γὰρ ποιεῦντάς τι καὶ ἀμυνομένους τελευτῆσαι τὸν αἰῶνα ἢ περ παρέχοντας διαφθαρῆναι αἰσχίστῳ μόρῳ. ἀλλὰ μαθέτω τις αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐόντες βάρβαροι ἐπ' Ἑλλήσι ἀνδράσι φόνον ἔρραναν ,,

17. So Mardonius was making his encampment in Boeotia. All the Greeks of that region who sided with the Persians furnished fighting men, and they joined with him in his attack upon Athens, with the exception of the Phocians; as for taking the Persian side, that they did right away, though from necessity rather than willingly. A few days after the Persians' coming to Thebes, a thousand Phocian men-at-arms under the leadership of Harmocydes, the most notable of their countrymen, arrived. When these men too were in Thebes, Mardonius sent horsemen and bade the Phocians take their station on the plain by themselves. When they had done so, the whole of the Persian cavalry appeared, and presently word was spread through all of the Greek army which was with Mardonius, and likewise among the Phocians themselves, that Mardonius would shoot them to death with javelins. Then their general Harmocydes exhorted them: “Men of Phocis,” he said, “seeing that death at these fellows' hands is staring us in the face (we being, as I surmise, maligned by the Thessalians), it is now time for every one of you to be noble; for it is better to end our lives in action and fighting than tamely to suffer a shameful death. No, rather we will teach them that they whose slaying they have devised are men of Hellas.” Thus he exhorted them.

18 1 ὁ μὲν ταῦτα παραίνεε· οἱ δὲ ἱππῆες ἐπεὶ σφεας ἐκυκλώσαντο, ἐπήλαυνον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, καὶ δὴ διετείνοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀπήσοντες, καὶ κού τις καὶ ἀπῆκε. καὶ οἱ ἀντίοι ἔστησαν πάντῃ συστρέψαντες ἑωυτοὺς καὶ πυκνώσαντες ὡς μάλιστα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἱππῶται ὑπέστρεφον καὶ ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω. 2 οὐκ ἔχω δ' ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἦλθον μὲν ἀπολέοντες τοὺς Φωκέας δεηθέντων Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρων πρὸς ἀλέξῃσιν τραπομένους, δεῖσαντες μὴ καὶ σφίσι γένηται τρώματα, οὕτω δὴ ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω· ὥς γάρ σφι ἐνετείλατο Μαρδόνιος· οὐτ' εἰ αὐτῶν πειρηθῆναι ἠθέλησε εἴ τι ἀλκῆς μετέχουσι. 3 ὡς δὲ ὀπίσω ἀπήλασαν οἱ ἱππῶται, πέμνας Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε. “θαρσέετε ὦ Φωκέες· ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐφάνητε ἐόντες ἀγαθοί, οὐκ ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην. καὶ νῦν προθύμως φέρετε τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον· εὐεργεσίῃσι γὰρ οὐ νικήσετε οὐτ' ὧν ἐμὲ οὔτε βασιλέα „, τὰ περὶ Φωκέων μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

18. But when the horsemen had encircled the Phocians, they rode at them as if to slay them, and drew their bows to shoot; it is likely too that some did in fact shoot. The Phocians opposed them in every possible way, drawing in together and closing their ranks to the best of their power. At this the horsemen wheeled about and rode back and away. Now I cannot with exactness say whether they came at the Thessalians' desire to slay the Phocians, but when they saw the men preparing to defend themselves, they feared lest they themselves should suffer some hurt, and so rode away (for such was Mardonius' command), — or if Mardonius wanted to test the Phocians' mettle. When the horsemen had ridden away, Mardonius sent a herald, with this message: “Men of Phocis, be of good courage, for you have shown yourselves to be valiant men, and not as it was reported to me. Now push this war zealously forward, for you will outdo neither myself nor the king in the rendering of service.” This is how the matter of the Phocians turned out.

19 1 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὡς ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἦλθον, ἐν τούτῳ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ λοιποὶ Πελοποννήσιοι τοῖσι τὰ ἀμείνω ἄνδανε, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὀρῶντες ἐξιόντας Σπαρτιήτας, οὐκ ἐδικαίευν λείπεσθαι τῆς ἐξόδου Λακεδαιμονίων. 2 ἐκ δὴ ὧν τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ καλλιερησάντων τῶν ἱρῶν ἐπορεύοντο πάντες καὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Ἐλευσίνα· ποιήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἰρά, ὥς σφι

ἐκαλλιέρεε, τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύοντο, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἅμα αὐτοῖσι, διαβάντες μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, συμμιγέντες δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι. 3 ὥς δὲ ἄρα ἀπίκοντο τῆς Βοιωτῆς ἐς Ἐρυθράς, ἔμαθόν τε δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ στρατοπεδευομένους, φρασθέντες δὲ τοῦτο ἀντετάσσοντο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος.

19. As for the Lacedaemonians, when they had come to the Isthmus, they encamped there. When the rest of the Peloponnesians who chose the better cause heard that, seeing the Spartans setting forth to war, they thought that they should not lag behind the Lacedaemonians in so doing. Accordingly, they all marched from the Isthmus (the omens of sacrifice being favorable) and came to Eleusis. When they had offered sacrifice there also and the omens were favorable, they continued their march, having now the Athenians with them, who had crossed over from Salamis and joined with them at Eleusis. When they came (as it is said) to Erythrae in Boeotia, they learned that the barbarians were encamped by the Asopus. Taking note of that, they arrayed themselves opposite the enemy on the lower hills of Cithaeron.

20 1 Μαρδόνιος δέ, ὥς οὐ κατέβαινον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸ πεδῖον, πέμπει ἐς αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν ἵππον, τῆς ἱπάρχουε Μασίστιος εὐδοκιμῶν παρὰ Πέρσησι, τὸν Ἕλληνες Μακίστιον καλέουσι, ἵππον ἔχων Νησαῖον χρυσοχάλινον καὶ ἄλλως κεκοσμημένον καλῶς. ἐνθαῦτα ὥς προσήλασαν οἱ ἱππότες πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, προσέβαλλον κατὰ τέλεα, προσβάλλοντες δὲ κακὰ μεγάλα ἐργάζοντο καὶ γυναῖκας σφέας ἀπεκάλεον.

20. When the Greeks did not come down into the plain, Mardonius sent against them his entire cavalry, whose commander was Masistius (whom the Greeks call Macistius), a man much honored among the Persians; he rode a Nesaeon horse which had a golden bit and was elaborately adorned all over. Thereupon the horsemen rode up to the Greeks and charged them by squadrons; as they attacked, they did them much hurt, and called them women all the while.

21 1 κατὰ συντυχίην δὲ Μεγαρέες ἔτυχον ταχθέντες τῇ τε ἐπιμαχώτατον ἦν τοῦ χωρίου παντός, καὶ πρόσδοδος μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἐγίνετο τῇ ἵππῳ. προσβαλλούσης ὦν τῆς ἵππου οἱ Μεγαρέες

πιεζόμενοι ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κήρυκα, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ κῆρυξ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε. 2 “Μεγαρέες λέγουσι· ἡμεῖς, ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, οὐ δυνατοί εἰμεν τὴν Περσέων ἵππον δέκεσθαι μοῦνοι, ἔχοντες στάσιν ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἔστημεν ἀρχήν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τόδε λιπαρὴ τε καὶ ἀρετῇ ἀντέχομεν καίπερ πιεζόμενοι. νῦν τε εἰ μὴ τινας ἄλλους πέμψετε διαδόχους τῆς τάξις, ἵστε ἡμέας ἐκλείποντας τὴν τάξιν „ 3 ὁ μὲν δὴ σφι ταῦτα ἀπήγγελλε, Πausανίης δὲ ἀποπειρᾶτο τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἴ τινες ἐθέλοιεν ἄλλοι ἐθελονταὶ ἰέναι τε ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον καὶ τάσσεσθαι διάδοχοι Μεγαρεῦσι. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ τριηκόσιοι λογάδες, τῶν ἐλοχίγηε Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ὁ Λάμπωνος.

21. Now it chanced that the Megarians were posted in that part of the field which was most open to attack, and here the horsemen found the readiest approach. Therefore, being hard-pressed by the charges, the Megarians sent a herald to the generals of the Greeks, who came to them and spoke as follows : “From the men of Megara to their allies: we cannot alone withstand the Persian cavalry (although we have till now held our ground with patience and valor, despite the fact that we were hard-pressed) in the position to which we were first appointed. Know that now we will abandon our post, unless you send others to take our place there.” This the herald reported, and Pausanias inquired among the Greeks if any would offer to go to that place and relieve the Megarians by holding the post. All the others did not want to, but the Athenians took it upon themselves, that is three hundred picked men of Athens, whose captain was Olympiodorus son of Lampon.

22 1 οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ τε ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρόντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς ταχθέντες, τοὺς τοξότας προσελόμενοι. μαχομένων δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ χρόνον τέλος τοιόνδε ἐγένετο τῆς μάχης. προσβαλλούσης τῆς ἵππου κατὰ τέλεα, ὁ Μασιστίου προέχων τῶν ἄλλων ἵππος βάλλεται τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά, ἀλγήσας δὲ ἴσταται τε ὀρθὸς καὶ ἀποσειεται τὸν Μασίστιον· 2 πεσόντι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο. τόν τε δὴ ἵππον αὐτοῦ λαμβάνουσι καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμενον κτείνουσι, κατ’ ἀρχὰς οὐ δυνάμενοι. ἐνεσκεύαστο γὰρ οὕτω· ἐντὸς θώρακα εἶχε χρύσειον

λεπιδωτόν, κατύπερθε δὲ τοῦ θώρηκος κιθῶνα φοινίκεον ἐνεδεδύκεε. τύπτοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν θώρηκα ἐποίεον οὐδέν, πρὶν γε δὴ μαθὼν τις τὸ ποιούμενον παῖει μιν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν. οὕτω δὴ ἔπεσέ τε καὶ ἀπέθανε. 3 ταῦτα δὲ κως γινόμενα ἐλελήθεε τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας· οὔτε γὰρ πεσόντα μιν εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου οὔτε ἀποθνήσκοντα, ἀναχωρήσιός τε γινομένης καὶ ὑποστροφῆς οὐκ ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἔστησαν, αὐτίκα ἐπόθεσαν, ὥς σφεας οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ τάσσω μαθόντες δὲ τὸ γεγονός, διακελευσάμενοι ἤλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους πάντες, ὥς ἂν τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελοῖατο.

22. Those who volunteered themselves, were posted at Erythrae in front of the whole Greek army, and they took with them the archers also. They fought for a long time and the end of the battle was as I will now tell. The cavalry charged by squadrons, and Masistius' horse, being at the head of the rest, was struck in the side by an arrow. Rearing up in pain, it threw Masistius, who when he fell, was straightaway set upon by the Athenians. His horse they took then and there, and he himself was killed fighting. They could not, however, kill him at first, for he was outfitted in the following manner: he wore a purple tunic over a cuirass of golden scales which was within it; thus they accomplished nothing by striking at the cuirass, until someone saw what was happening and stabbed him in the eye. Then he collapsed and died. But as chance would have it, the rest of the horsemen knew nothing of this, for they had not seen him fall from his horse, or die. They wheeled about and rode back without perceiving what was done. As soon as they halted, however, they saw what they were missing since there was no one to give them orders. Then when they perceived what had occurred, they gave each other the word, and all rode together to recover the dead body.

23 1 ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι κατὰ τέλεα προσελαύνοντας τοὺς ἱππέας ἀλλὰ πάντας, τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἐπεβώσαντο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὁ πεζὸς ἄπας ἐβοήθειε, ἐν τούτῳ μάχῃ ὀξέα περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ γίνεται. 2 ἕως μὲν νυν μοῦνοι ἦσαν οἱ τριηκόσιοι, ἐσσοῦντό τε πολλὸν καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀπέλειπον· ὥς δέ σφι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεβοήθησε, οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι οἱ ἱππῶται ὑπέμενον οὐδέ σφι ἐξεγένετο τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελέσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνῳ ἄλλους προσαπώλεσαν τῶν ἱππέων. ἀποστήσαντες ὧν ὅσον τε δύο στάδια ἐβουλεύοντο ὅ τι χρεὸν εἴη ποιέειν· ἐδόκεε δὲ

σφι ἀναρχίης εἰούσης ἀπελαύνειν παρὰ Μαρδόνιον.

23. When the Athenians saw the horsemen riding at them, not by squadrons as before, but all together, they cried to the rest of the army for help. While all their infantry was rallying to aid, there was a bitter fight over the dead body. As long as the three hundred stood alone, they had the worst of the battle by far, and were ready to leave the dead man. When the main body came to their aid, then it was the horsemen who could no longer hold their ground, nor help to recover the dead man, but rather lost others of their comrades in addition to Masistius. They accordingly withdrew and halted about two furlongs away, where they deliberated what they should do. Since there was no one to give them orders, they resolved to report to Mardonius.

24 1 ἀπικομένης δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πένθος ἐποιήσαντο Μασιστίου πᾶσά τε ἡ στρατιὴ καὶ Μαρδόνιος μέγιστον, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια οἰμωγῇ τε χρεώμενοι ἀπλέτω· ἅπασαν γὰρ τὴν Βοιωτὴν κατεῖχε ἡχὼ ὥς ἀνδρὸς ἀπολομένου μετὰ γε Μαρδόνιον λογιμωτάτου παρὰ τε Πέρσῃσι καὶ βασιλεί.

24. When the cavalry returned to camp, Mardonius and the whole army mourned deeply for Masistius, cutting their own hair and the hair of their horses and beasts of burden, and lamenting loudly; the sound of this was heard over all Boeotia, for a man was dead who, next to Mardonius, was most esteemed by all Persia and the king.

25 1 οἱ μὲν νυν βάρβαροι τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἀποθανόντα ἐτίμων Μασίστιον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὥς τὴν ἵππον ἐδέξαντο προσβάλλουσιν καὶ δεξάμενοι ὥσαντο, ἐθάρσησάν τε πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐς ἅμαζαν ἐσθέντες τὸν νεκρὸν παρὰ τὰς τάξεις ἐκόμιζον· ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ἦν θέης ἄξιος μεγάλῃς εἵνεκα καὶ κάλλεος, τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίουν· ἐκλείποντες τὰς τάξεις ἐφοίτων θεησόμενοι Μασίστιον. 2 μετὰ δὲ ἔδοξε σφι ἐπικαταβῆναι ἐς Πλαταιάς· ὁ γὰρ χῶρος ἐφαίνετο πολλῷ ἐὼν ἐπιτηδεότερός σφι ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ὁ Πλαταιικὸς τοῦ Ἐρυθραίου τά τε ἄλλα καὶ εὐυδρότερος. ἐς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χῶρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφὴν τὴν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ εὐδσαν ἔδοξε σφι χρεὸν εἶναι ἀπικέσθαι καὶ διαταχθέντας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. 3 ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἤισαν διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος παρὰ Ὑσιᾶς ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο κατὰ

ἔθνεα πλησίον τῆς τε κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ τοῦ τεμένεος τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτεος τοῦ ἥρωος, διὰ ὄχθων τε οὐκ ὑψηλῶν καὶ ἀπέδου χώρου.

25. So the barbarians honored Masistius' death in their customary way, but the Greeks were greatly encouraged that they withstood and drove off the charging horsemen. First they laid the dead man on a cart and carried him about their ranks, and the body was well worth seeing, because of its stature and grandeur; therefore, they would even leave their ranks and come to view Masistius. Presently they resolved that they would march down to Plataea, for they saw that the ground there was generally more suited for encampment than that at Erythrae, and chiefly because it was better watered. It was to this place and to the Gargaphian spring which was there, that they resolved to go and pitch camp in their several battalions; They took up their arms and marched along the lower slopes of Cithaeron past Hysiae to the lands of Plataea, and when they arrived, they arrayed themselves nation by nation near the Gargaphian spring and the precinct of the hero Androcrates, among low hills and in a level country.

26 1 ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ διατάξει ἐγένετο λόγων πολλῶν ὠθισμός Τεγεατέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων· ἐδικαίουν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας, καὶ καινὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παραφέροντες ἔργα. τοῦτο μὲν οἱ Τεγεῆται ἔλεγον τάδε. 2 “ἡμεῖς αἰεὶ κοτε ἀξιεύμεθα ταύτης τῆς τάξιος ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπάντων, ὅσαι ἤδη ἔξοδοι κοινὰ ἐγένοντο Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τὸ νέον, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπεῖτε Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπειρῶντο μετὰ τὸν Εὐρυσθέος θάνατον κατιόντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον· 3 τότε εὐρόμεθα τοῦτο διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε. ἐπεὶ μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἰώνων τῶν τότε ἐόντων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἰζόμεθα ἀντίοι τοῖσι κατιούσι, τότε ὢν λόγος Ὑλλὸν ἀγορεύσασθαι ὥς χρεὸν εἶη τὸν μὲν στρατὸν τῷ στρατῷ μὴ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πελοποννησίου στρατοπέδου τὸν ἂν σφέων αὐτῶν κρίνωσι εἶναι ἄριστον, τοῦτόν οἱ μουνομαχεῖν ἐπὶ διακειμένοισι. 4 ἔδοξέ τε τοῖσι Πελοποννησίοισι ταῦτα εἶναι ποιητέα καὶ ἔταμον ὄρκιον ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε, ἦν μὲν Ὑλλος νικήσῃ τὸν Πελοποννησίων ἡγεμόνα, κατιέναι Ἡρακλείδας ἐπὶ τὰ πατρώια, ἦν δὲ νικηθῇ, τὰ ἔμπαλιν

Ἡρακλείδας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιὴν ἑκατόν τε ἑτέων μὴ ζητῆσαι κάτοδον εἰς Πελοπόννησον. 5 προσκρίθη τε δὴ ἐκ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων ἐθελοντῆς Ἑχεμος ὁ Ἡερόπου τοῦ Φηγέος στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡμέτερος, καὶ ἐμουνομάχησέ τε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε Ὑλλον. ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εὐρόμεθα ἐν Πελοποννησίοις γε τοῖσι τότε καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα, τὰ διατελέομεν ἔχοντες, καὶ τοῦ κέρεος τοῦ ἐτέρου αἰεὶ ἡγεμονεύειν κοινῇ ἐξόδου γινομένης. 6 ὑμῖν μὲν νυν ὧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἀντιέυμεθα, ἀλλὰ διδόντες αἵρεσιν ὀκοτέρου βούλεσθε κέρεος ἄρχειν παρίεμεν· τοῦ δὲ ἐτέρου φαμὲν ἡμέας ἰκνέεσθαι ἡγεμονεύειν κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ. χωρὶς τε τούτου τοῦ ἀπηγημένου ἔργου ἀξιονικότεροί εἰμεν Ἀθηναίων ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἔχειν. 7 πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ εὗ ἔχοντες πρὸς ὑμέας ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται, ἀγῶνες ἀγωνίδαται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους. οὕτω ὧν δίκαιον ἡμέας ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας ἢ περ Ἀθηναίους· οὐ γάρ σφι ἐστὶ ἔργα οἷα περ ἡμῖν κατεργασμένα, οὐτ' ὧν καινὰ οὔτε παλαιά ,,

26. During the drawing up of battle formation there arose much dispute between the Tegeans and the Athenians, for each of them claimed that they should hold the second wing of the army, justifying themselves by tales of deeds new and old. First the Tegeans spoke: "We, among all the allies, have always had the right to hold this position in all campaigns, of the united Peloponnesian armies, both ancient and recent, ever since that time when the Heraclidae after Eurystheus' death attempted to return to the Peloponnese. We gained because of the achievement which we will relate. When we marched out at the Isthmus for war, along with the Achaeans and Ionians who then dwelt in the Peloponnese, and encamped opposite the returning exiles, then (it is said) Hyllus announced that army should not be risked against army in battle, but that that champion in the host of the Peloponnesians whom they chose as their best should fight with him in single combat on agreed conditions. The Peloponnesians, resolving that this should be so, swore a compact that if Hyllus should overcome the Peloponnesian champion, the Heraclidae should return to the land of their fathers, but if he were himself beaten, then the Heraclidae should depart and lead their army away, not attempting to return to the Peloponnese until a hundred years had

passed. Then our general and king Echemus, son of Phegeus' son Eeropus, volunteered and was chosen out of all the allied host; he fought that duel and killed Hyllus. It was for that feat of arms that the Peloponnesians granted us this in addition to other great privileges which we have never ceased to possess, namely that in all united campaigns we should always lead the army's second wing. Now with you, men of Lacedaemon, we have no rivalry, but forbear and bid you choose the command of whichever wing you want. We do, however, say that our place is at the head of the other, as it has always been. Quite apart from that feat which we have related, we are worthier than the Athenians to hold that post, for we have fought many battles which turned out favorably for you, men of Lacedaemon, and others besides. It is accordingly we and not the Athenians who should hold the second wing, for neither at some earlier period nor recently, have they achieved such feats of arms as we."

27 1 οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. "ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν σύνοδον τήνδε μάχης εἵνεκα συλλεγῆναι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τεγεήτης προέθηκε παλαιὰ καὶ καινὰ λέγειν τὰ ἐκατέροισι ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ κατέρχασται χρηστά, ἀναγκαίως ἡμῖν ἔχει δηλῶσαι πρὸς ὑμέας ὅθεν ἡμῖν πατρώιον ἐστὶ ἐοῦσι χρηστοῖσι αἰεὶ πρώτοισι εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρκάσι. 2 Ἡρακλείδας, τῶν οὗτοι φασὶ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ἴσθμῳ, τοῦτο μὲν τούτους, πρότερον ἐξελαυνομένους ὑπὸ πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο φεύγοντες δουλοσύνην πρὸς Μυκηναίων, μούνοι ὑποδεξάμενοι τὴν Εὐρυσθέος ὕβριν κατείλομεν, σὺν ἐκείνοισι μάχη νικήσαντες τοὺς τότε ἔχοντας Πελοπόννησον. 3 τοῦτο δὲ Ἀργείους τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνείκεος ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐλάσαντας, τελευτήσαντας τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἀτάφους κειμένους, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Καδμείους ἀνελέσθαι τε τοὺς νεκροὺς φαμέν καὶ θάψαι τῆς ἡμετέρης ἐν Ἐλευσίνι. 4 ἐστὶ δὲ ἡμῖν ἔργον εὖ ἔχον καὶ ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμῶδοντος ποταμοῦ ἐσβαλούσας κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ ἐν τοῖσι Τρωικοῖσι πόνοισι οὐδαμῶν ἐλειπόμεθα. ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τι προέχει τούτων ἐπιμενῆσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἂν χρηστοὶ τότε ἐόντες ὧντοι νῦν ἂν εἶεν φλαυρότεροι, καὶ τότε ἐόντες φλαῦροι νῦν ἂν εἶεν ἀμείνονες. 5 παλαιῶν μὲν νυν ἔργων ἅλις ἔστω· ἡμῖν δὲ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ

ἀποδεδεγμένον, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ εὖ ἔχοντα εἰ τεοῖσι καὶ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔργου ἄξιοι εἰμὲν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἔχειν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτῳ, οἵτινες μοῦνοι Ἑλλήνων δὴ μονομαχήσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ καὶ ἔργῳ τοσοῦτῳ ἐπιχειρήσαντες περιεγενόμεθα καὶ ἐνίκησαμεν ἔθνεα ἕξ τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα. ὁ ἄρ' οὐ δίκαιοι εἰμὲν ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ τούτου μούνου τοῦ ἔργου; ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τάξιος εἶνεκα στασιάζειν πρέπει, ἄρτιοι εἰμὲν πείθεσθαι ὑμῖν ὃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἵνα δοκέει ἐπιτηδεότατον ἡμέας εἶναι ἐστάναι καὶ κατ' οὐστίνας· πάντῃ γὰρ τεταγμένοι πειρησόμεθα εἶναι χρηστοί. ἐξηγέεσθε δὲ ὥς πεισομένων

”

27. To these words the Athenians replied: “It is our belief that we are gathered for battle with the barbarian, and not for speeches; but since the man of Tegea has made it his business to speak of all the valorous deeds, old and new, which either of our nations has at any time achieved, we must prove to you how we, rather than Arcadians, have by virtue of our valor a hereditary right to the place of honor. These Tegeans say that they killed the leader of the Heraclidae at the Isthmus. Now when those same Heraclidae had been rejected by every Greek people to whom they resorted to escape the tyranny of the Mycenaeans, we alone received them. With them we vanquished those who then inhabited the Peloponnese, and we broke the pride of Eurystheus. Furthermore, when the Argives who had marched with Polynices against Thebes had there made an end of their lives and lay unburied, know that we sent our army against the Cadmeans and recovered the dead and buried them in Eleusis. We also have on record our great victory against the Amazons, who once came from the river Thermodon and broke into Attica, and in the hard days of Troy we were second to none. But since it is useless to recall these matters — for those who were previously valiant may now be of lesser mettle, and those who lacked mettle then may be better men now — enough of the past. Supposing that we were known for no achievement (although the fact is that we have done more than any other of the Greeks), we nevertheless deserve to have this honor and more beside because of the role we played at Marathon, seeing that alone of all Greeks we met the Persian singlehandedly and did not

fail in that enterprise, but overcame forty-six nations. Is it not then our right to hold this post, for that one feat alone? Yet seeing that this is no time for wrangling about our place in the battle, we are ready to obey you, men of Lacedaemon and take whatever place and face whatever enemy you think fitting. Wherever you set us, we will strive to be valiant men. Command us then, knowing that we will obey.”

28 1 οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἀμείβοντο, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀνέβωσε ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀθηναίους ἀξιονικότερους εἶναι ἔχειν τὸ κέρας ἢ περ Ἀρκάδας. οὕτω δὴ ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὑπερεβάλοντο τοὺς Τεγεήτας. 2 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε οἱ ἐπιφοιτῶντές τε καὶ οἱ ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες Ἑλλήνων. τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἶχον Λακεδαιμονίων μύριοι· τούτων δὲ τοὺς πεντακισχίλιους ἔοντας Σπαρτιήτας ἐφύλασσον ψилоὶ τῶν εἰλώτων πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι, περὶ ἄνδρα ἕκαστον ἑπτὰ τεταγμένοι. 3 προσεχέας δὲ σφίσι εἵλοντο ἐστάναι οἱ Σπαρτιῆται τοὺς Τεγεήτας καὶ τιμῆς εἵνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς· τούτων δ’ ἦσαν ὀπλίται χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἴσταντο Κορινθίων πεντακισχίλιοι, παρὰ δὲ σφίσι εὗροντο παρὰ Πausanias ἐστάναι Ποτιδαιητῶν τῶν ἐκ Παλλήνης τοὺς παρεόντας τριηκοσίους. 4 τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἴσταντο Ἀρκάδες Ὀρχομένιοι ἑξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Σικυώνιοι τρισχίλιοι. τούτων δὲ εἶχοντο Ἐπιδαυρίων ὀκτακόσιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους Τροιζηνίων ἐτάσσοντο χίλιοι, Τροιζηνίων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Λεπρεητέων διηκόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Μυκηναίων καὶ Τιρυνθίων τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Φλειάσιοι χίλιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἔστησαν Ἑρμιονέες τριηκόσιοι. 5 Ἑρμιονέων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἴσταντο Ἑρετριέων τε καὶ Στυρέων ἑξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Χαλκιδέες τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Ἀμπρακιητέων πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀνακτορίων ὀκτακόσιοι ἔστησαν, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Παλῆες οἱ ἐκ Κεφαλληνίης διηκόσιοι. 6 μετὰ δὲ τούτους Αἰγινητέων πεντακόσιοι ἐτάχθησαν. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἐτάσσοντο Μεγαρέων τρισχίλιοι. εἶχοντο δὲ τούτων Πλαταιέες ἑξακόσιοι. τελευταῖοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐτάσσοντο, κέρας ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον, ὀκτακισχίλιοι· ἐστρατήγεε δ’ αὐτῶν Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου.

28. This was the Athenians’ response, and the whole army shouted aloud that the Athenians were worthier to hold the wing than

the Arcadians. It was in this way that the Athenians were preferred to the men of Tegea, and gained that place. Presently the whole Greek army was arrayed as I will show, both the later and the earliest comers. On the right wing were ten thousand Lacedaemonians; five thousand of these, who were Spartans, had a guard of thirty-five thousand light-armed helots, seven appointed for each man. The Spartans chose the Tegeans for their neighbors in the battle, both to do them honor, and for their valor; there were of these fifteen hundred men-at-arms. Next to these in the line were five thousand Corinthians, at whose desire Pausanias permitted the three hundred Potidaeans from Pallene then present to stand by them. Next to these were six hundred Arcadians from Orchomenus, and after them three thousand men of Sicyon. By these one thousand Troezenians were posted, and after them two hundred men of Lepreum, then four hundred from Mycenae and Tiryns, and next to them one thousand from Phlius. By these stood three hundred men of Hermione. Next to the men of Hermione were six hundred Eretrians and Styreans; next to them, four hundred Chalcidians; next again, five hundred Ampraciots. After these stood eight hundred Leucadians and Anactorians, and next to them two hundred from Pale in Cephallenia; after them in the array, five hundred Aeginetans; by them stood three thousand men of Megara, and next to these six hundred Plataeans. At the end, and first in the line, were the Athenians who held the left wing. They were eight thousand in number, and their general was Aristides son of Lysimachus.

29 1 οὗτοι, πλὴν τῶν ἐπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τεταγμένων Σπαρτιήτησι, ἦσαν ὀπλίται, σύμπαντες ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἐπτὰ. ὀπλίται μὲν οἱ πάντες συλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἦσαν τοσοῦτοι, ψιλῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἦν τόδε, τῆς μὲν Σπαρτιητικῆς τάξιος πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμῦριοι ἄνδρες, ὡς ἐόντων ἐπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον ἄνδρα, καὶ τούτων πᾶς τις παρήρητο ὡς ἐς πόλεμον· 2 οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων ψιλοί, ὡς εἶς περὶ ἕκαστον ἐὼν ἄνδρα, πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμῦριοι ἦσαν.

29. All these, except the seven appointed to attend each Spartan, were men-at-arms, and the whole sum of them was thirty-eight

thousand and seven hundred. This was the number of men-at-arms that mustered for war against the barbarian; as regards the number of the light-armed men, there were in the Spartan array seven for each man-at-arms, that is, thirty-five thousand, and every one of these was equipped for war. The light-armed from the rest of Lacedaemon and Hellas were as one to every man-at-arms, and their number was thirty-four thousand and five hundred.

30 1 ψιλῶν μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀπάντων τῶν μαχίμων ἦν τὸ πλῆθος ἕξ τε μυριάδες καὶ ἑννέα χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες πέντε, τοῦ δὲ σύμπαντος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ συνελθόντος ἐς Πλαταιὰς σύν τε ὀπλίτησι καὶ ψιλοῖσι τοῖσι μαχίμοις ἑνδεκα μυριάδες ἦσαν, μιῆς χιλιάδος, πρὸς δὲ ὀκτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν καταδέουσαι. σὺν δὲ Θεσπίων τοῖσι παρεούσι ἐξεπληροῦντο αἱ ἑνδεκα μυριάδες· παρῆσαν γὰρ καὶ Θεσπίων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ περιεόντες, ἀριθμὸν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους· ὅπλα δὲ οὐδ' οὗτοι εἶχον. οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταχθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.

30. So the total of all the light-armed men who were fighters was sixty-nine thousand and five hundred, and of the whole Greek army mustered at Plataea, men-at-arms and light-armed fighting men together, eleven times ten thousand less eighteen hundred. The Thespians who were present were one hundred and ten thousand in number, for the survivors of the Thespians were also present with the army, eighteen hundred in number. These then were arrayed and encamped by the Asopus.

31 1 οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ὥς ἀπεκίδευσαν Μασίστιον, παρῆσαν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν τὸν ταύτῃ ῥέοντα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἀντετάσσοντο ὧδε ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου. κατὰ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ἔστησε Πέρσας. 2 καὶ δὴ πολλὸν γὰρ περιῆσαν πλήθει οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐπὶ τε τάξις πλεῦνας ἐκεκοσμέατο καὶ ἐπεῖχον τοὺς Τεγεῆτας. ἔταξε δὲ οὗτω· ὅ τι μὲν ἦν αὐτῶν δυνατώτατον πᾶν ἀπολέξας ἔστησε ἀντίον Λακεδαιμονίων, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστερον παρέταξε κατὰ τοὺς Τεγεῆτας. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεε φραζόντων τε καὶ διδασκόντων Θηβαίων. 3 Περσέων δὲ ἔχομένους ἔταξε Μήδους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Κορινθίους τε καὶ Ποτιδαιήτας καὶ Ὀρχομενίους τε καὶ Σικυωνίους. Μήδων δὲ ἔχομένους ἔταξε Βακτρίους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἐπιδαυρίους τε καὶ

Τροϊζηνίους καὶ Λεπρεΐτας τε καὶ Τίρυνθίους καὶ Μυκηναίους τε καὶ Φλειασίους. 4 μετὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ἔστησε Ἰνδούς· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἑρμιονέας τε καὶ Ἐρετρίας καὶ Στυρέας τε καὶ Χαλκιδέας. Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἔχομένους Σάκας ἔταξε, οἱ ἐπέσχον Ἀμπρακιήτας τε καὶ Ἀνακτορίους καὶ Λευκαδίους καὶ Παλέας καὶ Αἰγινίτας. 5 Σακέων δὲ ἔχομένους ἔταξε ἀντὶα Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων καὶ Μεγαρέων Βοιωτοὺς τε καὶ Λοκροὺς καὶ Μηλίας τε καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ Φωκέων τοὺς χιλίους· οὐ γὰρ ὧν ἅπαντες οἱ Φωκέες ἐμῆδισαν, ἀλλὰ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἠὔξον περὶ τὸν Παρνησσὸν κατελιγμένοι, καὶ ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμώμενοι ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον τὴν τε Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐόντας Ἑλλήνων. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

31. When Mardonius' barbarians had finished their mourning for Masistius and heard that the Greeks were at Plataea, they also came to the part of the Asopus river nearest to them. When they were there, they were arrayed for battle by Mardonius as I shall show. He posted the Persians facing the Lacedaemonians. Seeing that the Persians by far outnumbered the Lacedaemonians, they were arrayed in deeper ranks and their line ran opposite the Tegeans also. In his arraying of them he chose out the strongest part of the Persians to set it over against the Lacedaemonians, and posted the weaker by them facing the Tegeans; this he did being so informed and taught by the Thebans. Next to the Persians he posted the Medes opposite the men of Corinth, Potidaea, Orchomenus, and Sicyon; next to the Medes, the Bactrians, opposite the men of Epidaurus, Troezen, Lepreum, Tiryns, Mycenae, and Phlius. After the Bactrians he set the Indians, opposite the men of Hermione and Eretria and Styra and Chalcis. Next to the Indians he posted the Sacae, opposite the Ampraciots, Anactorians, Leucadians, Paleans, and Aeginetans; next to the Sacae, and opposite the Athenians, Plataeans, Megarians, the Boeotians, Locrians, Malians, Thessalians, and the thousand that came from Phocis; for not all the Phocians took the Persian side, but some of them gave their aid to the Greek cause; these had been besieged on Parnassus, and issued out from there to harry Mardonius' army and the Greeks who were with him. Beside these, he arrayed the

Macedonians also and those who lived in the area of Thessaly opposite the Athenians.

32 1 ταῦτα μὲν τῶν ἐθνέων τὰ μέγιστα ὠνόμασται τῶν ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου ταχθέντων, τὰ περ ἐπιφανέστατά τε ἦν καὶ λόγου πλείστου· ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων ἄνδρες ἀναμεμιγμένοι, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Θρηίκων καὶ Μυσῶν τε καὶ Παιόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν δὲ καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ τε Ἑρμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίριες καλεόμενοι μαχαιροφόροι, οἱ περ εἰσὶ Αἰγυπτίων μοῦνοι μάχιμοι. 2 τούτους δὲ ἔτι ἐν Φαλήρῳ ἔων ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀπεβιβάσατο ἐόντας ἐπιβάτας· οὐ γὰρ ἐτάχθησαν ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τὸν ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν μὲν δὴ βαρβάρων ἦσαν τριήκοντα μυριάδες, ὡς καὶ πρότερον δεδῆλωται· τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τῶν Μαρδονίου συμμάχων οἶδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀριθμόν· οὐ γὰρ ὧν ἠριθμήθησαν· ὡς δὲ ἐπείκασαι, ἐς πέντε μυριάδας συλλεγῆναι εἰκάζω. οὗτοι οἱ παραταχθέντες πεζοὶ ἦσαν, ἡ δὲ ἵππος χωρὶς ἐτέτακτο.

32. These which I have named were the greatest of the nations set in array by Mardonius, but there was also in the army a mixture of Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Paeonians, and the rest, besides Ethiopians and the Egyptian swordsmen called Hermotybies and Calasiries, who are the only fighting men in Egypt. These had been fighters on shipboard, till Mardonius while yet at Phalerum disembarked them from their ships; for the Egyptians were not appointed to serve in the land army which Xerxes led to Athens. Of the barbarians, then, there were three hundred thousand, as I have already shown. As for the Greek allies of Mardonius, no one knows the number of them (for they were not counted), I suppose them to have been mustered to the number of fifty thousand. These were the footmen that were set in array; the cavalry were separately ordered.

33 1 ὡς δὲ ἄρα πάντες οἱ ἐτετάχατο κατὰ ἔθνεα καὶ κατὰ τέλεα, ἐνθαῦτα τῇ δευτέρῃ ἐθύοντο καὶ ἀμφοτέροι. Ἑλλησι μὲν Τισαμενὸς Ἀντιόχου ἦν ὁ θυόμενος· οὗτος γὰρ δὴ εἶπετο τῷ στρατεύματι τούτῳ μάντις· τὸν ἐόντα Ἥλειον καὶ γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμιδέων [Κλυτιάδην] Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐποίησαντο λεωσφέτερον. 2 Τισαμενῷ γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ γόνου ἀνεῖλε ἡ Πυθίη ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους ἀναιρήσεσθαι πέντε. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρηστηρίου

προσεῖχε γυμνασίοις ὥς ἀναιρησόμενος γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἀσκέων δὲ πεντάεθλον παρὰ ἓν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε νικᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδα, Ἰερωνύμῳ τῷ Ἀνδρίῳ ἐλθὼν ἐς ἔριν. 3 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μαθόντες οὐκ ἐς γυμνικοὺς ἀλλ' ἐς ἀρτίους ἀγῶνας φέρον τὸ Τισαμενοῦ μαντήιον, μισθῷ ἐπειρῶντο πείσαντες Τισαμενὸν ποιέεσθαι ἅμα Ἡρακλειδέων τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ἡγεμόνα τῶν πολέμων. 4 ὁ δὲ ὁρέων περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένους Σπαρτιήτας φίλον αὐτὸν προσθέσθαι, μαθὼν τοῦτο ἀνέτιμα, σημαίνων σφι ὥς ἦν μιν πολυήτην σφέτερον ποιήσωνται τῶν πάντων μεταδιδόντες, ποιήσει ταῦτα, ἐπ' ἄλλῳ μισθῷ δ' οὔ. 5 Σπαρτιῆται δὲ πρῶτα μὲν ἀκούσαντες δεινὰ ἐποιεῦντο καὶ μετίεσαν τῆς χρησιμοσύνης τὸ παράπαν, τέλος δὲ δείματος μεγάλου ἐπικρεμαμένου τοῦ Περσικοῦ τούτου στρατεύματος καταΐνεον μετιόντες. ὁ δὲ γνοὺς τετραμμένους σφέας οὐδ' οὕτω ἔτι ἔφη ἀρκέεσθαι τούτοις μούνοισι, ἀλλὰ δεῖν ἔτι τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἔωτοῦ Ἥγην γίνεσθαι Σπαρτιήτην ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι λόγοις τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται.

33. On the second day after they had all been arrayed according to their nations and their battalions, both armies offered sacrifice. It was Tisamenus who sacrificed for the Greeks, for he was with their army as a diviner; he was an Elean by birth, a Clytiad of the Iamid clan, and the Lacedaemonians gave him the freedom of their city. This they did, for when Tisamenus was inquiring of the oracle at Delphi concerning offspring, the priestess prophesied to him that he should win five great victories. Not understanding that oracle, he engaged in bodily exercise, thinking that he would then be able to win in similar sports. When he had trained himself for the Five Contests, he came within one wrestling bout of winning the Olympic prize, in a match with Hieronymus of Andros. The Lacedaemonians, however, perceived that the oracle given to Tisamenus spoke of the lists not of sport but of war, and they attempted to bribe Tisamenus to be a leader in their wars jointly with their kings of Heracles' line. When he saw that the Spartans set great store by his friendship, he set his price higher, and made it known to them that he would do what they wanted only in exchange for the gift of full citizenship and all of the citizen's rights. Hearing that, the Spartans at first were angry and completely abandoned their request; but when the dreadful menace

of this Persian host hung over them, they consented and granted his demand. When he saw their purpose changed, he said that he would not be content with that alone; his brother Hegias too must be made a Spartan on the same terms as himself.

34 1 ταῦτα δὲ λέγων οὗτος ἐμίμετο Μελάμποδα, ὥς εἰκάσαι βασιληίην τε καὶ πολιτηίην αἰτεομένους. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μελάμπους τῶν ἐν Ἀργεῖ γυναικῶν μανεισέων, ὥς μιν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐμισθοῦντο ἐκ Πύλου παῦσαι τὰς σφετέρας γυναικάς τῆς νούσου, μισθὸν προετείνατο τῆς βασιληΐας τὸ ἥμισυ. 2 οὐκ ἀνασχομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων ἄλλ' ἀπιόντων, ὥς ἐμαίνοντο πλεῦνες τῶν γυναικῶν, οὕτω δὴ ὑποστάντες τὰ ὃ Μελάμπους προετείνατο ἦσαν δώσοντές οἱ ταῦτα. ὃ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπορέγεται ὀρέων αὐτοὺς τετραμμένους, φάς, ἦν μὴ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Βίαντι μεταδῶσι τὸ τριτημόριον τῆς βασιληΐας, οὐ ποιήσιν τὰ βούλονται. οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ἀπειληθέντες ἐς στεινὸν καταινέουσι καὶ ταῦτα.

34. By so saying he imitated Melampus, in so far as one may compare demands for kingship with those for citizenship. For when the women of Argos had gone mad, and the Argives wanted him to come from Pylos and heal them of that madness, Melampus demanded half of their kingship for his wages. This the Argives would not put up with and departed. When, however, the madness spread among their women, they promised what Melampus demanded and were ready to give it to him. Thereupon, seeing their purpose changed, he demanded yet more and said that he would not do their will except if they gave a third of their kingship to his brother Bias; now driven into dire straits, the Argives consented to that also.

35 1 ὥς δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιῆται, ἐδέοντο γὰρ δεινῶς τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ, πάντως συνεχώρεόν οἱ. συγχωρησάντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, οὕτω δὴ πέντε σφι μαντευόμενος ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους Τισαμενὸς ὃ Ἥλειος, γενόμενος Σπαρτιήτης, συγκαταίρει. μῦθοι δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Σπαρτιήτησι πολιῆται. 2 οἱ δὲ πέντε ἀγῶνες οἶδε ἐγένοντο, εἷς μὲν καὶ πρῶτος οὗτος ὃ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, ἐπὶ δὲ ὃ ἐν Τεγέῃ πρὸς Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἀργεῖους γενόμενος, μετὰ δὲ ὃ ἐν Διπαιεῦσι πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πάντας πλὴν Μαντινέων, ἐπὶ δὲ ὃ Μεσσηνίων ὃ πρὸς Ἰθώμῃ,

ὑστατος δὲ ὁ ἐν Τανάγρῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Ἀργεῖους γενόμενος· οὗτος δὲ ὑστατος κατεργάσθη τῶν πέντε ἀγώνων.

35. The Spartans too were so eagerly desirous of winning Tisamenus that they granted everything that he demanded. When they had granted him this also, Tisamenus of Elis, now a Spartan, engaged in divination for them and aided them to win five very great victories. No one on earth save Tisamenus and his brother ever became citizens of Sparta. Now the five victories were these: one, the first, this victory at Plataea; next, that which was won at Tegea over the Tegeans and Argives; after that, over all the Arcadians save the Mantineans at Dipaea; next, over the Messenians at Ithome; lastly, the victory at Tanagra over the Athenians and Argives, which was the last won of the five victories.

36 1 οὗτος δὴ τότε τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ὁ Τισαμενός, ἀγόντων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, ἐμαντεύετο ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι. τοῖσι μὲν νυν Ἑλλήσι καλὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρὰ ἀμυνομένοισι, διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ μάχης ἄρχουσι οὗ.

36. This Tisamenus had now been brought by the Spartans and was the diviner of the Greeks at Plataea. The sacrifices boded good to the Greeks if they would just defend themselves, but evil if they should cross the Asopus and be the first to attack.

37 1 Μαρδονίῳ δὲ προθυμιομένῳ μάχης ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρά, ἀμυνομένῳ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ καλά. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἱροῖσι ἐχρᾶτο, μάντιν ἔχων Ἥγησίστρατον ἄνδρα Ἥλειόν τε καὶ τῶν Τελλιαδέων ἐόντα λογιμώτατον, τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων Σπαρτιῆται λαβόντες ἔδησαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ὡς πεπονθότες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. 2 ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἐχόμενος, ὥστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρό τε τοῦ θανάτου πεισόμενος πολλά τε καὶ λυγρά, ἔργον ἐργάσατο μέζον λόγου. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἐδέδετο ἐν ξύλῳ σιδηροδέτῳ, ἐσενειχθέντος κως σιδηρίου ἐκράτησε, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐμμηχανᾶτο ἀνδρηιότατον ἔργον πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· σταθμισάμενος γὰρ ὅκως ἐξελεύσεται οἱ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ποδός, ἀπέταμε τὸν ταρσὸν ἐξουτοῦ. 3 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ὡς φυλασσόμενος ὑπὸ φυλάκων, διορύξας τὸν τοῖχον ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην, τὰς μὲν νύκτας πορευόμενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταδύνων ἐς ὕλην καὶ αὐλιζόμενος, οὕτῳ ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων πανδημεῖ διζημένων τρίτῃ εὐφρόνῃ

γενέσθαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέχεσθαι τῆς τε τόλμης, ὁρῶντας τὸ ἡμίτομον τοῦ ποδὸς κείμενον, κάκεϊνον οὐ δυναμένους εὐρεῖν. 4 τότε μὲν οὕτω διαφυγὼν Λακεδαιμονίους καταφεύγει ἐς Τεγέην ἐοῦσαν οὐκ ἀρθμίην Λακεδαιμονίοισι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον· ὑγίης δὲ γενόμενος καὶ προσποιησάμενος ξύλινον πόδα κατεστήκεε ἐκ τῆς ἰθῆς Λακεδαιμονίοισι πολέμιος. οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τέλος οἱ συνήνεικε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους συγκεκυρημένον· ἦλω γὰρ μαντευόμενος ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανε.

37. Mardonius' sacrifices also foretold an unfavorable outcome if he should be zealous to attack first, and good if he should but defend himself. He too used the Greek manner of sacrifice, and Hegesistratus of Elis was his diviner, the most notable of the sons of Tellias. This man had been put in prison and condemned to die by the Spartans for the great harm which he had done them. Being in such bad shape inasmuch as he was in peril of his life and was likely to be very grievously maltreated before his death, he did something which was almost beyond belief; made fast in iron-bound stocks, he got an iron weapon which was brought in some way into his prison, and straightway conceived a plan of such courage as we have never known; reckoning how best the rest of it might get free, he cut off his own foot at the instep. This done, he tunneled through the wall out of the way of the guards who kept watch over him, and so escaped to Tegea. All night he journeyed, and all day he hid and lay hidden in the woods, till on the third night he came to Tegea, while all the people of Lacedaemon sought him. The latter were greatly amazed when they saw the half of his foot which had been cut off and lying there but not were unable to find the man himself. This, then, is the way in which he escaped the Lacedaemonians and took refuge in Tegea, which at that time was unfriendly to Lacedaemon. After he was healed and had made himself a foot of wood, he declared himself an open enemy of the Lacedaemonians. Yet the enmity which he bore them brought him no good at the last, for they caught him at his divinations in Zacynthus and killed him.

38 1 ὁ μέντοι θάνατος ὁ Ἡγησιστράτου ὕστερον ἐγένετο τῶν Πλαταικῶν, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ Μαρδονίῳ μεμισθωμένος οὐκ ὀλίγου ἐθύετό τε καὶ προεθυμέετο κατὰ τε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ

Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ κατὰ τὸ κέρδος. 2 ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρεε ὥστε μάχεσθαι οὔτε αὐτοῖσι Πέρσῃσι οὔτε τοῖσι μετ' ἐκείνων ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων (εἶχον γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν μάντιν Ἴππόμαχον Λευκάδιον ἄνδρα), ἐπιρρέοντων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ γινομένων πλεύνων, Τιμηγενίδης ὁ Ἑρπυος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος συνεβούλευσε Μαρδονίῳ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος φυλάξαι, λέγων ὥς ἐπιρρέουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες αἰεὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην καὶ ὥς ἀπολάμψοιτο συγχοῦς.

38. The death of Hegesistratus, however, took place after the Plataean business. At the present he was by the Asopus, hired by Mardonius for no small wage, where he sacrificed and worked zealously, both for the hatred he bore the Lacedaemonians and for gain. When no favorable omens for battle could be won either by the Persians themselves or by the Greeks who were with them (for they too had a diviner of their own, Hippomachus of Leucas), and the Greeks kept flocking in and their army grew, Timagenides son of Herpys, a Theban, advised Mardonius to guard the outlet of the pass over Cithaeron, telling him that the Greeks were coming in daily and that he would thereby cut off many of them.

39 1 ἡμέραι δὲ σφι ἀντικατημένοισι ἤδη ἐγεγόνεσαν ὁκτώ, ὅτε ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος συνεβούλευε Μαρδονίῳ. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὴν παραίνεσιν εὖ ἔχουσαν, ὥς εὐφρόνη ἐγένετο, πέμπει τὴν ἵππον ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τὰς Κιθαιρωνίδας αἱ ἐπὶ Πλαταίων φέρουσι, τὰς Βοιωτοὶ μὲν Τρεῖς κεφαλὰς καλέουσι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Δρυὸς κεφαλὰς. πεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ ἱππῶται οὐ μάτην ἀπίκοντο· 2 ἐσβάλλοντα γὰρ ἐς τὸ πεδίον λαμβάνουσι ὑποζύγια τε πεντακόσια, σιτία ἄγοντα ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οἱ εἶποντο τοῖσι ζεύγεσι. ἐλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἄγρην οἱ Πέρσαι ἀφειδέως ἐφόνεον, οὐ φειδόμενοι οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἀνθρώπου. ὥς δὲ ἄδην εἶχον κτείνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν ἤλαυνον περιβαλόμενοι παρά τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

39. The armies had already lain hidden opposite each other for eight days when he gave this counsel. Mardonius perceived that the advice was good, and when night had fallen, he sent his horsemen to the outlet of the pass over Cithaeron which leads towards Plataea. This pass the Boeotians call the Three Heads, and the Athenians the

Oak's Heads. The horsemen who were sent out did not go in vain, for they caught both five hundred beasts of burden which were going into the low country, bringing provisions from the Peloponnese for the army, and men who came with the wagons. When they had taken this quarry, the Persians killed without mercy, sparing neither man nor beast. When they had their fill of slaughter, they encircled the rest and drove them to Mardonius and his camp.

40 1 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἑτέρας δύο ἡμέρας διέτριψαν, οὐδέτεροι βουλόμενοι μάχης ἄρξαι· μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ἐπήισαν οἱ βάρβαροι πειρώμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διέβαινον δὲ οὐδέτεροι. ἡ μὲντοι ἵππος ἡ Μαρδονίου αἰεὶ προσέκειτό τε καὶ ἐλύπεε τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι, ἅτε μηδίζοντες μεγάλως, προθύμως ἔφερον τὸν πόλεμον καὶ αἰεὶ κατηγέοντο μέχρι μάχης, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου παραδεκόμενοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι μάλα ἔσκον οἱ ἀπεδείκνυντο ἀρετάς.

40. After this deed they waited two days more, neither side desiring to begin the battle, for although the barbarians came to the Asopus to test the Greeks intent, neither army crossed it. Mardonius' cavalry, however, kept pressing upon and troubling the Greeks, for the Thebans, in their zeal for the Persian part, waged war heartily, and kept on guiding the horsemen to the encounter; thereafter it was the turn of the Persians and Medes, and they and none other would do deeds of valor.

41 1 μέχρι μὲν νυν τῶν δέκα ἡμερέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεῦν ἐγίνετο τούτων· ὥς δὲ ἑνδεκάτῃ ἐγεγόνεε ἡμέρῃ ἀντικατημένοισι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, οἳ τε δὴ Ἕλληνες πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐγεγόνεσαν καὶ Μαρδόνιος περιημέκτεε τῇ ἔδρῃ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς λόγους ἦλθον Μαρδόνιός τε ὁ Γοβρύεω καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος, ὃς ἐν ὀλίγοισι Περσέων ἦν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος παρὰ Ξέρξῃ. 2 βουλευομένων δὲ αἶδε ἦσαν αἱ γινῶμαι, ἡ μὲν Ἀρταβάζου ὥς χρεὸν εἶη ἀναζεύξαντας τὴν ταχίστην πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἰέναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Θηβαίων, ἔθα σῖτόν τε σφι ἐσηνεῖσθαι πολλὸν καὶ χόρτον τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι, κατ' ἡσυχίην τε ἰζομένους διαπρήσσεσθαι ποιεῦντας τάδε· 3 ἔχειν γὰρ χρυσὸν πολλὸν μὲν ἐπίσημον πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄσημον, πολλὸν δὲ ἄργυρόν τε καὶ ἐκπώματα· τούτων φειδομένους μηδενὸς διαπέμπειν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, Ἑλλήνων δὲ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἐν τῇσι

πόλιν, καὶ ταχέως σφέας παραδώσειν τὴν ἐλευθερίην· μηδὲ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντας. 4 τοῦτου μὲν ἢ αὐτὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ Θηβαίων γνώμη, ὡς προειδότης πλεῦν τι καὶ τοῦτου, Μαρδονίου δὲ ἰσχυροτέρη τε καὶ ἀγνωμονεστέρα καὶ οὐδαμῶς συγγινωσκομένη· δοκέειν τε γὰρ πολλῶν κρέσσονα εἶναι τὴν σφετέρην στρατιὴν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς, συμβάλλειν τε τὴν ταχίστην μηδὲ περιορᾶν συλλεγομένους ἔτι πλεῦνας τῶν συλλεγεμένων, τὰ τε σφάγια τὰ Ἥγησιστράτου ἔαν μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ τῷ Περσέων χρεωμένους συμβάλλειν.

41. Until ten days had passed, no more was done than this. On the eleventh day from their first encampment opposite each other, the Greeks growing greatly in number and Mardonius being greatly vexed by the delay, there was a debate held between Mardonius son of Gobryas and Artabazus son of Pharnaces, who stood as high as only few others in Xerxes' esteem. Their opinions in council were as I will show. Artabazus thought it best that they should strike their camp with all speed and lead the whole army within the walls of Thebes. Here there was much food stored and fodder for their beasts of burden; furthermore, they could sit at their ease here and conclude the business by doing as follows: they could take the great store they had of gold, minted and other, and silver drinking-cups, and send all this to all places in Hellas without stint, excepting none, but especially to the chief men in the cities of Hellas. Let them do this (he said) and the Greeks would quickly surrender their liberty; but do not let the Persians risk the event of a battle. This opinion of his was the same as the Thebans, inasmuch as he too had special foreknowledge. Mardonius' counsel, however, was more vehement and intemperate and not at all leaning to moderation. He said that he thought that their army was much stronger than the Greeks and that they should give battle with all speed so as not to let more Greeks muster than were mustered already. As for the sacrifices of Hegesistratus, let them pay no heed to these, nor seek to wring good from them, but rather give battle after Persian custom.

42 1 τοῦτου δὲ οὕτω δικαιοῦντος ἀντέλεγε οὐδεὶς, ὥστε ἐκράτεε τῇ γνώμῃ· τὸ γὰρ κράτος εἶχε τῆς στρατιῆς οὗτος ἐκ βασιλέως, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀρτάβαζος. μεταπεμψάμενος ὧν τοὺς ταξιάρχους τῶν τελέων

καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐωυτοῦ ἐόντων Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἰρώτα εἴ τι εἶδεῖν λόγιον περὶ Περσέων ὡς διαφθερέονται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. 2 σιγῶντων δὲ τῶν ἐπικλήτων, τῶν μὲν οὐκ εἰδόντων τοὺς χρησμούς, τῶν δὲ εἰδόντων μὲν ἐν ἀδείῃ δὲ οὐ ποιευμένων τὸ λέγειν, αὐτὸς Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὑμεῖς ἢ ἴστε οὐδὲν ἢ οὐ τολμᾶτε λέγειν, ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ ἐρέω ὡς εὖ ἐπιστάμενος· 3 ἔστι λόγιον ὡς χρεὸν ἐστὶ Πέρσας ἀπικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαρπάσαι τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαρπαγὴν ἀπολέσθαι πάντας. ἡμεῖς τοίνυν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενοι οὔτε ἵμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὔτε ἐπιχειρήσομεν διαρπάζειν, ταύτης τε εἵνεκα τῆς αἰτίας οὐκ ἀπολέομεθα. 4 ὥστε ὑμῶν ὅσοι τυγχάνουσι εὐνοοὶ ἐόντες Πέρσησι, ἦδεσθε τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὡς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ἑλλήνων „ ταῦτά σφι εἴπας δεύτερα ἐσήμαινε παραρτέεσθαι τε πάντα καὶ εὐκρινέα ποιέεσθαι ὡς ἅμα ἡμέρη τῇ ἐπιούσῃ συμβολῆς ἐσομένης.

42. No one withstood this argument, and his opinion accordingly prevailed; for it was he and not Artabazus who was commander of the army by the king's commission. He therefore sent for the leaders of the battalions and the generals of those Greeks who were with him and asked them if they knew any oracle which prophesied that the Persians should perish in Hellas. Those who were summoned said nothing, some not knowing the prophecies, and some knowing them but thinking it perilous to speak, and then Mardonius himself said: “Since you either have no knowledge or are afraid to declare it, hear what I tell you based on the full knowledge that I have. There is an oracle that Persians are fated to come to Hellas and all perish there after they have plundered the temple at Delphi. Since we have knowledge of this same oracle, we will neither approach that temple nor attempt to plunder it; in so far as destruction hinges on that, none awaits us. Therefore, as many of you as wish the Persian well may rejoice in that we will overcome the Greeks.” Having spoken in this way, he gave command to have everything prepared and put in good order for the battle which would take place early the next morning.

43 1 τοῦτον δ’ ἔγωγε τὸν χρησμόν, τὸν Μαρδόνιος εἶπε ἐς Πέρσας ἔχειν, ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τε καὶ τὸν Ἑγγελέων στρατὸν οἶδα πεποιημένον, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐς Πέρσας. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδι ἐς ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἐστὶ πεποιημένα, 2 τὴν δ’ ἐπὶ Θερμῶδοντι καὶ Ἀσωπῷ λεχεποίη Ἑλλήνων

σύνοδον καὶ βαρβαρόφωνον ἰυγὴν, τῇ πολλοὶ πεσέονται ὑπὲρ
λάχεσιν τε μόρον τε τοξοφόρων Μήδων, ὅταν αἵσιμον ἡμαρ ἐπέλθῃ,
ταῦτα μὲν καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοισι ἄλλα Μουσαίῳ ἔχοντα οἶδα ἐς
Πέρσας. ὁ δὲ Θερμώδων ποταμὸς ῥέει μεταξύ Τανάγρης τε καὶ
Γλίσσαντος.

43. Now for this prophecy, which Mardonius said was spoken of
the Persians, I know it to have been made concerning not them but
the Illyrians and the army of the Enchelees. There is, however, a
prophecy made by Bacis concerning this battle: “By Thermodon’s
stream and the grass-grown banks of Asopus, Will be a gathering of
Greeks for fight and the ring of the barbarian’s war-cry; Many a
Median archer, by death untimely overtaken will fall There in the
battle when the day of his doom is upon him. “ I know that these
verses and others very similar to them from Musaeus referred to the
Persians. As for the river Thermodon, it flows between Tanagra and
Glisas.

44 1 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ παραίνεσιν τὴν ἐκ
Μαρδονίου νύξ τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἐς φυλακὰς ἐτάσσοντο. ὥς δὲ πρόσω
τῆς νυκτὸς προελήλατο καὶ ἡσυχίῃ ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα
καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι ἐν ὕπνῳ, τηνικαῦτα προσελάσας ἵππῳ
πρὸς τὰς φυλακὰς τὰς Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω, στρατηγός
τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων, ἐδίζητο τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἐς
λόγους ἐλθεῖν. 2 τῶν δὲ φυλάκων οἱ μὲν πλεῖνες παρέμενον, οἱ δ’
ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, ἐλθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον ὥς ἄνθρωπος ἦκοι
ἐπ’ ἵππου ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Μήδων, ὃς ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν
παραγυμνοῖ ἔπος, στρατηγούς δὲ ὀνομάζων ἐθέλειν φησὶ ἐς λόγους
ἐλθεῖν.

44. After this inquiry about oracles and Mardonius’ exhortation,
night fell, and the armies posted their sentries. Now when the night
was far advanced and it seemed that all was still in the camps and the
men were sleeping deeply, at that hour Alexander son of Amyntas,
the general and king of the Macedonians, rode up to the Athenian
outposts and wanted to speak to their generals. The greater part of the
sentries remained where they were, but the rest ran to their generals
and told them that a horseman had ridden in from the Persian camp,
imparting no other word save that he desired to speak to the generals

and called them by their names.

45 1 οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν, αὐτίκα εἶποντο ἐς τὰς φυλακάς· ἀπικομένοισι δὲ ἔλεγε Ἀλέξανδρος τάδε. “ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παραθήκην ὑμῖν τὰ ἔπεα τάδε τίθεται, ἀπόρρητα ποιούμενος πρὸς μηδένα λέγειν ὑμέας ἄλλον ἢ Πausανίην, μή με καὶ διαφθείρητε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔλεγον, εἰ μὴ μεγάλως ἐκηδόμην συναπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. 2 αὐτός τε γὰρ Ἑλλήν γένος εἰμὶ τῶρχαῖον καὶ ἄντ’ ἐλευθέρης δεδουλωμένην οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιμι ὄρᾱν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. λέγω δὲ ὧν ὅτι Μαρδονίῳ τε καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τὰ σφάγια οὐ δύναται καταθύμια γενέσθαι· πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἐμάχεσθε. νῦν δὲ οἱ δέδοκται τὰ μὲν σφάγια ἔαν χαίρειν, ἅμ’ ἡμέρη δὲ διαφωσκούση συμβολὴν ποιέεσθαι· καταρρώδηκε γὰρ μὴ πλεῦνες συλλεχθῆτε, ὥς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω. πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτοιμάζεσθε. ἦν δὲ ἄρα ὑπερβάλλεται τὴν συμβολὴν Μαρδόνιος καὶ μὴ ποιέηται, λιπαρέετε μένοντες· ὀλιγέων γάρ σφι ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία. 3 ἦν δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε κατὰ νόον τελευτήσῃ, μνησθῆναι τινὰ χρὴ καὶ ἐμεῦ ἐλευθερώσιος πέρι, ὃς Ἑλλήνων εἵνεκα οὕτω ἔργον παράβολον ἔργασμαι ὑπὸ προθυμίας, ἐθέλων ὑμῖν δηλῶσαι τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν Μαρδονίου, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιπέσωσι ὑμῖν ἐξαίφνης οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ προσδεκομένοισί κω. εἰμὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών, ὃ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας ἀπήλαυνε ὀπίσω ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ τάξιν.

45. Hearing that, the generals straightway went with the men to the outposts. When they had come, Alexander said to them: “Men of Athens, I give you this message in trust as a secret which you must reveal to no one but Pausanias, or else you will be responsible for my undoing. In truth I would not tell it to you if I did not care so much for all Hellas; I myself am by ancient descent a Greek, and I would not willingly see Hellas change her freedom for slavery. I tell you, then, that Mardonius and his army cannot get omens to his liking from the sacrifices. Otherwise you would have fought long before this. Now, however, it is his purpose to pay no heed to the sacrifices, and to attack at the first glimmer of dawn, for he fears, as I surmise, that your numbers will become still greater. Therefore, I urge you to prepare, and if (as may be) Mardonius should delay and not attack, wait patiently where you are; for he has but a few days’ provisions left. If, however, this war ends as you wish, then must you take

thought how to save me too from slavery, who have done so desperate a deed as this for the sake of Hellas in my desire to declare to you Mardonius' intent so that the barbarians may not attack you suddenly before you yet expect them. I who speak am Alexander the Macedonian.” With that he rode away back to the camp and his own station there.

46 1 οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔλεγον Πausανίῃ τὰ περ ἤκουσαν Ἀλεξάνδρου. ὁ δὲ τοῦτῳ τῷ λόγῳ καταρῥωδήσας τοὺς Πέρσας ἔλεγε τάδε. 2 “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἐς ἣν ἡ συμβολὴ γίνεται, ὑμέας μὲν χρεόν ἐστι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους στήναι κατὰ τοὺς Πέρσας, ἡμέας δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς κατ’ ὑμέας τεταγμένους Ἑλλήνων, τῶνδε εἵνεκα· ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε τοὺς Μήδους καὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μαχεσάμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄπειροί τε εἰμὲν καὶ ἀδαεῖς τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν· Σπαρτιητέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς πεπεῖρηται Μήδων· ἡμεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἔμπειροί εἰμὲν. 3 ἀλλ’ ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα χρεόν ἐστι ἵεναι ὑμέας ἐς τόδε τὸ κέρας, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὸ εὐώνυμον ,,. πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τάδε. “καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πάλαι ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, ἐπεῖτε εἶδομεν κατ’ ὑμέας τασσομένους τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν νόῳ ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τὰ περ ὑμεῖς φθάντες προφέρετε· ἀλλὰ ἀρῥωδέομεν μὴ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἡδέες γένωνται οἱ λόγοι. ἐπεὶ δ’ ὧν αὐτοὶ ἐμνήσθητε, καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασι καὶ ἔτοιμοι εἰμὲν ποιεῖν ταῦτα ,,.

46. The Athenian generals went to the right wing and told Pausanias what they had heard from Alexander. At the message Pausanias was terrified by the Persians, and said: “Since, therefore, the battle is to begin at dawn, it is best that you Athenians should take your stand opposite the Persians, and we opposite the Boeotians and the Greeks who are posted opposite you; for you have fought with the Medes at Marathon and know them and their manner of fighting while we have no experience or knowledge of those men. We Spartans have experience of the Boeotians and Thessalians, but not one of us has experience with the Medes. No, rather let us take up our equipment and change places, you to this wing and we to the left.” “We, too,” the Athenians answered, “even from the moment when we saw the Persians posted opposite you, had it in mind to make that suggestion which now has first come from you. We feared,

however, that we would displease you by making it. But since you have spoken the wish yourselves, we too hear your words very gladly and are ready to do as you say.

47 1 ὥς δ' ἤρεσκε ἀμφοτέροισι ταῦτα, ἡώς τε διέφαινε καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξεις. γνόντες δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὸ ποιεῦμενον ἐξαγορεύουσι Μαρδόνιῳ. ὁ δ' ἐπεῖτε ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα μετιστάναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο, παράγων τοὺς Πέρσας κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ὥς δὲ ἔμαθε τοῦτο τοιοῦτο γινόμενον ὁ Πausanίας, γνοὺς ὅτι οὐ λανθάνει, ὀπίσω ἤγε τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας· ὥς δὲ οὕτως καὶ ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου.

47. Since both were satisfied with this, they exchanged their places in the ranks at the first light of dawn. The Boeotians noticed that and made it known to Mardonius. When he heard this, he straight away attempted to make a change for himself also, by moving the Persians opposite the Lacedaemonians. When Pausanias perceived what was being done, he saw that his action had been discovered and led the Spartans back to the right wing; Mardonius did the same thing on the left of his army.

48 1 ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐς τὰς ἀρχαίας τάξεις, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἔλεγε τάδε. “ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὑμεῖς δὴ λέγεσθε εἶναι ἄνδρες ἄριστοι ὑπὸ τῶν τῆδε ἀνθρώπων, ἐκπαγλεομένων ὥς οὔτε φεύγετε ἐκ πολέμου οὔτε τάξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένοντές τε ἢ ἀπόλλυτε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλλυσθε. 2 τῶν δ' ἄρ' ἦν οὐδὲν ἀληθές· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ συμμῖξαι ἡμέας ἐς χειρῶν τε νόμον ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας καὶ στάσιν ἐκλείποντας ὑμέας εἶδομεν, ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι τε τὴν πρόπειραν ποιευμένους αὐτοὺς τε ἀντὶα δούλων τῶν ἡμετέρων τασσομένους. 3 ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργα, ἀλλὰ πλεῖστον δὴ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐψεῦσθημεν. προσδεκόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ κλέος ὥς δὴ πέμψετε ἐς ἡμέας κήρυκα προκαλούμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι μούνοισι Πέρσῃσι μάχεσθαι, ἄρτιοι ἐόντες ποιεῖν ταῦτα οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο λέγοντας ὑμέας εὔρομεν ἀλλὰ πτώσσοντας μᾶλλον. νῦν ὧν ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὑμεῖς ἤρξατε τούτου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρχομεν. 4 τί δὴ οὐ πρὸ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑμεῖς, ἐπεῖτε δεδόξωσθε εἶναι ἄριστοι, πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡμεῖς ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους ἀριθμὸν ἐμαχεσάμεθα; καὶ ἦν μὲν δοκέη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μάχεσθαι, οἱ δ' ὧν μετέπειτα μαχέσθων ὕστεροι· εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ

δοκέοι ἀλλ' ἡμέας μούνους ἀποχρᾶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ διαμαχεσώμεθα· ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν ἡμέων νικήσωσι, τούτους τῷ ἅπαντι στρατοπέδῳ νικᾶν „.

48. When all were at their former posts again, Mardonius sent a herald to the Lacedaemonians with this message: “Men of Lacedaemon, you are said by the people of these parts to be very brave men. It is their boast of you that you neither flee from the field nor leave your post, but remain there and either slay your enemies or are yourselves killed. It would seem, however, that there is no truth in all this, for before we could attack and fight hand to hand, we saw you even now fleeing and leaving your station, using Athenians for the first trial of your enemy and arraying yourselves opposite those who are but our slaves. This is not the action of brave men. No, we have been grievously mistaken about you, for in accordance with what we heard about you, we expected that you would send us a herald challenging the Persians and none other to fight with you. That we were ready to do; but we find you making no such offer, but rather quailing before us. Now, therefore, since the challenge comes not from you, take it from us instead. What is there to prevent us from fighting with equal numbers on both sides, you for the Greeks (since you have the reputation of being their best), and we for the barbarians? If it is desirable that the others fight also, let them fight after us, but if, on the contrary the opinion prevails that we alone suffice, then let us fight it out. Let the winner in this contest determine victory for the whole army.”

49 1 ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας τε καὶ ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, ὥς οἱ οὐδείς οὐδὲν ὑπεκρίνατο, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω, ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐσήμαινε Μαρδονίῳ τὰ καταλαβόντα. ὁ δὲ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος καὶ ἐπαερθεὶς ψυχρῇ νίκη ἐπῆκε τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας. 2 ὥς δὲ ἐπῆλασαν οἱ ἱππῶται, ἐσίνοντο πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐσακοντίζοντές τε καὶ τοξεύοντες ὥστε ἱπποτοξόται τε ἐόντες καὶ προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι· τὴν τε κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην, ἀπ' ἧς ὑδρεύετο πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, συνετάραξαν καὶ συνέχωσαν. 3 ἦσαν μὲν ὧν κατὰ τὴν κρήνην Λακεδαιμόνιοι τεταγμένοι μοῦνοι, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλησι ἡ μὲν κρήνη πρόσω ἐγίνετο, ὥς ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον τεταγμένοι, ὁ δὲ Ἀσωπὸς ἀγχοῦ·

ἐρυκόμενοι δὲ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην ἐφοίτων· ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γάρ σφι οὐκ ἐξῆν ὕδωρ φορέεσθαι ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τοξευμάτων.

49. This is the proclamation made by the herald; and when he had waited a while and no one answered him, he went back again, and at his return told what had happened to him. Mardonius was overjoyed and proud of this semblance of victory, and sent his cavalry to attack the Greeks. The horsemen rode at them and shot arrows and javelins among the whole Greek army to its great hurt, since they were mounted archers and difficult to deal with in an encounter; they spoiled and blocked the Gargaphian spring, from which the entire Greek army drew its water. None indeed but the Lacedaemonians were posted near the spring, and it was far from the several stations of the other Greeks, whereas the Asopus was near; nevertheless, they would always go to the spring, since they were barred from the Asopus, not being able to draw water from that river because of the horsemen and the arrows.

50 1 τοῦτου δὲ τοιοῦτου γινομένου οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοί, ἅτε τοῦ τε ὕδατος στερηθείσης τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου ταρασσομένης, συνελέχθησαν περὶ αὐτῶν τε τούτων καὶ ἄλλων, ἐλθόντες παρὰ Πausανίην ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας. ἄλλα γὰρ τούτων τοιοῦτων ἐόντων μᾶλλον σφέας ἐλύπεε· οὔτε γὰρ σιτία εἶχον ἔτι, οἳ τε σφέων ὀπέωνες ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον ὥς ἐπισιτιεύμενοι ἀπεκεκληρίατο ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου, οὐ δυνάμενοι ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

50. When this happened, seeing that their army was cut off from water and thrown into confusion by the horsemen, the generals of the Greeks went to Pausanias on the right wing, and debated concerning this and other matters; for there were other problems which troubled them more than what I have told. They had no food left, and their followers whom they had sent into the Peloponnese to bring provisions had been cut off by the horsemen and could not make their way to the army.

51 1 βουλευομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἔδοξε, ἣν ὑπερβάλωνται ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέρην οἱ Πέρσαι συμβολὴν ποιούμενοι, ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἰέναι. ἥ δὲ ἐστὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρήνης τῆς

Γαργαφίης, ἐπ' ἣ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τότε, δέκα σταδίου ἀπέχουσα, πρὸ τῆς Πλαταιέων πόλιος. 2 νῆσος δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἐν ἡπεύρω· σχιζόμενος ὁ ποταμὸς ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ῥέει κάτω ἐς τὸ πεδίον, διέχων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ῥέεθρα ὅσον περ τρία στάδια, καὶ ἔπειτα συμμίσγει ἐς τούτο. οὖνομα δὲ οἱ Ὠερόη· 3 θυγατέρα δὲ ταύτην λέγουσι εἶναι Ἀσωποῦ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χῶρον ἐβουλεύσαντο μεταναστῆναι, ἵνα καὶ ὕδατι ἔχωσι χρᾶσθαι ἀφθόνῳ καὶ οἱ ἱππῆες σφέας μὴ σινοίατο ὥσπερ κατιθὼν ἐόντων· μετακινέσθαι τε ἐδόκεε τότε ἐπεὰν τῆς νυκτὸς ἢ δευτέρῃ φυλακῇ, ὥς ἂν μὴ ἰδοίατο οἱ Πέρσαι ἐξορμωμένους καὶ σφεας ἐπόμενοι τάρασσοιεν οἱ ἱππῶται. 4 ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον, τὸν δὴ ἡ Ἀσωπὶς Ὠερόη περισχίζεται ῥέουσα ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἐδόκεε τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἀποστέλλειν τοῦ στρατοπέδου πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ὥς ἀναλάβοιεν τοὺς ὀπέωνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ σιτία οἰχομένους· ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἀπολελαμμένοι.

51. So they resolved in their council that if the Persians held off through that day from giving battle, they would go to the Island. This is ten furlongs distant from the Asopus and the Gargaphian spring, near which their army then lay, and in front of the town of Plataea. It is like an island on dry land because the river in its course down from Cithaeron into the plain is parted into two channels, and there is about three furlongs space in between till presently the two channels unite again, and the name of that river is Oeroe, who (as the people of the country say) was the daughter of Asopus. To that place then they planned to go so that they might have plenty of water for their use and not be harmed by the horsemen, as now when they were face to face with them; and they resolved to change places in the second watch of the night, lest the Persians should see them setting forth and the horsemen press after them and throw them into confusion. Furthermore, they resolved that when they had come to that place, which is encircled by the divided channels of Asopus' daughter Oeroe as she flows from Cithaeron, they would in that night send half of their army to Cithaeron, to remove their followers who had gone to get the provisions; for these were cut off from them on Cithaeron.

52 1 ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι κείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πᾶσαν

προσκεϊμένης τῆς ἵππου εἶχον πόνον ἄτρυτον· ὥς δὲ ἥ τε ἡμέρη ἔληγε καὶ οἱ ἱππέες ἐπέπαυντο, νυκτὸς δὴ γινομένης καὶ ἐούσης τῆς ὥρης ἐς τὴν συνέκειτό σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα ἀερθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἐς μὲν τὸν χώρον ἐς τὸν συνέκειτο οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες, οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐκινήθησαν ἔφευγον ἄσμενοι τὴν ἵππον πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν, φεύγοντες δὲ ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραϊον· τὸ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐστὶ τῆς Πλαταιέων, εἴκοσι σταδίου ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης ἀπέχον· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἔθεντο πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὰ ὅπλα.

52. Having made this plan, all that day they suffered constant hardship from the cavalry which continually pressed upon them. When the day ended, however, and the horsemen stopped their onslaught, then at that hour of the night at which it was agreed that they should depart, most of them rose and departed, not with intent to go to the place upon which they had agreed. Instead of that, once they were on their way, they joyfully shook off the horsemen and escaped to the town of Plataea. In the course of their flight they came to the temple of Hera which is outside of that town, twenty furlongs distant from the Gargaphian spring and piled their arms in front of the temple.

53 1 καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἡραϊον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, Πανσανίης δὲ ὁρῶν σφεας ἀπαλλασσομένους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρήγγελλε καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα ἰέναι κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς προΐοντας, νομίσας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν χώρον ἰέναι ἐς τὸν συνεθήκαντο. 2 ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄρτιοι ἦσαν τῶν ταξιάρχων πείθεσθαι Πανσανίῃ, Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ὁ Πολιάδεω λοχηγέων τοῦ Πιτανητέων λόχου οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς ξείνους φεύξεσθαι οὐδὲ ἐκὼν εἶναι αἰσχυνέειν τὴν Σπάρτην, ἐθώμαζέ τε ὀρέων τὸ ποιούμενον ἅτε οὐ παραγενόμενος τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ. 3 ὁ δὲ Πανσανίης τε καὶ ὁ Εὐρύαναξ δεινὸν μὲν ἐποיעῦντο τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι ἐκεῖνον σφίσι, δεινότερον δὲ ἔτι, κείνου ταῦτ' ἀναινομένου, ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν λόχον τὸν Πιτανήτην, μὴ ἦν ἀπολίπωσι ποιεῦντες τὰ συνεθήκαντο τοῖσι ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσι, ἀπόληται ὑπολειφθεῖς αὐτός τε Ἀμομφάρετος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ. 4 ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι ἀτρέμας εἶχον τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Λακωνικόν, καὶ ἐπειρῶντο πείθοντές μιν ὥς οὐ χρεὼν εἶη ταῦτα ποιεῖν.

53. So they encamped around the temple of Hera. Pausanias, however, seeing their departure from the camp, gave orders to the Lacedaemonians to take up their arms likewise and follow the others who had gone ahead, supposing that these were making for the place where they had agreed to go. Thereupon, all the rest of the captains being ready to obey Pausanias, Amompharetus son of Poliades, the leader of the Pitonate battalion, refused to flee from the barbarians or (save by compulsion) bring shame on Sparta; the whole business seemed strange to him, for he had not been present in the council recently held. Pausanias and Euryanax were outraged that Amompharetus disobeyed them. Still more, however, they disliked that his refusing would compel them to abandon the Pitonate battalion, for they feared that if they fulfilled their agreement with the rest of the Greeks and abandoned him, Amompharetus and his men would be left behind to perish. Bearing this in mind, they kept the Laconian army where it was and tried to persuade Amompharetus that he was in the wrong.

54 1 καὶ οἱ μὲν παρηγόρεον Ἀμομφάρετον μόνον Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Τεγεατέων λελειμμένον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐποίεον τοιάδε· εἶχον ἀτρέμας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἐτάχθησαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα ὥς ἄλλα φρονεόντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων· 2 ὥς δὲ ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔπεμπον σφέων ἱππέα ὁψόμενόν τε εἰ πορεύεσθαι ἐπιχειροῖεν οἱ Σπαρτιῆται, εἴτε καὶ τὸ παράπαν μὴ διανοεῦνται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐπειρέσθαι τε Πausανίην τὸ χρεὸν εἶη ποιέειν.

54. So they reasoned with Amompharetus, he being the only man left behind of all the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans. As for the Athenians, they stood unmoved at their post, well aware that the purposes and the promises of Lacedaemonians were not alike. But when the army left its station, they sent a horseman of their own to see whether the Spartans were attempting to march or whether they were not intending to depart, and to ask Pausanias what the Athenians should do.

55 1 ὥς δὲ ἀπίκετο ὁ κῆρυξ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥρα τε σφέας κατὰ χώραν τεταγμένους καὶ ἐς νείκεα ἀπιγμένους αὐτῶν τοὺς πρώτους. ὥς γὰρ δὴ παρηγορέοντο τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον ὃ τε Εὐρύναξ

καὶ ὁ Πausανίης μὴ κινδυνεύειν μένοντας μούρους Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐ κως ἔπειθον, ἐς ὃ ἐς νείκεά τε συμπεσόντες ἀπίκατο καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρίστατό σφι ἀπιγμένος. 2 νεικέων δὲ ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος λαμβάνει πέτρον ἀμφοτέρησι τῇσι χερσὶ καὶ τιθεὶς πρὸ ποδῶν τῶν Πausανίεω ταύτῃ τῇ ψῆφω ψηφίζεσθαι ἔφη μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ξείνους, λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους. ὁ δὲ μαινόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα καλέων ἐκείνον, πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀθηναῖον κήρυκα ἐπειρωτῶντα τὰ ἐντεταλμένα λέγειν ὁ Πausανίης ἐκέλευε τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα, ἐχρήζε τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσχωρήσαι τε πρὸς ἐωυτοὺς καὶ ποιεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀπόδου τά περ ἂν καὶ σφεῖς.

55. When the messenger arrived among the Lacedaemonians, he saw them arrayed where they had been, and their chief men by now in hot dispute. For though Euryanax and Pausanias reasoned with Amompharetus, that the Lacedaemonians should not be endangered by remaining there alone, they could in no way prevail upon him. At last, when the Athenian messenger came among them, angry words began to pass. In this wrangling Amompharetus took up a stone with both hands and threw it down before Pausanias' feet, crying that it was the pebble with which he voted against fleeing from the strangers (meaning thereby the barbarians). Pausanias called him a madman; then when the Athenian messenger asked the question with which he had been charged, Pausanias asked the man to tell the Athenians of his present condition, and begged them to join themselves to the Lacedaemonians and, as for departure, to do as they did.

56 1 καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· τοὺς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀνακρινομένους πρὸς ἐωυτοὺς ἡὼς κατελάμβανε, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος ὁ Πausανίης, οὐ δοκέων τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον λείψεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστειχόντων, τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο, σημήνας ἀπῆγε διὰ τῶν κολωνῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας· εἶποντο δὲ καὶ Τεγεῆται. 2 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταχθέντες ἦσαν τὰ ἔμπαιιν ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὄχθων ἀντείχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος φοβεόμενοι τὴν ἵππον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κάτω τραφέντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον.

56. The messenger then went back to the Athenians. When dawn found the dispute still continuing, Pausanias, who had up to this

point kept his army where it was, now gave the word and led all the rest away between the hillocks, the Tegeans following, for he supposed that Amompharetus would not stay behind when the rest of the Lacedaemonians left him; this was in fact exactly what happened. The Athenians marshalled themselves and marched, but not by the same way as the Lacedaemonians, who stayed close to the broken ground and the lower slopes of Cithaeron in order to stay clear of the Persian horse. The Athenians marched down into the plain instead.

57 1 Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ἀρχὴν γε οὐδαμὰ δοκέων Πausανίην τολμήσειν σφέας ἀπολιπεῖν, περιείχετο αὐτοῦ μένοντας μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν· προτερεόντων δὲ τῶν σὺν Πausανίῃ, καταδόξας αὐτοὺς ἰθέη τέχνη ἀπολείπειν αὐτόν, ἀναλαβόντα τὸν λόχον τὰ ὄπλα ἤγε βάδην πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στίφος· 2 τὸ δὲ ἀπελθὼν ὅσον τε δέκα στάδια ἀνέμενε τὸν Ἀμομφαρέτου λόχον, περὶ ποταμὸν Μολόεντα ἰδρυμένον Ἀργιόπιόν τε χῶρον καλούμενον, τῇ καὶ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν ἦσται. ἀνέμενε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα ἦν μὴ ἀπολείπῃ τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο ὁ Ἀμομφάρετός τε καὶ ὁ λόχος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένωσι, βοηθέοι ὀπίσω παρ' ἐκείνους. 3 καὶ οἱ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀμομφάρετός παρεγίνοντό σφι καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἡ τῶν βαρβάρων προσέκειτο πᾶσα. οἱ γὰρ ἱππῶται ἐποίουν οἶον καὶ ἐώθεσαν ποιέειν αἰεὶ, ἰδόντες δὲ τὸν χῶρον κεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο οἱ Ἕλληνες τῆσι προτέρησι ἡμέρησι, ἥλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω καὶ ἅμα καταλαβόντες προσεκέατό σφι.

57. Now Amompharetus at first supposed that Pausanias would never have the heart to leave him and his men, and he insisted that they should remain where they were and not leave their post. When Pausanias' men had already proceeded some distance, he thought that they had really left him. He accordingly bade his battalion take up its arms and led it in marching step after the rest of the column, which after going a distance of ten furlongs, was waiting for Amompharetus by the stream Molois and the place called Argiopium, where there is a shrine of Eleusinian Demeter. The reason for their waiting was that, if Amompharetus and his battalion should not leave the place where it was posted but remain there, they would then be able to assist him. No sooner had Amompharetus' men come up than the barbarians' cavalry attacked the army, for the

horsemen acted as they always had. When they saw no enemy on the ground where the Greeks had been on the days before this, they kept riding forward and attacked the Greeks as soon as they overtook them.

58 1 Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὥς ἐπύθετο τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀποιοχομένους ὑπὸ νύκτα εἶδε τε τὸν χῶρον ἔρημον, καλέσας τὸν Ληρισαῖον Θῶρηκα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφεοὺς αὐτοῦ Εὐρύπυλον καὶ Θρασυδήιον ἔλεγε 2 “ὦ παῖδες Ἀλεύεω, ἔτι τί λέξετε τάδε ὁρῶντες ἔρημα; ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἱ πλησιόχωροι ἐλέγετε Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φεύγειν ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρας εἶναι τὰ πολέμια πρῶτους· τοὺς πρότερόν τε μετισταμένους ἐκ τῆς τάξιος εἶδετε, νῦν τε ὑπὸ τὴν παροιοχομένην νύκτα καὶ οἱ πάντες ὁρῶμεν διαδράντας· διέδεξάν τε, ἐπεὶ σφεας ἔδεε πρὸς τοὺς ἀψευδέως ἀρίστους ἀνθρώπων μάχῃ διακριθῆναι, ὅτι οὐδένες ἄρα ἐόντες ἐν οὐδαμοῖσι ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήσι ἐναπεδεικνύατο. 3 καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἐοῦσι Περσέων ἀπείροισι πολλῇ ἔκ γε ἐμεῦ ἐγίνετο συγγνώμη, ἐπαινεόντων τούτους τοῖσι τι καὶ συνηδέατε· Ἀρταβάζου δὲ θῶμα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποיעύμην τὸ καὶ καταρρώδησαι Λακεδαιμονίους καταρρώδησαντά τε ἀποδέξασθαι γνώμην δειλοτάτην, ὥς χρεὸν εἶη ἀναζεύξαντας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἰέναι ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων ἄστρῳ πολιορκησομένους· τὴν ἔτι πρὸς ἐμεῦ βασιλεὺς πεύσεται. 4 καὶ τούτων μὲν ἐτέρωθι ἔσται λόγος. νῦν δὲ ἐκείνοισι ταῦτα ποιεῦσι οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέα ἐστί, ἀλλὰ διωκτέοι εἰσὶ ἐς ὃ καταλαμφθέντες δώσουσι ἡμῖν τῶν δὴ ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων δίκας ,..

58. When Mardonius learned that the Greeks had departed under cover of night and saw the ground deserted, he called to him Thorax of Larissa and his brothers Eurypylus and Thrasydeius and said: “What will you say now, sons of Aleuas, when you see this place deserted? For you, who are their neighbors, kept telling me that Lacedaemonians fled from no battlefield and were the masters of warfare. These same men, however, you just saw changing their post, and now you and all of us see that they have fled during the night. The moment they had to measure themselves in battle with those that are in very truth the bravest on earth, they plainly showed that they are men of no account, and all other Greeks likewise. Now you, for your part, were strangers to the Persians, and I could readily pardon you for praising these fellows, who were in some sort known to you;

but I marvelled much more that Artabazus, be he ever so frightened, should give us a coward's advice to strike our camp, and march away to be besieged in Thebes. Of this advice the king will certainly hear from me, but it will be discussed elsewhere. Now we must not permit our enemies to do as they want; they must be pursued till they are overtaken and pay the penalty for all the harm they have done the Persians."

59 1 ταῦτα εἶπας ἤγε τοὺς Πέρσας δρόμῳ διαβάοντας τὸν Ἀσωπὸν κατὰ στίβον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς δὴ ἀποδιδρῃσκόντων, ἐπεῖχέ τε ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Τεγεάτας μούρους· Ἀθηναίους γὰρ τραπομένους ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχθων οὐ κατώρα. 2 Πέρσας δὲ ὁρῶντες ὀρμημένους διώκειν τοὺς Ἑλληνας οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν τελέων ἄρχοντες αὐτίκα πάντες ἤειραν τὰ σημήια, καὶ ἐδίωκον ὡς ποδῶν ἕκαστος εἶχον, οὔτε κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ κοσμηθέντες οὔτε τάξι.

59. With that, he led the Persians with all speed across the Asopus in pursuit of the Greeks, supposing that they were in flight; it was the army of Lacedaemon and Tegea alone which was his goal, for the Athenians marched another way over the broken ground, and were out of his sight. Seeing the Persians setting forth in pursuit of the Greeks, the rest of the barbarian battalions straightway raised their standards and also gave pursuit, each at top speed, no battalion having order in its ranks nor place assigned in the line.

60 1 καὶ οὗτοι μὲν βοῇ τε καὶ ὀμίλῳ ἐπήισαν ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Ἑλληνας· Πausanίης δέ, ὡς προσέκειτο ἡ ἵππος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἱππέα λέγει τάδε. “ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀγῶνος μεγίστου προκειμένου ἐλευθέρην εἶναι ἢ δεδουλωμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προδεδόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἡμεῖς τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νύκτα διαδράντων. 2 νῦν ὧν δέδοκται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν τὸ ποιητέον ἡμῖν· ἀμυνομένους γὰρ τῇ δυνάμεθα ἄριστα περιστέλλειν ἀλλήλους. εἰ μὲν νυν ἐς ὑμέας ὀρμησε ἀρχὴν ἡ ἵππος, χρῆν δὴ ἡμέας τε καὶ τοὺς μετ’ ἡμέων τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐ προδιδόντας Τεγεάτας βοηθεῖν ὑμῖν· νῦν δέ, ἐς ἡμέας γὰρ ἅπασα κεχώρηκε, δίκαιοι ἐστὲ ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὴν πιεζομένην μάλιστα τῶν μοιρέων ἀμυνέοντες ἰέναι. 3 εἰ δ’ ἄρα αὐτοὺς ὑμέας καταλελάβηκε ἀδύνατόν τι βοηθεῖν, ὑμεῖς δ’ ἡμῖν τοὺς τοξότας

ἀποπέμψαντες χάριν θέσθε. συνοίδαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τὸν παρεόντα τόνδε πόλεμον ἐοῦσι πολλὸν προθυμοτάτοις, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἑσρακούειν „.

60. So they ran pell-mell and shouting, as though they would utterly make an end of the Greeks. Pausanias, however, when the cavalry attacked him, sent a horseman to the Athenians with this message: “Men of Athens, in this great contest which must give freedom or slavery to Hellas, we Lacedaemonians and you Athenians have been betrayed by the flight of our allies in the night that is past. I have accordingly now resolved what we must do; we must protect each other by fighting as best we can. If the cavalry had attacked you first, it would have been the duty of both ourselves and the Tegeans, who are faithful to Hellas, to aid you; but now, seeing that the whole brunt of their assault falls on us, it is right that you should come to the aid of that division which is hardest pressed. But if, as may be, anything has befallen you which makes it impossible for you to aid us, do us the service of sending us your archers. We are sure that you will obey us, as knowing that you have been by far more zealous than all others in this present war.”

61 1 ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὥς ἐπύθοντο, ὁρμέατο βοηθέειν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαμύνειν· καὶ σφι ἤδη στείχουσι ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἀντιταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος γενομένων, ὥστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι βοηθῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ προσκείμενον σφέας ἐλύπεε. 2 οὕτω δὴ μουνωθέντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεῆται, ἐόντες σὺν ψιλοῖσι ἀριθμὸν οἱ μὲν πεντακισμῦριοι Τεγεῆται δὲ τρισχίλιοι (οὗτοι γὰρ οὐδαμὰ ἀπεσχίζοντο ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων), ἐσφαγιάζοντο ὥς συμβαλέοντες Μαρδονίῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ παρεούσῃ. 3 καὶ οὐ γὰρ σφι ἐγίνετο τὰ σφάγια χρηστά, ἐπιπτον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλῷ πλευνες ἐτρωματίζοντο· φράξαντες γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οἱ Πέρσαι ἀπίεσαν τῶν τοξευμάτων πολλὰ ἀφειδέως, οὕτω ὥστε πιεζομένων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων καὶ τῶν σφαγίων οὐ γινομένων ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν Πausανίην πρὸς τὸ Ἥραιον τὸ Πλαταιέων ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεόν, χρήζοντα μηδαμῶς σφέας ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος.

61. When the Athenians heard that, they attempted to help the Lacedaemonians and defend them with all their might. But when

their march had already begun, they were set upon by the Greeks posted opposite them, who had joined themselves to the king. For this reason, being now under attack by the foe which was closest, they could at the time send no aid. The Lacedaemonians and Tegeans accordingly stood alone, men-at-arms and light-armed together; there were of the Lacedaemonians fifty thousand and of the Tegeans, who had never been parted from the Lacedaemonians, three thousand. These offered sacrifice so that they would fare better in battle with Mardonius and the army which was with him. They could get no favorable omen from their sacrifices, and in the meanwhile many of them were killed and by far more wounded (for the Persians set up their shields for a fence, and shot showers of arrows). Since the Spartans were being hard-pressed and their sacrifices were of no avail, Pausanias lifted up his eyes to the temple of Hera at Plataea and called on the goddess, praying that they might not be disappointed in their hope.

62 1 ταῦτα δ' ἔτι τούτου ἐπικαλεομένου προεξαναστάντες πρότεροι οἱ Τεγεῆται ἐχώρεον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τὴν Πausανίῳ ἐγένετο θυομένοισι τὰ σφάγια χρηστά· ὥς δὲ χρόνῳ κοτὲ ἐγένετο, ἐχώρεον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντίοι τὰ τόξα μετέντες. 2 ἐγένετο δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τὰ γέρρα μάχη. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεπτώκεε, ἤδη ἐγένετο ἡ μάχη ἰσχυρὴ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκοντο ἐς ὠθισμόν· τὰ γὰρ δόρατα ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων οἱ βάρβαροι. 3 λήματι μὲν νυν καὶ ῥώμῃ οὐκ ἦσσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ἄνοπλοι δὲ ἐόντες καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐναντίοις σοφίην, προεξαῖσσοντες δὲ κατ' ἓνα καὶ δέκα, καὶ πλευνές τε καὶ ἐλάσσονες συστρεφόμενοι, ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας καὶ διεφθείροντο.

62. While he was still in the act of praying, the men of Tegea leapt out before the rest and charged the barbarians, and immediately after Pausanias' prayer the sacrifices of the Lacedaemonians became favorable. Now they too charged the Persians, and the Persians met them, throwing away their bows. First they fought by the fence of shields, and when that was down, there was a fierce and long fight around the temple of Demeter itself, until they came to blows at close

quarters. For the barbarians laid hold of the spears and broke them short. Now the Persians were neither less valorous nor weaker, but they had no armor; moreover, since they were unskilled and no match for their adversaries in craft, they would rush out singly and in tens or in groups great or small, hurling themselves on the Spartans and so perishing.

63 1 τῇ δὲ ἐτύγγανε αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μαρδόνιος, ἀπ' ἵππου τε μαχόμενος λευκοῦ ἔχων τε περὶ ἑωυτὸν λογάδας Περσέων τοὺς ἀρίστους χιλίους, ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπίεσαν. ὅσον μὲν νυν χρόνον Μαρδόνιος περιῆν, οἱ δὲ ἀντεῖχον καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι κατέβαλλον πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· 2 ὥς δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ περὶ ἐκεῖνον τεταγμένον ἐὼν ισχυρότατον ἔπεσε, οὕτω δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐτράποντο καὶ εἷξαν τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. πλεῖστον γὰρ σφέας ἐδηλέετο ἢ ἐσθῆς ἔρημος ἐοῦσα ὄπλων· πρὸς γὰρ ὀπλίτας ἐόντες γυμνήτες ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο.

63. Where Mardonius was himself, riding a white horse in the battle and surrounded by a thousand picked men who were the flower of the Persians, there they pressed their adversaries hardest. So long as Mardonius was alive the Persians stood their ground and defended themselves, overthrowing many Lacedaemonians. When, however, Mardonius was killed and his guards, who were the strongest part of the army, had also fallen, then the rest too yielded and gave ground before the men of Lacedaemon. For what harmed them the most was the fact that they wore no armor over their clothes and fought, as it were, naked against men fully armed.

64 1 ἐνθαῦτα ἥ τε δίκη τοῦ Λεωνίδεω κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ἐπετελέετο, καὶ νίκην ἀναιρέεται καλλίστην ἀπασέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Πausανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω· 2 τῶν δὲ κατύπερθέ οἱ προγόνων τὰ οὐνόματα εἴρηται ἐς Λεωνίδην· οὗτοί γάρ σφι τυγχάνουσι ἐόντες. ἀποθνήσκει δὲ Μαρδόνιος ὑπὸ Αἰμνήστου ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ λογίμου, ὃς χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἔχων ἄνδρας τριηκοσίους συνέβαλε ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ πολέμου ἐόντος Μεσσηνίοισι πᾶσι, καὶ αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ τριηκόσιοι.

64. On that day the Spartans, as the oracle had foretold, gained from Mardonius their full measure of vengeance for the slaying of Leonidas, and the most glorious of victories of all which we know was won by Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, who was the son of Anaxandrides. (I have named the rest of Pausanias' ancestors in the lineage of Leonidas, for they are the same for both.) As for Mardonius, he was killed by Aeimnestus, a Spartan of note who long after the Persian business led three hundred men to battle at Stenyclerus against the whole army of Messenia, and was there killed, he and his three hundred.

65 1 ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇσι οἱ Πέρσαι ὥς ἐτράποντο ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔφευγον οὐδένα κόσμον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἐωυτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ξύλινον τὸ ἐποιήσαντο ἐν μοίρῃ τῇ Θηβαίδι. 2 θῶμα δέ μοι ὅκως παρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ ἄλσος μαχομένων οὐδὲ εἰς ἐφάνη τῶν Περσέων οὔτε ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὔτε ἐναποθανόν, περί τε τὸ ἱρὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐν τῷ βεβήλῳ ἔπεσον.

δοκέω δέ, εἴ τι περὶ τῶν θείων πρηγμάτων δοκέειν δεῖ, ἡ θεὸς αὐτὴ σφεας οὐκ ἐδέκετο ἐμπρήσαντας τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἀνάκτορον.

65. At Plataea, however, the Persians, routed by the Lacedaemonians, fled in disorder to their own camp and inside the wooden walls which they had made in the territory of Thebes. It is indeed a marvel that although the battle was right by the grove of Demeter, there was no sign that any Persian had been killed in the precinct or entered into it; most of them fell near the temple in unconsecrated ground. I think — if it is necessary to judge the ways of the gods — that the goddess herself denied them entry, since they had burnt her temple, the shrine at Eleusis.

66 1 αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος αὐτίκα τε οὐκ ἡρέσκετο κατ' ἀρχὰς λειπομένου Μαρδονίου ἀπὸ βασιλέως, καὶ τότε πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύων οὐδὲν ἦνυε, συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἔων· ἐποίησέ τε αὐτὸς τοιάδε ὥς οὐκ ἄρεσκόμενος τοῖσι πρήγμασι τοῖσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ποιευμένοισι. 2 τῶν ἐστρατήγεε ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος (εἶχε δὲ δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τέσσερας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων περὶ ἑωυτόν), τούτους, ὅκως ἢ συμβολὴ ἐγίνετο, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος τὰ ἔμελλε ἀποβήσεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἦγε κατηρτημένως, παραγγείλας κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἰέναι πάντας τῇ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐξηγέται, ὅκως ἂν αὐτὸν ὁρῶσι σπουδῆς ἔχοντα. 3 ταῦτα παραγγείλας ὥς ἐς μάχην ἦγε δῆθεν τὸν στρατόν. προτερέων δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὥρα καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας τοὺς Πέρσας· οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον κατηγέετο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταχίστην ἐτρόχαζε φεύγων οὔτε ἐς τὸ ξύλινον οὔτε ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων τεῖχος ἀλλ' ἐς Φωκέας, ἐθέλων ὥς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπικέσθαι.

66. This, then, is what happened in this battle. But Artabazus son of Pharnaces had from the very first disapproved of the king's leaving Mardonius, and now all his counselling not to join battle had been of no avail. In his displeasure at what Mardonius was doing, he himself did as I will show. He had with him a great army, as many as forty thousand men. He knew full well what the outcome of the battle would be, and no sooner had the Greeks and Persians met than he led these with a fixed purpose, telling them to follow him all together wherever he should lead them, whatever they thought his intent might be. With that command he pretended to lead them into battle.

As he came farther on his way, he saw the Persians already fleeing and accordingly led his men, no longer in the same array, but took to his heels and fled with all speed not to the wooden fort nor to the walled city of Thebes, but to Phocis, so that he might make his way with all haste to the Hellespont.

67 1 καὶ δὴ οὗτοι μὲν ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος ἐθελokaκεόντων Βοιωτοὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐμαχέσαντο χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνόν. οἱ γὰρ μηδίζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων, οὗτοι εἶχον προθυμίην οὐκ ὀλίγην μαχόμενοι τε καὶ οὐκ ἐθελokaκεόντες, οὕτω ὥστε τριηκόσιοι αὐτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνθαῦτα ἔπεσον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων. ὥς δὲ ἐτράποντο καὶ οὗτοι, ἔφευγον ἐς τὰς Θήβας, οὐ τῇ περ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὁ πᾶς ὄμιλος, οὔτε διαμαχεσάμενος οὐδενὶ οὔτε τι ἀποδεξάμενος, ἔφευγον.

67. So Artabazus and his army turned that way. All the rest of the Greeks who were on the king's side fought badly on purpose, but not so the Boeotians; they fought for a long time against the Athenians. For those Thebans who were on the Persian side had great enthusiasm in the battle, and did not want to fight in a cowardly manner. As a result of this, three hundred of their first and best were killed there by the Athenians. At last, however, the Boeotians too yielded and they fled to Thebes, but not by the way which the Persians had fled and the multitude of the allies which had fought no fight to the end nor achieved any feat of arms.

68 1 δηλοῖ τέ μοι ὅτι πάντα τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἤρτητο ἐκ Περσέων, εἰ καὶ τότε οὗτοι πρὶν ἢ καὶ συμμῖξαι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι ἔφευγον, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὥρων. οὕτω τε πάντες ἔφευγον πλὴν τῆς ἵππου τῆς τε ἄλλης καὶ τῆς Βοιωτῆς· αὕτη δὲ τοσαῦτα προσωφέλεε τοὺς φεύγοντας, αἰεὶ τε πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἄγχιστα ἐοῦσα ἀπέργουσά τε τοὺς φίλους φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

68. This flight of theirs which took place before the actual closing of battle and was prompted because they saw the Persians flee, proves to me that it was on the Persians that the fortune of the barbarians hung. They accordingly all fled, save the cavalry, Boeotian and other; this helped the fleeing men in so far as it remained between them and their enemies and shielded its friends from the Greeks in their flight.

69 1 οἱ μὲν δὴ νικῶντες εἶποντο τοὺς Ξέρξεω διώκοντές τε καὶ φονεύοντες. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γινομένῳ φόβῳ ἀγγέλλεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήσι τοῖσι τεταγμένοισι περὶ τὸ Ἥραιον καὶ ἀπογενομένοισι τῆς μάχης, ὅτι μάχῃ τε γέγονε καὶ νικῶεν οἱ μετὰ Πausανίω· οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, οὐδένα κόσμον ταχθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κορινθίους ἐτράποντο διὰ τῆς ὑπώρεης καὶ τῶν κολωνῶν τὴν φέρουσιν ἄνω ἰθὺ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Δήμητρος, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μεγαρέας τε καὶ Φλειασίους διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τὴν λειοτάτην τῶν ὁδῶν. 2 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγίνοντο οἱ Μεγαρέες καὶ Φλειάσιοι, ἀπιδόντες σφέας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππῶται ἐπειγομένους οὐδένα κόσμον ἥλαυνον ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἵππους, τῶν ἱπάρχεε Ἀσωπόδωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρου, ἐσπεσόντες δὲ κατεστόρεσαν αὐτῶν ἑξακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς κατήραξαν διώκοντες ἐς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα.

69. So the Greeks, now having the upper hand, followed Xerxes' men, pursuing and slaying. During this steadily growing rout there came a message to the rest of the Greeks, who were by the temple of Hera and had stayed out of the fighting, that there had been a battle and that Pausanias' men were victorious. When they heard this, they set forth in no ordered array, those who were with the Corinthians keeping to the spurs of the mountain and the hill country, by the road that led upward straight to the temple of Demeter, and those who were with the Megarians and Philasians taking the most level route over the plain. However, when the Megarians and Philasians had come near the enemy, the Theban horsemen (whose captain was Asopodorus son of Timander) caught sight of them approaching in haste and disorder, and rode at them; in this attack they trampled six hundred of them, and pursued and drove the rest to Cithaeron.

70 1 οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλοντο· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὄμιλος, ὥς κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος, ἔφθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες πρὶν ἢ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπικέσθαι, ἀναβάντες δὲ ἐφράζαντο ὥς ἡδυνέατο ἄριστα τὸ τεῖχος· προσελθόντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεστήκεε σφι τειχομαχίῃ ἐρρώμενεστέρη. 2 ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἀπῆσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἱ δ' ἡμύνοντο καὶ πολλῷ πλέον εἶχον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὥστε οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχεῖν· ὥς δὲ σφι Ἀθηναῖοι προσῆλθον, οὕτω δὴ ἰσχυρῇ ἐγίνετο τειχομαχίῃ καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. τέλος δὲ ἀρετῇ τε καὶ

λιπαρίη ἐπέβησαν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ τείχεος καὶ ἤριπον· τῇ δὲ ἐσεχέοντο οἱ Ἑλλήνες. 3 πρῶτοι δὲ ἐσῆλθον Τεγεῆται ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Μαρδονίου οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ διαρπάσαντες, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν φάτνην τῶν ἵπων ἐοῦσαν χαλκῆν πᾶσαν καὶ θέης ἀξίην. τὴν μὲν νυν φάτνην ταύτην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης Τεγεῆται, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τὸν αὐτό, ὅσα περ ἔλαβον, ἐσήνεικαν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι. 4 οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἔτι στίφος ἐποιήσαντο πεσόντος τοῦ τείχεος, οὐδέ τις αὐτῶν ἀλκῆς ἐμέμνητο, ἀλύκταζόν τε οἷα ἐν ὀλίγῳ χώρῳ πεφοβημένοι τε καὶ πολλὰι μυριάδες κατελιγμένοι ἀνθρώπων· 5 παρῆν τε τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι φονεύειν οὕτω ὥστε τριήκοντα μυριάδων στρατοῦ, καταδευσέων τεσσέρων τὰς ἔχων Ἀρτάβαζος ἔφυγε, τῶν λοιπῶν μηδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περιγενέσθαι. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπέθανον οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ εἰς καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, Τεγεγέτων δὲ ἑκκαίδεκα, Ἀθηναίων δὲ δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα.

70. So these perished without anyone noticing. But when the Persians and the rest of the multitude had fled within the wooden wall, they managed to get up on the towers before the coming of the Lacedaemonians; then they strengthened the wall as best they could. When the Athenians arrived, an intense battle for the wall began. For as long as the Athenians were not there, the barbarians defended themselves and had a great advantage over the Lacedaemonians who had no skill in the assault of walls. When the Athenians came up, however, the fight for the wall became intense and lasted for a long time. In the end the Athenians, by valor and constant effort, scaled the wall and breached it. The Greeks poured in through the opening they had made; the first to enter were the Tegeans, and it was they who plundered the tent of Mardonius, taking from it besides everything else the feeding trough of his horses which was all of bronze and a thing well worth looking at. The Tegeans dedicated this feeding trough of Mardonius in the temple of Athena Alea. Everything else which they took they brought into the common pool, as did the rest of the Greeks. As for the barbarians, they did not form a unified body again once the wall was down, nor did anyone think of defense because the terrified men in the tiny space and the many myriads herded together were in great distress. Such a slaughter were

the Greeks able to make, that of two hundred and sixty thousand who remained after Artabazus had fled with his forty thousand, scarcely three thousand were left alive. Of the Lacedaemonians from Sparta ninety-one all together were killed in battle; of the Tegeans, seventeen and of the Athenians, fifty-two.

71 1 ἡρίστευσε δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων πεζὸς μὲν ὁ Περσέων, ἵππος δὲ ἡ Σακέων, ἀνὴρ δὲ λέγεται Μαρδόνιος· Ἑλλήνων δέ, ἀγαθῶν γενομένων καὶ Τεγεατέων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπερεβάλλοντο ἀρετῇ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. 2 ἄλλω μὲν οὐδενὶ ἔχω ἀποσημήνασθαι (ἅπαντες γὰρ οὗτοι τοὺς κατ' ἐωυτοὺς ἐνίκων), ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότερον προσηνεύθησαν καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. καὶ ἄριστος ἐγένετο μακρῷ Ἀριστόδημος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας, ὃς ἐκ Θερμοπυλῶν μόνος τῶν τριηκοσίων σωθεὶς εἶχε ὄνειδος καὶ ἀτιμίην. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἡρίστευσαν Ποσειδώνιος τε καὶ Φιλοκύων καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ὁ Σπαρτιήτης. 3 καίτοι γενομένης λέσχης ὃς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος, ἔγνωσαν οἱ παραγενόμενοι Σπαρτιητέων Ἀριστόδημον μὲν βουλόμενον φανερῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ τῆς παρεούσης οἱ αἰτίης, λυσσῶντά τε καὶ ἐκλείποντα τὴν τάξιν ἔργα ἀποδέξασθαι μεγάλα, Ποσειδώνιον δὲ οὐ βουλόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν· τοσοῦτω τοῦτον εἶναι ἀμείνω. 4 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ φθόνῳ ἂν εἴποιεν· οὗτοι δὲ τοὺς κατέλεξα πάντες, πλὴν Ἀριστοδήμου, τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ τίμιοι ἐγένοντο· Ἀριστόδημος δὲ βουλόμενος ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίην οὐκ ἐτιμήθη.

71. Among the barbarians, the best fighters were the Persian infantry and the cavalry of the Sacae, and of men, it is said, the bravest was Mardonius. Among the Greeks, the Tegeans and Athenians conducted themselves nobly, but the Lacedaemonians excelled all in valor. Of this my only clear proof is (for all these conquered the foes opposed to them) the fact that the Lacedaemonians fought with the strongest part of the army, and overcame it. According to my judgment, the bravest man by far was Aristodemus, who had been reviled and dishonored for being the only man of the three hundred that came alive from Thermopylae; next after him in valor were Posidonius, Philocyon, and Amompharetus. Nevertheless, when there was a general discussion about who had borne himself most bravely, those Spartans who were

there judged that Aristodemus, who plainly wished to die because of the reproach hanging over him and so rushed out and left the battle column behind, had achieved great deeds, but that Posidonius, who had no wish to die, proved himself a courageous fighter, and so in this way he was the better man. This they may have said merely out of jealousy, but all the aforesaid who were killed in that fight received honor, save Aristodemus; he, because he desired death because of the reproach previously mentioned, received none.

72 1 οὔτοι μὲν τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ὀνομαστότατοι ἐγένοντο. Καλλικράτης γὰρ ἔξω τῆς μάχης ἀπέθανε, ἐλθὼν ἀνὴρ κάλλιστος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων, οὐ μόνον αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· ὅς, ἐπειδὴ ἐσφαγιάζετο Πανσανίης, κατήμενος ἐν τῇ τάξιν ἐτρωματίσθη τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά. 2 καὶ δὴ οἱ μὲν ἐμάχοντο, ὃ δ' ἐξενηγιγμένος ἐδυσθανάτεε τε καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ἀρίμνηστον ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα οὐ μέλειν οἱ ὅτι πρὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθνήσκει, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τῇ χειρὶ καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐστὶ οἱ ἀποδεδεγμένον ἔργον ἐωυτοῦ ἄξιον προθυμυμένου ἀποδέξασθαι.

72. These won the most renown of all who fought at Plataea. For Callicrates, who, when he came to the army, was the finest not only of the Lacedaemonians, but also of all the other Greeks, died away from the battle. Callicrates, who was sitting in his place when Pausanias was offering sacrifice, was wounded in the side by an arrow. While his comrades were fighting, he was carried out of the battle and died a lingering death, saying to Arimnestus, a Plataean, that it was not a source of grief to him to die for Hellas' sake; his sorrow was rather that he had struck no blow and achieved no deed worthy of his merit, despite all his eager desire to do so.

73 1 Ἀθηναίων δὲ λέγεται εὐδοκιμῆσαι Σωφάνης ὁ Εὐτυχίδεω, ἐκ δήμου Δεκελεῖθεν, Δεκελέων δὲ τῶν κοτὲ ἐργασαμένων ἔργον χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ὥς αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι. 2 ὥς γὰρ δὴ τὸ πάλαι κατὰ Ἑλένης κομιδὴν Τυνδαρίδαι ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν σὺν στρατοῦ πλήθει καὶ ἀνίστασαν τοὺς δήμους, οὐκ εἰδότες ἵνα ὑπεξέκειτο ἡ Ἑλένη, τότε λέγουσι τοὺς Δεκελέας, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν Δέκελον ἀχθόμενον τε τῇ Θησέος ὕβρι καὶ δειμαίνοντα περὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀθηναίων χώρῃ, ἐξηγησάμενόν σφι τὸ πᾶν πρῆγμα

κατηγήσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας, τὰς δὴ Τιτακὸς ἐὼν αὐτόχθων καταπροδίδοι Τυνδαρίδῃσι. 3 τοῖσι δὲ Δεκελεῦσι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἀτελεῖν τε καὶ προεδρίῃ διατελεῖν ἐς τόδε αἰεὶ ἔτι ἐοῦσα, οὕτω ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὕστερον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτων γενόμενον Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοισι, σινομένων τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, Δεκελῆς ἀπέχεσθαι.

73. Of the Athenians, Sophanes son of Eutychides is said to have won renown, a man from the town of Decelea, whose people once did a deed that was of eternal value, as the Athenians themselves say. For in the past when the sons of Tyndarus were trying to recover Helen, after breaking into Attica with a great host, they turned the towns upside down because they did not know where Helen had been hidden, then (it is said) the Deceleans (and, as some say, Decelus himself, because he was angered by the pride of Theseus and feared for the whole land of Attica) revealed the whole matter to the sons of Tyndarus, and guided them to Aphidnae, which Titacus, one of the autochthonoi, handed over to the Tyndaridae. For that deed the Deceleans have always had and still have freedom at Sparta from all dues and chief places at feasts. In fact, even as recently as the war which was waged many years after this time between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, the Lacedaemonians laid no hand on Decelea when they harried the rest of Attica.

74 1 τούτου τοῦ δήμου ἐὼν ὁ Σωφάνης καὶ ἀριστεύσας τότε Ἀθηναίων διζοὺς λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει, τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ζωστήρος τοῦ θώρηκος ἐφόρει χαλκὴν ἀλύσι δεδεμένην ἄγκυραν σιδηρῆν, τὴν ὅκως πελάσειε ἀπικνεόμενος τοῖσι πολεμίοισι βαλλέσκετο, ἵνα δὴ μιν οἱ πολέμοι ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξιος μετακινήσῃ μὴ δυναίατο· γινομένης δὲ φυγῆς τῶν ἐναντίων δέδοκτο τὴν ἄγκυραν ἀναλαβόντα οὕτω διώκειν. 2 οὗτος μὲν οὕτω λέγεται, ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν λόγων τῷ πρότερον λεχθέντι ἀμφισβατέων λέγεται, ὡς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος αἰεὶ περιθεούσης καὶ οὐδαμὰ ἀτρεμιζούσης ἐφόρει ἄγκυραν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ θώρηκος δεδεμένην σιδηρῆν.

74. From that town was Sophanes, who now was the best Athenian fighter in the battle, and about him two tales are told. According to the first, he bore an iron anchor attached to the belt of his cuirass with a chain of bronze. He would cast this anchor

whenever he approached his enemies in an attack so that the enemy, as they left their ranks, might not be able to move him from his place. When they were put to flight, it was his plan that he would pull up his anchor and so pursue them. So runs this tale. The second which contradicts with the first and relates that he wore no iron anchor attached to his cuirass, but that his shield, which he constantly whirled round and never held still, had on it an anchor as a device.

75 1 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον Σωφάνει λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἐξεργασμένον, ὅτι περικατημένον Ἀθηναίων Αἴγιναν Εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἄνδρα πεντάεθλον ἐκ προκλήσιος ἐφόνευσε. αὐτὸν δὲ Σωφάνεα χρόνῳ ὕστερον τούτων κατέλαβε ἄνδρα γενόμενον ἀγαθόν, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγέοντα ἅμα Λεάγρῳ τῷ Γλαύκωνος, ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἴδωνῶν ἐν Δάτῳ περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τῶν χρυσέων μαχόμενον.

75. There is yet another glorious deed which Sophanes did; when the Athenians were besieging Aegina, he challenged and killed Eurybates the Argive, a victor in the Five Contests. Long after this, Sophanes met his death when he was general of the Athenians with Leagrus, son of Glaucon. He was killed at Datus by the Edonians in a battle for the gold-mines.

76 1 ὥς δὲ τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι κατέστρωντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐνθαυτά σφι ἐπῆλθε γυνὴ αὐτόμολος· ἥ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθε ἀπολωλότας τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ νικῶντας τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ἐοῦσα παλλακὴ Φαρανδάτεος τοῦ Τεάσπιος ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω, κοσμησαμένη χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἀμφίπολοι καὶ ἐσθῆτι τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν παρευσεύων, καταβάσα ἐκ τῆς ἄρμαμάξης ἐχώρεε ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτι ἐν τῇσι φονῇσι ἐόντας, ὁρῶσα δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνα διέποντα Πausanίην, πρότερόν τε τὸ οὔνομα ἐξεπισταμένη καὶ τὴν πάτριν ὥστε πολλάκις ἀκούσασα, ἔγνω τε τὸν Πausanίην καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων ἔλεγε τάδε. 2 “ὦ βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης, ρῦσαί με τὴν ἰκέτιν αἰχμαλώτου δουλοσύνης. σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τόδε ὦνησας, τούσδε ἀπολέσας τοὺς οὔτε δαιμόνων οὔτε θεῶν ὅπιν ἔχοντας. εἰμὶ δὲ γένος μὲν Κῶν, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἡγητορίδεω τοῦ Ἀνταγόρεω· βίη δὲ με λαβὼν ἐν Κῷ εἶχε ὁ Πέρσης, ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται τοῖσιδε. 3 “γύναι, θάρσее καὶ ὥς ἰκέτις καὶ εἰ δὴ πρὸς τούτῳ τυγχάνεις ἀληθῆα λέγουσα καὶ εἷς θυγάτηρ Ἡγητορίδεω τοῦ Κῶου, ὃς ἐμοὶ ξεῖνος μάλιστα τυγχάνει ἐὼν τῶν περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς χώρους οἰκημένων, ταῦτα δὲ

εἶπας τότε μὲν ἐπέτρεψε τῶν ἐφόρων τοῖσι παρεοῦσι, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Αἴγινα, ἐς τὴν αὐτὴ ἤθελε ἀπικέσθαι.

76. Immediately after the Greeks had devastated the barbarians at Plataea, a woman, who was the concubine of Pharandates a Persian, son of Teaspis, deserting from the enemy, came to them. She, learning that the Persians were ruined and the Greeks victorious, decked herself (as did also her attendants) with many gold ornaments and the fairest clothing that she had, and alighting thus from her carriage came to the Lacedaemonians while they were still in the midst of slaughtering. When she saw Pausanias, whose name and country she had often heard of, directing everything, she knew that it was he, and supplicated him clasping his knees: "Save me, your suppliant, O king of Sparta, from captive slavery, for you have aided me till now, by making an end of those men who hold sacred nothing of the gods or of any divinities. Coan I am by birth, the daughter of Hegetorides, son of Antagoras; in Cos the Persian seized me by force and held me prisoner." "Take heart, lady," Pausanias answered, "for you are my suppliant, and furthermore if you are really the daughter of Hegetorides of Cos, he is my closest friend of all who dwell in those lands." For the present, he then entrusted her to those of the ephors who were present. Later he sent her to Aegina, where she herself desired to go.

77 1 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν τῆς γυναικός, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπίκοντο Μαντινέες ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι· μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι ὕστεροι ἦκουσι τῆς συμβολῆς, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην, ἄξιοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι σφέας ζημιῶσαι. 2 πυνθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μήδους τοὺς μετὰ Ἀρταβάζου φεύγοντας, τούτους ἐδίωκον μέχρι Θεσσαλίας· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔων φεύγοντας διώκειν. οἱ δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιῆς ἐδίωξαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. 3 μετὰ δὲ Μαντινέας ἦκον Ἥλεῖοι, καὶ ὥσαύτως οἱ Ἥλεῖοι τοῖσι Μαντινεῦσι συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο· ἀπελθόντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐδίωξαν. τὰ κατὰ Μαντινέας μὲν καὶ Ἥλείους τοσαῦτα.

77. Immediately after the arrival of this woman, the men of Mantinea came when everything was already over. Upon learning that they had come too late for the battle, they were extremely upset

and said that they ought to punish themselves for that. When they heard that those Medes with Artabazus were fleeing, they would have pursued them as far as Thessaly. The Lacedaemonians, however, would not permit them to pursue the fleeing men. So when they returned to their own land, the Mantineans banished the leaders of their army from the country. After the Mantineans came the men of Elis, who also went away extremely upset, and after their departure, they too banished their leaders. Such were the doings of the Mantineans and Eleans.

78 1 ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇσι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Αἰγινητέων ἦν Λάμπων Πυθέω, Αἰγινητέων ἐὼν τὰ πρῶτα· ὃς ἀνοσιώτατον ἔχων λόγον ἵετο πρὸς Πausανίην, ἀπικόμενος δὲ σπουδῇ ἔλεγε τάδε. 2 “ὦ παῖ Κλεομβρότου, ἔργον ἔργασταί τοι ὑπερφυῆς μέγαθός τε καὶ κάλλος, καὶ τοι θεὸς παρέδωκε ρυσάμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα κλέος καταθέσθαι μέγιστον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. σὺ δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοισι ποιήσον, ὅπως λόγος τε σὲ ἔχη ἔτι μέζων καὶ τις ὕστερον φυλάσσηται τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἔργα ἀτάσθαλα ποιέων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. 3 Λεωνίδεω γὰρ ἀποθανόντος ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Μαρδόνιός τε καὶ Ξέρξης ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνεσταύρωσαν· τῷ σὺ τὴν ὁμοίην ἀποδιδούς ἐπαινὸν ἔξεις πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιητέων, αὐτὶς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· Μαρδόνιον γὰρ ἀνασκολοπίσας τετιμωρήσεται ἐς πάτρων τὸν σὸν Λεωνίδην „.

78. There was at Plataea in the army of the Aeginetans one Lampon, son of Pytheas, a leading man of Aegina. He hastened to Pausanias with really outrageous counsel and coming upon him, said to him: “son of Cleombrotus, you have done a deed of surpassing greatness and glory; the god has granted to you in saving Hellas to have won greater renown than any Greek whom we know. But now you must finish what remains for the rest, so that your fame may be greater still and so that no barbarian will hereafter begin doing reckless deeds against the Greeks. When Leonidas was killed at Thermopylae, Mardonius and Xerxes cut off his head and set it on a pole; make them a like return, and you will win praise from all Spartans and the rest of Hellas besides. For if you impale Mardonius, you will be avenged for your father’s brother Leonidas.”

79 1 ὁ μὲν δοκέων χαρίζεσθαι ἔλεγε τάδε, ὁ δ' ἀνταμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “ὦ ξεῖνε Αἰγινῆτα, τὸ μὲν εὐνοεῖν τε καὶ προορᾶν ἄγαμαί σευ, γνώμης μέντοι ἡμάρτηκας χρηστῆς· ἐξαίρας γάρ με ὑψοῦ καὶ τὴν πάτριν καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἐς τὸ μηδὲν κατέβαλες παραινέων νεκρῷ λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἦν ταῦτα ποιέω, φᾶς ἄμεινόν με ἀκούσεσθαι· τὰ πρέπει μᾶλλον βαρβάροισι ποιέειν ἢ περ Ἑλλησι· 2 καὶ ἐκείνοισι δὲ ἐπιφθονέομεν. ἐγὼ δ' ὦν τούτου εἵνεκα μήτε Αἰγινήτησι ἄδοιμι μήτε τοῖσι ταῦτα ἀρέσκεται, ἀποχρᾶ δέ μοι Σπαρτιήτησι ἀρεσκόμενον ὅσια μὲν ποιέειν, ὅσια δὲ καὶ λέγειν. Λεωνίδῃ δέ, τῷ με κελεύεις τιμωρῆσαι, φημί μεγάλως τετιμωρῆσθαι, ψυχῇσί τε τῇσι τῶνδε ἀναριθμήτοισι τετίμηται αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τελευτήσαντες. σὺ μέντοι ἔτι ἔχων λόγον τοιόνδε μήτε προσέλθῃς ἔμοιγε μήτε συμβουλεύσης, χάριν τε ἴσθι ἐὼν ἀπαθής, ..

79. This is what Lampon, thinking to please, said. Pausanias, however, answered him as follows: “Aeginetan, I thank you for your goodwill and forethought, but you have missed the mark of right judgment. First you exalt me and my fatherland and my deeds, yet next you cast me down to mere nothingness when you advise me to insult the dead, and say that I shall win more praise if I do so. That would be an act more proper for barbarians than for Greeks and one that we consider worthy of censure even in barbarians. No, as for myself, I would prefer to find no favor either with the people of Aegina or anyone else who is pleased by such acts. It is enough for me if I please the Spartans by righteous deeds and speech. As for Leonidas, whom you would have me avenge, I think that he has received a full measure of vengeance; the uncounted souls of these that you see have done honor to him and the rest of those who died at Thermopylae. But to you this is my warning: do not come again to me with words like these nor give me such counsel. Be thankful now that you go unpunished.”

80 1 ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἀπαλλάσσετο. Πausανίης δὲ κήρυγμα ποιησάμενος μηδένα ἄπτεσθαι τῆς λήϊς, συγκομίζειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἴλωτας τὰ χρήματα. οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον σκιδνάμενοι εὕρισκον σκηνὰς κατεσκευασμένας χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους, κρητῆράς τε χρυσέους καὶ φιάλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἐκπώματα· 2 σάκκους τε ἐπ' ἀμαξέων εὕρισκον, ἐν τοῖσι

λέβητες ἐφαίνοντο ἐνεόντες χρύσειοι τε καὶ ἀργύρεοι· ἀπὸ τε τῶν κειμένων νεκρῶν ἐσκύλευον ψεῖλιά τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀκινάκας ἐόντας χρυσεούς, ἐπεὶ ἐσθῆτός γε ποικίλης λόγος ἐγίνετο οὐδεὶς. 3 ἐνθαῦτα πολλὰ μὲν κλέπτοντες ἐπώλεον πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας οἱ εἰλωτες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὅσα αὐτῶν οὐκ οἶα τε ἦν κρύψαι· ὥστε Αἰγινήτησι οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι ἀρχὴν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένοντο, οἱ τὸν χρυσὸν ἅτε ἐόντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν παρὰ τῶν εἰλώτων ὠνέοντο.

80. With that Lampon departed. Then Pausanias made a proclamation that no man should touch the spoils, and ordered the helots to gather all the stuff together. They, spreading all over the camp, found there tents adorned with gold and silver, and couches gilded and silver-plated, and golden bowls and cups and other drinking-vessels; and sacks they found on wagons, in which were seen cauldrons of gold and silver. They stripped from the dead who lay there their armlets and torques, and golden daggers; as for the embroidered clothing, it was disregarded. Much of all this the helots showed, as much as they could not conceal, but much they stole and sold to the Aeginetans. As a result the Aeginetans laid the foundation of their great fortunes by buying gold from the helots as though it were bronze.

81 1 συμφορήσαντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος ἀνετέθη ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρήνου ὄφιος τοῦ χαλκέου ἐπεστεῶς ἄγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ θεῷ ἐξελόντες, ἀπ' ἧς δεκάπηχυν χάλκεον Δία ἀνέθηκαν, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἴσθμῳ θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ἐπτάπηχυσ χάλκεος Ποσειδέων ἐξεγένετο, ταῦτα ἐξελόντες τὰ λοιπὰ διαιρέοντο, καὶ ἔλαβον ἕκαστοι τῶν ἄξιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τῶν Περσέων καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα τε καὶ ὑποζύγια. 2 ὅσα μὲν νυν ἐξαίρετα τοῖσι ἀριστεύουσι αὐτῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐδόθη, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν, δοκέω δ' ἔγωγε καὶ τούτοισι δοθῆναι· Πausανίη· δὲ πάντα δέκα ἐξαιρέθη τε καὶ ἐδόθη, γυναῖκες ἵπποι τάλαντα κάμηλοι, ὥς δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ τᾶλλα χρήματα.

81. Having brought all the loot together, they set apart a tithe for the god of Delphi. From this was made and dedicated that tripod which rests upon the bronze three-headed serpent, nearest to the

altar; another they set apart for the god of Olympia, from which was made and dedicated a bronze figure of Zeus, ten cubits high; and another for the god of the Isthmus, from which was fashioned a bronze Poseidon seven cubits high. When they had set all this apart, they divided what remained, and each received, according to his worth, concubines of the Persians and gold and silver, and all the rest of the stuff and the beasts of burden. How much was set apart and given to those who had fought best at Plataea, no man says. I think that they also received gifts, but tenfold of every kind, women, horses, talents, camels, and all other things also, was set apart and given to Pausanias.

82 1 λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε γενέσθαι, ὡς Ξέρξης φεύγων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μαρδονίῳ τὴν κατασκευὴν καταλίποι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· Πausανίην ὣν ὁρῶντα τὴν Μαρδονίου κατασκευὴν χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ παραπετάσμασι ποικίλοις κατεσκευασμένην, κελεῦσαι τοὺς τε ἀρτοκόπους καὶ τοὺς ὀψοποιοὺς κατὰ ταῦτα καθὼς Μαρδονίῳ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζειν. 2 ὡς δὲ κελευόμενοι οὗτοι ἐποίησαν ταῦτα, ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Πausανίην ἰδόντα κλίνας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας εὖ ἐστρωμένας καὶ τραπέζας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας καὶ παρασκευὴν μεγαλοπρεπέα τοῦ δείπνου, ἐκπλαγέντα τὰ προκείμενα ἀγαθὰ κελεῦσαι ἐπὶ γέλωτι τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ διηκόνους παρασκευάσαι Λακωνικὸν δεῖπνον. 3 ὡς δὲ τῆς θοίνης ποιηθείσης ἦν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον, τὸν Πausανίην γελάσαντα μεταπέμψασθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγούς, συνελθόντων δὲ τούτων εἰπεῖν τὸν Πausανίην, δεικνύντα ἐς ἐκατέρην τοῦ δείπνου παρασκευήν, “ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἐγὼ ὑμέας συνήγαγον, βουλόμενος ὑμῖν τοῦδε τοῦ Μήδων ἡγεμόνος τὴν ἀφροσύνην δέξαι, ὃς τοιήνδε δίαιταν ἔχων ἦλθε ἐς ἡμέας οὕτω ὀϊζυρὴν ἔχοντας ἀπαιρησόμενος ... ταῦτα μὲν Πausανίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

82. This other story is also told. When Xerxes fled from Hellas, he left to Mardonius his own establishment. Pausanias, seeing Mardonius' establishment with its display of gold and silver and gaily colored tapestry, ordered the bakers and the cooks to prepare a dinner such as they were accustomed to do for Mardonius. They did his bidding, but Pausanias, when he saw golden and silver couches richly covered, and tables of gold and silver, and all the magnificent

service of the banquet, was amazed at the splendor before him, and for a joke commanded his own servants to prepare a dinner in Laconian fashion. When that meal, so different from the other, was ready, Pausanias burst out laughing and sent for the generals of the Greeks. When these had assembled, Pausanias pointed to the manner in which each dinner was served and said: "Men of Hellas, I have brought you here because I desired to show you the foolishness of the leader of the Medes who, with such provisions for life as you see, came here to take away from us our possessions which are so pitiful." In this way, it is said, Pausanias spoke to the generals of the Greeks.

83 1 ὑστέρω μέντοι χρόνῳ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Πλαταιέων εὖρον συχνοὶ θήκας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων. 2 ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ τότε ὕστερον τούτων ἐπὶ τῶν νεκρῶν περιπιλωθέντων τὰς σάρκας· συνεφόρεον γὰρ τὰ ὀστέα οἱ Πλαταιεὺς ἐς ἓνα χῶρον· εὐρέθη κεφαλὴ οὐκ ἔχουσα ῥαφὴν οὐδεμίαν ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐοῦσα ὀστέου, ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ γνάθος κατὰ τὸ ἄνω τῆς γνάθου ἔχουσα ὀδόντας μονοφυέας ἐξ ἑνὸς ὀστέου πάντας τοὺς τε προσθίους καὶ γομφίους, καὶ πενταπύχχεος ἀνδρὸς ὀστέα ἐφάνη.

83. Long after these events many of the Plataeans also found chests full of gold and silver and other things. Moreover, when their bodies (which the Plataeans gathered into one place) were laid bare of flesh, a skull was found of which the bone was all of one piece without suture. A jawbone also came to light in which the teeth of the upper jaw were one whole, a single bone, front teeth and grinders, and one could see the body of a man of five cubits stature.

84 1 ἐπεῖτε δὲ Μαρδονίου δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ὁ νεκρὸς ἠφάνιστο, ὑπὸ ὅτε μὲν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἀτρεκέως οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ τινὰς ἤδη καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἤκουσα θάψαι Μαρδόκιον, καὶ δῶρα μεγάλα οἶδα λαβόντας πολλοὺς παρὰ Ἀρτόντεω τοῦ Μαρδονίου παιδὸς διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον· 2 ὅστις μέντοι ἦν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπελόμενός τε καὶ θάψας τὸν νεκρὸν τὸν Μαρδονίου, οὐ δύναμαι ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι, ἔχει δὲ τινὰ φάτιν καὶ Διονυσοφάνης ἀνὴρ Ἐφέσιος θάψαι Μαρδόκιον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐτάφη.

84. As for the body of Mardonius, it was removed on the day after the battle; by whom, I cannot with certainty say. I have, however,

heard of very many countries that buried Mardonius, and I know of many that were richly rewarded for that act by Mardonius' son Artontes. Which of them it was that stole and buried the body of Mardonius I cannot learn for certain. Some report that it was buried by Dionysophanes, an Ephesian. Such was the manner of Mardonius' burial.

85 1 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὥς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν λήϊν διείλοντο, ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἑωυτῶν χωρὶς ἕκαστοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τριζὰς ἐποιήσαντο θήκας· ἔνθα μὲν τοὺς ἱρένας ἔθαψαν, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκύων τε καὶ Καλλικράτης. 2 ἐν μὲν δὴ ἐνὶ τῶν τάφων ἦσαν οἱ ἱρένες, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτιῆται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ οἱ εἰλωτες. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἔθαπτον, Τεγεῆται δὲ χωρὶς πάντας ἀλέας, καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ὁμοῦ, καὶ Μεγαρέες τε καὶ Φλειάσιοι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου διαφθαρέντας. 3 τούτων μὲν δὴ πάντων πλήρεις ἐγένοντο οἱ τάφοι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσοι καὶ φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐόντες τάφοι, τούτους δέ, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπαισχυνομένους τῇ ἀπεστοῖ τῆς μάχης ἐκάστους χώματα χῶσαι κεινὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων εἵνεκεν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπεὶ καὶ Αἰγινητέων ἐστὶ αὐτόθι καλεόμενος τάφος, τὸν ἐγὼ ἀκούω καὶ δέκα ἔτεσι ὕστερον μετὰ ταῦτα δεηθέντων τῶν Αἰγινητέων χῶσαι Κλεάδην τὸν Αὐτοδίκου ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα, πρόξεινον ἐόντα αὐτῶν.

85. But the Greeks, when they had divided the spoils at Plataea, buried each contingent of their dead in a separate place. The Lacedaemonians made three tombs; there they buried their "irens," among whom were Posidonius, Amompharetus, Philocyon, and Callicrates. In one of the tombs, then, were the "irens," in the second the rest of the Spartans, and in the third the helots. This, then is how the Lacedaemonians buried their dead. The Tegeans, however, buried all theirs together in a place apart, and the Athenians did similarly with their own dead. So too did the Megarians and Phliasians with those who had been killed by the horsemen. All the tombs of these peoples were filled with dead; but as for the rest of the states whose tombs are to be seen at Plataeae, their tombs are but empty barrows that they built for the sake of men that should come after, because they were ashamed to have been absent from the battle. There is one

there called the tomb of the Aeginetans, which, as I learn by inquiry, was built as late as ten years after, at the Aeginetans' desire, by their patron and protector Cleades son of Autodicus, a Plataean.

86 1 ὥς δ' ἄρα ἔθαψαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν Πλαταῖσι οἱ Ἕλληνες, αὐτίκα βουλευομένοισι σφι ἐδόκεε στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας καὶ ἐξαitéειν αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας, ἐν πρώτοισι δὲ αὐτῶν Τιμηγενίδην καὶ Ἀτταγῖνον, οἱ ἀρχηγέται ἀνὰ πρώτους ἦσαν· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἐκδιδῶσι, μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος πρότερον ἢ ἐξέλωσι. 2 ὥς δέ σφι ταῦτα ἔδοξε, οὕτω δὴ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς συμβολῆς ἀπικόμενοι ἐπολιόρκεον Θηβαίους, κελεύοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας· οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐκδιδόναι, τὴν τε γῆν αὐτῶν ἔταμνον καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος.

86. As soon as the Greeks had buried their dead at Plataea, they resolved in council that they would march against Thebes and demand surrender of those who had taken the Persian side — particularly of Timagenidas and Attaginus, who were chief among their foremost men. If these men were not delivered to them, they would not withdraw from the area in front of the city till they had taken it. They came with this purpose on the eleventh day after the battle and laid siege to the Thebans, demanding the surrender of the men. When the Thebans refused this surrender, they laid waste to their lands and assaulted the walls.

87 1 καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύοντο σινόμενοι, εἰκοστῇ ἡμέρῃ ἔλεξε τοῖσι Θηβαίοισι Τιμηγενίδης τάδε. “ἄνδρες Θηβαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ οὕτω δέδοκται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, μὴ πρότερον ἀπαναστῆναι πολιορκέοντας ἢ ἐξέλωσι Θήβας ἢ ἡμέας αὐτοῖσι παραδῶτε, νῦν ὧν ἡμέων εἵνεκα γῆ ἢ Βοιωτὴ πλέω μὴ ἀναπλήσῃ, 2 ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρηρίζοντες πρόσχημα ἡμέας ἐξαitéονται, χρήματά σφι δῶμεν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ (σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμηδίσαμεν οὐδὲ μοῦνοι ἡμεῖς), εἰ δὲ ἡμέων ἀληθῶς δεόμενοι πολιορκέουσι, ἡμεῖς ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίην παρέξομεν „ κάρτα τε ἔδοξε εὖ λέγειν καὶ ἐς καιρόν, αὐτίκα τε ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς Πausanίην οἱ Θηβαῖοι θέλοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

87. Seeing that the Greeks would not cease from their harrying and nineteen days had passed, Timagenidas spoke as follows to the Thebans: “Men of Thebes, since the Greeks have resolved that they

will not raise the siege till Thebes is taken or we are delivered to them, do not let the land of Boeotia increase the measure of its ills for our sake. No, rather if it is money they desire and their demand for our surrender is but a pretext, let us give them money out of our common treasury (for it was by the common will and not ours alone that we took the Persian side). If, however, they are besieging the town for no other reason than to have us, then we will give ourselves up to be tried by them.” This seemed to be said well and at the right time, and the Thebans immediately sent a herald to Pausanias, offering to surrender the men.

88 1 ὥς δὲ ὠμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τούτοισι, Ἀτταγῖνος μὲν ἐκδιδρῆσκει ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθέντας Πανσανίης ἀπέλυσσε τῆς αἰτίας, φὰς τοῦ μηδισμοῦ παῖδας οὐδὲν εἶναι μεταιτίους. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐξέδωσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, οἱ μὲν ἐδόκεον ἀντιλογίης τε κυρήσειν καὶ δὴ χρήμασι ἐπεποιθέσαν διωθέεσθαι· ὁ δὲ ὡς παρέλαβε, αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπονοέων τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τῶν συμμάχων ἅπασαν ἀπῆκε καὶ ἐκείνους ἀγαγὼν ἐς Κόρινθον διέφθειρε. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ Θήβῃσι γενόμενα.

88. On these terms they made an agreement, but Attaginus escaped from the town. His sons were seized, but Pausanias held them free of guilt, saying that the sons were not accessory to the treason. As for the rest of the men whom the Thebans surrendered, they supposed that they would be put on trial, and were confident that they would defeat the impeachment by bribery. Pausanias, however, had that very suspicion of them, and when they were put into his hands he sent away the whole allied army and carried the men to Corinth, where he put them to death. This is what happened at Plataea and Thebes.

89 1 Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος φεύγων ἐκ Πλαταιέων καὶ δὴ πρόσω ἐγίνετο. ἀπικόμενον δὲ μιν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ παρὰ σφέας ἐπὶ τε ξείνια ἐκάλεον καὶ ἀνειρώτων περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἄλλης, οὐδὲν ἐπιστάμενοι τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι γενομένων. 2 ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάβαζος γνοὺς ὅτι εἰ ἐθέλει σφι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀληθείην τῶν ἀγώνων εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς τε κινδυνεύσει ἀπολέσθαι καὶ ὁ μετ’ αὐτοῦ στρατός· ἐπιθήσεσθαι γάρ οἱ πάντα τινὰ οἶετο πυνθανόμενον τὰ γεγονότα. ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμενος οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας ἐξηγόρευε οὐδὲν πρὸς τε τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς

ἔλεγε τάδε. 3 “ἐγὼ μὲν ὧ ἄνδρες Θεσσαλοί, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, ἐπείγομαι τε κατὰ τάχος ἔλθων ἐς Θρηίκην καὶ σπουδὴν ἔχω, πεμφθεὶς κατὰ τι πρῆγμα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τῶνδε· αὐτὸς δὲ ὑμῖν Μαρδόνιος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, οὗτος κατὰ πόδας ἐμεῦ ἐλαύνων προσδόκιμος ἐστί. τοῦτον καὶ ξεινίζετε καὶ εὖ ποιεῦντες φαίνεσθε· οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐς χρόνον ταῦτα ποιεῦσι μεταμελήσει „ 4 ταῦτα δὲ εἰπας ἀπήλυνε σπουδῇ τὴν στρατιὴν διὰ Θεσσαλίας τε καὶ Μακεδονίης ἰθὺ τῆς Θρηίκης, ὡς ἀληθέως ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ. καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Βυζάντιον, καταλιπὼν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ συχνοὺς ὑπὸ Θρηίκων κατακοπέντας κατ’ ὁδὸν καὶ λιμῶ συστάντας καὶ καμάτῳ· ἐκ Βυζαντίου δὲ διέβη πλοίοισι. οὗτος μὲν οὕτω ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

89. Artabazus the son of Pharnaces was by now far on his way in his flight from Plataea. The Thessalians, when he came among them, entertained him hospitably and inquired of him concerning the rest of the army, knowing nothing of what had happened at Plataea. Artabazus understood that if he told them the whole truth about the fighting, he would endanger his own life and the lives of all those with him, for he thought that every man would set upon him if they heard the story. Therefore, although he had revealed nothing to the Phocians, he spoke as follows to the Thessalians: “I myself, men of Thessaly, am pressing on with all speed and diligence to march into Thrace, being despatched from the army for a certain purpose with the men whom you see. Mardonius and his army are expected marching close on my heels. It is for you to entertain him, and show that you do him good service, for if you so do, you will not afterwards regret it.” So saying, he used all diligence to lead his army away straight towards Thrace through Thessaly and Macedonia without any delay, following the shortest inland road. So he came to Byzantium, but he left behind many of his army who had been cut down by the Thracians or overcome by hunger and weariness. From Byzantium he crossed over in boats. In such a way Artabazus returned to Asia.

90 1 τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρης τῆς περ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὸ τρῶμα ἐγένετο, συνεκύρησε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ τῆς Ἰωνίης. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ κατέατο οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ ἅμα Λευτυχίδῃ τῷ

Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἤλθόν σφι ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ Σάμου Λάμπων τε Θρασυκλέος καὶ Ἀθηναγόρης Ἀρχεστρατίδεω καὶ Ἡγησίστρατος Ἀρισταγόρεω, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Σαμίων λάθρῃ τῶν τε Περσέων καὶ τοῦ τυράννου Θεομήστορος τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος, τὸν κατέστησαν Σάμου τύραννον οἱ Πέρσαι. 2 ἐπελθόντων δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγε Ἡγησίστρατος πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα, ὥς ἦν μῦνον ἴδωνται αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἴωνες ἀποστήσονται ἀπὸ Περσέων, καὶ ὥς οἱ βάρβαροι οὐκ ὑπομενέουσι· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄρα ὑπομείνωσι, οὐκ ἐτέρην ἄγρην τοιαύτην εὑρεῖν ἂν αὐτοὺς· θεοὺς τε κοινούς ἀνακαλέων προέτρπε αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι ἄνδρας Ἑλληνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης καὶ ἀπαμῦναι τὸν βάρβαρον· 3 εὐπετές τε αὐτοῖσι ἔφη ταῦτα γίνεσθαι· τὰς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς πλέειν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιομάχους κείνοισι εἶναι. αὐτοὶ τε, εἴ τι ὑποπτεύουσι μὴ δόλῳ αὐτοὺς προάγοιεν, ἔτοιμοι εἶναι ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ τῇσι ἐκείνων ἀγόμενοι ὄμηροι εἶναι.

90. Now on the same day when the Persians were so stricken at Plataea, it so happened that they suffered a similar fate at Mykale in Ionia. When the Greeks who had come in their ships with Leutychides the Lacedaemonian were encamped at Delos, certain messengers came to them there from Samos, Lampon of Thrasykles, Athenagoras son of Archestratides, and Hegesistratus son of Aristagoras. The Samians had sent these, keeping their despatch secret from the Persians and the tyrant Theomestor son of Androdamas, whom the Persians had made tyrant of Samos. When they came before the generals, Hegesistratus spoke long and vehemently: "If the Ionians but see you," he said, "they will revolt from the Persians, and the barbarians will not remain; but if they do remain, you will have such a prey as never again. " He begged them in the name of the gods of their common worship to deliver Greeks from slavery and drive the barbarian away. That, he said, would be an easy matter for them, "for the Persian ships are unseaworthy and no match for yours; and if you have any suspicion that we may be tempting you deceitfully, we are ready to be taken in your ships as hostages."

91 1 ὥς δὲ πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος ὁ ξεῖνος ὁ Σάμιος, εἶρετο Λευτυχίδης, εἴτε κληδόνος εἵνεκεν θέλων πυθέσθαι εἴτε καὶ κατὰ συντυχίην θεοῦ ποιεῦντος, "ὦ ξεῖνε Σάμιε, τί τοι τὸ οὔνομα; ", ὁ δὲ

εἶπε “Ἡγησίστρατος „ 2 ὁ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον, εἶπε “δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνὸν τὸν Ἡγησίστράτου, ὃ ξεῖνε Σάμειε. σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν ποιεε ὅκως αὐτός τε δοὺς πίστιν ἀποπλεύσειαι καὶ οἱ σὺν σοὶ ἐόντες οἶδε, ἣ μὲν Σαμίους ἡμῖν προθύμους ἔσσεσθαι συμμαχοῦς „

91. As the Samian stranger was pleading so earnestly, Leutyichides asked him (whether it was that he desired to know for the sake of a presage, or through some happy chance of a god), “Samian stranger, what is your name?” “Hegesistratus,” he replied. Then Leutyichides cut short whatever else Hegesistratus had begun to say, and cried: “I accept the omen of your name, Samian stranger; now see to it that before you sail from here you and those who are with you pledge that the Samians will be our zealous allies.”

92 1 ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἠγόρευε καὶ τὸ ἔργον προσῆγε. αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Σάμιοι πίστιν τε καὶ ὅρκια ἐποιεῦντο συμμαχίης πέρι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. 2 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλεον· μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε πλέειν τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον, οἰωνὸν τὸ οὖνομα ποιεύμενος.

92. He said this and added deed to word. For straightway the Samians bound themselves by pledge and oath to alliance with the Greeks. This done, the rest sailed away, but Leutyichides bade Hegesistratus to sail with the Greeks because of the good omen of his name. The Greeks waited through that day, and on the next they sought and received favorable augury; their diviner was Deiphonus son of Evenius, a man of that Apollonia which is in the Ionian gulf. This man’s father Evenius had once fared as I will now relate.

93 1 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπισχόντες ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐκαλλιερέοντο, μαντευομένου σφι Δηιφόνου τοῦ Εὐηνίου ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνιῆτεω, Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ. τούτου τὸν πατέρα Εὐήνιον κατέλαβε πρῆγμα τοιόνδε. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ ταύτῃ ἰρὰ ἡλίου πρόβατα, τὰ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας βόσκεται παρὰ Χῶνα ποταμόν, ὃς ἐκ Λάκμονος ὄρεος ῥέει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης χώρας ἐς θάλασσαν παρ’ Ὠρικὸν λιμένα, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀραιρημένοι ἄνδρες οἱ πλούτῳ τε καὶ γένεϊ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἀστῶν, οὗτοι φυλάσσουσι ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστος· περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ δὴ ποιεῖνται Ἀπολλωνιῆται τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα ἐκ θεοπροπίου τινός· ἐν δὲ ἄντρῳ αὐλίζονται ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐκάς. 2 ἔνθα δὴ τότε ὁ Εὐήνιος οὗτος ἀραιρημένος ἐφύλασσε.

καὶ κοτὲ αὐτοῦ κατακοιμήσαντος φυλακὴν παρελθόντες λύκοι ἐς τὸ ἄντρον διέφθειραν τῶν προβάτων ὡς ἐξήκοντα. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐπήισε, εἶχε σιγῇ καὶ ἔφραζε οὐδενί, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων ἀντικαταστήσειν ἄλλα πριάμενος. 3 καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθε τοὺς Ἀπολλωνιήτας ταῦτα γενόμενα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον κατέκριναν, ὡς τὴν φυλακὴν κατακοιμήσαντα, τῆς ὄψιος στερηθῆναι. ἐπεῖτε δὲ τὸν Εὐήνιον ἐξετύφλωσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε πρόβατά σφι ἔτικτε οὔτε γῇ ἔφερε ὁμοίως καρπόν. 4 πρόφαντα δέ σφι ἔν τε Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐγένετο, ἐπεῖτε ἐπειρώτων τοὺς προφῆτας τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔφραζον ὅτι ἀδίκως τὸν φύλακον τῶν ἱρῶν προβάτων Εὐήνιον τῆς ὄψιος ἐστέρησαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐπορμῆσαι τοὺς λύκους, οὐ πρότερόν τε παύσεσθαι τιμωρέοντες ἐκείνῳ πρὶν ἢ δίκας δῶσι τῶν ἐποίησαν ταύτας τὰς ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλῃται καὶ δικαιοῦ· τούτων δὲ τελεομένων αὐτοὶ δώσειν Εὐηνίῳ δόσιν τοιαύτην τὴν πολλοὺς μιν μακαριεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντα.

93. There is at Apollonia a certain flock sacred to the Sun, which in the daytime is pastured beside the river Chon, which flows from the mountain called Lacmon through the lands of Apollonia and empties into the sea by the harbor of Oricum. By night, those townsmen who are most notable for wealth or lineage are chosen to watch it, each man serving for a year, for the people of Apollonia set great store by this flock, being so taught by a certain oracle. It is kept in a cave far distant from the town. Now at the time of which I speak, Evenius was the chosen watchman. But one night he fell asleep, and wolves, coming past his guard into the cave, killed about sixty of the flock. When Evenius was aware of it, he held his peace and told no man, intending to restore what was lost by buying others. This matter was not, however, hidden from the people of Apollonia, and when it came to their knowledge they brought him to judgment and condemned him to lose his eyesight for sleeping at his watch. So they blinded Evenius, but from the day of their so doing their flocks bore no offspring, nor did their land yield fruit as before. Furthermore, a declaration was given to them at Dodona and Delphi, when they inquired of the prophets what might be the cause of their present ill: the gods told them by their prophets that they had done unjustly in blinding Evenius, the guardian of the sacred flock, "for we

ourselves” (they said) “sent those wolves, and we will not cease from avenging him until you make him such restitution for what you did as he himself chooses and approves; when that is fully done, we ourselves will give Evenius such a gift as will make many men consider him happy.”

94 1 τὰ μὲν χρηστήρια ταῦτά σφι ἐχρήσθη, οἱ δὲ Ἀπολλωνιῆται ἀπόρρητα ποιησάμενοι προέθεσαν τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνδράσι διαπρήξαι. οἱ δὲ σφι διέπρηξαν ὧδε· κατημένου Εὐηνίου ἐν θώκῳ ἐλθόντες οἱ παρίζοντο καὶ λόγους ἄλλους ἐποιεῦντο, ἐς ὃ κατέβαινον συλλυπεύμενοι τῷ πάθει· ταύτῃ δὲ ὑπάγοντες εἰρώτων τίνα δίκην ἂν ἔλοιτο, εἰ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀπολλωνιῆται δίκας ὑποστῆναι δώσειν τῶν ἐποίησαν. 2 ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀκηκοὼς τὸ θεοπρόπιον εἵλετο εἶπας εἴ τις οἱ δοίῃ ἀγρούς, τῶν ἀστῶν ὀνομάσας τοῖσι ἡπίστατο εἶναι καλλίστους δύο κλήρους τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ, καὶ οἴκησιν πρὸς τούτοις τὴν ἥδε καλλίστην ἐοῦσαν τῶν ἐν πόλει· τούτων δὲ ἔφη ἐπήβολος γενόμενος τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀμήνιτος εἶναι, καὶ δίκην οἱ ταύτην ἀποχρᾶν γενομένην. 3 καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, οἱ δὲ πάρεδροι εἶπαν ὑπολαβόντες “Εὐήνιε, ταύτην δίκην Ἀπολλωνιῆται τῆς ἐκτυφλώσιος ἐκτίνουσί τοι κατὰ θεοπρόπια τὰ γενόμενα „ ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ταῦτα δεινὰ ἐποίησε, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν πυθόμενος τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὥς ἐξαπατηθεῖς· οἱ δὲ πριάμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐκτεμένων διδοῦσί οἱ τὰ εἵλετο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα ἔμφυτον μαντικὴν εἶχε, ὥστε καὶ ὀνομαστὸς γενέσθαι.

94. This was the oracle given to the people of Apollonia. They kept it secret and charged certain of their townsmen to carry the business through; they acted as I will now show. Coming and sitting down by Evenius at the place where he sat, they spoke of other matters, till at last they fell to commiserating his misfortune. Guiding the conversation in this way, they asked him what compensation he would choose, if the people of Apollonia should promise to requite him for what they had done. He, knowing nothing of the oracle, said he would choose for a gift the lands of certain named townsmen whom he thought to have the two fairest estates in Apollonia, and a house besides which he knew to be the fairest in the town; let him (he said) have possession of these, and he would lay aside his anger, and be satisfied with that by way of restitution. So he said this, and

those who were sitting beside him said in reply: “Evenius, the people of Apollonia hereby make you that restitution for the loss of your sight, obeying the oracle given to them.” At that he was very angry, for he learned through this the whole story and saw that they had cheated him. They did, however, buy from the possessors and give him what he had chosen, and from that day he had a natural gift of divination, through which he won fame.

95 1 τούτου δὴ ὁ Δηίφονος ἐὼν παῖς τοῦ Εὐηνίου ἀγόντων Κορινθίων ἐμαντεύετο τῇ στρατιῇ. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τότε ἤκουσα, ὡς ὁ Δηίφονος ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Εὐηνίου οὐνόματος ἐξελάμβανε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔργα, οὐκ ἐὼν Εὐηνίου παῖς.

95. Deiphonus, the son of this Evenius, had been brought by the Corinthians, and was the army's prophet. But I have heard it said before now, that Deiphonus was not the son of Evenius, but made a wrongful use of that name and worked for wages up and down Hellas.

96 1 τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησι ὡς ἐκαλλιέρησε, ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἐκ τῆς Δήλου πρὸς τὴν Σάμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο τῆς Σαμῆς πρὸς Καλαμίσοις, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὀρμισάμενοι κατὰ τὸ Ἥραιον τὸ ταύτη παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς ναυμαχίην, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι σφέας προσπλέειν ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον τὰς νέας τὰς ἄλλας, τὰς δὲ Φοινίκων ἀπῆκαν ἀποπλέειν. βουλευομένοισι γάρ σφι ἐδόκεε ναυμαχίην μὴ ποιέεσθαι· 2 οὐ γὰρ ὧν ἐδόκεον ὅμοιοι εἶναι. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἡπειρον ἀπέπλεον, ὅκως ἔωσι ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν τὸν σφέτερον ἐόντα ἐν τῇ Μυκάλῃ, ὃς κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω καταλελειμμένος τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ Ἰωνίην ἐφύλασσε· τοῦ πληθοῦς μὲν ἦν ἕξ μυριάδες, ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτοῦ Τιγράνης κάλλει καὶ μεγάθει ὑπερφέρων Περσέων. 3 ὑπὸ τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν στρατὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο καταφυγόντες οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοὶ ἀνειρῦσαι τὰς νέας καὶ περιβαλέσθαι ἕρκος ἔρυμά τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν κρησφύγετον.

96. Having won favorable omens, the Greeks put out to sea from Delos for Samos. When they were now near Calamisa in the Samian territory, they anchored there near the temple of Hera which is in those parts, and prepared for a sea-fight. The Persians, learning of their approach, also put out to sea and made for the mainland with all

their ships save the Phoenicians, whom they sent sailing away. It was determined by them in council that they would not do battle by sea, for they thought themselves overmatched; the reason of their making for the mainland was that they might be under the shelter of their army at Mykale, which had been left by Xerxes' command behind the rest of his host to hold Ionia. There were sixty thousand men in it, and Tigranes, the noblest and tallest man in Persia, was their general. It was the design of the Persian admirals to flee to the shelter of that army, and there to beach their ships and build a fence round them which should be a protection for the ship and a refuge for themselves.

97 1 ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀνήγοντο. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῶν Ποτνιέων ἱρὸν τῆς Μυκάλης ἐς Γαίσωνά τε καὶ Σκολοπέοντα, τῇ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν, τὸ Φίλιστος ὁ Πασικλέος ἰδρύσατο Νεῖλεω τῷ Κόδρου ἐπισπόμενος ἐπὶ Μιλήτου κτιστύν, ἐνθαῦτα τὰς τε νέας ἀνείρυσαν καὶ περιεβάλοντο ἔρκος καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, δένδρεα ἐκκόψαντες ἡμερα, καὶ σκόλοπας περὶ τὸ ἔρκος κατέπηξαν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ ὡς νικήσοντες, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ἐπιλεγόμενοι γὰρ παρεσκευάζοντο,

97. With this design they put to sea. So when they came past the temple of the Goddesses at Mykale to the Gaeson and Scolopis, where there is a temple of Eleusinian Demeter (which was built by Philistus son of Pasicles when he went with Nileus son of Codrus to the founding of Miletus), they beached their ships and fenced them round with stones and the trunks of orchard trees which they cut down; they drove in stakes around the fence and prepared for siege or victory, making ready, after consideration, for either event.

98 1 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς ἐπύθοντο οἰχωκότας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον, ἦχοντο ὡς ἐκπεφυγόντων ἀπορίῃ τε εἶχοντο ὃ τι ποιέωσι, εἴτε ἀπαλλάσσονται ὀπίσω εἴτε καταπλέωσι ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου. τέλος δὲ ἔδοξε τούτων μὲν μηδέτερα ποιέειν, ἐπιπλέειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡπειρον. 2 παρασκευασάμενοι ὧν ἐς ναυμαχίην καὶ ἀποβάθρας καὶ ἄλλα ὅσων ἔδεε, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τῆς Μυκάλης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε ἐγίνοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετο σφι ἐπαναγόμενος, ἀλλ' ὥρων νέας ἀνελκυσμένας ἔσω τοῦ τείχεος, πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκριμένον παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἐνθαῦτα

πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ νηὶ παραπλέων, ἐγχρίμψας τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τὰ μάλιστα, Λευτυχίδης ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγόρευε τοῖσι Ἴωσι λέγων 3 “ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οἱ ὑμέων τυγχάνουσι ἐπακούοντες, μάθετε τὰ λέγω· πάντως γὰρ οὐδὲν συνήσουσι Πέρσαι τῶν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐντέλλομαι. ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, μεμνήσθαι τινὰ χρή ἐλευθερίας μὲν πάντων πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ συνθήματος Ἑβης. καὶ τάδε ἴστω καὶ ὁ μὴ ἀκούσας ὑμέων πρὸς τοῦ ἀκούσαντος „ 4 αὐτὸς δὲ οὗτος ἐὼν τυγχάνει νόος τοῦ πρήγματος καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέος ὁ ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίῳ· ἥ γὰρ δὴ λαθόντα τὰ ῥήματα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔμελλε τοὺς Ἴωνας πείσειν, ἣ ἔπειτα ἀνενειχθέντα ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ποιήσιν ἀπίστους τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι.

98. When the Greeks learned that the barbarians had gone off to the mainland, they were not all pleased that their enemy had escaped them, and did not know whether to return back or set sail for the Hellespont. At last they resolved that they would do neither, but sail to the mainland. Equipping themselves for this with gangways and everything else necessary for a sea-fight, they held their course for Mykale. When they approached the camp, no one put out to meet them. Seeing the ships beached within the wall and a great host of men drawn up in array along the strand, Leutychides first sailed along in his ship, keeping as near to the shore as he could, and made this proclamation to the Ionians by the voice of a herald: “Men of Ionia, you who hear us, understand what I say, for by no means will the Persians understand anything I charge you with when we join battle; first of all it is right for each man to remember his freedom and next the battle-cry ‘Hebe’: and let him who hears me tell him who has not heard it.” The purpose of this act was the same as Themistocles’ purpose at Artemisium; either the message would be unknown to the barbarians and would prevail with the Ionians, or if it were thereafter reported to the barbarians, it would cause them to mistrust their Greek allies.

99 1 Λευτυχίδεω δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθεμένου δεύτερα δὴ τάδε ἐποίειν οἱ Ἕλληνες· προσσχόντες τὰς νέας ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐτάσσοντο, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρασκευαζομένους ἐς μάχην καὶ τοῖσι Ἴωσι παραινέσαντας, τοῦτο μὲν ὑπονοήσαντες τοὺς Σαμίους τὰ Ἑλλήνων φρονέειν ἀπαιρέονται

τὰ ὄπλα. 2 οἱ γὰρ ὧν Σάμιοι ἀπικομένων Ἀθηναίων αἰχμαλώτων ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, τοὺς ἔλαβον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν λελειμμένους οἱ Ξέρξεω, τούτους λυσάμενοι πάντας ἀποπέμπουσι ἐποδιάσαντες ἐς Ἀθήνας· τῶν εἵνεκεν οὐκ ἦκιστα ὑποψίην εἶχον, πεντακοσίας κεφαλὰς τῶν Ξέρξεω πολεμίων λυσάμενοι. 3 τοῦτο δὲ τὰς διόδους τὰς ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης φερούσας προστάσσουσι τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι φυλάσσειν ὥς ἐπισταμένοισι δῆθεν μάλιστα τὴν χώραν. ἐποίευν δὲ τοῦτο τοῦδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα ἐκτὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔωσι. τούτους μὲν Ἰώνων, τοῖσι καὶ κατεδόκεον νεοχμὸν ἂν τι ποιέειν δυνάμιος ἐπιλαβομένοισι, τρόποισι τοιούτοις προεφυλάσσοντο οἱ Πέρσαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνεφόρησαν τὰ γέρρα ἕρκος εἶναι σφίσι.

99. After this counsel of Leutychides, the Greeks brought their ships to land and disembarked on the beach, where they formed a battle column. But the Persians, seeing the Greeks prepare for battle and exhort the Ionians, first of all took away the Samians' armor, suspecting that they would aid the Greeks; for indeed when the barbarian's ships brought certain Athenian captives, who had been left in Attica and taken by Xerxes' army, the Samians had set them all free and sent them away to Athens with provisions for the journey; for this reason in particular they were held suspect, as having set free five hundred souls of Xerxes' enemies. Furthermore, they appointed the Milesians to guard the passes leading to the heights of Mykale, alleging that they were best acquainted with the country. Their true reason, however, for so doing was that the Milesians should be separate from the rest of their army. In such a manner the Persians safeguarded themselves from those Ionians who (they supposed) might turn against them if opportunity were given for themselves: they set their shields close to make a barricade.

100 1 ὥς δὲ ἄρα παρεσκευάδατο τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι, προσήισαν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἰοῦσι δὲ σφι φήμη τε ἐσέπτατο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πᾶν καὶ κηρυκῆιον ἐφάνη ἐπὶ τῆς κυματωγῆς κείμενον· ἡ δὲ φήμη διῆλθε σφι ὧδε, ὥς οἱ Ἑλληνες τὴν Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν νικῶεν ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι μαχόμενοι. 2 δῆλα δὴ πολλοῖσι τεκμηρίοις ἐστὶ τὰ θεῖα τῶν πρηγμάτων, εἰ καὶ τότε, τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συμπιπτούσης τοῦ τε ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Μυκάλῃ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι τρώματος,

φήμη τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι τοῖσι ταύτῃ ἐσαπíkετο, ὥστε θαρσῆσαι τε τὴν στρατιὴν πολλῶ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐθέλειν προθυμότερον κινδυνεύειν.

100. The Greeks, having made all their preparations advanced their line against the barbarians. As they went, a rumor spread through the army, and a herald's wand was seen lying by the water-line. The rumor that ran was to the effect that the Greeks were victors over Mardonius' army at a battle in Boeotia. Now there are many clear indications of the divine ordering of things, seeing that a message, which greatly heartened the army and made it ready to face danger, arrived amongst the Greeks the very day on which the Persians' disaster at Plataea and that other which was to befall them at Mykale took place.

101 1 καὶ τότε ἕτερον συνέπεσε γενόμενον, Δήμητρος τεμένεα Ἐλευσινίης παρὰ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς συμβολὰς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον ἐγίνετο, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ ἔμελλε ὡσαύτως ἔσεσθαι. 2 γεγονέναι δὲ νίκην τῶν μετὰ Πausανίῳ Ἑλλήνων ὀρθῶς σφι ἡ φήμη συνέβαινε ἐλθοῦσα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι πρῶι ἔτι τῆς ἡμέρης ἐγίνετο, τὸ δὲ ἐν Μυκάλῃ περὶ δείλῃ· ὅτι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι μὴνός τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ, χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῶ σφι ὕστερον δῆλα ἀναμανθάνουσι ἐγίνετο. 3 ἦν δὲ ἀρῥωδίῃ σφι, πρὶν τὴν φήμην ἐσαπικέσθαι, οὔτι περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οὔτω ὥς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ περὶ Μαρδονίῳ πταίσει ἡ Ἑλλάς. ὥς μέντοι ἡ κληδὼν αὕτη σφι ἐσέπτато, μᾶλλον, τι καὶ ταχύτερον τὴν πρόσοδον ἐποιεῦντο. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλληνες καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἔσπευδον ἐς τὴν μάχην, ὥς σφι καὶ αἱ νῆσοι καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἄεθλα προέκειτο.

101. Moreover, there was the additional coincidence, that there were precincts of Eleusinian Demeter on both battlefields; for at Plataea the fight was near the temple of Demeter, as I have already said, and so it was to be at Mykale also. It happened that the rumor of a victory won by the Greeks with Pausanias was true, for the defeat at Plataea happened while it was yet early in the day, and the defeat of Mykale in the afternoon. That the two fell on the same day of the same month was proven to the Greeks when they examined the matter not long afterwards. Now before this rumor came they had been faint-hearted, fearing less for themselves than for the Greeks

with Pausanias, that Hellas should stumble over Mardonius. But when the report sped among them, they grew stronger and swifter in their onset. So Greeks and barbarians alike were eager for battle, seeing that the islands and the Hellespont were the prizes of victory.

102 1 τοῖσι μὲν νυν Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ τοῖσι προσεχέσι τούτοισι τεταγμένοισι, μέχρι κου τῶν ἡμισέων, ἣ ὁδὸς ἐγίνετο κατ' αἰγιαλόν τε καὶ ἄπεδον χῶρον, τοῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐπεξῆς τούτοισι τεταγμένοισι κατὰ τε χαράδραν καὶ ὄρεα. ἐν ᾧ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περιήισαν, οὗτοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐτέρῳ κέρει ἔτι καὶ δὴ ἐμάχοντο. 2 ἕως μὲν νυν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ὀρθὰ ἦν τὰ γέρρα, ἡμύνοντό τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλασσον εἶχον τῇ μάχῃ· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων ὁ στρατός, ὅκως ἐωυτῶν γένηται τὸ ἔργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, παρακελευσάμενοι ἔργου εἶχοντο προθυμότερον, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα. 3 διωσάμενοι γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οὗτοι φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἀλέες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ χρόνον συγχὸν ἀμυνόμενοι τέλος ἔφευγον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Τροιζῆνιοι (οὕτω γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπεξῆς τεταγμένοι) συνεπισπόμενοι συνεσέπιπτον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ὥς δὲ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀραίρητο, οὗτ' ἔτι πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς φυγὴν τε ὀρμέατο οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Περσέων· 4 οὗτοι δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους γινόμενοι ἐμάχοντο τοῖσι αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐσπίπτουσι Ἑλλήνων. καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν Περσικῶν δύο μὲν ἀποφεύγουσι, δύο δὲ τελευτῶσι· Ἀρταῦντης μὲν καὶ Ἰθαμίτρης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγέοντες ἀποφεύγουσι, Μαρδόντης δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατηγὸς Τιγράνης μαχόμενοι τελευτῶσι.

102. As for the Athenians and those whose place was nearest them, that is, for about half of the line, their way lay over the beach and level ground; for the Lacedaemonians and those that were next to them, their way lay through a ravine and among hills. While the Lacedaemonians were making a circuit, those others on the other wing were already fighting. As long as the Persians' shields stood upright, they defended themselves and held their own in the battle, but when the Athenians and their neighbors in the line passed the word and went more zealously to work, that they and not the Lacedaemonians might win the victory, immediately the face of the fight changed. Breaking down the shields they charged all together

into the midst of the Persians, who received the onset and stood their ground for a long time, but at last fled within their wall. The Athenians and Corinthians and Sicyonians and Troezenians, who were next to each other in the line, followed close after and rushed in together. But when the walled place had been razed, the barbarians made no further defense, but took to flight, all save the Persians, who gathered into bands of a few men and fought with whatever Greeks came rushing within the walls. Of the Persian leaders two escaped by flight and two were killed; Artayntes and Ithanitres, who were admirals of the fleet, escaped; Mardontes and Tigranes, the general of the land army, were killed fighting.

103 1 ἔτι δὲ μαχομένων τῶν Περσέων ἀπίκοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνδιεχίριζον. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγχοὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ στρατηγὸς Περίλεως· 2 τῶν τε Σαμίων οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐόντες τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ Μηδικῷ καὶ ἀπαραιρημένοι τὰ ὄπλα, ὥς εἶδον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς γινομένην ἑτεραλκέα τὴν μάχην, ἔρδον ὅσον ἐδυνάετο προσωφελέειν ἐθέλοντες τοῖσι Ἑλλησι. Σαμίους δὲ ἰδόντες οἱ ἄλλοι Ἴωνες ἄρξαντας οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Περσέων ἐπέθεντο τοῖσι βαρβάροισι.

103. While the Persians still fought, the Lacedaemonians and their comrades came up and finished what was left of the business. The Greeks too lost many men there, notably the men of Sicyon and their general Perilaus. As for the Samians who served in the Median army and had been disarmed, they, seeing from the first that victory hung in the balance, did what they could in their desire to aid the Greeks. When the other Ionians saw the Samians set the example, they also abandoned the Persians and attacked the foreigners.

104 1 Μιλησίοισι δὲ προσετέτακτο μὲν ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὰς διόδους τηρέειν σωτηρίης εἵνεκά σφι, ὥς ἦν ἄρα σφέας καταλαμβάνη οἷά περ κατέλαβε, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας σώζονται ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης. ἐτάχθησαν μὲν νυν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα οἱ Μιλήσιοι τούτου τε εἵνεκεν καὶ ἵνα μὴ παρεόντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τι νεοχμὸν ποιέοιεν· οἱ δὲ πᾶν τούναντίον τοῦ προστεταγμένου ἐποίηον, ἄλλας τε κατηγεόμενοι σφι ὁδοὺς φεύγουσι, αἱ δὲ ἔφερον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τέλος αὐτοὶ σφι ἐγίνοντο κτείνοντες

πολεμιώτατοι. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπέστη.

104. The Persians had for their own safety appointed the Milesians to watch the passes, so that if anything should happen to the Persian army such as did happen to it, they might have guides to bring them safely to the heights of Mykale. This was the task to which the Milesians were appointed for the reason mentioned above and so that they might not be present with the army and so turn against it. They acted wholly contrary to the charge laid upon them; they misguided the fleeing Persians by ways that led them among their enemies, and at last they themselves became their worst enemies and killed them. In this way Ionia revolted for the second time from the Persians.

105 1 ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ἑλλήνων ἠρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναίων Ἑρμόλυκος ὁ Εὐθοίου, ἀνὴρ παγκράτιον ἐπασκίσας. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἑρμόλυκον κατέλαβε ὕστερον τούτων, πολέμου ἐόντος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι, ἐν Κύρνῳ τῆς Καρυστής χώρας ἀποθανόντα ἐν μάχῃ κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ Γεραιστῷ. μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίους Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι ἠρίστευσαν.

105. In that battle those of the Greeks who fought best were the Athenians, and the Athenian who fought best was one who practised the pancratiun, Hermolycus son of Euthoenus. This Hermolycus on a later day met his death in a battle at Cynus in Carystus during a war between the Athenians and Carystians, and lay dead on Geraestus. Those who fought best after the Athenians were the men of Corinth and Troezen and Sicyon.

106 1 ἐπεῖτε δὲ κατεργάσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τοὺς πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν μαχομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας τῶν βαρβάρων, τὰς νέας ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἅπαν, τὴν ληίην προεξαγαγόντες ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν, καὶ θησαυροὺς τινὰς χρημάτων εὗρον· ἐμπρήσαντες δὲ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον. 2 ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Σάμον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀναστάσιος τῆς Ἰωνίης, καὶ ὅκη χρεὸν εἶη τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατοικίσαι τῆς αὐτοῖ ἐγκρατέες ἦσαν, τὴν δὲ Ἰωνίην ἀπεῖναι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἐωυτούς τε Ἰόνων προκατῆσθαι φρουρέοντας τὸν πάντα χρόνον, καὶ ἐωυτῶν μὴ προκατημένων Ἴωνας οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα εἶχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν. 3 πρὸς ταῦτα Πελοποννησίων μὲν τοῖσι ἐν

τέλει ἐοῦσι ἐδόκεε τῶν μηδισάντων ἐθνέων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὰ ἐμπολαῖα ἐξαναστήσαντας δοῦναι τὴν χώραν Ἰωσι ἐνοικῆσαι, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκεε ἀρχὴν Ἰωνίην γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον οὐδὲ Πελοποννησίοισι περὶ τῶν σφετερέων ἀποικιέων βουλευεῖν· ἀντιτεινόντων δὲ τούτων προθύμως, εἶξαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι. 4 καὶ οὕτω δὴ Σαμίους τε καὶ Χίους καὶ Λεσβίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας, οἳ ἔτυχον συστρατευόμενοι τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι, ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐποίησαντο, πίστι τε καταλαβόντες καὶ ὀρκίοισι ἐμμένειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσεσθαι. τούτους δὲ καταλαβόντες ὀρκίοισι ἔπλεον τὰς γεφύρας λύσοντες· ἔτι γὰρ ἐδόκεον ἐντεταμένας εὐρήσειν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου ἔπλεον.

106. When the Greeks had made an end of most of the barbarians, either in battle or in flight, they brought out their booty onto the beach, and found certain stores of wealth. Then after burning the ships and the whole of the wall, they sailed away. When they had arrived at Samos, they debated in council over the removal of all Greeks from Ionia, and in what Greek lands under their dominion it would be best to plant the Ionians, leaving the country itself to the barbarians; for it seemed impossible to stand on guard between the Ionians and their enemies forever. If, however, they should not so stand, they had no hope that the Persians would permit the Ionians to go unpunished. In this matter the Peloponnesians who were in charge were for removing the people from the lands of those Greek nations which had sided with the Persians and giving their land to the Ionians to dwell in. The Athenians disliked the whole plan of removing the Greeks from Ionia, or allowing the Peloponnesians to determine the lot of Athenian colonies, and as they resisted vehemently, the Peloponnesians yielded. It accordingly came about that they admitted to their alliance the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and all other islanders who had served with their forces, and bound them by pledge and oaths to remain faithful and not desert their allies. When the oaths had been sworn, the Greeks set sail to break the bridges, supposing that these still held fast. So they laid their course for the Hellespont.

107 1 τῶν δὲ ἀποφυγόντων βαρβάρων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Μυκάλης κατειληθέντων, ἐόντων οὐ πολλῶν, ἐγένετο κομιδὴ ἐς Σάρδεις.

πορευομένων δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου παρατυχὼν τῷ πάθει τῷ γεγονότι τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀρταύντην ἔλεγε πολλά τε καὶ κακά, ἄλλα τε καὶ γυναικὸς κακίῳ φὰς αὐτὸν εἶναι τοιαῦτα στρατηγήσαντα, καὶ ἄξιον εἶναι παντὸς κακοῦ τὸν βασιλέος οἶκον κακώσαντα. παρὰ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι γυναικὸς κακίῳ ἀκοῦσαι δέννος μέγιστος ἐστὶ. 2 ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ πολλὰ ἤκουσε, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος σπᾶται ἐπὶ τὸν Μασίστην τὸν ἀκινάκην, ἀποκτεῖναι θέλων. καὶ μιν ἐπιθέοντα φρασθεὶς Ξειναγόρης ὁ Πρηξίλειω ἀνὴρ Ἀλικαρνησσεὺς ὀπισθε ἐστεῶς αὐτοῦ Ἀρταύντεω ἀρπάζει μέσον καὶ ἐξαείρας παίει ἐς τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ δορυφόροι οἱ Μασίστεω προέστησαν. 3 ὁ δὲ Ξειναγόρης ταῦτα ἐργάσατο χάριτα αὐτῷ τε Μασίστῃ τιθέμενος καὶ Ξέρξῃ. ἐκσώζων τὸν ἀδελφεὸν τὸν ἐκείνου· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Ξειναγόρης Κιλικίης πάσης ἤρξε δόντος βασιλέος. τῶν δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν πορευομένων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεόν τούτων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἀπικνεύονται ἐς Σάρδις.

107. The few barbarians who escaped were driven to the heights of Mykale, and made their way from there to Sardis. While they were making their way along the road, Masistes son of Darius, who happened to have been present at the Persian disaster, reviled the admiral Artayntes very bitterly, telling him (with much beside) that such generalship as his proved him worse than a woman, and that no punishment was too severe for the harm he had done the king's estate. Now it is the greatest of all taunts in Persia to be called worse than a woman. These many insults angered Artayntes so much that he drew his sword upon Masistes to kill him, but Xenagoras son of Praxilaus of Halicarnassus, who stood behind Artayntes himself saw him run at Masistes, and caught him round the middle and lifted and hurled him to the ground. In the meantime Masistes' guards had also come between them. By doing so Xenagoras won the gratitude of Masistes himself and Xerxes, for saving the king's brother. For this deed he was made ruler of all Cilicia by the king's gift. Then they went on their way without anything further happening and came to Sardis.

108 1 ἐν δὲ τῇσι Σάρδισι ἐτύγχανε ἐὼν βασιλεὺς ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου, ἐπεῖτε ἐξ Ἀθηνέων προσπταίσας τῇ ναυμαχίῃ φυγὼν ἀπύκετο. τότε δὴ ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι ἐὼν ἄρα ἦρα τῆς Μασίστεω

γυναικός, εούσης καὶ ταύτης ἐνθαῦτα. ὥς δέ οἱ προσπέμποντι οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατεργασθῆναι, οὐδὲ βίην προσεφέρετο προμηθεόμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Μασίστην· τῷτο δὲ τοῦτο εἶχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα· εὗ γὰρ ἐπίστατο βίης οὐ τευξομένη· ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ξέρξης ἐργόμενος τῶν ἄλλων πρήσσει τὸν γάμον τοῦτον τῷ παιδί τῷ ἐωυτοῦ Δαρεῖῳ, θυγατέρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης καὶ Μασίστεω, δοκέων αὐτὴν μᾶλλον λάμψεσθαι ἢν ταῦτα ποιήσῃ. 2 ἀρμόσας δὲ καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσας ἀπήλανε ἐς Σοῦσα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ τε ἀπίκετο καὶ ἡγάγετο ἐς ἐωυτοῦ Δαρεῖῳ τὴν γυναῖκα, οὕτω δὴ τῆς Μασίστεω μὲν γυναικὸς ἐπέπαυτο, ὁ δὲ διαμειψάμενος ἦρα τε καὶ ἐτύγγανε τῆς Δαρείου μὲν γυναικὸς Μασίστεω δὲ θυγατρός· οὖνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτῃ ἦν Ἀρταῦντη.

108. Now it happened that the king had been at Sardis ever since he came there in flight from Athens after his overthrow in the sea-fight. Being then at Sardis he became enamored of Masistes' wife, who was also there. But as all his messages could not bring her to yield to him, and he would not force her to his will, out of regard for his brother Masistes (which indeed counted with the woman also, for she knew well that no force would be used against her), Xerxes found no other way to accomplish his purpose than that he should make a marriage between his own son Darius and the daughter of this woman and Masistes, for he thought that by doing so he would be most likely to win her. So he betrothed them with all due ceremony and rode away to Susa. But when he had come and had taken Darius' bride into his house, he thought no more of Masistes' wife, but changed his mind and wooed and won this girl Artaynte, Darius' wife and Masistes' daughter.

109 1 χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἀνάπυστα γίνεται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἔξυφῆνασα Ἀμνηστρίς ἢ Ξέρξεω γυνὴ φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ ποικίλον καὶ θέης ἄξιον διδοῖ Ξέρξῃ. ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς περιβάλλεται τε καὶ ἔρχεται παρὰ τὴν Ἀρταῦντην· 2 ἡσθεὶς δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ ἐκέλευσε αὐτὴν αἰτῆσαι ὃ τι βούλεται οἱ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπουργημένων· πάντα γὰρ τεύξεσθαι αἰτήσασαν. τῇ δὲ κακῶς γὰρ ἔδεε πανοικίῃ γενέσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε Ξέρξῃ “δώσεις μοι τὸ ἄν σε αἰτήσω; „ ὁ δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων κείνην αἰτῆσαι ὑπισχνέτο καὶ ὤμοσε. ἡ δὲ ὥς ὤμοσε ἀδεῶς αἰτέει τὸ φᾶρος. 3 Ξέρξης δὲ παντοῖος ἐγίνετο οὐ βουλόμενος

δοῦναι, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, φοβεόμενος δὲ Ἀμηστριν, μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζούσῃ τὰ γινόμενα οὕτω ἐπευρεθῇ πρήσσων· ἀλλὰ πόλις τε ἐδίδου καὶ χρυσὸν ἄπλετον καὶ στρατόν, τοῦ ἔμελλε οὐδεὶς ἄρξαιν ἄλλ' ἢ ἐκείνη. Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατὸς δῶρον. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε, δίδοι τὸ φᾶρος. ἢ δὲ περιχαρὴς ἐοῦσα τῷ δώρῳ ἐφόρεέ τε καὶ ἀγάλλετο.

109. As time went on, however, the truth came to light, and in such manner as I will show. Xerxes' wife, Amestris, wove and gave to him a great gaily-colored mantle, marvellous to see. Xerxes was pleased with it, and went to Artaynte wearing it. Being pleased with her too, he asked her what she wanted in return for her favors, for he would deny nothing at her asking. Thereupon — for she and all her house were doomed to evil — she said to Xerxes, “Will you give me whatever I ask of you?” He promised this, supposing that she would ask anything but that; when he had sworn, she asked boldly for his mantle. Xerxes tried to refuse her, for no reason except that he feared that Amestris might have clear proof of his doing what she already guessed. He accordingly offered her cities instead and gold in abundance and an army for none but herself to command. Armies are the most suitable of gifts in Persia. But as he could not move her, he gave her the mantle; and she, rejoicing greatly in the gift, went flaunting her finery.

110 1 καὶ ἡ Ἀμηστρις πυνθάνεται μιν ἔχουσαν· μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιούμενον τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ ταύτῃ οὐκ εἶχε ἔγκοτον, ἢ δὲ ἐλπίζουσα τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς εἶναι αἰτίην καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνην πρήσσειν, τῇ Μασίστεω γυναικὶ ἐβούλευε ὄλεθρον. 2 φυλάξασα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἐωυτῆς Ξέρξην βασιλῆιον δεῖπνον προτιθέμενον· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζεται ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο βασιλεύς. οὖνομα δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ τούτῳ Περσιστί μὲν τυκτά, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν τέλειον· τότε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σμᾶται μόνον βασιλεὺς καὶ Πέρσας δωρέεται· ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡμέρην φυλάξασα ἡ Ἀμηστρις χρηρίζει τοῦ Ξέρξεω δοθῆναί οἱ τὴν Μασίστεω γυναῖκα. 3 ὁ δὲ δεινόν τε καὶ ἀνάρσιον ἐποιέετο τοῦτο μὲν ἀδελφεοῦ γυναῖκα παραδοῦναι, τοῦτο δὲ ἀναιτίην ἐοῦσαν τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου· συνῆκε γὰρ τοῦ εἶνεκεν ἐδέετο.

110. Amestris heard that she had the mantle, but when she learned

the truth, it was not the girl with whom she was angry. She supposed rather that the girl's mother was guilty and that this was her doing, and so it was Masistes' wife whom she plotted to destroy. She waited therefore till Xerxes her husband should be giving his royal feast. This banquet is served once a year, on the king's birthday; the Persian name for it is "tukta," which is in the Greek language "perfect." On that day (and none other) the king anoints his head and makes gifts to the Persians. Waiting for that day, Amestris then asked of Xerxes that Masistes' wife should be given to her. Xerxes considered it a terrible and wicked act to give up his brother's wife, and that too when she was innocent of the deed; for he knew the purpose of the request.

111 1 τέλος μέντοι ἐκείνης τε λιπαρεύσης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος, ὅτι ἀτυχῆσαι τὸν χρηρίζοντα οὐ σφι δυνατόν ἐστι βασιλῆιου δεῖπνου προκειμένου, κάρτα δὴ ἀέκων κατανεύει, καὶ παραδοὺς ποιέει ὧδε· τὴν μὲν κελεύει ποιέειν τὰ βούλεται, ὁ δὲ μεταπεμπάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν λέγει τάδε. 2 “Μασίστα, σὺ εἰς Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφεός, πρὸς δ’ ἔτι τούτοισι καὶ εἰς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· γυναικὶ δὴ ταύτῃ τῇ νῦν συνοικέεις μὴ συνοίκεε, ἀλλὰ τοὶ ἀντ’ αὐτῆς ἐγὼ δίδωμι θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμήν. ταύτῃ συνοίκεε· τὴν δὲ νῦν ἔχεις, οὐ γὰρ δοκέει ἐμοί, μὴ ἔχε γυναῖκα „. 3 ὁ δὲ Μασίστης ἀποθωμάσας τὰ λεγόμενα λέγει τάδε. “ὦ δέσποτα, τίνα μοι λόγον λέγεις ἄχρηστον, κελεύων με γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς μοι παῖδές τε νεηνῖαι εἰσὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, τῶν καὶ σὺ μίαν τῷ παιδί τῷ σεωυτοῦ ἡγάγεο γυναῖκα, αὐτὴ τέ μοι κατὰ νόον τυγχάνει κάρτα ἐοῦσα· ταύτην με κελεύεις μετέντα θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμαι; 4 ἐγὼ δὲ βασιλεῦ μέγα μὲν ποιεῦμαι ἀξιεύμενος θυγατρὸς τῆς σῆς, ποιήσω μέντοι τούτων οὐδέτερα. σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιώ πρήγματος τοιοῦδε δεόμενος· ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σῇ θυγατρὶ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος φανήσεται ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν ἥσσων, ἐμέ τε ἔα γυναικὶ τῇ ἐμῇ συνοικέειν „. 5 ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιούτοισι ἀμείβεται, Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς λέγει τάδε. “οὕτω τοι, Μασίστα, πέπρηκται· οὔτε γὰρ ἂν τοι δοίην θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμήν γῆμαι, οὔτε ἐκείνη πλεῦνα χρόνον συνοικήσεις, ὥς μάθης τὰ διδόμενα δέκεσθαι „. ὁ δὲ ὥς ταῦτα ἤκουσε, εἶπας τοσόνδε ἐχώρεε ἔξω “δέσποτα, οὐ δὴ κώ με ἀπώλεσας

”

111. Nevertheless, since Amestris was insistent and the law

compelled him (for at this royal banquet in Persia every request must of necessity be granted), he unwillingly consented, and delivered the woman to Amestris. Then, bidding her do what she wanted, he sent for his brother and spoke as follows: "Masistes, you are Darius' son and my brother, and a good man; hear me then. You must no longer live with her who is now your wife. I give you my daughter in her place. Take her for your own, but do away with the wife that you have, for it is not my will that you should have her." At that Masistes was amazed; "Sire," he said, "what is this evil command that you lay upon me, telling me to deal with my wife in this way? I have by her young sons and daughters, of whom you have taken a wife for your own son, and I am very content with her herself. Yet you are asking me to get rid of my wife and wed your daughter? Truly, O king, I consider it a great honor to be accounted worthy of your daughter, but I will do neither the one nor the other. No, rather, do not force me to consent to such a desire. You will find another husband for your daughter as good as I, but permit me to keep my own wife." This was Masistes' response, but Xerxes was very angry and said: "You have come to this pass, Masistes. I will give you no daughter of mine as a wife, nor will you any longer live with her whom you now have. In this way you will learn to accept that which is offered you." Hearing that, Masistes said "No, sire, you have not destroyed me yet!" and so departed.

112 1 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Ξέρξης τῇ ἀδελφεῷ διελέγετο, ἡ Ἀμηστρις μεταπεμψαμένη τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῦ Ξέρξεω διαλυμαίνεται τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ Μασίστεω· τοὺς τε μαζοὺς ἀποταμοῦσα κυσὶ προέβαλε καὶ ῥίνα καὶ ὦτα καὶ χεῖλεα καὶ γλῶσσαν ἐκταμοῦσα ἐς οἶκόν μιν ἀποπέμπει διαλελυμασμένην.

112. In the meantime, while Xerxes talked with his brother, Amestris sent for Xerxes' guards and treated Masistes' wife very cruelly; she cut off the woman's breasts and threw them to dogs, and her nose and ears and lips also, and cut out her tongue. Then she sent her home after she had undergone this dreadful ordeal.

113 1 ὁ δὲ Μασίστης οὐδέν κω ἄκηκοὺς τούτων, ἐλπίμενος δὲ τί οἱ κακὸν εἶναι, ἐσπίπτει δρόμῳ ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ἰδὼν δὲ διεφθαρμένην τὴν γυναῖκα, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα συμβουλευσάμενος τοῖσι παισὶ

ἐπορεύετο ἐς Βάκτρα σύν τε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ υἱοῖσι καὶ δὴ κου τισὶ καὶ ἄλλοισι ὥς ἀποστήσων νομὸν τὸν Βάκτριον καὶ ποιήσων τὰ μέγιστα κακῶν βασιλέα· 2 τὰ περ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, εἴ περ ἔφθη ἀναβὰς ἐς τοὺς Βακτρίους καὶ τοὺς Σάκας· καὶ γὰρ ἔστεργόν μιν καὶ ἦν ὑπαρχος τῶν Βακτρίων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ξέρξης πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἐκείνον πρήσσοντα, πέμψας ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατιὴν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ κατέκτεινε αὐτόν τε ἐκείνον καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν ἐκείνου. κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν Ξέρξεω καὶ τὸν Μασίστεω θάνατον τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο.

113. Knowing nothing of this as yet, but fearing evil, Masistes ran home. Seeing what had been done to his wife, he immediately took counsel with his children and set out for Bactra with his own sons (and others too), intending to raise the province of Bactra in revolt and do the king the greatest of harm. This he would have done, to my thinking, had he escaped to the country of the Bactrians and Sacae. They were fond of him, and he was viceroy over the Bactrians. But it was of no use, for Xerxes learned what he intended and sent against him an army which killed him on his way, and his sons and his army. Such is the story of Xerxes' love and Masistes' death.

114 1 οἱ δὲ ἐκ Μυκάλης ὀρμηθέντες Ἕλληνες ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου πρῶτον μὲν περὶ Λεκτὸν ὄρμεον, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἀπολαμφθέντες, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ἀβύδον καὶ τὰς γεφύρας εὗρον διαλελυμένας, τὰς ἐδόκεον εὐρήσειν ἔτι ἐντεταμένας, καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἦκιστα εἵνεκεν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπίκοντο. 2 τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄμφι Λευτυχίδην Πελοποννησίοις ἔδοξε ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ καὶ Ξανθίππῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ αὐτοῦ ὑπομείναντας πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Χερσονήσου. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπέπλεον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Χερσονήσον Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκεον.

114. The Greeks who had set out from Mykale for the Hellespont first anchored off Lectum having been stopped by contrary winds, and came from there to Abydos, where they found the bridges broken which they thought would still be in place; these were in fact the chief cause of their coming to the Hellespont. The Peloponnesians then who were with Leutychides decided to sail away to Hellas, but the Athenians, with Xanthippus their general, that they would remain there and attack the Chersonesus. So the rest sailed away, but the

Athenians crossed over to the Chersonesus and laid siege to Sestus.

115 1 ἐς δὲ τὴν Σηστὸν ταύτην, ὡς ἐόντος ἰσχυροτάτου τείχεος τῶν ταύτη, συνῆλθον, ὡς ἤκουσαν παρεῖναι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, ἕκ τε τῶν ἀλλέων τῶν περιοικίδων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ Καρδίας πόλιος Οἰόβαζος ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, ὃς τὰ ἐκ τῶν γεφυρέων ὅπλα ἐνθαῦτα ἦν κεκομικῶς. εἶχον δὲ ταύτην ἐπιχώριοι Αἰολεες, συνῆσαν δὲ Πέρσαι τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων συγχρὸς ὄμιλος.

115. Now when the Persians heard that the Greeks were at the Hellespont, they had come in from the neighboring towns and assembled at this same Sestus, seeing that it was the strongest walled place in that region. Among them there was a Persian named Oeobazus from Cardia, and he had carried the equipment of the bridges there. Sestus was held by the Aeolians of the country, but with him were Persians and a great multitude of their allies.

116 1 ἐτυράννευε δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ξέρξης ὕπαρχος Ἀρταύκτης, ἀνὴρ μὲν Πέρσης, δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, ὃς καὶ βασιλέα ἐλαύνοντα ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐξηπάτησε, τὰ Πρωτεσίλειω τοῦ Ἰφίκλου χρήματα ἐξ Ἑλαιοῦντος ὑπελόμενος. 2 ἐν γὰρ Ἑλαιοῦντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλειω τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτόν, ἔνθα ἦν χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιάλαι χρύσειαι καὶ ἀργύραι καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθῆς καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, τὰ Ἀρταύκτης ἐσύλησε βασιλέος δόντος. λέγων δὲ τοιάδε Ξέρξην διεβάλετο. 3 “δέσποτα, ἔστι οἶκος ἀνδρὸς Ἑλληνος ἐνθαῦτα, ὃς ἐπὶ γῆν σὴν στρατευσάμενος δίκης κυρήσας ἀπέθανε· τούτου μοι δὸς τὸν οἶκον, ἵνα καὶ τις μάθῃ ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν μὴ στρατεύεσθαι „ ταῦτα λέγων εὐπετέως ἔμελλε ἀναπείσειν Ξέρξην δοῦναι ἀνδρὸς οἶκον, οὐδὲν ὑποτοπηθέντα τῶν ἐκείνου ἐφρόνεε. ἐπὶ γῆν δὲ τὴν βασιλέος στρατεύεσθαι Πρωτεσίλειων ἔλεγε νοέων τοιάδε· τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν νομίζουσι ἐωυτῶν εἶναι Πέρσαι καὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόθη, τὰ χρήματα ἐξ Ἑλαιοῦντος ἐς Σηστὸν ἐξεφόρησε, καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἔσπειρε καὶ ἐνέμετο, αὐτὸς τε ὅκως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ἑλαιοῦντα ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ γυναιξὶ ἐμίσγετο. τότε δὲ ἐπολιορκέτο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων οὔτε παρεσκευασμένος ἐς πολιορκίην οὔτε προσδεκόμενος τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ἀφύκτως δὲ κως αὐτῷ ἐπέπεσον.

116. This province was ruled by Xerxes' viceroy Artayctes, a cunning man and a wicked one; witness the deceit that he practised

on the king in his march to Athens, how he stole away from Elaeus the treasure of Protesilaus son of Iphiclus. This was the way of it; there is at Elaeus in the Chersonesus the tomb of Protesilaus, and a precinct around it, which contained much treasure: vessels of gold and silver, bronze, clothing, and other dedications; all of which Artayctes carried off by the king's gift. "Sire," he said deceitfully to Xerxes, "there is here the house of a certain Greek, who met a just death for invading your territory with an army; give me this man's house, so that all may be taught not to invade your territory." One would think that this plea would easily persuade Xerxes to give him a man's house, since the latter had no suspicion of Artayctes' meaning. His reason for saying that Protesilaus had invaded the king's territory was that the Persians believe all Asia to belong to themselves and whoever is their king. So when the treasure was given to him, he carried it away from Elaeus to Sestus, and planted and farmed the precinct. He would also come from Elaeus and have intercourse with women in the shrine. Now, when the Athenians laid siege to him, he had made no preparation for it; he did not think that the Greeks would come, and he had no way of escaping from their attack.

117 1 ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιορκεομένοισι σφι φθινόπωρον ἐπεγίνετο, καὶ ἡσχαλλον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἐωυτῶν ἀποδημέοντες καὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐξελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος, ἐδέοντό τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅπως ἀπάγοιεν σφέας ὀπίσω, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλωσι ἢ τὸ Ἀθηναίων κοινόν σφεας μεταπέμψηται· οὕτω δὲ ἔστεργον τὰ παρόντα.

117. Since the siege continued into the late autumn, the Athenians grew weary of their absence from home and their lack of success at taking the fortress. They accordingly entreated their generals to lead them away again, but the generals refused to do that till they should take the place or be recalled by the Athenian state. At that the men endured their plight patiently.

118 1 οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τείχεϊ ἐς πᾶν ἤδη κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι ἦσαν, οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς τόνους ἔψοντες τῶν κλινέων ἐσιτέοντο. ἐπεῖτε δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἔτι εἶχον, οὕτω δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα οἶχοντο ἀποδράντες οἱ τε Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ Ἀρταύκτης καὶ ὁ Οἰόβαζος, ὅπισθε τοῦ τεύχεος καταβάντες, τῇ

ἦν ἐρημότατον τῶν πολεμίων. 2 ὥς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, οἱ Χερσωνησίται ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐσήμηναν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὸ γεγονός καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοιξαν. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῦνες ἐδίωκον, οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἶχον.

118. But those who were within the walls were by now reduced to the last extremity, so much so that they boiled the thongs of their beds for food. At last, however, even these failed them, and Artayctes and Oeobazus and all the Persians made their way down from the back part of the fortress, where the fewest of their enemies were, and fled at nightfall. When morning came, the people of the Chersonese signified from their towers to the Athenians what had happened, and opened their gates. The greater part of the Athenians then went in pursuit, while the rest stayed to hold the town.

119 1 Ὀϊόβαζον μὲν νυν ἐκφεύγοντα ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην Θρήικες Ἀψίνθιοι λαβόντες ἔθυσαν Πλειστώρῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ, τοὺς δὲ μετ' ἐκείνου ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἐφόνευσαν. 2 οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταῦκην ὕστεροι ὀρμηθέντες φεύγειν, καὶ ὥς κατελαμβάνοντο ὀλίγον ἔοντες ὑπὲρ Αἰγὸς ποταμῶν, ἀλεξόμενοι χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνὸν οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον οἱ δὲ ζῶντες ἐλάμφθησαν. καὶ συνδήσαντες σφέας οἱ Ἕλληνες ἦγον ἐς Σηστόν, μετ' αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀρταῦκην δεδεμένον αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ.

119. As Oeobazus was making his escape into Thrace, the Apsinthians of that country caught and sacrificed him in their customary manner to Plistorus the god of their land; as for his companions, they did away with them by other means. Artayctes and his company had begun their flight later, and were overtaken a little way beyond the Goat's Rivers, where after they had defended themselves a long time, some of them were killed and the rest taken alive. The Greeks bound them and carried them to Sestus, and together with them Artayctes and his son also in bonds.

120 1 καὶ τεφ τῶν φυλασσόντων λέγεται ὑπὸ Χερσωνησιτέων ταρίχους ὀπτῶντι τέρας γενέσθαι τοιόνδε· οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ κείμενοι ἐπάλλοντό τε καὶ ἥσπαιρον ὅκως περ ἰχθύες νεοάλωτοι. 2 καὶ οἱ μὲν περιχυθέντες ἐθώμαζον, ὁ δὲ Ἀρταῦκτης ὥς εἶδε τὸ τέρας, καλέσας τὸν ὀπτῶντα τοὺς ταρίχους ἔφη “ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, μηδὲν φοβέο τὸ τέρας τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφηνε, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὁ ἐν

Ἐλαιοῦντι Πρωτεσίλωος ὅτι καὶ τεθνεὺς καὶ τάριχος ἐὼν δύναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικέοντα τίνεσθαι. 3 νῦν ὢν ἄποινά μοι τάδε ἐθέλω ἐπιθεῖναι, ἀντὶ μὲν χρημάτων τῶν ἔλαβον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα καταθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ, ἀντὶ δ' ἐμεωυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποδώσω τάλαντα διηκόσια Ἀθηναίοισι περιγεγόμενος „ 4 ταῦτα ὑπισχόμενος τὸν στρατηγὸν Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἔπειθε· οἱ γὰρ Ἐλαιούσιοι τῷ Πρωτεσίλω τιμωρόντες ἐδέοντό μιν καταχρησθῆναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτη νόος ἔφερε. ἀπαγαγόντες δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ξέρξης ἔξευξε τὸν πόρον, οἱ δὲ λέγουσι ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ Μαδύτου πόλιος, πρὸς σανίδας προσπασσαλεύσαντες ἀνεκρέμασαν· τὸν δὲ παῖδα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι τοῦ Ἀρταῦκτεω κατέλευσαν.

120. It is related by the people of the Chersonese that a marvellous thing happened one of those who guarded Artayctes. He was frying dried fish, and these as they lay over the fire began to leap and writhe as though they had just been caught. The rest gathered around, amazed at the sight, but when Artayctes saw this strange thing, he called the one who was frying the fish and said to him: “Athenian, do not be afraid of this portent, for it is not to you that it has been sent; it is to me that Protesilaus of Elaeus is trying to signify that although he is dead and dry, he has power given him by the god to take vengeance on me, the one who wronged him. Now therefore I offer a ransom, the sum of one hundred talents to the god for the treasure that I took from his temple. I will also pay to the Athenians two hundred talents for myself and my son, if they spare us.” But Xanthippus the general was unmoved by this promise, for the people of Elaeus desired that Artayctes should be put to death in revenge for Protesilaus, and the general himself was so inclined. So they carried Artayctes away to the headland where Xerxes had bridged the strait (or, by another story, to the hill above the town of Madytus), and there nailed him to boards and hanged him. As for his son, they stoned him to death before his father’s eyes.

121 1 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τά τε ἄλλα χρήματα ἄγοντες καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα τῶν γεφυρέων ὡς ἀναθήσοντες ἐς τὰ ἱρά. καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο.

121. This done, they sailed away to Hellas, carrying with them the

cables of the bridges to be dedicated in their temples, and all sorts of things in addition. This, then, is all that was done in this year.

122 1 τούτου δὲ Ἀρταύκτεω τοῦ ἀνακρεμασθέντος προπάτωρ Ἀρτεμβάρης ἐστὶ ὁ Πέρσησι ἐξηγησάμενος λόγον τὸν ἐκείνοι ὑπολαβόντες Κύρῳ προσήνεικαν λέγοντα τάδε. 2 “ἐπεὶ Ζεὺς Πέρσησι ἡγεμονίην διδοῖ, ἀνδρῶν δὲ σοὶ Κῦρε, κατελὼν Ἀστυάγην, φέρε, γῆν γὰρ ἐκτῆμεθα ὀλίγην καὶ ταύτην τρηχέαν, μεταναστάντες ἐκ ταύτης ἄλλην σχῶμεν ἀμείνω. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀστυγείτονες πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκαστέρω, τῶν μίαν σχόντες πλέοσι ἐσόμεθα θωμαστότεροι. οἶκος δὲ ἄνδρας ἄρχοντας τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν· κότε γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρέξει κάλλιον ἢ ὅτε γε ἀνθρώπων τε πολλῶν ἄρχομεν πάσης τε τῆς Ἀσίης; „ 3 Κῦρος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ οὐ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον ἐκέλευε ποιεῖν ταῦτα, οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖσι παραίνεε κελεύων παρασκευάζεσθαι ὥς οὐκέτι ἄρξοντας ἀλλ’ ἀρξομένους· φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς γίνεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ τι τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς εἶναι καρπὸν τε θωμαστὸν φύειν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. 4 ὥστε συγγνόντες Πέρσαι οἷχοντο ἀποστάντες, ἐσσωθέντες τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς Κύρου, ἄρχειν τε εἵλοντο λυπρὴν οἰκέοντες μᾶλλον ἢ πεδιάδα σπείροντες ἄλλοισι δουλεύειν.

122. This Artayctes who was crucified was the grandson of that Artembares who instructed the Persians in a design which they took from him and laid before Cyrus; this was its purport: “Seeing that Zeus grants lordship to the Persian people, and to you, Cyrus, among them, let us, after reducing Astyages, depart from the little and rugged land which we possess and occupy one that is better. There are many such lands on our borders, and many further distant. If we take one of these, we will all have more reasons for renown. It is only reasonable that a ruling people should act in this way, for when will we have a better opportunity than now, when we are lords of so many men and of all Asia?” Cyrus heard them, and found nothing to marvel at in their design; “Go ahead and do this,” he said; “but if you do so, be prepared no longer to be rulers but rather subjects. Soft lands breed soft men; wondrous fruits of the earth and valiant warriors grow not from the same soil.” The Persians now realized that Cyrus reasoned better than they, and they departed, choosing rather to be rulers on a barren mountain side than dwelling in tilled

valleys to be slaves to others

The Biography



The Bay of Salamis, where the Athenians won their famous naval victory in 480BC

HERODOTUS by T. W. Lumb



Greek historical literature follows the same course of development as Greek poetry; it begins in epic form in Ionia and ends in dramatic type at Athens.

Herodotus, “the father of History”, was born at Halicarnassus in Asia Minor about 484 B.C. He travelled widely over the East, Egypt, North Africa and Greece. He was acquainted with the Sophoclean circle, joined the Athenian colony at Thurii in South Italy and died there before the end of the century. His subject was the defeat of the Persian attack on Greece and falls into three main divisions. In the first three books he tells how Persian power was consolidated: in the next three he shows how it flooded Russia, Thrace and Greece, being stemmed at Marathon in 490; the last three contain the story of its final shattering at Salamis and Plataea in 480 and of the Greek recoil on Asia in 479. It is thus a “triple wave of woes” familiar to Greek thought. His dialect is Ionic, which he adopted because it was the language of narrative poetry and prose.

His introduction leads at once into Romance; he intends to preserve the memory of the wonderful deeds of Greeks and Barbarians, the cause of their quarrel being the abductions of women, Io, Europe, Medea, Helen. A more recent aggressor was Croesus, King of Lydia, who attacked the Greek seaboard. The earlier reigns of Lydian kings are recounted in a series of striking narratives. Gyges was the owner of the famous magic ring which made its possessor invisible. His policy of expansion was continued by his son and grandson. But Croesus, his great-grandson, was the wealthiest of all, extending his realm from as far as the Halys, the boundary of Cyrus’ Persian Empire. Solon’s famous but fictitious warning to him to “wait till the end comes before deciding whether he had been happy” left him unmoved. Soon clouds began to gather. A pathetic misadventure robbed him of his son; the growing power of Persia

alarmed him and he applied to Delphi for advice. The oracle informed him that if he crossed the Halys he would ruin a mighty Empire and suggested alliance with the strongest state in Greece. Finding that Athens was still torn by political struggles consequent upon the romantic banishments and restorations of Peisistratus, he joined with Sparta which had just overcome a powerful rival, Tegea in Arcadia.

Croesus crossed the Halys in 554. After fighting an indecisive battle he retired to his capital Sardis. Cyrus unexpectedly pursued him. The Lydian cavalry stampeded, the horses being terrified by the sight and odour of the Persian camel corps. Croesus shut himself up in Sardis which he thought impregnable. An excellent story tells how the Persians scaled the most inaccessible part of the fortress. Croesus was put on a pyre and there remembered the words of Solon. Cyrus, dreading a similar revolution of fortune, tried in vain to save him from the burning faggots; the fire was too fierce for his men to quench, but Apollo heard Croesus' prayer and sent a rainstorm which saved him. Being reproached by the fallen monarch who had poured treasure into his temple, Apollo replied that he had staved off ruin for three full years, but could not prevail against Fate; besides, Croesus should have asked whose Empire he was to destroy; at least Apollo had delivered him from death. The Lydian portion ends with a graphic description of laws, customs and monuments.

The rise of Persia is next described. Assyria, whose capital was Nineveh, was destroyed by Cyaxares of Media, whose capital was Ecbatana. His son Astyages in consequence of a dream married his daughter Mandané to a Persian named Cambyses. A second dream made him resolve to destroy her child Cyrus who, like Oedipus, was saved from exposure by a herdsman. Later, on learning Cyrus' identity, Astyages punished Harpagus whom he had bidden to remove the child. Harpagus sowed mutiny in the Median army, giving the victory to the Persians in 558. Cyrus proceeded to attack the Asiatic Greeks, of whom the Phocaeans left their home to found new states in Corsica and Southern Gaul; the other cities surrendered. Babylon was soon the only city in Asia not subject to Persia. Cyrus diverted the course of the Euphrates and entered the town in 538. In

an attack on Tomyris, queen of a Scythian race, Cyrus was defeated and slain in 529.

His son Cambyses determined to invade Egypt, the eternal rival of the Mesopotamian kings. Herodotus devotes his second book to a description of the marvels of Egypt, through which he travelled as far as Elephantiné on the border of Ethiopia. He opens with a plain proof that Egypt is not the most ancient people, for some children were kept apart during their first two years, nobody being allowed to speak with them. They were then heard to say distinctly the word “bekos” which was Phrygian for “bread”. This evidence of Phrygian antiquity satisfied even the Egyptians.

In this second book there is hardly a single leading feature of Egyptian civilisation which is not discussed. The Nile is the life of the land; being anxious to solve the riddle of its annual rise, Herodotus dismisses as unreasonable the theory that the water is produced by the melting snow, for the earth becomes hotter as we proceed further south, and there cannot be snow where there is intense heat. The sun is deflected from its course in winter, which derangement causes the river to run shallow in that season. The religious practice of the land are well described, including the process of embalming; oracles, animals, medicine, writing, dress are all treated. He notes that in Egyptian records the sun has twice risen in the west and twice set in the east.

A long list of dynasties is relieved with many an excellent story, notably the very famous account of how Rhampsonitis lost his treasures and failed to find the robber until he offered him a free pardon; having found him he said the Egyptians excelled all the world in wisdom, and the robber all the Egyptians. The Pyramids are described; transmigration is discussed and emphasis is laid upon the growing popularity of Greek mercenaries. The book closes with the brilliant reign of Amasis, who made overtures to the Greek oracles, allied himself with Samos and permitted the foundation of an important Greek colony at Naucratis.

The third book opens with the invasion of Egypt by Cambyses in 525 on account of an insult offered him by Amasis. A Greek mercenary named Phanes gave the Persians information of the one

means of attacking through the desert. After a fierce battle at Pelusium Egypt was beaten; for years afterwards skulls of both armies lay around, the Persian heads being easily broken by a pebble, the Egyptian scarcely breakable by stones. In victory Cambyses outraged Psammenitus, the defeated King; a fruitless expedition against Ethiopia and the Ammonians followed. The Egyptians were stirred by the arrival of their calf-god Apis; Cambyses mockingly wounded him and was punished with madness, slaying his own kindred and committing deeds of impiety.

At that time Egypt was leagued with the powerful island of Samos, ruled by Polycrates, a tyrant of marvellous good fortune. Suspecting some coming disaster to balance it, Amasis urged him to sacrifice his dearest possession to avert the evil eye. Polycrates threw his ring into the sea; it was retrieved by a fisherman. On hearing this, Amasis severed his alliance.

In the absence of Cambyses two Magi brothers stirred up revolt in Susa, one pretending to be Smerdis, the murdered brother of Cambyses. That monarch wounded himself in the thigh as he mounted his horse. The wound festered and caused speedy death. Meanwhile the false Smerdis held the sovereignty. He was suspected by Otanes, a noble whose daughter Phaedymé was married to him. At great personal risk she discovered that the King was without ears, a manifest proof that he was a Magian. Otane then joined with six other conspirators to put the usurper down. Darius, son of Hystaspes, warned them that their numbers were too large for secrecy, advising immediate action. The two pretenders had meanwhile persuaded Prexaspes, a confidant of Cambyses, to assure the Persians that Smerdis really ruled. Prexaspes told the truth and then threw himself to death from the city walls. This news forced the conspirators' hands; rushing into the palace, they were luckily able to slay the usurpers.

The next question was, who should reign? Herodotus turned these Persians into Greeks, making them discuss the comparative merits of monarchy, oligarchy and democracy. They decided that their horses should choose the next king; he whose steed should first neigh should rule. Darius had a cunning groom named Oebares; that

evening he took the horse and his mare into the market-place; next morning on reaching the same spot the horse did not fail to seat his master on the throne in 521. A review of the Persian Empire follows, with a description of India and Arabia.

Polycrates did not long survive. He was the first Greek to conceive the idea of a maritime empire. He was foully murdered by the Persian Oroetes, who decoyed him to the mainland by an offer of treasure and then crucified him. In the retinue of Polycrates was a physician, Democedes of Croton, who was captured by Oroetes. His fame spread to Susa at a time when no court doctor could treat Darius' sprained foot. Democedes was sent for and effected the cure; later he healed the Queen Atossa of a boil. Instructed by him she advised Darius to send a commission of fifteen Persians to spy out the Greek mainland under Democedes' guidance. After an exciting series of adventures the physician succeeded in returning to his native city. But the idea of an invasion of Greece had settled on Darius' mind. First, however, he took Samos, giving it to Syloson, Polycrates' brother who years before in Egypt had made him a present of a scarlet cloak while he was a mere guardsman. Darius consolidated his power in Asia by the capture of the revolted province of Babylon through the self-sacrifice of Zopyrus, son of one of the seven conspirators. The vivid story of his devotion is one of the very greatest things in Herodotus.

Persia being thus mistress of all Asia, of Samos and the seaboard, began to dream of subduing Greece itself. But first Darius determined to conquer his non-Greek neighbours. The fourth book describes the attack which Darius himself led against the Scythians in revenge for the twenty-eight years' slavery they inflicted on the Medes. A description of Scythia is relieved by an account of the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phoenicians and the voyage of Scylax down the Indus and along the coast of Africa to Egypt.

The war on the Scyths was dramatic and exciting, both sides acting in the spirit of chivalry. Crossing the Bosphorus, Darius advanced through Thrace to the Danube which he spanned with a bridge. The Scyths adopted the favourite Russian plan of retreating into the interior, destroying the crops and hovering round the foe;

they further led the Persians into the territories of their own enemies. This process at last wearied Darius; he sent a herald to challenge them to a straight contest or to become his vassals. The reply came that if Darius wished a conflict he had better outrage their ancestral tombs; as for slavery, they acknowledged only Zeus as their master. But the threat of slavery did its work. A detachment was sent to the Danube to induce the Ionian Greeks to strike for freedom by breaking down the bridge they were guarding, thus cutting off Darius' retreat. To the King himself a Scythian herald brought a present of a bird, a mouse, a frog and five arrows, implying that unless his army became one of the creatures it would perish by the arrows. The Scyths adopted guerilla tactics, leaving the Persians no rest by night and offering no battle by day. At last Darius began his retreat. One division of the Scythian horsemen reached the bridge before their foes, again asking the Ionians to destroy it. The Greeks pretended to consent, breaking down the Scythian end of it. Darius at last came to the place; to his dismay he found the bridge demolished. He bade an Egyptian Stentor summon Histiaeus, the Greek commandant, who brought up the fleet and saved the Persian host which retired into Asia.

In 509 a second expedition was dispatched against Barca, a colony of Cyrene. The history of the latter is graphically described, the first king being Battus, the Stammerer, who founded it in obedience to the directions of Apollo. Cyrene was brought under Cambyzes' sway by Arcesilaus who had been banished. He misinterpreted an oracle and cruelly killed his enemies in Barca. When he was assassinated in that town his mother Pheretima fled from the metropolis Cyrene to Aryandes, the Persian governor in Egypt. Backed by armed force she besieged Barca which resisted bravely for nine months; at the end of that term an agreement was made that Barca should pay tribute and remain unassailed as long as the ground remained firm on which the treaty was made. But the Persians had undermined the spot, covering planks of wood with a loose layer of earth. Breaking down the planks they rushed in and took the town, Pheretima exacting a horrible vengeance. Yet she herself died soon after, eaten of worms. "Thus," remarks the

historian, “do men, by too severe vengeance, draw upon their own heads the divine wrath.”

The fifth book begins the concentration on purely Greek history. Darius had left Megabazus in command in Europe, retiring himself to Sardis. In that city he was much struck by the appearance of a Paeonian woman and ordered Megabazus to invade the country. He subdued it and Macedonia in 506-4, but in the process some of his commanders were punished for an insult to Macedonian women, revenge being taken by Alexander, son of King Amyntas; a bride shut the lips of a party sent to discover their fate. In Thrace, Megabazus began to suspect Histiaeus, the Ionian who had saved Darius and in return had been given a strong town, Myrcinus on the River Strymon. The King by a trick drew Histiaeus to Sardis and took him to the Capital, leaving his brother Artaphernes as governor in Sardis. But Histiaeus had been succeeded in Miletus by his nephew Aristagoras; to him in 502 came certain nobles from Naxos, one of the Cyclades isles, begging restoration from banishment. He decided to apply to Artaphernes for Persian help; this the viceroy willingly gave as it would further the Persian progress to the objective, the Greek mainland, across the Aegean in a direct line. The Persian admiral Megabates soon quarrelled with Aristagoras about the command and informed the Naxians of the coming attack. The expedition thus failed. Aristagoras, afraid to face Artaphernes whose treasure he had wasted, decided on raising a revolt of the whole of Ionia; at that very moment a slave came to him from his uncle in Susa with a message tattooed on his head, bidding him rebel.

Aristagoras first applied to Sparta for aid. When arguments failed, he tried to bribe the king Cleomenes. In the room was the King's little daughter Gorgo. Hearing Aristagoras gradually raise his offer from ten to fifty talents, the child said, “Father, depart, or the stranger will corrupt thee”. Aristagoras received a better welcome at Athens. That city in 510 had expelled Hippias, the tyrant son of Peisistratus, who appealed to Artaphernes for aid. Hearing this, the Athenians sent an embassy asking the satrap not to assist the exile, but the answer was that if they wished to survive, they must receive their ruler back. Aristagoras therefore found the Athenians in a fit frame

of mind to listen. They lent him a fleet of twenty sail and marched with him to Sardis which they captured and burned in 501. The revolt speedily spread over all the Asiatic sea-coast. On hearing of the Athenians for the first time, Darius directed a slave to say to him thrice a day, "Sire, remember the Athenians". He summoned Histiaeus and accused him of complicity in the revolt, but Histiaeus assured him of his loyalty and obtained permission to go to the coast. Meanwhile the Persians took strong action against the rebels, subduing many towns and districts. The book ends with the flight of Aristagoras to Myrcinus and his death in battle against the Thracians in 496.

The next book opens with the famous accusation of Histiaeus by Artaphernes: "Thou hast stitched this boot and Aristagoras hath put it on." Histiaeus in fear fled to his own city Miletus; being disowned there, he for a time maintained a life of privateering, but was eventually captured and crucified by Artaphernes. The Ionian revolt had been narrowed down to Miletus and one or two less important towns. The Greeks assembled a fleet, but a spirit of insubordination manifesting itself they were defeated at sea in the battle of Lade in 495. Next year Miletus fell but was treated with mercy. At Athens the news caused the greatest consternation; a dramatic poet named Phrynichus ventured to stage the disaster; the people wept and fined him a thousand talents, forbidding any similar presentation in future. Stamping out the last embers of revolt in Asia the Persians coasted along Thrace; before their advance the great Athenian Miltiades was compelled to fly from the Dardanelles to his native city. In 492 Mardonius was appointed viceroy of Asia Minor. He reorganised the provincial system and then attempted to double the perilous promontory of Athos, but only a remnant of his forces returned to Asia.

Next year Darius sent to all the Greek cities demanding earth and water, the tokens of submission. The islanders obeyed including Aegina, the deadly foe of Athens. A protest made by the latter led to a war between the two states in which Athens was worsted. Sparta itself had just been torn by an internal dissension between two claimants of the throne, one of whom named Demaratus had been

ejected and later fled to the Persian court. The great expedition of 490 sailed straight across the Aegean, commanded by Datis and Artaphernes. Their primary objective was Eretria in Euboea, a city which had assisted the Ionians in their revolt. The town was speedily betrayed, the inhabitants being carried aboard the Persian fleet. Guided by Hippias the armament landed at the bay of Marathon, twenty-five miles from Athens. A vain appeal was sent to Sparta for succours; Athens, supported by the little Boeotian city of Plataea, was left to cope with the might of Persia.

It was fortunate that the Athenians could command the services of Miltiades who had already had some experience of the Persian methods of attack. The details of the great battle that followed depend upon the sole authority of Herodotus among the Greek writers. Many difficulties are caused by his narrative, but it seems certain that Miltiades was in command on the day on which the battle was actually fought. He apparently clung to the hills overlooking the plain and bay of Marathon until the Persian cavalry were unable to act. Seizing the opportunity, he led his men down swiftly to the combat; his centre which had been purposely weakened was thrust back but the two wings speedily proved victorious, then converged to assist the centre, finally driving the foe to the sea where a desperate conflict took place. The Persians succeeded in embarking and promptly sailed round the coast to Athens, but seeing the victors in arms before the town they sailed back to Asia. The Spartan reinforcements which arrived too late for the battle viewed the Persian dead and returned after praising the Athenians.

A slight digression tells the amusing story how the Athenian Hippocleides in his cups lost the hand of the princess of Sicyon because he danced on his head and waved his legs about, shouting that he didn't care. The great victor Miltiades did not long survive his glory. His attempt to reduce the island of Paros, which had sided with Persia, completely failed. Returning to Athens he was condemned and fined, shortly after dying of a mortified thigh.

In the third portion Herodotus gradually rises to his greatest height of descriptive power. Darius resolved on a larger expedition to reduce Greece. He made preparations for three years, then a revolt in

Egypt delayed his plans and his career was cut short by death in 485. His successor Xerxes was disinclined to invade Europe, but was overborne by Mardonius his cousin. A canal was dug across the peninsula of Athos, a bridge was built over the Hellespont, and provisions were collected. A detailed account of the component forces is given, special mention being made of Artemisia, Queen of Herodotus' own city, who was to win great glory in the campaign. The army marched over the Hellespont and along the coast, the fleet supporting it; advancing through Thessaly, it reached the pass of Thermopylae, opposite Euboea, in 480.

On the Greek side was division; the Spartans imagined that their duty was to save the Peloponnese only; they were eager to build a wall across the isthmus of Corinth, leaving the rest of Greece to its fate. But Athens had produced another genius named Themistocles. Shortly before the invasion the silver mines at Laureium in Attica had yielded a surplus; he persuaded the city to use it for building a fleet of two hundred sail to be directed against Aegina. When the Athenians got an oracle from Delphi which stated that they would lose their land but be saved by their wooden walls, he interpreted the oracle as referring to the fleet. Under his management the city built more ships. The Council of Greece held at the Isthmus of Corinth decided that an army should defend Thermopylae while the fleet supported it close by at Artemisium. The Persian fleet had been badly battered in a storm as it sailed along the coast of Magnesia, nearly four hundred sail foundering; the remainder reached safe anchorage in the Malian gulf, further progress being impossible till the Greek navy was beaten or retired.

At Thermopylae the advance-guard was composed of Spartans led by Leonidas who determined to defend the narrow pass. A Persian spy brought the news to Xerxes that this small body of warriors were combing their hair. The King sent for Demaratus, the ex-Spartan monarch, who assured him that this was proof that the Spartans intended to fight to the death. After a delay of four days the fight began. The Spartans routed all their opponents including the famous Immortals, the Persian bodyguard. At length a traitor Ephialtes told Xerxes of a path across the mountains by which Leonidas could be

taken in the rear. Learning from deserters and fugitives that he had been betrayed, Leonidas dismissed the main body, himself advancing into the open. After winning immortal glory he and his men were destroyed and the way to Greece lay open to the invader.

In three naval engagements off Artemisium the Greek fleet showed its superiority; a detachment of two hundred sail had been sent round the island of Euboea to block up the exit of the channel through which the Greek navy had to retreat, but a storm totally destroyed this force. When the army retreated from Thermopylae the Greek ships were obliged to retire to the Isthmus; in spite of much opposition the Athenians compelled Eurybiades the Spartan admiral to take up his station at Salamis, whither the Persian navy followed. Their army had advanced through Boeotia, attacking Delphi on the way. The story was told how Apollo himself defended his shrine, hurling down rocks on the invaders and sending supernatural figures to discomfit them. Entering Attica the barbarian host captured a deserted Athens, Xerxes sending the glad news to his subjects in the Persian capital.

The Greeks were with difficulty persuaded not to abandon the sea altogether. Themistocles was bitterly opposed in his naval policy by Adeimantus, the Corinthian; it was only by threatening to leave Greece with their fleet that the Athenians were able to bring the allies to reason. By a stroke of cunning Themistocles forced their hands; a messenger went to Xerxes with news of the Greek intention to retreat; on hearing this the Persians during the night blocked up the passages round Salamis and landed some of their best troops on a little island called Psyttaleia. The news of this encircling movement was brought to the allies by Aristides, a celebrated Athenian who was in exile, and was confirmed by a Tenian ship which deserted from the Persians. Next morning the Greeks sailed down the strait to escape the blockade and soon the famous battle began. Among the brave deeds singled out for special mention none was bolder than that of Artemisia who sank a friend to escape capture. The remainder of the Persian captains had no chance of resisting, being huddled up in a narrow channel. Seeing Artemisia's courage Xerxes remarked that his men had become women, his women men. The rout of the

invaders was quickly completed, the chief glory being won by Aegina and Athens; the victory was consummated by the slaughter of the troops on Psyttaleia. The Persian monarch sent tidings of this defeat to his capital and in terror of a revolt in Ionia decided to retreat, leaving Mardonius in command of picked troops. He hurriedly passed along the way he had come, almost disappearing from Herodotus' story.

Mardonius accompanied him to Thessaly and Macedonia; he sent Alexander, King of the latter country, as an envoy to Athens, offering to rebuild the temples and restore all property in exchange for an alliance. Hearing the news the Spartans in fear for themselves sent a counter-embassy. The Athenian reply is one of the great things in historical literature. "It was a base surmise in men like the Spartans who know our mettle. Not all the gold in the world would tempt us to enslave our own countrymen. We have a common brotherhood with all Greeks, a common language, common altars and sacrifices, common nationality; it would be unseemly to betray these. We thank you for your offer to support our ruined families, but we will bear our calamities as we may and will not burden you. Lead out your troops; face the enemy in Boeotia and there give him battle."

The last book relates the consequences of the Athenian reply to Alexander. Mardonius advanced rapidly to Athens, which he captured a second time. The Spartans were busy keeping the feast of Hyacinthia; only an Athenian threat to come to terms with the foe prevailed on them to move. Mardonius soon evacuated Attica, the ground being too stony for cavalry, and encamped near Plataea. The Greeks followed, taking the high ground on Mount Cithaeron. A brave exploit of the Athenian infantry in defeating cavalry heartened the whole army. After eleven days' inaction, Mardonius determined to attack, news of his plan being brought secretly at night to the Athenians by Alexander. The Spartans, afraid of facing the Persians, exchanged places with the Athenians; when this movement was discovered by Mardonius, he sent a challenge to the Spartans to decide the battle by a single conflict between them and his Persian division. Receiving no reply, he let his cavalry loose on the Greeks who began to retire to a place called the Island, where horse could

not operate. This action took place during the night. When morning broke the battle began. The Persian wicker shields could not resist their enemies' weapons; the host fled and after Mardonius fell was slaughtered in heaps. The Greek took vengeance on the Thebans who had acted with the Persians, of whom a mere remnant reached Asia under the command of Artabazus.

The victorious Greek fleet had advanced as far as Delos, commanded by Leotychides, a Spartan of royal blood. To them came an embassy from Samos, urging an attack on the Persians encamped on Mycale. It is said that the battle was fought on the same day as that of Plataea and that a divine rumour ran through the Greek army that their brothers had gained the day. In the action at Mycale the Athenians took the palm of valour, bursting the enemy's line and storming his entrenchments. This victory freed Ionia; it remained only to open the Dardanelles. The Spartans returned home, but the Athenians crossed from Abydos in Asia to Sestos, the strongest fortress in the district. The place was starved into surrender; with its capture ends the story of Persia's attempt to destroy European civilisation.

In this great Epic nothing is more obvious than the terror the Greeks felt when they first faced the Persians. The numbers arrayed against them were overwhelming, their despondency was justifiable. It required no little courage from a historian to tell the awkward truth — that Herodotus did tell it is no small testimony to his veracity. Yet only a little experience was needed to convince the Greeks that they were superior on both land and sea. Once the lesson was learned, they never forgot it. Mycale is the proof that they remembered it well. This same consciousness of superiority animated two other Greek armies, one deserted in the middle of Asia Minor, yet led unmolested by Xenophon through a hostile country to the shores of the Black Sea — the other commanded by Alexander the Great who planted Greek civilisation over every part of his conquests, from the coast to the very gates of Persia itself.

Modern history seems to have lost all powers of interesting its readers. It is as dull as political economy; it suspects a stylist, questions the accuracy of its authorities, tends to minimise personal

influence on events, specialises on a narrow period, emphasises constitutional development, insists on the “economic interpretation” of an age and at times seems quite unable to manage with skill the vast stores of knowledge on which it draws. To it Herodotus is often a butt for ridicule; his credulity, inability to distinguish true causes, belief in divine influences, love of anecdote and chronological vagueness are serious blemishes. But to us Herodotus is literature; we believe that he himself laughs slyly at some of the anecdotes he has rendered more piquant by a pretended credulity; this quick-witted Greek would find it paid him to assume innocence in order to get his informers (like his critics) to go on talking. Like Froissart, Joinville, de Comines and perhaps even like Macaulay he wishes to write what will charm as well as what will instruct.

Yet as a historian Herodotus is great; he sifts evidence, some of which he mentions only to reject it; the substantial accuracy of his statements has been borne out by inscriptions; in fact, his value to-day is greater than it was last century. If a man’s literary bulk is measured by the greatness of his subject, Herodotus cannot be a mean writer. His theme is nothing less than the history of civilisation itself as far as he could record it; his broad sweep of narrative may be taken to represent the wide speculation of a philosophic historian as opposed to the narrower and more intense examination of a short period which is characteristic of the scientific historian. He tells us of the first actual armed conflict between East and West, the never-ending eternally romantic story. As Persia fought Greece, so Rome subdued Carthage, Crusader attacked Saladin, Turkey submerged half Europe, Russia contended with Japan. The atmosphere of Herodotus is the unchanging East of the Bible, inscrutable Egypt, prehistoric Russia, barbarous Thrace, as well as civilised Greece, Africa, India; had he never written, much information would have been irretrievably lost, for example, the account of one of the “Fifteen decisive battles” in history. Let him be judged not as a candidate for some Chair of Ancient History in some modern University, but as the greatest writer of the greatest prose-epic in the greatest literature of antiquity.

Of his inimitable short stories it is difficult to speak with

measured praise; it is dangerous to quote them, they are so perfect that a word added or omitted might spoil them. His so-called digressions have always some cogent reason in them; they are his means of including in the panorama a scene essential to its completeness. The narrow type of history writing has been tried for some centuries; all that it seems able to accomplish is to go on narrowing itself until it cannot enjoy for recording or remembering. It is a refreshing experience to move in the broad open regions of history in which Herodotus trod. If it is impossible to combine accurate research with the ecstasy of pure literature, be it so. Herodotus will be read with joy and laughter and sometimes with tears when some of our modern historians have been superseded by persons even duller than themselves.



Archaeological remains at Pella, Macedon, one of the burial locations for Herodotus listed by the Suda



Ruins near the agora in Thurii, on the Tarentine gulf— another site listed by the Suda as being where Herodotus was buried